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Making Trouble In The Middle East

Hezbollah is a member of the Coalition Government of Lebanon. Ireland has now declared it a criminal organisation and made it a crime for residents of the European Union to give it any tangible support. The Irish Government rarely has the power to do such things. It had it in this instance because the British proposal that the EU should criminalise Hezbollah could only be passed by consensus. The Irish Foreign Minister consented. By doing so, he struck a blow at the only stable representative Government in the Middle East.

He says that he has only criminalised the "*military wing*" of Hezbollah. As a leader of the former 'Official Republican movement', which joined the Labour Party and took it over, he must know that the distinction is spurious—and that it is infinitely more so in the case of Hezbollah than in the case of Stickie Sinn Fein/IRA.

Lebanon is not a state with a national body politic. It is a state that was set up arbitrarily when Britain conquered the Middle East in its Great War ("*Our War*") and its ally, France, which had borne the brunt of the War on the Western Front, demanded a piece of it.

The conquered Middle East, which had lived without nationalist passions in the Turkish Empire, was Balkanised by Britain and France without regard to the views of the inhabitants. Britain had bombarded the region with nationalist propaganda to stir up enmity against the Turks when its initial military assault failed to sweep aside the Turks in 1914-15. It succeeded in raising an Arab Nationalist army in 1916-17. But, when the Arab nationalist movement declared its independence as an Arab state in 1918-19, it was crushed by the British, who had stirred it up in the first place, and by the French to whom the British had allocated Syria/Lebanon. Palestine was allocated to the Zionist movement for Jewish colonisation and the eventual formation of a Jewish state.

The Lebanon was cut off from Syria and Palestine for reasons that had nothing whatever to do with its viability as a national state. There was no Lebanese nationalist movement. There were peoples who lived in pre-nationalist cultures, and who had got along with each other easily within the lightly-governed Turkish Empire. Under the forced transition to nationalism compelled by Britain and France, the pre-national cultures did not take on the character of a Lebanese nationality but of many different nationalities.

Over the generations the nationalities of the Lebanese state worked out a *modus vivendi*.

A strong Lebanese State might have generated a sense of Lebanese nationalism—as the Iraqi State was developing a sense of Iraqi nationalism until US/UK, with Irish support, destroyed it and threw the society into an anarchy of religious warfare. But a strong Lebanese State could not be constructed. What happened instead was an accommodation between the nationalities within a nominal State which had little actual existence beyond that accommodation.

Lebanon is a kind of federal state. It is a state of national segments which have agreed to co-exist within the form of national territorial state imposed on them in the service of Imperialist expediency.

There was a time when Israel could play the Lebanese national segments against each

The Eurozone

Grand Plans And Real Plans

The European Commission has put forward plans for a Single Resolution Mechanism (SRM) which would oversee the euro zone banking union, manage bank resolution and enforce the recent bank bail-in plans.

But this has run into problems as it cannot be done under the existing EU Treaties. The Commission cannot act—or think—outside EU Treaties and structures and this proposal is clearly for the Eurozone group and should be based on the Fiscal Treaty and its development.

The Commission needs to realise that the European world has moved on and they are trying to play catch-up. But they are proving incapable of dealing with the banking crisis, so another structure had to be created to replace it.

There seems to be a kind of general amnesia about this Fiscal Treaty, which is there to deal with Eurozone issues at an inter-Governmental level. Angela Merkel's spokesman, Steffen Seibert, has said:

"In our view the Commission proposal gives the Commission a competence which it cannot have based on the current treaties... We are of the opinion that we should do what is possible on the basis of the current treaties."

It's a pity he did not specify what could and should be done on the basis of the Fiscal Treaty and propose the necessary amendments. Trying to equate all existing Treaties is like trying to mix oil and water. Some are EU based and one is not and they cannot be made one and the same.

The Fiscal Treaty is the one that matters. The Eurozone should develop its own specific polices to serve its needs. In this context it was a breath of fresh air to see the suggestion by the French Economics Minister, Pierre Moscovici—

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Labour Comment, edited by **Pat Maloney**:

Them 'Forrayners'

Mondragon, Part 21

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Trade Union Notes (p25)

other. That is the case now, largely because of the way Hezbollah has conducted itself. On Jewish nationalist reasoning, which is so influential in American governing circles, Hezbollah is therefore a menace to peace.

The last Israeli invasion of Lebanon was beaten off by Hezbollah. It is a condition of Israeli defence—or, to put it another way, a condition of Jewish nationalist colonial expansionism—that all neighbouring states should be weak and manipulable. Because of Hezbollah the Lebanon is no longer manipulable.

By classifying Hezbollah as terrorist, the EU has given Israel the green light to again make war on Lebanon. Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's secretary general, has said: "*EU countries... are giving legal cover for Israel to launch any war on Lebanon because Israel can claim it is waging war on terrorists*", thereby making "*themselves undeniable allies during any Israeli aggression*" (25.7.130).

The necessary implication of Foreign Minister Gilmore's classification of Hezbollah's "*military wing*" as a terrorist organisation, is that it should be disbanded,

and that Lebanon should once again become Israel's plaything.

He must know very well that Hezbollah's "*military wing*" is nothing like his own "*military wing*" of bygone days. It is not an illegal army maintained in defiance of the army of the state, but a major component of the military defences of the state. All the national segments that make up the state of Lebanon have their own armies. That is how the imperialist contrivance called Lebanon exists.

An excuse for the criminalising of Hezbollah is a bombing in Bulgaria last year in which five Israelis and their driver were killed. The Bulgarian authorities have changed their story about Hezbollah responsibility for the bombing twice so far. In June this year an incoming Socialist Government contradicted the assertion of the previous Government that Hezbollah was responsible, saying that the evidence they have to connect Hezbollah to the bombing is not "*explicit*" and insufficient to justify blacklisting the organisation. In July, no doubt due to pressure from fellow-EU members, the Government reverted to the original position. The matter clearly

is in doubt. However the evidence was enough for Foreign Minister Gilmore. But, supposing it was Hezbollah, would it be any different from what Israel has been doing. Its asserted right to kill its enemies wherever it finds them has never been classified as terrorism by "*the world community*".

The immediate stimulus for the criminalising of Hezbollah was, no doubt, its intervention in the Syrian War to protect people of its own nationality there from attacks by Al Qaeda (or something like it) which is now the ally of the US, Britain and France.

The Irish Foreign Minister still claims that Irish foreign policy is conducted in line with United Nations parameters. The United Nation has not declared Hezbollah a terrorist organisation. Nor has it made it a crime to support the Government of Syria.

There are two strong Zionists in the Government—the Minister for Justice and War ("Defence") and the Minister for Education: the one by nationality, and the other by erratic ideological recoil from the Republicanism that has brought about a participating settlement in the Northern pseudo-state, perversely conceived by Britain 90 years ago, after a war of a mere quarter of a century. It is reasonable to assume that these Ministers exerted strong pressure for the criminalising of Hezbollah. (The Taoiseach is particularly beholden to his Justice and War Minister, Shatter, who helped save his bacon when other colleagues wanted to dump him shortly before the election.)

It must be said that Education Minister Quinn's position, though irrational, is not unusual. He is not the only one who, in rejecting Northern Republicanism, turned to the most extreme form of irredentist, colonialist, expansionist nationalism that exists on the planet. The Jewish State is not coterminous with Israel as projected by the United Nations in 1947, or even as expanded by unauthorised conquest in 1948. No major party in Israel stands for confining the state even within the 1967 borders. The United Nations does not accept the Jewish nationalist conquests and colonisations beyond the 1967 borders as being part of the Israeli state, though it has done nothing in almost half a century to decolonise the Occupied West Bank and push the Jewish State back within Israeli borders.

The Jewish State is a work in progress, whose progress requires that all around it should be kept weak. It was imposed by 'the world' on the Middle East in 1947-8,

against the opposition of all countries of the Middle East. Massive expulsions and colonising immigration followed. The conquests of 1948 were made possible by Soviet military support. Further expansion was armed by the United States. The conduct of the Jewish State itself has not been designed to conciliate the conquered population or the neighbouring states but to intimidate them.

The fig-leaf for the criminalising of Hezbollah is that Israel will reward 'the world' with a further round of spurious negotiations with the conquered Palestinians. Those negotiations are necessarily spurious because there is no Zionist party whose policy is that the Jewish State should be confined to the borders of Israel as recognised by the UN—that is, the 1947 award by the General Assembly plus the 1948 conquests.

*

An Irish Army contingent is being sent to the Golan to replace an Austrian contingent which has been withdrawn because its members were being kidnapped by Syrian rebels and used as human shields. The rebels are the military forces of the insurrectionary Opposition, which is recognised by the UK, France and the USA as the legitimate authority in Syria. Within the Opposition the most effective military force seems to be the one which has been the main enemy in the War on Terror for the past ten years. Al Qaeda. Golan is a region of Syria conquered and annexed by Israel after 1967. The annexation has not been recognised by the UN, and could not be recognised by the USA without making a complete farce of the UN. The Irish Army can be sent there as part of a UN body placed between Israel and Syria.

Over the years Israel and its proxies has killed some Irish soldiers on UN duties in Southern Lebanon. (Some 47 have been killed in Southern Lebanon: none of them by Hezbollah.) The point was to show who was master. The UN created Israel, but the creature quickly showed its contempt for its creator. And it must be admitted that the look-out for Israel would have been poor if it had not been able to defy its creator. The General Assembly resolution of 1947, authorising the imposition of a Jewish State on Palestine, is sacred; but subsequent General Assembly resolutions telling the Jewish State to behave itself are treated with contempt. And quite rightly so, if one considers the imposition of a Jewish State on Palestine to be a historic necessity.

Israel was created by the General Assembly, and it was maintained by the

The following letter was despatched from Port Laoise on 6th June 2012, but due to mishap it did not reach the Editors for a year. We are reproducing it as the observations it makes are of general interest.

Standards Of Justice

I am deeply shocked and disappointed at the outcome of my trial for membership of an unlawful organisation. My main concern are as follows:

- * The use of a non-jury court is inherently anti-Republican. As an Irish Republican my chances of a fair trial without prejudice were diminished by the use of the Special Criminal Court.
- * It would be fair to say that the assumption of innocence is absent in the S.C.C. and has in fact been replaced by an onus of proof of innocence in particular by the removal of the last bastion of democratic law, the right to remain silent.
- * The use of inferences with regard to my style of behaviour during interview was unwarranted as I denied the charge levelled against me and accounted for my movements on the day of my arrest.
- * The Garda Chief Superintendent stated that he believed me to be a member of an unlawful organisation for the previous ten years. He stated that this opinion was based on confidential information unavailable to the defence. I firmly believe that the Garda Chief Superintendent was not in an impartial position to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution and should have been prevented in doing so by the court.
- * During the course of my trial it was acknowledged that my arrest was unlawful.
- * Items, obtained using an illegal warrant were produced as evidence during my trial despite the only charge against me being membership of an unlawful organisation.

In conclusion I am of the opinion that the normal course of law was not followed due in the main to preconceived opinions of my political beliefs and the unwarranted opinion of a prejudiced prosecution witness, namely Chief Superintendent O'Sullivan.

Seán Farrell, E-3, Portlaoise Goal

NB: The conviction has been appealed to the Supreme Court, with Presiding Judge Adrian Hardiman reserving judgement.

O Riada arís

Thanks for publishing the review of the Ó Riada CD. I wrote it to incite readers to acquire the CD.

Here's how:

SEÁN Ó RIADA: ORCHESTRAL WORKS

RTÉ Lyric FM

www.rte.ie/lyricfm/lyric_releases

Seán McGouran

P.S. In response to Pádraig Ó Horgan—I ought to have made it clear that I was quoting the booklet that came with the CD. It implied quite strongly at there was no waterway called Sulán.

I was going to indulge in a bit of 'whataboutery' and ask how many people in north Cork know about Connswater? Then it struck me that there's a huge 'shopping mall' by Conn Ó Néill (of Clandeboy)'s stream in east Belfast. And shopping malls are the modern places of pilgrimage...

American veto in the Security Council.

The *Irish Times* is indignant about another veto in the Security Council:

"Is it right that a Chinese veto should be able to block an Irish military mission that would otherwise have the support of the rest of the world community? But this is the hook we have hoist ourselves on..." (19.7.13).

It was clearly established at the foundation of the United Nations that the "world community" was not the people of the world but the masters of the world. The masters were the victors in the World War—essentially the Soviet Union and the United States. Britain was included because it had started the War and kept it going by means of its dominance of the world's oceans after its military defeat on

land in 1940, spreading the War until Russia was brought into it. China was included because America saw it as its client State in Asia—and when Chiang Kai-shek was overthrown by the Communists in 1948 it refused to recognise the credentials of the new Peking Government for a generation, treating the Government of the island of Formosa (Taiwan) as the Government of China. France was admitted amongst the Masters of the world on Churchill's insistence as a makeweight against the anti-Imperialist Soviet Union and USA. (America was committed to dismantling the formal Empires and bringing the world under its industrial and financial dominance.)

There was no integrity in the wartime alliance of Britain, Russia and America. It was the accidental alliance of fundamental enemies brought about by the reckless militaristic adventurism of the British Empire in launching a war which it had no intention of fighting in earnest. Conflict between the Allies began the moment Germany was defeated—or before it in the case of Britain. It took the form of Cold War only because of the rapid development of nuclear weapons by Russia to match those of America. And the United Nations was carefully constructed to ensure that it was not representative of the populace of the world, and that each of the Masters could prevent the actual world from doing anything that was against its interests. That was the Veto. Without the Veto the UN could never have been constructed.

So the Chinese Veto is preventing Ireland from undertaking a military mission because of the "triple lock" which Ireland has imposed on itself. (One lock is a UN mandate for military action. The others are a Dail vote and a Government decision.)

Ireland can unlock itself any time it pleases. This is clear even in the editorial in which the *Irish Times* complains about China shackling Ireland. (The editorial is a comment on the Green Paper on Defence):

"The requirement for UN approval [the Green Paper] argues, somewhat mischievously borrowing from the sovereigntist neutrality lobby, 'constitutes a self-imposed legal constraint on the State's sovereignty in making decisions about the use of its armed forces'. This is a real problem. Not because the State might want to invade a neighbour without UN permission, but because the latter is such a dysfunctional entity." (Ibid).

The UN lock on Irish military activity is self-imposed and can be self-released.

The UN can be neither abolished nor reformed. The Veto system prevents both.

And what military mission can a state without an arms industry have? The Justice/War Minister charges it with moral cowardice because it did not take part in the 2nd World War. But the only way it could have taken part in that War was by making its territory available to Britain—which had ensured that it would not have the means of waging war. And in 1970 it was the fact that it did not have the most rudimentary arms production, and had to import guns for Jack Lynch's Northern policy, that led to the diplomatic confrontation with Britain, which Lynch responded to by prosecuting the agents of his own policy for treasonable conspiracy, and by initiating the falsification of history that blossomed as revisionism.

Ireland has no military mission in the world. The Establishment that the *Irish Times* reflects just wants it to join the NATO pack morally, so to speak.

*

The Establishment view of the military overthrow of the first democratically elected Government in Egypt, as expressed by the *Irish Times*, was that it was "hardly a coup". And on RTE Boucher Hayes reminded us that Hitler was elected. It was not said outright that Egypt's elected Government was Fascist—but a spokesman for the London *Spectator*, Douglas Murray, said so on BBC's *Question Time* and nobody disagreed much.

So it seems that Electoralism is next door to Fascism. The *Spectator* explained that "Democracy and holding elections are not the same thing" (6 July).

Democracy, evidently, is an outcome, not a process. It is not a means of enabling the populace to have what it wants. The people have no right to be wrong. If they want the wrong thing and get it by means of elections, that is not democracy. Democracy in those circumstances is a means of preventing the people from getting what they want.

We had expected to see a comment on this by Professor Tom Garvin but he seems to have kept his counsel. His *magnum opus* is 1922: *The Birth Of Irish Democracy*. In this he asserts that a majority in an election, however small, and regardless of the circumstances in which it was gained, gives democratic sanction to the winning party to implement its policy. He made this argument in connection with the utterly confused Election of 1922 which was won by the Provisional Government set up under the 'Treaty' and armed by Britain. The Provisional Government made war on the anti-Treatyites before the

elected TDs met as a Dail, because it was not at all sure that, if the Dail met before the 'Civil War' was launched, it would vote for war. When the Dail was eventually allowed to meet, the war was a substantially accomplished fact and the Dail had no realistic choice but to live with it.

Professor Garvin said that that was democracy. All that has been said in support of the Egyptian *coup* flies in the face of that statement. But he has chosen to possess his soul in silence.

Editorial Digest

Terror Tuesdays is the name given by White House aides to the weekly selection by **President Obama** of the people to be killed by his drones in Pakistan, Yemen and Afghanistan. So much for his 2007 declaration that he did not want to run an administration that was "*Bush-Cheneylite*"! (See Brian Feeney, *Irish News*, 19.6.13)

Syria: America's highest-ranking officer, **General Martin Dempsey**, has written to the Senate Armed Services Committee saying that US military intervention in the ongoing war would constitute an "*act of war*" with "*unintended consequences*"—such as destroying State institutions and unleashing chemical weapons. Arming and training rebels would cost \$500 million a year, while enforcing a No Fly zone would cost \$1 billion a month. The Peace Conference which Russia is working for continues to be delayed.

NI21 is a new party founded by ex-UUP members **Basil McCrea** and **John McCallister**. They are making a play for 'Catholic Unionist' votes, and pride themselves for the Irish-language tweets. The party name refers to the founding date of devolution. The party has received considerable publicity, but less widely-known is the fact that it designates itself as 'Unionist', rather than 'Other' in the Assembly.

The 1970 Arms Importation attempt was referred to by former *Irish Times* Editor **Conor Brady** whilst reviewing the **Defence Green Paper (IT 25.7.13)**. He argues that it was a mistake to combine responsibility for Justice and Defence in one Minister and he takes issue with the proposal by **Minister Alan Shatter** to further blur the lines between the military and the police. As support for his view he suggests that:

"In 1970, when Military Intelligence

(G2) became embroiled in the plan to import arms for the IRA under the cover of a government-approved operation, it was the Special Branch that foiled the plot. And when rogue gardaí were subverted, it was picked up on at least one occasion by G2" (IT 25.7.13).

Conor Brady here makes the admission that there was "a government-approved operation" to import arms—a fact which cannot be denied since the publication of Angela Clifford's *Military Aspects Of Ireland's Arms Crisis Of 1969-70* and of the *Arms Conspiracy Trial*. Nevertheless, Brady holds on to the old bit of black propaganda that the operation was intended to arm the IRA. In fact documents show that Lynch and his Government decided to arm the Northern Citizens' Defence Committees in lieu of a direct intervention by the Irish Army—a policy contemplated by the Cabinet in August 1969. Lynch deployed substantial forces to the Border during the Siege of Derry, but held back from sending them in to assist the people of the Bogside.

Independent Group New Policy: There was anger within the *Sunday Independent* when Denis O'Brien set out the view that individuals should not be targeted by the newspaper group under a new Code of Practice. Stephen Rae has been promoted from the *Irish Independent* to be Editor in Chief of the *Independent Group*, partly to enforce the new policy. *Phoenix* alleges that *Sunday Independent* journalists have resented Rae's attendance at Editorial meetings (12.7.13). Perhaps one fruit of the new dispensation is the handling of the story *TD Ming brings financial adviser to Dail* (SI 14.7.13). It seems that the "opera-loving Cork-based financial adviser" was brought into the Dail by Independent TD Luke 'Ming' Flanagan to attend an "anti-corruption group meeting". The report did not mention the **Northern Bank Robbery** or that Ted Cunningham has overturned a prison sentence for alleged laundering of proceeds!

The Arms Conspiracy Trial.

Ireland 1970: the Prosecution of Charles Haughey, Capt. Kelly and Others.

€12, £35 postfree Ireland, UK

The Arms Crisis:

What Was It About?

€6, £5 postfree Ireland, UK

Military Aspects Of Ireland's Arms Crisis Of 1969-70.

€14, £11.50 postfree Ireland, UK

Hezbollah Meets The IRA?

Shimon Samuels, International Affairs Director for the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Paris, wrote a piece called *Hezbollah Meets The IRA At The European Union* in the *Jerusalem Post* of 26th June.

This is a nasty piece of work by what I would think is a Zionist source who lies and distorts the truth about nations and their history, in this case Ireland. Assassins can act in both physical and psychological ways. In this diatribe Samuels tells the so-called joke about Protestant Jews and Catholic Jews in the North of Ireland, but doesn't seem to understand it. Masked men stop a car outside Belfast and ask:

"Are you a Catholic or a Protestant?"

Driver: "I'm a Jew". Masked men: "Yes, but are you a Catholic Jew or a Protestant Jew?"

However Samuels has a variant on this joke:

"Same scenario, different punchline: the masked men answer the Jew with 'and I'm the Hezbollah liaison to the IRA'."

The article proceeds to mention "a bloody pogrom in Limerick in 1904", the "openly anti-Semitic Arthur Griffith", and Sean Russell's mission to Germany during WW2. Referring to Irish peace-keepers in Lebanon, the piece states that "an Irish UNIFIL soldier on home leave reportedly firebombed the tiny synagogue of Cork". The Irish Government is blamed for supporting the PLO, and being "unfazed" by Hezbollah's misdeeds—which include: "participation in Assad's mass murder of Syrian Sunnis". Hezbollah's remarkable defeat of the Israeli Army during its invasion of Lebanon in 2006 is not mentioned amongst its misdeeds.

Samuels concludes that, by blocking EU designation of Hezbollah as a terror organisation, while there may no longer be roadblocks "at which an Irish Jew may be asked his identity... it is no joke that Hezbollah has once again met the IRA at the EU's Irish presidency".

My experience suggests that most of the Jewish community in Northern Ireland is middle-class and business people. I would think that runs to 99.99%.

They supported the old Stormont regime by voting Unionist. I had occasion to know the late Harry Towb, the Jewish actor born in Belfast, who once took me on the rounds of his community. Unionist one and all. Another Jewish actor born in

Belfast was the late Harold Goldblatt, very much the Unionist voter. Both actors could be seen in film, theatre and Television continually working, as both had talent.

The other side of the coin was displayed by the few working-class Jews in Northern Ireland. I can say I met three in all—two lived on the Republican Falls Road and voted locally for Nationalist or Republican. They did sometimes turn up at meetings of the CPNI but never joined. The third working-class Jew I knew was from the Belfast shipyard, where he worked alongside me in the Joiners' Shop as a woodworker. He was a deaf-mute who in his spare time trained the RUC in Ju-Jitsu. He sure was a Unionist supporter. My father, who knew sign language, communicated with him and had political arguments with him. I knew they were on about Hitler, for one day there was much touching of the upper lip which was the sign for Hitler, an innovation during WW2.

Northern Ireland, despite the Jewish middle-class support for Unionism, was grossly anti-Semitic at a personal level. About half a dozen jokes about Jews made the rounds of the shipyard. They are too foul to repeat.

Of course the atmosphere was one of Empire and the word 'nigger' could be heard in everyday conversation. Your local drapery shop had clothes and wool in the window described as 'nigger-brown'. We all used that word, for it seemed normal because it didn't seem to be conveying hatred in the Northern Ireland context as it would in the Southern States of America. To us it was a jovial word. Black comedians appearing at the Grand Opera House in Belfast played upon that image. One ridiculous joke by a black comedian was about how he had his knee shot away. But don't worry—Ne-gro.

Belfast had a few black people living there. A type of inverted prejudice was that a black doctor had special healing powers. If you did have one in your area he usually had too many patients already.

Mainly Jews were the target. Despite the Holocaust, anti-Semitism was rife in Belfast in 1946 when as a 14 year old I was told my first anti-Semitic joke by another 14 year old in the shipyard.

This was all back in the early 1950s.

During the 30-year war, while on visits to Belfast, I noticed a number of Jewish

women wearing the Star-of-David around their neck or as a brooch: I suppose in order not to be taken for Catholic or Protestant. I was reminded of the yellow-star Jews were forced to wear in Germany, France, and the Nazi-occupied territories, though in this instance it was a voluntary display. Some Jewish men seemed to be going out of their way to show exaggerated Jewish gestures. Even their Ulster twang was cut back to what sounded like an East European accent. Harry Towb adopted a ridiculous American accent, though everyone in Belfast knew who he was and had respect for him. Harold Goldblatt on the other hand was just Jewish in appearance and, being able to be identified as such, gave vent to a broad Northern accent as if he didn't give a damn, which he didn't.

How would the Jewish community vote now? I would guess Democratic Unionist (or Republican, if Sinn Fein ever wins over Northern Ireland?). It is said every country in the world has Jews, even as few as five or six, living sometimes in war-torn areas. So it must be understood that survival is the name of the game.

Ironically the very people at the forefront of anti-Semitism back in the 1950s today wave Israeli flags as a counter to Nationalist support for the Palestinian. It is an ill-wind that doesn't blow someone good' (or words to that effect).

Wilson John Haire
29th June, 2013

IS LONDON GUILTY — OR GLOATING?

London-Derry Connections 1613-2013

The above is the title of three lectures. This first was in the Old Library (which does not contain books), London Guildhall (6pm Wed. 26 June), capacity about three hundred, it was full by 5.50. It's difficult to tell what the attraction was for the largely young audience. The City is putting a lot into this commemoration (there was free food and drink available at the end. I had to leave immediately: if you have tears...). The lecturer Ian Archer is fluent and entertaining. I stopped taking notes mid-way through—it isn't 'news' to Irish people.

Dr. Archer said London's Guilds were not really interested in 'planting' Derry.

Charles I, following on from his father James I, was interested. At this point (the 1620s—the decade's difference was due to The City's prevaricating), The City did not want to annoy the monarch. This attitude that changed drastically shortly after, there had been Crown / City rows about Ship-money Writs and tithes. The name John Pim came up in this connection, as did John Clotworthy's, (the Drapers agent in Derry). The Guilds took on 'plantation' with a bad grace. It was pleasing to learn that their investment amounted to £8 billion in today's money and their return (in the period from 1613 to '40) was a half million pounds equivalent.

The area to be planted was much bigger than the King had implied (and 'Ulster Gaeldom' as Dr Archer put it), had no intention of retiring into the hills to die out. They were quite decent to the smallholders who farmed plots, and some gave up on (largely cattle-grazing) to farm similar plots. The City's interest was purely commercial. The Honourable The Irish Society wanted a similar situation to the Hudson's Bay Company, which traded with the locals leaving them to their own devices, a hugely profitable arrangement. The Government insisted that they encourage 'civility' (Anglicisation) thus 'Society' rather than 'Company' which led to endless complications. (There had been an attempt to 'plant' the Ards Peninsula in 1571. It ended in disaster in late 1573 with the "assassination" of the son of the main Servitor and the return of the planted to England).

Dr Archer joked about the English and Scots engaged in the Derry plantation getting on well with each other. He did not labour the fact that the locals (the name O'Kane / Ó Cahan was noted) were decidedly unfriendly, which may have been a factor in this unusual situation. The two points of entrance to the plantation were Derry and Coleraine. A London bricklayer oversaw the building of Derry's famous walls. A castle at Coleraine fell down as soon as the builders set sail back to Blighty. The 'undertakers' (they undertook to people the land) had very few takers for free land on the coast between Derry and Coleraine. And practically none for land 'up country'.

Running Ireland cost the London Government money, which is why the notion of planting loyal English then 'British' subjects arose. The plantation of Munster (which Dr. Archer pronounced 'moon-ster') had been a disaster despite the vigorous ethnic cleansing prior to the

introduction of the settlers. The London Government lost £14,000 per annum in Ireland. £2m was lost on the Nine Year War that ended in 1601. England suffered a humiliating defeat at the Yellow Ford (on the Armagh / Tyrone border) in 1598. The Flight of the (Ulster) Earls from Kinsale to eventually Spain (1607) created a power vacuum, but the Gaels were organised enough to oppose plantation.

Dr. Archer mentioned "*the six counties of Ulster*", probably a slip of the tongue for the six Planted Counties of Ulster—Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, Monaghan*—Cavan wasn't (officially) planted. Neither were Antrim or Down. There was spontaneous movement in this period into east Ulster from west Scotland. (There had been a similar movement from the Hebrides forty years before.)

A Derry undertaker ruefully joked that his six occupied houses in mid-county constituted a 'town' bringing 'civility' to the uninterested Gaels. The 212-strong Common Council (of the London Guilds / livery companies, there were 55 of them, some very powerful and wealthy) was prepared to invest £15,000 in the Derry plantation. The Government (the King's Privy Council) wanted them to put up £20,000. After a protracted haggle the Common Council upped its investment to £16,000, the Ironmongers coughing up the actual cash.

The first few decades of interaction between London and Derry were grim for all concerned. The natives were under pressure to abandon their traditional ways (massacre was not on the agenda probably because of their ferocious reputation and success in defeating Elizabeth's army. And it did not appeal to potential settlers.) Those planted feared being driven off the land and left at the mercy of a London Government notably tight-fisted dealing with settlers in Ireland, Virginia and the rest of its burgeoning empire. The Society's backers got virtually no return on their investment. The Government got an even bigger headache than it already had—and its enemies had an open invitation to 'stir it' in the area. Things from London's viewpoint could only get better—they couldn't conceivably have got worse.

Presumably the next lecture will be about the fact that they did get worse. The Gaels rose up in the 1640s and nearly destroyed the Plantation.

Seán McGouran

* See Correction on page

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

THE ANGLO TAPES

The Anglo Tapes story is the second scoop in recent times from the *Independent Newspapers Group* involving leaked tapes. The first one related to the Moriarty Tribunal and Michael Lowry. There are, however, at least two differences between the Anglo Tapes and the Lowry Tapes. Firstly, the source of the Anglo Tapes is unknown, whereas in the case of the Lowry tapes he is known and therefore the motivations of that person (Kevin Phelan) can be assessed. The second difference is that the source of the story owned the Lowry tapes, whereas the Anglo tapes are presumably owned by the IBRC (the successor to *Anglo-Irish Bank* and *Irish Nationwide*). The Anglo tapes are stolen property.

In a court of law the defendants are entitled to know who their accusers are. They would also be entitled to full disclosure of the tapes; not just the edited highlights drip fed to the public in order to sell newspapers. However, it is unlikely that any of the subjects of the tapes will sue the newspaper since, in order to prove that they had suffered damage to their reputation, they would need to prove that they had a reputation to lose in the first place. That will be difficult for anyone associated with a company that has cost the State almost 30 billion euro.

However, the tapes may have the effect of postponing criminal legal proceedings against Executives in Anglo Irish Bank and Irish Nationwide.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE TAPES

There is very little in the tapes that was not known. Anglo Irish Bank was the 'new kid on the block', which from a standing start had won significant market share from its established rivals. It was hardly a surprise that the tapes reveal the Executives to be aggressive. However, the conversations are a pathetic parody. The bankers give the impression that they are influencing events, whereas the game had already been lost. For all their big talk and expletives, they had no influence over important policy decisions such as the Bank Guarantee. The really important decisions were made elsewhere.

Anglo has been accused of misleading the State. One of the first tapes indicated

that the bank could not offer secure collateral for a 7 billion loan from the State. But the Financial Regulator was aware of this. The Anglo head of Treasury, John Bowe, jokes about never repaying this loan, which suggests that the Executives knew that the bank was insolvent, and had fooled the State into thinking that the problem was one of liquidity.

In response to this accusation, the former Chief Executive, David Drumm made the point that the bank was solvent in 2008. The audited accounts to September 2008 (the month of the Bank Guarantee) showed that the bank had made a profit. Drumm is being slightly—but only slightly—disingenuous here. Auditors can only offer an opinion on the accounts. Ultimately it is the Directors who are responsible for their accuracy. While Auditors examine the systems of internal control and test for accuracy, they also rely on representations from Management. So, Drumm cannot absolve himself from responsibility, just because the Auditors thought the company was solvent.

The key issue for Anglo was the value of the 72 billion in loans that it held. How much of this was collectable? The auditors, *Ernst & Young*, thought that 98.2% of it was. This view was confirmed three months after the Guarantee by another firm of accountants, PWC. We know now that less than 50% of the loans were collectible, which led to a 30 billion hole in the accounts. But was it reasonable for Drumm to know in September 2008 what PWC did not know more than 3 months later? Certainly, he would have known the debtors better than PWC.

A key determinant of the value of the 72 billion loans was the property market. This would determine if the debtors—mainly property developers—were solvent. Also, many of the loans were non-recourse loans (the borrowers liability was limited to the value of the property). Drumm has made the point that in September 2008 property prices were only 8% below the peak level.

FRAUD?

The tapes do not prove that fraud was committed. Of course this does not mean that there was no fraud. Apart from what we know about the hiding of Directors' loans at year end (the so called bed and breakfast transaction), and the attempt to conceal the extent of wholesale funding, there must be questions about the extent of the losses. When it is considered that not all loans were made when the market was at its peak; not all loans were Irish loans; not all loans were non-recourse;

and not all of Anglo's loans related to property, the extent of the losses still needs some explaining.

THE GERMANS AND THE BRITISH

One of the most controversial extracts from the tapes was the singing of the German National Anthem (or to be more precise the bit that has been deleted "*Deutschland "Über Alles"*") by the head of Treasury John Bowe in the course of a conversation with David Drumm.

The Irish media gave the impression that Angela Merkel had specifically condemned the Anglo Executives, but a reading of the full transcript of her speech shows that she was commenting on a general culture in banking which was by no means confined to Ireland. This was confirmed by the German Ambassador to Ireland in an interview on the Pat Kenny Show (*RTE radio 1*, 17.7.13).

The context of the conversation in which John Bowe burst into song was immediately after the Guarantee. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer had complained to Brian Lenihan about the Guarantee. It gave Anglo and the other Irish banks the opportunity to access funds from Germany to shore up their balance sheets. In the course of the conversation Drumm made the pertinent point that, when Northern Rock was hoovering up Irish deposits while "*wrapping themselves in a Union Jack jumpsuit*", there was no complaint by our Finance Minister.

THE GUARANTEE...AGAIN

Human beings have a natural desire to abstract from numerous particular events to arrive at the essence of things. But sometimes the abstraction is a distortion or simplification of reality.

The idea that our economic woes can be explained by the night of the Guarantee is just such a distortion, which in many cases is self-serving. It allows the Opposition parties and the media to forget their roles in stimulating the property market by encouraging cuts in taxes.

David Drumm in his interview with the *Sunday Business Post* (30.7.13) declared his opposition to the Guarantee. How convenient! Since the Anglo Executives had no influence on that policy decision, the idea that the Guarantee caused the fiscal crisis would give them a "get out of jail free" card. But the opinion that, if it were not for the Guarantee, the State could have escaped the consequences of Anglo's reckless lending is nonsensical.

It is often forgotten that the vast bulk of Anglo's liabilities in September 2008 consisted of Deposits: 51.5 billion in customer deposits, and 20.5 billion

deposits from other banks. 17.2 billion consisted of Senior Bonds, which had the same legal status as deposits. If those liabilities had not been underwritten, dire consequences would have followed for both Irish and other European banks. The idea that people's deposits were not safe in their bank would have completely undermined the functioning of the system.

ABORTION

The tendency of simplifying and distorting reality can also be seen in the recent debate on abortion. Following the tragic death of Savita Halappanavar, the view was expressed that it was caused by political negligence. RTE radio's Mary Wilson criticised Billy Kelliher for his party's failure to legislate for the *X case*, as if this had anything to do with the death of Halappanavar. The Fianna Fáil TD responded with the point that it had responded promptly to the case by holding a referendum on the subject that year (1992).

In the *X case* a woman under the age of consent was raped by an adult (sex with a minor is always rape). The family wished to bring the child to England for an abortion, but before going they asked a senior Garda if it was necessary to keep a sample of the foetus as evidence against the rapist. The Garda referred the matter to the Attorney General Harry Whelehan, who unfortunately for the family, was a Catholic activist anxious to extend his constitutional role. He saw himself as not only the legal advisor to the Government, but also a "*guardian of the Constitution*". He issued an injunction against the child leaving the country. This was upheld by the High Court and the family appealed to the Supreme Court.

Despite all the evidence, Supreme Court Judges are human beings too! There was enormous international media pressure on them to allow the child have an abortion, but once Whelehan had made it an issue, it was difficult to see how the Constitution could allow this. The 1983 "*pro life*" amendment had explicitly recognised the right to life of the "*unborn*". How could the "*unspecified*" right to travel be in any way equivalent to the explicit right to life? The right to life must always take precedence.

The learned judges decided that the only way to trump the right to life of the unborn was to infer that there was somehow a threat to the life of the mother. The Supreme Court decision meant that a suicidal woman had a right to an abortion anywhere in the world, including Ireland. There was no restriction on the term of the pregnancy. Ireland had gone from having

the most restrictive legislation to being *in theory* the most liberal.

The Oireachtas (i.e. the two houses of parliament) has no power to amend or override the decision of the Supreme Court. Only the people, through a referendum, can overturn such decisions. The idea that the politicians alone can "legislate" for the *X case* is just plain wrong.

The Government in 1992 responded in the only way it could to the *X case* judgement. It initiated a referendum or to be more precise, three referenda. The people were asked to vote on the right to travel, the right to information and a third amendment which, if passed, would overturn a woman's right to abortion in the case of suicide.

The amendments giving a right to travel and information were passed, but the people did not overturn the Supreme Court's decision giving a right of abortion in the case of suicide.

The recent debate in the Houses of the Oireachtas was a farce, but not for the reasons the media have stated. All the politicians were doing was confirming the law as handed down by the Supreme Court in 1992. In the fullness of time Lucinda Creighton might well regret wrecking her promising political career for no purpose.

DUBLIN MONAGHAN BOMBINGS

The Long Fellow attended the book launch of the excellent *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings 1974: A Military Analysis*, by Lt Col. John Morgan.

The book states that the Bombings were planned and executed with military precision by the British Army, using loyalist paramilitary members as willing tools with a clear political objective. The Long Fellow is sceptical of conspiracy theories surrounding such events as 9/11 and the JFK assassination. But the evidence for Morgan's thesis is so overwhelming that his thesis could not be described as a "*theory*", but a conspiracy "*fact*".

As disturbing as the Bombings themselves is the fact that the Dublin Government attempted to hide the truth from itself. It did not want to know who perpetrated the worst atrocity of the Troubles in which 33 of its own citizens perished and many more were maimed for life.

At the launch there were a number of incisive contributions from members of the audience. Not only did the State 'cover up' the crime, but individuals who wanted to find out the truth were subjected to harassment from the Special Branch. Former MEP Patricia McKenna made the point that the Taoiseach of the time, Liam

Cosgrave refused to cooperate with the Barron inquiry.

Why was this? One member of the audience suggested that the State was founded in collaboration with the British. But the Long Fellow refuses to accept that the existing State was founded in 1922. *Bunreacht na hEireann* represented a rupture from the Treaty settlement. The repossession of the 'Treaty ports' the following year (1938) and the policy of Neutrality confirmed this.

The collaboration of the Irish State with the British State has a more recent origin. Manus O'Riordan, in the *Long Fellow's* opinion, was nearer to the mark when he pointed out, following Patricia McKenna's contribution, that Cosgrave was willing to do the British Ambassador's bidding during the crisis that led to the Arms Conspiracy Trial in 1970. The unsuccessful attempt to criminalise loyal public servants for implementing Government policy must have had a demoralising effect on the State.

The extent of British infiltration of the Irish State apparatus as well as the media is also part of the explanation for the State's behaviour. The Lynch Government of 1977 sacked the Garda Commissioner Edmund Garvey. According to the former *Irish Times* Deputy Editor, James Downey, Lynch believed that Garvey was a British spy (see *In My Own Time*, by James Downey, page 180). Morgan in his book gives other examples of Garda collaboration with the British State.

Readers of this magazine will be aware of the shadowy role played by the late Major McDowell in the running of *The Irish Times*.

There is a view among journalists and others that the interests of Britain and Ireland are never in conflict. The same people rail against the shortcomings of the Irish State, but cannot conceive of a malign role played by the British. Such people need to wake up!

The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, 1974,

a military analysis,

by

John Morgan, Lt. Col (Retd.).

248pp. €20, £17.50

Irish Times: Past And Present,

a record of the journal since 1859,

by

John Martin.

264 pp. €21, £17.50

postfree Ireland, UK

A Biography Of Omission

There are a few biographies that are important because of what they do not say and the issues they do not deal with. Such is the case with this one.

There has been a long-standing myth about the most important decision of DD Sheehan's life: why he left Cork in 1918 after representing Mid-Cork in Parliament for 17 years, leading the Land and Labour League for even longer, and establishing a great reputation for himself in implementing the Land Acts and the Labourers Cottages Act and also allying with William O'Brien in routing the AOH-dominated Irish Parliamentary Party in Cork in 1910. He threw it all away in 1918 and, though he lived for another 30 years, he was almost a nonentity when he died. Any biography worthy of the name would seek to explain how and why this happened.

As this question was posed to the author when he published the first version of this biography in 2008, it was reasonable to expect that some explanation would be presented in this fuller biography. This has not been done.

The story used to be that DD left in 1918 because he and his family were forced to do so by threats and intimidation and that they came back in the mid twenties when these threats were lifted. This yarn was so prevalent that it got the *imprimatur* of an Editor of the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Patrick Maume, wherein he states:

"Sheehan's position in Cork grew increasingly untenable. The Sheehan family faced intimidation and were obliged to leave their home on the Victoria Road for London... Sheehan moved to Dublin in 1926 after learning that the threats against him had been lifted." (Vol. 8, 877).

There is no evidence to support any of this.

This biography confirms that this 'threat' story was indeed a yarn by not mentioning it!

For what it is worth, the biography is at least worthwhile by establishing this as a non-story

But the author puts forward another

yarn about DD's leaving. He says:

"With the political climate radically changed in Cork at the end of 1918, the Sheehans abandoned their city home, moving their school going family to London where Sheehan had unsuccessfully stood in the Limehouse-Stepney division" (p.36).

He moved from Cork to London after he had lost an election there? This is chronologically wrong and, if true, would make DD a very silly man indeed. He moved house, logically enough, to fight an election he expected to win and to settle in his new constituency. He had every reason to expect to win. He was a well-known Labour MP for 17 years with real achievements to his name, was in effect the Chief Whip of the existing Labour group at Westminster, was a well known journalist, had fought in the Great War and, being a barrister, was not backward in promoting himself.

However, Dillon goes on:

"Although hardly known in that constituency he still managed to poll 2,470 of the 7,585 votes cast." (ibid.)

Dillon might have mentioned that this was an increase of 2,470 votes from zero as Labour had not stood there previously. This constituency had three competing political tendencies contending for the Labour vote—Irish, Jewish and 'native'. The first two would not have one of the other as their MP and that is why DD lost. In the next election the Irish and the Jews finally agreed to support a 'native' rather than someone of the other tendency. The native chosen was a neat little nondescript Englishman who was acceptable to both as a stop-gap. But he won the seat and retained it as long as he wished. He was Clem Attlee.

Then we are told that Sheehan published *Ireland Since Parnell*, and some paragraphs after the above we are told that:

"When it became opportune and possible following the end of the Irish Civil War he and his family returned to Ireland after eight years of privation in London, as his wife dies." (p.38).

What is meant by this? Was it the

'Civil war' kept him away? What made it inopportune or not possible for him to come back earlier? Why was such a well-known person in privation in London? Mr. Dillon knows the reasons very well, as they have been documented and pointed out to him and others since he first started writing about DD a few years ago but they are all ignored.

He was a casualty of the War in a variety of ways. Politically, because he kept recruiting cannonfodder for the British right throughout the War and never recognised the duplicity involved regarding Ireland. This was his major mistake. He never reckoned on a vote for Irish political Independence.

Also, he thought he was made for soldiering but he was not, and suffered accordingly at a personal level. Furthermore, he made catastrophic business decisions, went bankrupt and had his pension reduced. He resorted to being a conman. He tried to get money from the Loyalist Compensation Fund, which was based in London, but was refused when they discovered the police were on to him for his activities. That is why he fled back to Ireland.

He had become an embarrassment to all who had previously supported him. But not a word is included about any of this in the biography.

DD had a fantasy view of the war, which is rehashed uncritically by his biographer:

"I threw in my lot whole-heartedly with the cause I conceived to be the cause of liberty and humanity" (p.34 and 95).

Yet he made a great issue of opposing conscription to fight for these great causes! He was as blind to what the war was really about as is his biographer. That is why John Dillon cannot see that it was the War and its outcome, decided on by Britain, that was the cause of DD's personal and political ruin. That was the price he paid for supporting it—a price he went on paying to the day he died.

The second half of DD's life was as tragic as the first half was brilliant. The old cliché of a Greek tragedy comes to mind. His full story deserves to be told fully and sympathetically. Avoiding doing so is an insult to the memory of a remarkable man.

Jack Lane

Recollections of Brian Earls

I would have known Brian Earls on some level in the 1970s and 80s, though I cannot remember discussions with him during those times. As a civil servant he could not be publicly involved in politics, but he was personally in agreement with some political organizations I was involved in: the British and Irish Communist Organisation, the Workers' Association for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland, Socialists Against Nationalism, and the Democratic Socialist Party. What all of these groups had in common was the view that the Protestant community in Northern Ireland was substantially a nationality, distinct from the larger Irish nation, which could not be assimilated in an all-Ireland state against its will.

This was one of the key facts of the situation in Northern Ireland, and it was the fact which nationalist Ireland found it hardest to accept. I think our political campaigning contributed much to making possible the peace process and, ultimately, the Good Friday Agreement, which was the best available settlement of the conflict of nationalities. Looking back on what was said then by me and by others, it was one-sided (the one-sidedness can be seen in the slogan of the Workers' Association, "*National rights for Protestants, civil rights for Catholics*", whereas in fact it was necessary to give recognition to both nationalities and demand their mutual respect). But no one is likely to pioneer a substantial change in thinking in a conflict like this without being one-sided.

For me, the British and Irish Communist Organisation was important for more reasons than Ireland. Brendan Clifford's thinking offered a view of the world. Clifford was constantly emphasising the tremendous political skill of the British ruling class, and the sheer power and persuasiveness of British political culture and British culture generally. He also explained the *realpolitik* of the Russian revolution, as the experience of a society at a relatively less advanced stage of development. He did all this while being conscious of emerging from Irish country life, which I came from also, and he constantly drew on this experience; he avoided mind-numbing jargon and intellectually trounced any number of advanced beings from the cities who were trying to

be correct-ideas-machines, while himself raiding the works of the great philosophers in a way that brought them to life.

I have reason to be grateful that something like the B&ICO was available as late as 1972. My spontaneous tendency was towards despair: all I could think of was that I was caught in some cultural catastrophe. As a strengthening discipline I tried manual labour plus this relatively open, responsive, ever-changing, but ambitious version of the philosophy of progress.

Brian opted for the civil service and in due course became a diplomat. He rose to the rank of First Secretary but, I suspect, did not want to be an ambassador, since at that level one had to waste too much mental energy scheming. The civil service would have ruined someone like me, but I think with his background and temperament he was able to negotiate it while leaving intact the part of his mind where he did his own thinking. The important thing was that he stayed out of academia, which would have reduced him to the level of the rest. Where world politics was concerned, I don't know that his personal views would have differed materially from standard Department of Foreign Affairs doctrine. Certainly, after he went to Russia (but that was fairly late in his career, at some time in the 1990s) he never had a good word to say about the revolution, in any of its stages. Russia was important only because it brought him in contact with a rich urban folklore and a thieves' culture which shed light on some aspects of the culture of Ireland. I know that to the end of his life he was fascinated by the writings of Brendan Clifford, but I think it was because of the insights they gave into Ireland and what Ireland had been.

In short, Brian wanted to make some sense of this bafflingly complex country, as I do myself. That was the basis for our eventual friendship. From about the early 1990s until his recent death, we would occasionally send each other draft writings. He had a first-class eye for the fog patches, and I will miss his acute critical comments. Always he was diplomatic, whereas I was sometimes abrasive.

I have difficulties with any modern intellectual language that purports to describe the kind of rural community

which fleetingly, in my childhood, I saw vanishing. Brian in fact made great efforts to hear those communities' voices. Against the stultifying positivism imposed upon Irish historical research by Dudley Edwards and Moody, which among other things dismissed so-called folklore as a possible source of historical enlightenment, he favourably contrasted the practice of John O'Donovan in the 19th century, and he insisted on the coherence of recorded "folk" testimonies on, say, the Famine. And yet there were times when, perhaps unreasonably, I felt he was a city boy condescending to me and my kind. That was when he moved from the exploration of particulars and tried to apply established academic concepts, principally those of Parry/Lord and Walter Ong. I did not believe, and I still don't, that the orality/literacy contrast can capture the quality of a culture so powerfully influenced by the class of elite poets, who will not fit either in the oral box or the literate box.

However, Brian's thinking cannot be reduced to these frames. In 2009 he took early retirement, so as to concentrate on exploring the literature and culture of 19th century Ireland. And, I don't doubt, to write more freely. When sending me recent drafts he was worried he was becoming too polemical, which amused me. In fact, in his last published essay, without ever using a word that could be called abusive he comprehensively demolished an empty-headed, ignorant, posturing book on the reception of Oscar Wilde in Ireland. He could not avoid being hard on a complacent *poseur* who was trivialising all of Irish culture prior to the rise to fashion of what currently filled his head.

Most, maybe all, of his best published work can be found on the website of the *Dublin Review of Books* (www.dr.b.ie). There is, for example, a superb essay on Dracula, head and shoulders over others of its kind. I put it to him that, besides the aspects he mentions, there is also some kind of horror-vision of British blood being contaminated by foreigners, though I couldn't identify any stimulus for this. Brian did not agree. But he has powerfully argued his two main points: that Stoker is unlikely to have taken inspiration from Irish popular beliefs, and that his novel is laden with the atmosphere of late Victorian religious despair.

There is also an essay on William Carleton, a lifelong fascination. (I hope his unpublished writings on Carleton will appear in print soon: they are likely to be

worth more than the next two dozen books on this theme which the academic mills will, inevitably, grind out.) Carleton was fascinating because he had a spirit of art in him that seemed to subvert the grim rationalising moralist who was Carleton officially. In the early 1820s, after a picaresque youth, he committed himself to the philosophy of progress, which was, in its immediately available form, Protestant. He was one of the great catches of the so-called Protestant Crusade (his religious views later evolved to a kind of unitarian deism, not very Christian but still sufficiently un-Papist). In his subsequent career he became an apparent impossibility, a white blackbird: that is to say, he was a Protestant convert from Catholicism, and a voluble critic of the fecklessness, ignorance and superstition of his former co-religionists, whose moralising stories were avidly read and enjoyed for decades afterwards by great numbers of the Catholic population, from labourers to bishops. This was the riddle that Brian set himself to explain.

The key fact is that Carleton uses two languages: Standard English, the language of the moralising commentator, and “Hiberno-English”, the language of the peasant characters. Hiberno-English can best be described as Standard English more or less strongly reacted upon by the Irish which it is displacing. It puts Irish vowels and consonants into English words, Irish grammar and idiom into English phrases, Irish words (with or without a touch of English phonetics) into English sentences, Irish rhythms and pauses into English diction... Irish patterns of thought into English expressive means. I used to speak a form of it myself, as a child in West Cork. I haven’t spoken it much lately, because there is hardly anyone left who would want it spoken to them.

There is no corner of the land where you can escape contempt if you talk that way: a quarter century’s sustained sneering by those tireless improvers, the Dublin media, has sufficiently made the point.— If anyone is writing a History of Sneering, let them not overlook modern Ireland.

In Carleton’s stories (after the riveting *Wildgoose Lodge*, written early in his career, where nothing is allowed to complicate the atmosphere of infernal horror), the Hiberno-English seems to get out of control. Not that the edifying commentator is denied his page-space, but the peasant characters aren’t aware of his commentary. They don’t care about him, they aren’t bounded by him. Helen O’Connell, the academic writer whom

Brian considered the best of the recent crop, had gone astray by taking the improving moralist to be the essential Carleton. But alongside that moralist there was somebody else, someone actually more important: a kind of medium.

Readers who are interested can easily find this essay and should not be put off by its title, *Oral Culture and Popular Autonomy*. However, I will end by quoting two passages. I might argue with this or that, I might say “that’s not all that can be said!” But they show the quality of Brian’s thinking when exploring 19th century Ireland. His talents will be sorely missed.

“In so far as we can hope to have access to the minds of the pre-famine Gaelic Irish, their most fundamental values seem implicit in Lanigan’s advice to his children: “Remember always to help the stranger, an’ thim that’s poor an’ in sorrow.” One suspects that for the groups included in Carleton’s category “the Irish peasantry”, the injunction to practice charity, for God’s sake, was experienced as a categorical imperative which lay at the bedrock of their moral being. No doubt, as in other societies, there was much falling short and ideals were imperfectly realised in daily life. The important point is that, as a pattern for human conduct, this view of life differed radically from the individualising vision of the improvers. Carleton, for his part, seems to have embraced both, without being aware of the contradiction between his opinions and his affections.

...
“In Carleton’s case, it is possible to discern the tropes and themes of the improvement discourse, refracted through the medium of a culture more articulate, more satisfying, and, in its own terms, more sophisticated than that at the disposal of the improvers. In the end the improvers won, as they had to, but in circumstances remote from anything that might have been imagined by Whately or Maria Edgeworth. One result, as Helen O’Connell’s impressive reading of the Yeats-Gavan Duffy dispute suggests, was the emergence within the bloodstream of Irish nationalism of a strain of aggressive and deeply philistine utilitarianism. Thus it was that a society whose rural lower classes, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, delighted in the sheer gorgeousness of words and in a Bakhtinian multiplicity of voices, found themselves at the end of that century with sadly diminished (or, if less judgmental language is required, very different) cultural resources. At that stage, it may be that Carleton’s readers, whether in Ireland or in the great cities of North America, went to the *Traits and Stories* to re-immense themselves imaginatively in a world they had already lost.”

John Minahane

Corrections

1.

A reader has drawn attention to the fact that I referred to Monaghan as a Plantation County when it was not (*Irish Political Review*, June 2013). When I first began to write about the North I emphasised the fact that Antrim and Down were not Counties of the Ulster Plantation. I don’t know that I ever got it clear which one of the other seven was not one of the official six Counties of the Plantation. I knew that it was either Monaghan or Cavan.

Protestants from Britain settled in Antrim and Down by migration, and their conduct from the 17th to the 19th centuries differed from that of the Protestants in the rest of Ulster, all of which I thought of as the Plantation. The Protestant presence in the County that was not part of the official Plantation, I took to be a spillover from the Plantation.

Many years ago I concluded that I had exaggerated the distinctiveness of Antrim and Down, or exaggerated its influence on 20th century politics. I reprinted much literary material from the period of their distinctive development. I soon found that the contemporary Protestant generation of the 1970s/80s had little or no interest in that literature, but I kept on reprinting it for my own benefit.

It seemed to me that two events in the second half of the 19th century overwhelmed the distinctiveness of Antrim and Down within Protestant Ulster: the phenomenal Revival of 1859, by far the most astonishing religious event that ever happened in Ireland; and the formation of the Ulster Unionist alliance in the 1890s, in which the Presbyterians as a body overcame their fastidious middle class distaste for Orangeism.

2.

In a comment on Tim Pat Coogan’s book on the Famine (*Irish Political Review*, January 2013) I quoted a New *Statesman* article in which Leonard Woolf rejected A.J.P. Taylor’s description of British policy as genocidal and I confused Woolf with Clive Bell, who were both part of the Bloomsbury Group. It was Bell who wrote the book *Civilisation* in connection with British Great War propaganda. Woolf, Virginia’s husband, was a much more Establishment figure. His book was called *After The Deluge*.

Brendan Clifford

Some Collinses And Somervilles, And The Big Fellow's Death

I should begin by revealing that my father Micheál O'Riordan (1917-2006) once received a beating for fraternising with the fascist enemy. As Frank Crozier, first commander-in-chief of Britain's Auxiliaries—who was to resign in disgust at the increasingly dirty war he was expected to wage—would describe it later: "*The British Government of 1920-21, as dictatorial, and therefore as nearly Fascist, as any British Government is ever likely to be, failed completely in its attempt on Irish democracy.*" Charlie Chance was a particularly notorious Black-and-Tan whose name has gone into both Cork city folklore and folksong. One day, on patrol from Cork's North Mall RIC Barracks down Pope's Quay, Chance stopped outside the home where my 30-year-old father was playing, and proceeded to engage him in friendly conversation. As soon as he had gone on his way, my Ballingearry grandmother, Julia Creed, snatched my father indoors, gave him a good wallop, and warned him never ever to speak to that man again. She had more than one good reason for doing so. Her first cousin, Connie Cronin of Gougane Barra, was Section Leader of the IRA's Ballingearry Company and a member of the Cork No. 1 Brigade's Flying Column. (See www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS1726.pdf#page=1 for Connie Cronin's Bureau of Military History Witness Statement.)

As a 4-year old, my father would get himself into trouble with my grandmother yet again for displaying too close a curiosity about military matters. He wandered way down the quays from home to follow a large Free State Army procession over Patrick's Bridge to Penrose Quay. It turned out that he was witness to the removal of the remains of Michael Collins, about to be taken by sea to Dublin.

Sometime afterwards, Free State gunner John McPeak—who had manned the armoured car the *Slievenamon*, and had been to the fore in the fight to defend the life of a fearless but reckless Collins at the Béalnabláth ambush—was so shocked on witnessing the wanton murder of Republican prisoners-of-war by their Free State Army captors, that he defected to the Republican side. He took his armoured car with him which, after seeing some action on behalf of the Republic, was

taken in hand by the Ballingearry leader of the anti-Treaty IRA, the self-same Connie Cronin, who proceeded to hide the *Slievenamon* on the farm of Páid Rua Cronin. Despite sharing the same surname, Connie was not at all related to Páid Rua, but he was a first cousin of his daughter-in-law, my grandmother's younger sister Abbey Creed.

It was her son, my father's first cousin Paddy Cronin—better known in his home territory as Paidí Donncha Phait—who provided Patrick J. Twohig with the following narrative as to what happened after the armoured car's location had been revealed to the Free State Army by a compulsive and systematic informer, Donncha a' Bhata Reardon (no relation!):

"After a brief contribution to the Republican cause the *Slievenamon* ended up under a heap of 'lithar' forty yards from Cronin's front door in Derrinlunnig. That is where (Free State) Commandant Peadar Conlon found it just on Christmas... Conlon marched into Cronin's yard and set up a machine-gun right in the middle and facing the house. 'It was', Paddy Cronin, the present incumbent said, 'round on top' i.e. a Lewis-gun. The house was thatched and had a low attic. Upstairs the old man of the house was sick in bed. He was Patrick Cronin—'Páid Rua'. They questioned him but let him be. His two sons, Patey and Denny (the present Paddy's father) had taken to the mountain. The two girls, Mary and Ellie, were beyond in the stall milking the ten cows (this was eight o' clock in the morning!). A third young woman, Mrs. Denny Cronin (Abbey Creed from Oileán Eidhneach, across the river from Ballingearry, just married into the house) was in the kitchen. She was shocked and had to hold onto the stair rail for support. The two sisters and Mrs. Cronin were lined up in front of them. They thought they were going to be shot. Conlon barked: 'Where is the *Slievenamon*?' Mary answered. According to Paddy his aunt was 'a strong character, good to pray, great faith and wasn't the least bit afraid of them'. What she said was: 'Begor, Sir, I think you're gone astray. The last I heard it was a mountain above in County Tipperary!' His reply was a volley into the wall above their heads and mortar fell all over them. Just then (Free Staters) Tom Daly and friends made their great discovery. The noble car was found under a heap of animal bedding between the stone wall and the cow-house" (*The Dark Secret of Béalnabláth—The Michael Collins Story*, 1991, pp 218-9).

August of last year saw a historic first: The return of the *Slievenamon* to Béalnabláth for the first time since that ambush on 22nd August 1922 in which Michael Collins had been killed in action, marking his 90th anniversary and acting as a theatrical prop for that speech in which Taoiseach Enda Kenny made an eejit of himself by claiming that Lenin had come to Ireland to study Collins's great success in raising the Dáil loan.

Tall tales make a farce of the Collins story, while a more modest narrative can be enlightening in its own respect. In the course of the past year I came across and read for the first time the memo which follows, written for my benefit in 1985 by my mother Kay Keohane (1910-1991), in which she recalled seeing Michael Collins in Clonakilty, only hours before his death in action. Anyone who has read my account in the December 2012 *Irish Political Review* of the argument she had with Pat Murphy in 1971 over the two nations theory, or my account in the July 2006 issue of her dispute with both Seán O'Casey and my father over the 1956 Hungarian Uprising, will know how political a woman my mother was. But this is not a political document. It was her attempt to recall as best as possible, and 63 years after the event, what she witnessed and how she felt about it as a 12 year old girl. Political critique is accordingly suspended therein and sentiment comes to the fore.

Now, I too am an unashamed sentimentalist. I will sing "Roll Away the Stone" in memory of Larkin and "The Laughing Boy" in memory of Collins. Whatever my criticisms—and sometimes condemnations—of Big Jim or of the Big Fellow, I am filled with admiration for what it was that both Larkin and Collins did achieve, in founding the ITGWU and in directing the War of Independence, respectively. Indeed, statuettes of both those flawed heroes are displayed in my home. But sentiment should not be allowed to subvert political critique, and no matter what I admire of Collins in respect of that same War of Independence, it would be remiss if an article such as this did not also shine a spotlight on what exactly it was that Collins was at during the Civil War that he had launched, right up to his death in action. From August 2006 to May 2007 *Irish Political Review* carried my 6-part series "*To Be or IRB?*"—which is available as a free download at www.atholbooks.org—in the final part of which I held Collins responsible for the murder of Harry Boland, three weeks prior to the Big Fellow's own death. In criticising the 2003

biography by Trinity College History Professor David Fitzpatrick, *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution*, I disputed Fitzpatrick's contention that there had been no murder or assassination involved:

"But what if he had been murdered? The unarmed Boland had been shot 'while attempting to escape' on 31 July 1922, but it took another agonising 44 hours before he finally expired. Fitzpatrick does not seem to agree that the 8 hours that elapsed between Harry being shot and finally brought to hospital would itself be sufficient reason to consider a verdict of culpable homicide. And yet Fitzpatrick's own further research suggests that, far from being some peculiar neurosis of the Boland family, the graver suspicion of murder might now turn out to be even more firmly grounded. As he lay dying, Harry told his family that he had been shot by a former comrade with whom he had shared imprisonment in Lewes Jail, but he refused to name him... Nonetheless, Fitzpatrick then proceeds to name the killer in the index for the page on which he had been left anonymous! Far more significant, however, is his revelation that this killer was not only a highly experienced and accomplished intelligence officer, but a district centre of the IRB as well (pp 323-4). It was, therefore, remiss of Fitzpatrick to relegate to a mere footnote the dying Boland's temporary sojourn in Portobello Barracks. This completely overlooks the fact that these last 2 hours of pre-hospitalisation were spent in what, since 12 July, had actually become the living quarters of Michael Collins himself, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army, who also remained President of the Supreme Council of the IRB... Which of the killer's multi-faceted IRB/Army superiors was roused from bed that dawn to survey the results of his handiwork, express surprise that after so many hours Boland had not yet bled to death, and adjudicate that he might, after all, spend the remaining day and a half of his life dying in a hospital bed? Far from dispelling the 'murder mystery' as a figment of the imagination of Harry's nephew and namesake, Fitzpatrick's own detective work in profiling the killer has now given the conspiracy theory far greater substance than ever before."

I concluded:

"Collins's IRB had been essential for the creation of the actual Irish Republic that was proclaimed in Easter 1916, endorsed by the Irish electorate in December 1918 and ratified by Dáil Éireann in January 1919. But, having opted for the Treaty, the IRB Supreme Council decreed, in the name of its own 'virtual Republic', that this actual, established Republic was now no longer to be, and the Brotherhood leadership then proceeded to systematically destroy it."

Cathal Brugha, the first Chairman of Dáil Éireann (and, accordingly, the first President of an actual, democratically-proclaimed, Irish Republic, in contrast with Collins's Presidency of the IRB's "virtual Republic"), and its Minister for Defence 1919-22, loathed the conspiratorial culture of the IRB as inimical to the interests of that actual Republic during the War of Independence itself, and he would become the first high-profile Republican casualty of the Civil War subsequently unleashed by Collins. In *Muriel MacSwiney (Wife of Terence MacSwiney, The Irish Republican Martyr, And International Revolutionary): Letters to Angela Clifford* (Athol Books, 1996), Angela Clifford recounted:

"Muriel MacSwiney was Anti-Treatyite on the ground of democratic principle—ground which is morally indisputable, unless one rejects democracy as the source of political right. One might argue that the IRB approach was more sensible and practical, but that is hardly a democratic argument. In fact, it is an argument which takes it for granted that the profession of democratic principle by Great Powers is a sham and that moral obliqueness is required in dealings with them. And there can hardly be a moral obligation on anybody to temporise with brute force, or engage in moral equivocation. Mrs. MacSwiney campaigned against the Treaty... Muriel also did what she could in a practical way for the anti-Treaty side. She told me she had cooked meals for the Volunteers in the early stages of the Civil War in Dublin... Muriel spoke of another incident from this time. After the Four Courts was captured from the Anti-Treatyites by the Free State forces, the former withdrew to the block of hotels in O'Connell Street. These were systematically bombarded, and the Republicans withdrew first to the Granville and then into the Hammam Hotel. Muriel recalled being in the Gresham Hotel when Brugha was captured. The Post Office was still a shell and the buildings held by the Republicans were surrounded. They were called upon to surrender. However, 'Cathal Brugha went out the back way. He was holding a revolver in each hand and was shooting down the street and you just could not expect the others not to shoot back.' Brugha was fatally wounded in that exchange. A young Republican remarked that prayer was now the only answer. Muriel retorted that he could pray if he wanted, she had better things to do. She went to Brugha's house, found out what hospital he was in, and visited him there. He died on July 7th. Muriel said she thought 'he died from sorrow at the split. It affected him terribly. He was a great man.'" (pp 34-5).

Muriel accepted that Brugha had been neither murdered nor assassinated, but

killed in action during a wartime battle. Collins had also been killed in action, but the Fianna Fáil Party of today stays dumb and rolls over whenever a Fine Gaeler speaks of "*Collins's assassination*" or even, if the shirt is extreme Blue, of "*murder*"! Muriel, of course, loathed the Civil War and, on the eve of Collins's death, she wrote to de Valera on 21st August: "*It was terrible to be in Cork and see the Free State walking in without anyone even saying a word in protest. It seems to me that the present situation in Ireland is a proof of the futility of armed resistance in modern times*" (ibid).

In a letter from Muriel Mac Swiney to myself as a 12 year old schoolboy—dated 7th April 1962, first published in *Irish Political Review* in November 2008, and available as a free download at www.atholbooks.org—she related:

"The best thing I read about the Famine was Arthur Griffith's introduction to John Mitchel's *Jail Journal*; this was a new edition in 1914 or '15. Terry lent it to me when we hardly knew one another. My father used to say that the people were dying everywhere of what was called 'famine fever'. I think he was about 20 at the time. All my family, although entirely Irish by race (Ó Murchadha), were West Britons, English Imperialists; but I think now that my father was a Liberal and did not like the Famine. The Irish Famine was not caused by the failure of the potato crop; that happened all over Western Europe; there were however plenty crops in Ireland (wheat, barley etc) which the capitalists in Ireland exported to make money and thus caused the Famine."

Apart from being spot on about the Famine, what most struck about Muriel's statement was how remarkably free it was from post Civil War bitterness in the handsome tribute she paid to Arthur Griffith. That this was no aberration, is also evident from Muriel MacSwiney's December 1951 Witness Statement to the Bureau of Military History—available at www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0637.pdf—and first published in the November and December 2008 and January 2009 issues of *Irish Political Review*. Muriel recalled that—in the immediate aftermath of the death on 25th October 1920 of her husband Terence Mac Swiney on hunger strike in Brixton Prison—

"I was invited to Washington DC by the editors of the *New York Nation*. I did not want to go to America at all, and naturally not at such a time. However various Irish people in London said I ought to go, so I wrote to Arthur Griffith

(Leas Uachtarán) and he sent me a wire 'urge you to go'. This was a polite command... I therefore made an appointment with Arthur Griffith who was practical and kind. It was my one meeting with him. He understood the situation and asked me if I knew Harry Boland. I said I did. 'Well', A. Griffith said, 'he is in the U.S.A. and will see to that'...

And so Griffith arranged for Boland to take care of Muriel in America.

Following the Civil War, Muriel was again in the USA, but this time on an anti-Treaty speaking tour, all such tours being recounted in the 2003 book by Joanne Mooney Eichaker, *Irish Republican Women in America: Lecture Tours, 1916-1925*. Muriel spoke in Providence, Rhode Island on 15th October 1922. Eichaker related:

"In her address, Muriel stated that Michael Collins was killed in battle, not assassinated by the Republicans and that he met his death 'as any other 'Englishman' would'. She reminded the audience that the Irish Republic was proclaimed in 1916, ratified in 1918 and 1921, but since the spring of 1921 the people had not been able to vote on it." (p 163).

While agreeing with her arguments, I was taken aback by the vehemence of her hostility towards Collins. But in the same year of 2003, when requested to review David Fitzpatrick's biography of Harry Boland, I also read the far superior 1998 biography by Jim Maher, and I then understood entirely. Maher described Boland's death as follows:

"Harry was wounded between 1am and 2am on 31 July... Harry was not moved from the Grand Hotel (Malahide) until 6.30am—over 4 hours later. Though carrying a seriously injured man the ambulance crew passed the Mater Hospital and did not stop to have him urgently admitted. Instead they brought him to Portobello barracks where they kept him for at least 2 more hours although he was badly in need of surgical treatment. He was not transferred to St Vincent's Hospital until 10am that morning. This delay was indefensible. Harry Boland had three life threatening injuries. His diaphragm was pierced and his spleen and liver were lacerated. There was extensive internal bleeding which caused severe pain... To hold him 8 hours before bringing him to a hospital where surgical treatment was available was bordering on criminal negligence by the Free State authorities... Kathleen (his sister) asked him who shot him. *The only thing I'll say is that it was a friend of my own who was in Lewes prison with me. I'll never tell the name and don't try to find out. I forgive him and want no reprisals. I want to be*

buried in the grave in Glasnevin with Cathal Brugha.' ... Several friends had gathered beside Harry's bedside ... (including) Muriel MacSwiney, widow of Terence MacSwiney ... (who) kept a vigil with Harry's family as he became weaker... Harry went peacefully to his Maker just at ten minutes after nine in the evening of 1 August." (pp 242-5).

I should add that Muriel was accompanied on that vigil by Kathleen Clarke, widow of Tom Clarke (not Tom Daly, as a typo on my part erroneously named him in the July *Irish Political Review*) and sister of Ned Daly, both executed by the British in 1916.

Muriel MacSwiney had possessed the stoicism and courage to sit by her husband Terence MacSwiney's bedside during the course of his long hunger strike, right through to his agonising death. She demonstrated that same stoicism and courage in serving Cathal Brugha and, when he had been fatally wounded in combat, in sitting in vigil with his family at his deathbed as well. And now she had also sat in vigil, providing both comfort and solidarity with the Boland family, during the agonising death of Harry Boland. She clearly held Michael Collins responsible for both Boland's assassination and the agonising nature of his death, and rightly so. No wonder she regarded with contempt the suggestion that Collins himself had been "assassinated", when in fact he had been killed in battle, just as she had described to Angela Clifford the death of Brugha on the Republican side. One can, of course, demur at her insulting reference to Collins as an "Englishman" killed in battle, and historical and emotional distance also allows one to give full credit for all that Collins had achieved during the War of Independence. But when we reflect that, on the eve of Collins's death, she wrote to Dev how she found it so "terrible to be in Cork and see the Free State walking in without anyone even saying a word in protest", her language would have been even more extreme had she known precisely how Collins had effected that particular *coup*.

In his latest book, T Ryle Dwyer recounts Collins's last day, 22nd August 1922, both on earth and in his native West Cork; how, having passed through Béalnabláth at 9 a.m., the Republicans set up an ambush in case he would return the same way later. Dwyer relates:

"Having reached Bandon, Collins and his party went on to Clonakilty. *They had a good deal of trouble with the touring car, possibly caused by dirty petrol. They*

had to push it on a number of occasions, especially up some of the steeper hills. {My emphasis—MOR}. Although Collins was commander-in-chief, he was always ready to lend a hand with the pushing. 'It was a beautiful August day', Emmet Dalton recalled, 'Because there were still daily ambushes, I was in trepidation of what could happen, but Collins saw no danger.' ... The group stopped for a meal at Clonakilty, and Collins met some old friends. Afterwards they went to Rosscarbery and then on to Skibbereen, where Collins and Dalton had a brief exchange with the famous writer Edith Somerville, before heading back for Cork shortly after 4.30 p.m." (*Michael Collins And The Civil War*, 2012, p 277).

Dwyer should have said more about Somerville. Peter Hart wrote of her:

"We can trace the evolution of one Cork observer's attitudes towards the Volunteers in the diaries, letters, and writings of Edith Somerville, an acute but nevertheless *caste-bound* {my emphasis—MOR} observer. Somerville, a lifelong resident of Castletownshend ... regarded Irish towns with scorn. Here resided the troublemaking *Irish intelligentsia (and) their disgusting class—the lower middle drawer!*' along with assorted '*counter-jumpers*', '*flappers*', and '*town blackguards*' (a favourite phrase, in her 1913-14 letters to Col. John Somerville)... To her, Skibbereen was the root of all political evil. In the early years of the (world) war, and even after the 1916 rising, Somerville saw Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers as being more or less a continuation of the old Home Rule agitation—the same '*town blackguards*' under another name, harbouring the same fantasies about the Irish millennium. In 1914 she gathered that Home Rule meant '*Yees will be we'es, and We'es will be Yees!*' (E. Somerville to John Somerville, 21 May 1914) ... By May 1922, '*the scum and dregs of this wretched country are now in power*'..." (*The IRA & its Enemies*, 1998, pp 136-7).

Why did the mistress of the Carbery Hunt come to meet the commander-in-chief of "*the scum and dregs of this country*", in Skibbereen, that "*root of all political evil*"? Was this Collins's own sweet "*revenge for Skibbereen*"? Or was there a more meaningful exchange between the two, however brief, involving mutual congratulations on the Intelligence conspiracy against the Republic that a sibling of each of them had successfully completed as a joint venture?

Missing The Point about, *inter alia*, the British response to the Sinn Féin victory in the 1918 General Election and the significance of the 1910 All For Ireland

League election defeats of the Redmondites in Cork, is how Jack Lane entitles his trenchant review in the July *Irish Political Review* of John Borgonovo's latest book, *The Dynamics Of War And Revolution: Cork City 1916-1918*. In his earlier, 2011 book, *The Battle For Cork, July-August 1922*, Borgonovo wrote of one of Edith's brothers:

"The IRA assassinated (Hugh) Somerville's brother, Admiral Henry Somerville, in 1936 for signing recommendation letters for local men entering the Royal Navy. His killing was unpopular and controversial in Cork." (p 145).

That 1936 assassination will be the subject matter of a later article, and I do not blame Borgonovo for missing the point that Admiral Somerville was a founding father of MI6. That blame must attach to Professor Eunan O'Halpin of Trinity College Dublin, held up as the *doyen* of British Intelligence studies in the Republic by the official and authorised historians of MI5 and MI6, respectively, yet whose references to Somerville in successive books of his have seen fit to omit that not uninteresting fact. But it is the activities during the Treaty War of the Admiral's brother, Hugh, that here concerns me, and Borgonovo must be credited as the only historian in Irish academia who has not missed the point on that score. Borgonovo has revealed:

"When contemplating the defence of Cork, IRA leaders saw themselves as facing both the National Army and the Royal Navy. The Republicans assumed that the British would actively support Free State operations in Cork, which indeed became formal Admiralty policy at the end of August... Free State supporters gathered intelligence on Cork defensive preparations throughout July... A more successful intelligence asset was Mrs Mary Collins-Powell, a sister of Michael Collins. She opened a communications conduit to the British Admiralty, gathered details of the harbour defences, urged commercial leaders to avoid paying taxes and ordered the tax surveyor to flee the city. Most importantly, through the British Legion in Cork, she secured the secret recruitment of up to 700 Cork ex-servicemen into the Free State Army, to be armed after National Army troops landed. (Captain Hugh Somerville to Admiralty, 14 July 1922). This one-woman fifth column ensured that any invading force would receive as much assistance as possible. With her work complete, Collins-Powell conspired with Henry Donegan (one of the city's most prominent Redmondites) to depart Cork secretly aboard a yacht, *The Gull*. Collins-Powell sailed to Waterford and from there continued overland to Dublin, where she reported

to her brother... Despite the importance of Collins-Powell's mission, her brother failed to share the details with Emmet Dalton. The latter subsequently expressed surprise when (on 10 August) his erstwhile recruits contacted him on his arrival in Cork..." (pp 70 and 77-78).

But, two days before that—

"Captain Hugh Somerville, commanding the Royal Navy forces at Haulbowline, decided to take matters into his own hands. A west Cork resident and brother of writer Edith Somerville, Captain Somerville recognised the need to play down British support of the Irish Free State government. Receiving word of the blocked river channel on Tuesday morning (8 August), Somerville gathered up Captain Alfred Carpenter, who commanded HMS *Carysfort* and won a Victoria Cross in 1918 for the Zeebrugge raid. In the *Carysfort's* launch, the two officers motored upriver to the moored *Owenabuee*... Aboard the Republican dreadnought, they disconnected a cable running to a mine below deck, and cast off the stern anchor, which allowed the ship to swing with the tide and thus clear the channel. The two officers returned to Passage to inform General Dalton that the channel was no longer obstructed and his ships could proceed to Cork. When he arrived back at Haulbowline, Somerville dispatched a naval tug to collect the *Owenabuee*. The tug was fired on by IRA Volunteers but not hit, and it towed the dredger safely to Lower Harbour. (Captain Somerville to Admiralty, 9 August 1922). Somerville moored the vessel alongside the monitor HMS *Severn*, had the mine removed, and later returned the ship to the Cork Harbour Board with his compliments and a bill. Sensitive about appearances, Somerville charged the Harbour Board £18.14 for the Royal Navy's services, an amount the board gladly paid." (p 100).

There had been a previous, if only passing, reference to Somerville's role, by the British historian Michael Hopkinson:

"During the Republican occupation of Cork customs money was appropriated and the *Cork Examiner* was taken over and edited by Frank Gallagher. (Message sent on by H.C. Somerville to British Admiralty, 14 July 1922; report from Mrs Powell, sister of Michael Collins)... The commander of British naval forces in the area, H.C. Somerville, admitted (Somerville, 9 Aug. 1922) that he aided the Cork landing by informing Dalton of the position of mines in the approach to Passage West" (*Green Against Green: The Irish Civil War*, 1988, p 163).

Such minimising and trivialising of the issue served only to obscure the depths of the Collins-Somerville conspiracy. But, since Borgonovo had laid bare the essential character of that conspiracy in 2011, there

was absolutely no excuse for Dwyer to ignore it in 2012. Dwyer was, however, on firmer ground, if not wholly so, when describing Collins's death in action:

"(In Skibbereen) Collins and Dalton had a brief exchange with the famous writer Edith Somerville, before heading back for Cork shortly after 4.30 p.m. On reaching Sam's Cross {three and a half miles outside Clonakilty and a quarter of a mile from the Collins home at Woodfield—MO'R}, the convoy stopped off at the pub of Collins's cousin, Jeremiah. The Big Fellow bought two pints of Clonakilty Wrastler for each of his crew. While there he met his brother Johnny ... (saying) that his main goal was to end the Civil War and then he would be rededicating himself to the task of securing full national freedom. He was not about to be content with the Treaty settlement but would get further concessions from the British government once peace was restored. He seemed in good form, according to Johnny, but this was probably because his spirits were lifted in the midst of his family and friends, not to mention that he had consumed a fair bit of alcohol that day. *I hope you are travelling in the armoured car, Mick, because there is still danger around*', Johnny said. *'Not at all, this is my bus*', Michael replied, motioning towards the open touring car... *'They will never shoot in my own country.'*... The convoy moved on to Bandon and from there back by the same route through Béalnabláth, where the republicans had been waiting to ambush him throughout the day... With the light failing, around 7.15 the Free State convoy approached the ambush site. It was surrounded by hills and when the first shot was fired Dalton realised it was an ideal spot for an ambush. *'Drive like hell!*' Dalton shouted, but Collins put his hand on the driver's shoulder. *'Stop!*' he ordered. *'We'll fight them.'* Collins got to his feet and went over behind the armoured car to use it for cover as he fired some shots. *'Come on boys!*' Collins shouted, apparently believing the ambushers were on the run. He left the protection of the armoured car and moved about fifteen yards up the road... They could hear Collins shooting. At one point he was standing up on the road firing as if he was daring somebody to shoot him. It seemed an amazingly foolish thing to do. Had the drink dulled his senses, or was he incredibly naïve when it came to an ambush situation? *'Next moment*', Dalton said later, *'I caught a faint cry: Emmet I'm hit.'* ..." (pp 277-8).

What are we to make of the apparent contradictions between what Collins said to his brother Johnny (otherwise known as Seán or, in Clonakilty itself, by his nickname *'Shafter'* Collins), and the Somerville conspiracy in which his sister Mary had been engaged on his behalf? Was Collins a two-headed Janus or

perhaps, in view of the iconic status he had already assumed in Irish folklore and which would be intensified after his death, a two-headed Jaysus? My mother certainly accorded him iconic status throughout her life, notwithstanding the fact that it was to the memorial anniversary Mass for the four Republican leaders murdered in Mountjoy Jail by Collins's comrades on 8th December 1922 that she brought me on several occasions during my childhood.

Perhaps it was because of a certain scepticism about Collins and the Treaty, which I would have held since my early teens, that I did not particularly value my mother's eye-witness account that I had heard verbally from her from the early 1960s. And thereafter I took the professional historians too seriously. None, bar one, even suggested he came back through Clonakilty again after leaving Sam's Cross. Moreover, my mother was insistent that in exiting Clonakilty his touring car had not been accompanied by any convoy. But now, having examined all the evidence, there is in fact only one factual correction I would make to her written recall. She had telescoped as one, two successive bright evenings. No news of Collins's death on 22nd August had got back to Clonakilty that evening. The *Irish Times* of 25th August reported an interview on the previous day with "one of the dead General's brothers, Mr. Seán Collins, a member of Cork County Council". "The first intimation" he said, "that I had of the death my brother was from the driver of a Red Cross car which arrived at Clonakilty yesterday (23 August) for a wounded irregular, who had been a prisoner there."

My mother had also been somewhat vague about the basis for the friendship between the Collins family and her own mother's O'Regan family. But her first cousin Phyllis O'Regan later told me of its origins. My great-grandfather Michael O'Regan had the post-Famine childhood experience of his family being evicted from their holding at Regan's Boreen in the Clonakilty townland of Carrig, before they eventually secured another tenancy at Bealad, where my grandmother Juliana O'Regan would be born. During the 1880s the family would be evicted yet again, before my great-grandfather set up as an egg dealer in the town. Bealad is close to Woodfield; hence the neighbourly O'Regan-Collins family friendship.

In his 1991 book, *The Dark Secret Of Béalnabláth*, Patrick J. Twohig proceeded to berate nine other writers on the subject: "The itinerary of the Collins cavalcade

into West Cork has been ignored by some writers, briefly referred to by others, gone into more or less in depth by a few, but all quite erroneously" (p 146). And yet Twohig himself could tell us nothing of how the convoy went back from Sam's Cross to Bandon, no more than Dwyer. It is only in Meda Ryan's 1989 book, *The Day Michael Collins Was Shot*, that we find any account which might resolve the conundrum, an account which, moreover, remains a necessary corrective to Dwyer's errors in respect of both timings and light:

"Having eaten a meal with the men (the Skibbereen Free State garrison) Collins was on his way out of the Eldon Hotel shortly before 5 p.m. when local writer Edith Somerville approached him. She introduced herself and the pair shook hands as Dalton, Jim Wolfe and the other escortmen stood by. 'Keep your armoured cars away from my haven', she said jokingly, 'I can't bear to see my little island being destroyed with those monstrosities.' (Emmet Dalton interview with Meda Ryan 2/4/74). {But, since Dalton was by then fully conversant with all the ramifications of the Collins-Somerville conspiracy, was this a case of a joke being as good as a wink?—MOR} ... The convoy set out from Sam's Cross at 6.15 on that dull August evening of 1922 ... This day would be remembered as *the day Michael Collins was shot. From Sam's Cross it was back through the Pike and towards Clonakilty. This time the convoy weren't taking any chances; again they went through the fields, through the broken gaps which they had widened in the morning and then back on the main Clonakilty/Bandon road.* {My emphasis—MOR} ... At approximately 7.30 pm. the convoy drove up Convent Hill and out of Bandon taking a circuitous route, but the only one open towards Cork city... Though a mist trickled it was still daylight at approximately 8.10 on this August evening of 1922, still relatively easy to distinguish people and movements in the distance; voices carried in this valley of Béalnabláth. Blood stained Emmet Dalton's hands as he gently tried to lift the head of the Commander-in-Chief. A huge gaping wound 'at the base of the skull behind the right ear' made Dalton recognise immediately 'that General Collins was almost beyond human aid'. (Emmet Dalton interview with author 4/4/74)." (pp 83-84, 89, 92 and 106).

Given the problems of Collins's touring car breaking down even on good roads, which I emphasised in my first quotation from Dwyer, there was no way it was going to risk driving through fields. That might be all very well for an armoured car or a Crossley tender. That is why my mother only saw Collins's own car exiting Clonakilty town, to be joined by the rest of

the convoy further along the Clonakilty-Bandon road. And what of the final part of my mother's eye witness account? I vividly remember her shock on being told by Joe Collins of Dunmanway (no relation of the Big Fellow) on that evening in 1965 that Jim Hurley, her father's close friend and distant relative, had been among the Béalnabláth ambush party. But, as I wrote in a profile of Hurley in *Irish Political Review* in June 2012 (responding to a *Sunday Independent* piece of character assassination by Eoghan Harris), the Big Fellow's brother 'Shafter' Collins had made his peace with Jim Hurley as early as 1923, and, when they both died within eleven days of each other in 1965, 'Shafter' and Jim would, by mutual arrangement, be buried side by side in Clonakilty. For me the real bombshell dropped by Joe Collins that evening was far more dramatic than any naming of Jim Hurley. It had been the revelation of Joe's own involvement in the 1936 assassination of Admiral Somerville. But that's another story.

Manus O'Riordan

**EYEWITNESS TO COLLINS'S
LAST EXIT FROM CLONAKILTY
For Manus, 10 November 1985:
Reminiscences of Michael Collins,
as I remember:**

My father (Larry Keohane) was just seated at his dinner, and my mother serving it to him and us, and Jack my (eldest) brother came in from town and said he had seen Michael Collins up town; my father stopped eating and talking and looked up at my mother in sort of surprise at hearing some news of great importance; it did not mean anything more to me. Long after that, later in the day, my father was at the other side of the road leaning against our garden gate, looking towards the town, as one could see far down Convent Rd. (Fax Bridge) and Strand Rd.; I was alongside the garden wall, probably picking pennyworth, or just idling, as my brother and my two older sisters would not bother playing with me and had gone off some road anyway; the pram was probably outside the door as usual.

Suddenly my father said something to me and he stood away from the wall and took a step or two towards an oncoming car. (My father was very tall and very straight, as like one who had military training; he was at least 6 foot). There was a sharp rise in the road near where we lived. (I always remember saddle horses changing from a trot to a canter to a walk on that few yards of the road). My father

stepped a pace from the wall and stood very straight and saluted like a soldier. I was more dimly aware of this as I was looking at the open car that had taken my father's attention; there were two men in military uniform. The one nearest the right hand side of the road as one drove out of Clonakilty and where we were standing looked up at my father when my father stepped a pace forward, and then as my father saluted, this good looking man in uniform smiled and saluted my father, and then he smiled still and said something to the other man sitting next to him. My father crossed the road and called my mother, saying Michael Collins had gone past in the car. I remember looking up at my mother, and my father pointing to where Ml. Collins sat in the car, as it was still in view and there was no car in between to block the view. It was a lovely fine afternoon, as I remember seeing the nuns out in the Convent grounds; they usually came out between 5 pm / 6 pm.

We usually had our tea/supper about 6 pm. Some one out in the road was saying something with great concern, and maybe it was my brother Jack or a neighbour came in and said Michael Collins had been shot dead. The kitchen could not hold my father, he looked stunned, shocked completely, and he went out in the middle of the road and talked and talked, and was probably telling how he saluted Collins and that Collins smiled and returned the salute. My mother seemed very put out too, and so were some other people. For me it meant I wasn't told to go to bed (sometimes I had to go at 7 pm or 7.30 pm). It was still quite bright, the evening was not getting dark. There were groups of people out on the road at different points, but not down at the Bridge; afterwards when I grew up I knew why, as four of the family there, who lived in a lovely house, were out with the Republicans. I only knew one of them to

see, as he was a big boy, the others were men; I knew them to see later.

After that, people were not so friendly at all; just as the saying went, 'they were civil and strange'. My brother Jack (he used to serve Mass in the Convent) used to come in, and whisper or say in a low voice whatever he heard outside to my parents. My mother would always ask him not to repeat it. I remember saying one time when I was grown up, that anyone could have shot Michael Collins as he left Clonakilty in an open car, that there was no armoured car accompanying his car. I was told there was a Crossley Tender, it had been years since I heard that name, 'Crossley Tender'. It never had sunk in. Well, I said if there was, it was nowhere near his car, as we could see him in the back of the car as it went up the Convent Rd., and rounded the corner at the Convent Wood. There's a garage now, where our garden was. I suppose why I remember so much so well, was my father repeating the story and my father being very concerned that Collins had been shot, and then all the pictures of Collins. As a child I remembered and got the impression of a serious and then smiling man who looked, what my parents would say, 'handsome'.

My mother used to say some of Collins's people had lived near where her father had come from, long ago—i.e., as far as I know, north Clonakilty, or on towards Bandon, I would not be sure. My mother died twenty five years ago, more or less. As I knelt in the Church in Clonakilty the day of her funeral, my sister Mary Keohane (Sheehan) kneeling beside me said 'across there in a seat is Seán Collins'. I said 'Who?' She said 'Michael Collins's brother'. I looked across at the man and vaguely got the impression of a long featured man with grey hair, and thought no more of it.

When my sister Mary died in 1975, I felt lost in Clonakilty, as I never had any personality and Mary was well known there, and she had great personality and used to come there very often from Cork where she was a nurse in St. Finbarr's Hospital. She was very keen on history and was quite a Socialist very early on, a highly intelligent woman. Phyllis O'Regan, our cousin, told me that Mary and herself went to visit Seán Collins and Mrs. Collins once, the latter being customers of the O'Regans. Phyllis said Mary asked 'Who shot Michael Collins?' and Mrs. Collins said 'The Republicans'. Phyllis more latterly remarked sometime to me 'Seán Collins was at your mother's funeral'. I said 'Well, he probably put in an

appearance at the Church because he was a customer of your business.' She said 'No, but our people lived near their people before'. Well, Phyllis continued that Mary went again to visit the Collinses and asked who shot Ml. Collins and Seán Collins said 'It wasn't those who are supposed to have done it!' Phyllis said she was not there on that occasion, but that's what Mary told her. A relation-in-law {Bart Driscoll—MOR} was home from New York and had a brother out in the Tan fight—he was too young to be out himself. I asked 'Who shot Ml. Collins?' He made no answer, but his wife {my mother's eldest sister, Josie—MOR} said 'They know but they're not saying!'

Once I said to Joe Collins (he did 8 yrs in Dartmoor and Parkhurst for alleged bombing in England) from Dunmanway, one time, 'It's a wonder they don't know who shot Ml. Collins'; he said 'Of course they know—the four who were in the ambush were Jim Hurley, Clonakilty, O'Neill from Gaggin or the Junction' {Clonakilty Junction, on the old Bandon-Clonakilty railway—MOR}, and two other names I don't remember. But who fired the fatal shot, well, it's still speculation. Tragic! Tragic!

Kay Keohane O'Riordan

Grand Plans

continued

"for the creation of a Eurozone finance minister to be in charge of the economic affairs of the 17-member bloc. Speaking in an economic forum in France's south-east, Moscovici said the ministry post should be considered in time for European Parliament elections next year. "It's important for the Eurozone to be more visible, and that we don't see 17 ministers meeting at night", he said, in reference to long, late night meetings in Brussels on issues such as the European budget. "The question is knowing whether this minister should just be the president of the Eurogroup, or if they should also be the commissioner in charge of economic affairs", he said, adding that the second option "would create a strong synergy". Moscovici also reiterated the idea of a central Eurozone commission or committee within the European Parliament "that can legislate on common interests in the Eurozone"."

This is the approach that will deal with the real issues facing the Euro and not some grand plan by the Commission that inevitably gets itself tied up in legalistic wrangling when it is based on a redundant legal basis—the EU Treaties.

Jack Lane

Muriel MacSwiney,

International Revolutionary,
Wife of Terence MacSwiney,
the Irish Republican Martyr:

Letters To Angela Clifford.

Historical and biographical Introduction
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Exporting The German Social Model ?

In its April issue the *Irish Political Review* published an article by Philip O' Connor entitled "*Angela Merkel and the Export of Industrial Democracy*" in which he attempted to show that the German ruling class has a plan for exporting its social economic model to the rest of Europe. I don't think the scraps of quotations from 2006 to the present day that he assembles there amount to anything so substantial. I see no reason to believe that those scraps of quotations will ever be brought together, built upon and presented to the rest of Europe as a coherent programme.

I do, however, agree with Philip that, were such a programme on the table, it would only be of value if there were political forces in the rest of Europe anxious to take it off the table and implement it.

But then Philip loses the run of himself completely. According to Philip there is precisely such a political force in Ireland which goes by the name of Joan Burton. And this is how he introduces this political force:

"...another good listener seems to be our own Minister for Social protection, Joan Burton TD. At the biennial "Social Inclusion Forum" on 26th March she laid out her perspective on the Youth Guarantee programme she intends to launch. She said that an essential tool in combating youth unemployment was a properly developed vocational education system, and for this she would not be looking to Britain but to the dual system that had proven so successful in Germany and Austria."

Great stuff, to be sure. But where is the evidence that Burton said any of it?

In the first place the remarks which Philip attributes to "*our own Minister for Social protection*" are a bit odd. The European "*Youth Guarantee*" programme is not specifically geared to establishing a "*properly developed vocational education system*" in Ireland. It does have something, but not necessarily a lot, to do with vocational education. Vocational education may be a part of it. Or it may not.

There is a Youth Guarantee website (<http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/>) where the very reasonable question "*What is a European Youth Guarantee?*" is asked

and, very concisely, answered:

"The European Youth Guarantee is a guarantee that ensures that every young person in Europe is offered a job, further education or work-focused training at the latest four months after leaving education or after becoming unemployed. It can be implemented at European or at national level"

So, vocational education may be part of Joan Burton's "*perspective*" on "*the Youth Guarantee programme she intends to launch*". It is, at least as at present defined, far from being, whole and entire, the burden of the matter. I find this curious.

What then about Philip's report of her dismissal of Britain in this context?

Phil Bennion MEP is a Lib Dem Employment Spokesman. This is his view, published on his website on Friday 1st. March 2013, of the European Youth Guarantee:

"Commenting on the decision of the European Council of Ministers to back an EU Youth Guarantee, Lib Dem Employment Spokesman Phil Bennion MEP said: 'This is a fantastic initiative to help a generation in danger of being left behind and builds on the example set by the UK coalition government.

"Under the EU scheme, young people up to the age of 25 should receive either an offer of employment, further education or work-focused training at the latest four months after leaving education or after becoming unemployed.'

'On the Youth Guarantee, the UK has led the way. The Lib Dems in government have done a lot to help young people into work, education or training if they have been unemployed for more than 6 months and it makes sense for the EU Youth Guarantee to be compatible.

'The EU proposal has a 4 month deadline, but also includes using EU funds to achieve this more demanding target. It is in constructive negotiations like these that the UK thrives, especially when the ministers are Liberal Democrats who understand the EU and know how to work with other people constructively - such as the excellent Jo Swinson, who covers a lot of the EU Employment and Social Affairs files.'

The general European and the particular British approach to the Youth Guarantee being apparently so similar, I wondered at Burton's reportedly definitive rejection of the British version of the policy. This

again I found curious. So, I thought I'd see what else I could discover about just what exactly Joan Burton said in her speech to the Social Inclusion Forum. But this raised yet another problem. You see, it turns out that nothing in the official Labour Party report of its Coalition Minister's speech on March 26th, bears any resemblance to Philip's report of it.

To my knowledge, there is only one thing in Philip's remarks that can be verified: the biennial Social Inclusion Forum was indeed held at the Croke Park Conference Centre in Dublin on March 26th. It was chaired by Ms Kathleen Stack, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Social Protection. The published programme for the conference has Minister for Social Protection, Joan Burton scheduled to speak for 15 minutes between 15:40 and 15:55. Five minutes then was allocated for Closing Remarks, with the Conference ending at 16:00.

The forum took place and Burton spoke at it. Her speech is reported on the Irish Labour Party website. This is that report:

"Ireland's system of social transfers crucial in preventing poverty.

"26 March 2013. Statement by Joan Burton TD. Minister for Social Protection

"The Minister for Social Protection, Joan Burton, T.D. told the 2013 Social Inclusion Forum today (Tuesday, 26th March) that compared to other EU countries, Ireland's system of social transfers is the most effective in reducing poverty and is far superior to that of other countries most affected by the economic crisis (Estonia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Britain.

"The Forum provides an opportunity for engagement between officials from Government Departments, community and voluntary organisations and people experiencing poverty in relation to the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2007-2016.

"Addressing the Forum, which took place in the Croke Park Conference Centre in Dublin, the Minister spoke of social welfare playing a pivotal role in protecting the most vulnerable in society and reducing poverty during the economic crisis. "I am very conscious of how crucial our welfare expenditure is in protecting the most vulnerable and minimising poverty during the economic crisis. This is precisely why I protected the core weekly social welfare payments in Budget 2012 and again in Budget 2013", the Minister said.

"A particular issue that the Department and the ESRI have recently highlighted as a key risk factor for poverty and social exclusion in Ireland is jobless households. Jobless households, in which effectively no adult works, are far more prevalent in Ireland than in any other EU member state. They comprise 24 per cent of the Irish population from infancy

to age 59 years. *"The percentage of jobless households actually increased during the peak period of the economic boom, indicating a structural problem that was never sufficiently addressed by previous governments,"* Minister Burton said. *"It is essential we now act to tackle the issue, as jobless households have a high risk of poverty, despite being in receipt of significant welfare payments. We need structural reform of the welfare system to enable all working-age adults to access the labour market and to ensure that a large segment of the population is not permanently cast aside and consigned to a lifetime without work."*

"This year, the Department will invest more than €1 billion in work, training and education schemes and supports such as Community Employment, Tús and JobBridge, benefitting approximately 85,000 people, with an emphasis on the long-term unemployed.

"Speaking on the Government's commitment to tackling poverty in the EU along with fellow member states, the Minister said that while achieving the national and EU targets will be challenging in the economic circumstances, *"we are determined to succeed"*. Ireland is engaged in significant reforms to address poverty and help jobseekers return to work. These range from Intreo - the Department's new "one stop shop" service where jobseekers can get their income supports and employment supports in the one place for the first time - to improved access to services such as childcare.

"Minister Burton expressed confidence that the social welfare reforms currently in train will help people on the path back to work, thereby increasing employment and reducing poverty.

"Developing an inclusive society will require a joined-up policy approach, linking together income support, inclusive labour markets and access to services. My Department has a central role to play in this", she said.

"Commenting on the Social Inclusion Monitor 2011, which reviews progress towards the National Social Target for Poverty Reduction, the Minister said: *"While it is hardly surprising that the indicators reflect the impact of the worst economic and fiscal crisis for a generation, it is very welcome to see the strong performance of social transfers in protecting those on the lowest incomes as this remains a key part of the Government's approach to protecting our citizens from the worst effects of the crisis."*

"In 2011, social transfers to working-age persons and their families reduced the at-risk-of poverty rate from 40 per cent to 16 per cent, representing a poverty reduction effect of 60 per cent, rising to 68 per cent for the whole population when pensions are included.

"Coinciding with Ireland's Presidency of the EU, the Forum also discussed the

social dimension of the Europe 2020 Strategy* (see Note for Editors below).

"The Minister said *"I strongly believe that the fiscal and economic crisis in Europe must not distract us from the equally important social challenge, which is to improve the living conditions and life chances of all citizens. A well-designed and administered social policy is an important and integral part of Europe 2020 and the response of the Irish Presidency reflects this."*

"During the course of the day participants discussed the following areas in specific workshops:

Improving Outcomes for Children and Young People

Unemployment and Jobless

Households

Older People and Access to Services

Income Adequacy and Prevention of

Poverty".

So there you have it, not a word about the need for *"a properly developed vocational education system"*, nothing at all about that system having to be developed along German and Austrian as against British lines. Nothing at all in fact about *"her perspective on the Youth Guarantee programme she intends to launch"*. Just the usual old Joan Burton using her fifteen minutes at the Croke Park Conference Centre to deliver herself of the usual old platitudes about *"workfare"*.

Curiouser and Curiouser, eh?

I'm sure there is some simple explanation of all these discrepancies, which I will be very happy to hear.

Joe Keenan.

The Great Adventure

The desertions from the Irish Army to join the British Army during WW2 had caused a lot of controversy recently down South with the mainly British-owned media and its mercenary hacks giving praise to those who were supposed to join the British Armed Forces in order to fight fascism. Other writers in this journal have probed the idea that Britain's war with Germany was anything but anti-fascist but mainly imperialist because why kill so many German civilians if it was the Nazis they were only after?

So there were these deserters, but what of the 50,000 Irishmen or so from the South—did they join the British Army for anti-fascist reasons? It is very doubtful. And how many joined the German Army? Did they join for pro-fascist reasons when they made their way to the German-occupied Channel Islands in fishing boats? Does Albion's press in Ireland bring up this subject now? It was mooted in the British press back in the 1950s, when anti-Irishisms was rife and Ireland's war-time neutrality was producing books like *The Cruel Sea*, followed by a film—followed by a few pubs called that, because the cruel Irish wouldn't give them back the ports facing the Atlantic from which they could defend their convoys going and coming from the USA.

But Irishmen did join the German Army. When I started work in the Belfast shipyard as a 14-year-old in 1946, it was filling up rapidly with the demobbed from the British Army. The men who were to teach me my trade as a woodworker were former soldiers from WW2, with a foreman who

had survived the Somme in WW1. There was quite a few survivors from WW1 and one or two of these boasted about being also in the Black and Tans. I didn't hear any of the WW2 veterans talk of joining the army in order to fight Hitler: in fact many of them admired Hitler after seeing Germany.

Many of these former soldiers had joined in the 1930s as career soldiers. Much like a cousin of mine who had survived what was then called Burma (Myanmar). While working with a former professional soldier—Joe Beattie—I was told many stories of war, including his near fatal injuries in Crete when he was captured. Lying on the ground, he heard a German in English mock the Irish accent of his companion, an Irishman from Mullingar. They were on stretcher-bearer duties, picking up the dead and injured, kicking the fallen in the head to see if they were still alive. When Beattie realised this was an Irishman in German uniform, he swore at him. Mullingar asked him what the problem was—he, Beattie, an Irishman had joined the British Army while he also an Irishman had joined the German Army, adding that maybe they were both fools. But Beattie said he was an Ulsterman and British. For saying that he had his shattered leg trod on by Mullingar. He did admit he could easily have been shot, for that happens on the battlefield a lot—by both sides when they get tired and exhausted picking up the injured. Beattie admitted that his companions did bayonet the injured sometimes, instead of carrying them to a field hospital. Usually it was around the time for a tea break.

Beattie had nothing against the Germans. He said he was well-fed as a POW and put on weight. Now he was disenchanted with the British Army. He had almost lost his life when he was given nothing but a crowbar to be used in pulling off the tracks of German tanks because they had run out of anti-tank weapons. Young apprentices, eager to join the British Army because of the military atmosphere of the huge Joiner's Shop, would go to him for advice. His advice was not to join and, if the temptation was too much, to settle for the Catering Corp. So basically no ideology came into a reason for joining the British Army. It was an adventure for young men.

Money was tight: though you had your food and adequate clothing, there was nothing to spare. Some apprentices were lucky to spend a week in Butlins in England or go to the Isle of Man, whereas the Armed Forces could whisk you around the Empire to countries you could only dream about. My cousin enjoyed his time in the British Army. He had no views on colonialism or the Japanese. His main occupation was surviving and hoping to kill a tiger for its pelt.

At the age of 14 and working in the shipyard as an office boy until it was time to go to my apprenticeship at 16. I had this feeling I had to get away. I looked at the ships tied up under repair from many countries and I looked at the sea as a road to the rest of the world. So I found myself at the Royal naval recruiting office in Belfast, passing the medical, and being given a form of consent to be signed by my father. Of course he was never to see that form for I forged his signature. I waited for the postman to arrive in Carryduff for a letter that would see me off to the navy, but my father intercepted it and that was that. Until I was 21 I could not leave the shipyard unless with his permission. I was earning 16 shillings a week as an office boy out of which came four shillings and sixpence for my weekly bus ticket to Belfast, not counting tram fares into the shipyard, so, my father was subsidising me.

My pocket money was two shillings a week and nothing if I kicked up hell at home during the week. Our house was under sectarian attack from time to time and here was I wanting to join HM Forces! But of course I saw nothing but a military complex that might carry me throughout the world and I would be paid for it.

The next best thing I could do after being thwarted by my father was to join

the Sea Cadets. My mother, an Omagh Nationalist was horrified, my father felt that at least I would be at home. I was surprised at the number of young Catholics in the Sea Cadets. Many of them worked in the mills, the tobacco factories or the biscuit factories, while some had no job. None of us had money beyond our transport fares, but we had the facilities of the military complex—rowing on Belfast Lough, learning morse code, boarding naval ships and submarines, learning about gunnery, drilling with *real* rifles.

A tank-landing craft came into Belfast Harbour from Greenock in Scotland to pick us up. The slow craft took twelve hours to reach Greenock. After that there was a seventeen hour journey by special train to London. At 14 seeing 1946 London was exciting for all of us, riding on the tube, mingling with the half dozen nationalities still in uniform. All for free. There was a blip of course, and there always is, the Shankill Road section of the Sea Cadets began a sectarian rampage throughout the train, holding down and sexually abusing the Catholic boys. There was fight back and some train windows were broken. The train stopped at Crewe and the police came on board but that was all. There would probably be too much publicity if arrests were made. The press could get a hold of it. What if it was reported there had been a sectarian conflict among the auxiliary branch of the Royal Navy? After that we stuck together as Catholics in a group for protection.

Another train to Farnham, near Portsmouth, and a naval bus to the naval barracks, the driver of which sparked another row when he asked: 'All Billy boys sing up'. The Sash was sung and some of the Catholic boys sang 'A Nation Once Again.' in retaliation. A few scuffles among our 14-15 year group and another broken window. The driver called the Naval police but again nothing was made of it.

It was a tough regimen, with drilling at five in the morning until eight pm. Some of the naval instructors urged us to join up for real while one or two whispered not to. Outside, in Farnham, German POWs lounged on street corners waiting to be sent home. Fascinated at seeing Germans, we spoke to them and they advised us to get out of uniform for they saw another world war on the horizon. After that, a round of naval ships, taken down in a submarine, taken to naval museums and days by the beach. There was no British patriotic ritual, like the flag being raised

or lowered or the British anthem being played. It was also low-key in the Seat Cadet headquarters in Belfast: again no flags or vows to King and Country. We were introduced to a happy bunch of naval personnel from Belfast, some of whom introduced themselves as Catholics, and it all seemed cosy—you would see the world and be fed and paid.

When I got back to Carryduff my mother was even more furious with me as the house had been attacked while I was away. She pointed out that, despite me wearing a British uniform, the local boys were shouting 'fenian' at me and screaming 'Fuck the Pope.' I couldn't make the connection, for I was only there for an adventure no one else could supply.

My mother continued to iron my uniform and then I decided, regretfully, I had to get out of the Sea Cadets. It was also at a critical point in my life, when I had joined the Sea Cadet boxing team and in a few weeks I could be on my way with others to Hong Kong to represent the Northern Ireland Sea Cadets. My father had no opinion as long as Harland and Wolff, our employers, give me the time off with pay, which they were willing to do. I would then enter my apprenticeship at 16. Ironically, when I became rebellious in the house, I would be told that I should have been put in the army to learn discipline. My father's side of the family were never out of uniform—military, RUC and B-Special. With blood being thicker than water in this family, we were allowed to be Catholic. Unfortunately the message didn't get through to their companion B-Specials out of uniform and stoning our house.

A young man called James Magennis, a Catholic from Belfast, had joined the Royal Navy in 1935 and went on during WW2 to win the Victoria Cross, serving in midget submarines that attacked Japanese shipping in Singapore Harbour. After the war he returned to Belfast but was never recognised by old Stormont. He was a Catholic, never to be forgiven for being so. It was only during the peace process that a plaque was put up in Belfast. He died in Yorkshire at the age of 66, after 14 years service in the Royal Navy. Some years before he had sold his VC due to financial problems.

Another Belfast Catholic, Rinty Monaghan, undefeated flyweight champion of the world, was another man who joined the Royal Navy during WW2. If you looked at the street he came out of—Little Corporation Street by the docks—

you could excuse him for joining up for a bit of adventure. He visited the Sea Cadet headquarters a few times in 1946–1947 and gave the boxing team a demonstration in boxing and some hints, before drinking in the Officers Mess upstairs. On the way out he had a habit of whispering 'Up the Rebels' to some of the Catholic boys he knew. He was not recognised by old Stormont: they also could not forgive him for being a Catholic. Again a plaque was only put in Belfast during the peace process. Unionists today on the website pay him homage to such an extent you would think he had been a Unionist.

My last urge for adventure and action was about 1949 when I suddenly found myself in the Army recruiting offices in Belfast and signing up to join the Irish Guards with a form of consent bearing my father's forged name. It was on the eve of the Korean War and other apprentices were also eager to join something and see the world. My father was not the only irate father running through the Joiner's Shop trying to catch his son and shake the life out of him. Anyway he reported to the Army that I wouldn't be joining as I was an indentured apprentice. The military police then came to the door to pick up the travel warrant to Aldershot.

Soon after I joined the Young Worker's League which coincided with what was called 'The Yangtze Incident' in which a British naval ship going from Shanghai to Nanking on the Yangtze River was shelled by gunners of People's Liberation Army in April, 1949. The ship was trapped there for several months. It was that incident that forced me to have a more serious look at the world. It had to be Mao and the end of adventure for adventure's sake.

I was living in London when I was called up for National Service. I now had a wife and baby daughter, so I couldn't move to another part of London so easily as the single Irishman could and did to avoid it. I had to go through the medical, had to accept the travel warrant to some military barrack, was told if I didn't turn up I would be classed as a deserter as I was now in HM Forces. Cyprus was raging so I thought if I am sent there I might end up killing somebody to save my own life.

The CPGB had a policy of encouraging National Service. Apparently, in their fantasies that was equivalent to a citizens' army being set up as opposed to the professional army. This *citizen army* might do all sorts of wonderful things when pushed too far in the colonies.

Did the young conscripts revolt? Never. They carried out their duties to Empire. Many were very proud of having 'done their bit' for their country.

The CPGB was blind to the feelings and nature in the country, of England My father in law, a CP member, urged me to do my national service as it was party policy. I was at a meeting of the Hampstead Young Communist League when in walked two middle class members in junior officer's uniform. They had picked up a lot of army jargon and spoke of 'thicks' (the lower ranks). As a potential 'thick' I decided to up stakes and go to Belfast with wife and child. There was a court case going on at the time in Liverpool in which a young man from Dublin was contesting whether the British Government had the right to put him in the British Army when he had no belief in Empire and came from a neutral country. In Belfast I informed the authorities where I was, as a challenge. Northern Ireland had no national service and there quite a few young English living there to avoid it. Nothing happened. A year later I returned to London and still nothing happened. I now had an ideological reason for not wanting to be part of HM Forces.

A few years later the Algerian War broke out. The rebels had an International Brigade and a friend of mine, Declan Mulholland, decided we had to do something to help. It would not be an adventure, for we were aware of the French colonial brutality and the horrific death toll. It seemed that the best way to get there was to get a letter of accreditation from the CPGB, which would then have been in contact with the French Communist Party. Down at King Street we met with a Party *apparatchik* who informed us that the French Party had informed him that peace talks were about to break out and that recruitment had been stopped by the Algerian resistance—the FLN. It turned out to be a lie. The CP didn't want to lose two members.

It was the building sites now and on one I met a man from Tipperary who told me he had been a captain in the Irish Army, but had been court martial for stealing the mess funds. He had a drinking problem. He could have continued his career in the British Army but chose not to. I could see he had a deep love of his country. He told me the Irish Army during WW2 had gone over to guerrilla warfare training, that they had artillery hidden in caves at the mouth of harbours but mostly it would be a stealthy fight. He claimed some of the exercises had been to penetrate British

and American military camps and barracks in the North in British or American uniforms as a test of will and nerve and return to base. He didn't trust the British or the Americans, or the Germans. By the sound of him he had been having that great adventure in his own country but a worthwhile one.

Wilson John Haire
4 July 2013

Éire-Germany 1945— some good news

Derek Scally is the *Irish Times*' Berlin Correspondent. He is physically far away from the magic circle that runs the IT, probably the reason why he writes things that are not consistent with the current 'West British' policies. One such is to 'rubbish' anything to do with 'De Valera's Ireland'. Scally's contribution to the edition of Monday July 1st conceivably got through only because it was a Monday.

Post-war food donations led to album of thanks from starving German children to '*you Irishlanders*'. The album was produced by children in Saarbrücken on the Franco-German border an industrial town that had been bombed flat by April 1945. The people had very little food. The ration sanctioned by the occupying authorities was two slices of bread a day. The effects were obvious. The children's parents often went without even that. Then De Valera outlined, on May 23rd 1945, a food-donation programme to alleviate "*the terrible conditions prevailing over most...*" of mainland Europe. The Dutch were starving because the retreating Nazi forces took all the stored-up food for themselves. James Dillon (Fine Gael) said, "*a hungry German is as much deserving of pity as a hungry Pole*". There was a great up-swell of feeling in 'Éire' (it would be interesting to investigate what was the attitude of Taigs in the 'Wee Six'), and it is reckoned here that €191m was raised.

The table of goods and food sent is impressive—e. g. 20,000 live cattle, some other measurements are a bit odd by 2013 standards—20,000 dozen woollen socks being one. (It is 240,000). This story rises out of the publicising, by Mr. Tony O'Herlihy of an album that was in the possession of his late wife. It was made by schoolchildren in Saarbrücken, at the suggestion of their art teacher, and came into Mary (Walshe) O'Herlihy's possession by chance. The original recipient seems to be unknown.

The food from Ireland was distributed in mostly western and northern Germany via the Red Cross and "Catholic charities". Mr O'Herlihy has tried to contact the women who put the album together. (They particularly enjoyed bacon—and biscuits.) He would also like the survivors to have a facsimile of the album. It possibly should be issued to the public too—it is genuine 'news' to *Irish Times* readers.

Seán McGouran

Does
It
Up

Stack
?

IMF AND GROWTH

The International Monetary Fund has recently issued a series of 'expert' reports on the Eurozone in which, among other things, a contraction of 0.6% is forecast for the year 2013 and an expansion of 0.9% for 2014.

They are having us on with this spurious accuracy. All forecasts are wrong, almost by definition—they are wishful thinking—but to forecast in decimal parts of one percent is so wrong as to be laughable. Who are the experts? Almost every economist failed to forecast the collapse in 2008. Economics is not a science—no matter how much mathematics are included in micro-economics courses—because the underlying human behaviour is infinitely changeable. So-called economic "laws" are taught in universities and these 'laws' are stated with the proviso "*other things being equal*". Of course, other things are never equal and so economic theory is one thing and practical economics is quite a different thing.

The late Garret Fitzgerald is quoted as having replied to a suggestion by saying: "*That's all very well in practice but does it work in theory?*" Perhaps it was a Freudian slip or then again perhaps not. But he once in an *Irish Times* article 'proved' in minutes and seconds that the Dublin Dart service could not possibly work because—he said—of problems with level crossings. That was in theory before the Dart service was inaugurated. Now we can see that the Dart works well in practice.

So what are Economists? Well—I suppose, they are useful as entertainers, as writers of columns in the print media, as seemingly knowledgeable commentators on TV and radio etc. Economists always have a great way of implying they know what they are talking about. We now know they don't but its entertaining to listen to them. And of course the Government and Banks employ economists to reinforce the opinions and plans of Ministers and Boards of Directors—that is what economists did in the decades up to 2008.

This matter of GROWTH which the IMF likes to harp on about—what do they mean by growth? We all know by commonsense that the world's resources

are finite. We also know that the world's resources are visibly reducing. We are using up the world supply of oil, rock, gas, trees etc. We are not using these resources as fast as do-gooders among the environmentalists say, but we are using them up faster than they are being replaced by nature.

So what is the growth being promoted by the IMF? It must be growth in monetary terms i.e. inflation of prices. Surely the IMF does not mean growth in physical terms since the world's total resources are finite. If a relatively small economy like Ireland's is to grow without price inflation, it must be at the expense of some or all of the other countries. This growth in Ireland may be good for Ireland and will have only a tiny effect on other countries. But if the growth is to be in the major economies such as China, USA, India, Russia or Brazil etc, then the effect on smaller weaker economies will be enormous deprivation and poverty. It just does not stack up and it seems to me that the IMF is on the whole a malign and unnecessary influence on the world.

HONEY MARKET

A good example of growth is the recent report from Copa-Cogeca, the umbrella body for EU farmers. Copa-Cogeca says that in the past five years there has been an increase of fifty percent in the import into the EU of Chinese honey. This represents a small part of the growth of the Chinese economy, but it is having major repercussions in the EU economy for EU bee-keeper's incomes. As a result of the imports, EU bee-keepers can no longer earn a decent income. Bees are necessary for pollinating agricultural crops. Chinese bees will not pollinate EU field crops. So why are we importing honey from China? It does not stack up at any level except at the retail price level where a jar of honey is now €1.99 due to the very low cost of production in China. The €1.99 honey does not taste good but what housekeeper can resist the price when everybody is watching their own household budgets.

THE COURT SYSTEM

There is every indication that the members of the judiciary are being interfered with by members of the Government executive. In criminal cases—the Gardaí are doing their job and they are catching the criminals, the DPP are prosecuting the criminals and the judges are, where appropriate, finding them guilty but, when it comes to sentencing, the judge very frequently hands down a suspended sentence or, in

quite a few cases, the judge finds reasons to let the criminal off without any sentence at all.

There are not sufficient jail spaces and the Government has not adequate plans to build new cells or prisons. The do-gooders in our society have condemned the existing St. Patrick's Institution for young offenders and also the present Cork gaol.

And perhaps the do-gooders are right—these prisons are in poor shape and should have been replaced/renovated thirty or forty years ago, instead of building some of the single lane motorways which we do not need.

The reasons given for the closure of St. Patrick's do not stack up at all. The Visitors' reports repeatedly said there are incorrigible bullies among the staff and the cells were not being cleaned. So the solution is to close St. Patrick's and send the children-inmates to a wing of an adult prison and the staff are being employed elsewhere in the system.

This is an abject failure of management in the Prison Service. The net result is a further reduction in the already inadequate number of prison places available. The solution being to instruct the judiciary not to sentence the offenders to prison and, even where the offenders do go to prison, the revolving-door system operates.

In a recent case—Patricia McDonnell—who is a serial shop-lifter and who has a total of 57 convictions was given a suspended sentence. In fairness to Judge Seamus Hughes—he said he had to give her a suspended sentence because, if he sent her to prison, she would be immediately released because she has 13 children. She draws a reported €50,000 a year in Social Welfare which is probably not taxed and so is equivalent to a working person's €65,000 a year. Ms McDonnell is thus confirmed in her belief that crime does pay. Surely if she could not be kept in prison, it should have been possible to punish her by reducing her Social Welfare payments?

Another recent case is that of Andrew Farrell who broke into a woman's home and threatened to chop up her son with his knife. In the course of their investigation, the Gardaí found €8,000 worth of heroin in Farrell's house and an invoice book which indicated he was trading heroin. The judge, Mary Ellen Ring, said people may not understand this but she is sentencing Farrell to a suspended sentence of five years because of his efforts to rehabilitate, because he had been offered a job and because of a favourable report from the Probation Service. Try to stack this up? He's breaking and entering,

threatening to knife a child, trading in heroin and the judge calls it "efforts to rehabilitate" and the Probation Service gives him "a favourable report"!

Another case recently is that of a man who cannot be named because he is 17 years old and who, together with another man, punched and kicked a victim Joseph Connolly. Mr. Connolly died in hospital of skull fractures and bleeding on the brain due to the severe assault. The 17 year old (who was 15 at the time of the crime) received a fully suspended sentence of three years from Judge Mary Ellen Ring because—wait for it—his solicitor

said he is a good footballer and has had multiple trials with an English Premier League Club. So! Does English football deserve a player who helped to kick a helpless man to death? The English club is not exactly snapping him up when it is arranging "multiple trials". Or is it all baloney? Whatever it is the young footballer has got away with helping to kick an innocent man to death.

Wandering our streets are many unpunished criminals who are already in most cases repeat offenders. Is it not time a proper fit-for-purpose prison system was put in place?

Michael Stack ©

General Elections which further confirmed it.

Those who opposed "the Treaty" were supporters of the parliamentary democracy repeatedly mandated.

W.T. Cosgrave's party deserves credit for its positive achievements, but by the late 1920s had run out of brains.

Its election posters attacked de Valera for Spanish and Sean Lemass for French ancestry. When rejected by the electorate Cosgrave and co. abandoned their admiration for parliamentary rule, adopted the salutes and shirts of Fascism, supported Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia and recruited a brigade to fasten Franco's yoke on Spain.

Ireland had a puppet dictatorship in 1922 in the Provisional Government, an Irregular Junta if ever there was one, and the puppet master was Winston Spencer Churchill.

Donal Kennedy

Putting Ivan Gibbons of Irish Post right

Some Facts

Catholic Education in Ireland predated the foundation of the Free State, the Act of Union and the Norman Invasion of Ireland.

It predated the Norman Conquest of England, indeed in Britain itself St. Columcille and St Aidan had established Catholic education, the former, before the Angles, Saxons and Jutes set foot there.

Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the Inns of Court, not to mention Eton College were Catholic Foundations, as indeed is St Mary's Strawberry Hill.

St Bartholmew's Hospital and the older teaching hospitals in London were Catholic foundations as were many hospitals in Ireland before states got involved in healthcare. It was the same throughout western Christendom.

Parliamentary Democracy was put aside with the outbreak of Civil War and Mrs. Tom Clarke TD's success in getting a writ of *Mandamus* from a Judge set up by Dail Eireann for its recall was ignored by the Provisional Government—a junta set up by the one quorate meeting of THE PARLIAMENT OF SOUTHERN IRELAND which met at the command of the Lord Lieutenant.

George Gavan Duffy resigned from the DAIL CABINET in protest at the suppression of the Supreme Court after Court Plunkett, TD got an order of Habeas Corpus for his son who was under arrest by the Provisional Government.

The 2nd Dail was not constitutionally wound up, and the 3rd Dail did not meet until September 1922. The status of that 3rd Dail was never satisfactorily estab-

lished. Was it the 3rd Dail Eireann, or The Second Parliament of Southern Ireland?

When the 2nd Dail Eireann met to discuss the Articles of Agreement, the first vote called was for the TD for Armagh. He, Michael Collins, voted for.

The TD for Armagh was precluded from attending the Parliament of Southern Ireland, but as he had also been elected to DAIL EIREANN for a Cork constituency, he emerged as Chairman of the PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. (The Free State didn't come into being until December 1922.)

The Parliament of Southern Ireland was but a rump of Dail Eireann, as TDs from the 6 Counties, and anti-"Treaty" TDs were not there.

It was also a very RUM parliament.

Padraig Colum, poet and Griffith's biographer, observed that more Irish was spoken at its one quorate meeting than at any meeting of Dail Eireann.

This reminds me of the scene in THE QUIET MAN where Mary Kate Danaher, is ashamed to confess to her Parish Priest in the more widely understood English that her Bridegroom hasn't been getting his WHOLE ENTITLEMENT but has to sleep in a MALA CODLATA. Ireland's whole entitlement was a Republic, and SAORSTAT EIREANN was a more restrictive nosebag for enjoying its Oats.

I may be wrong but I understand that Ronan Fanning does not accept the validity of the 1918 Republican mandate, the municipal and other Council elections which consolidated it and the 1921

SLOUCH SOMEWHERE ELSE!

Turning turning in the swaying womb
Yeats rough beast slouches towards
Bethlehem
to whelp his Irish nation of mayhem.
1919. West Britannia doomed.
1930s. Solution—the Blueshirts.
Things did not fall apart, the centre held,
his Mussolini, his Hitler felled,
his Irish mythology a fascist spurt.
It was his friends 'who lacked all
conviction,
the worst full of passionate intensity'.
And so his poem became an affliction
on those in war-torn complexity,
looking North he would see dereliction,
without his own in power a duplicity.

Wilson John Haire

28th July, 2013

During the 30-year War I noticed in London a couple of schools in my area had part of Yeats poem, *The Second Coming*, on a banner above the main entrances. The bit that says:

'The best lack all conviction while the
worst
are full of passionate intensity.'

I knew that was aimed at the revolt in the North, so I then felt his poem had nothing to do with WW1, as the English critics and their Irish friends would have it, but it could be more about the War of Independence which was beginning when he wrote this poem.

WJH

Shop Stewards Committee: 'Why we left it': B&ICO Shop Stewards

"Despite the best efforts of the Left, the Irish workers have accepted the 3rd national wage agreement. If their action was to produce nothing more than a good shaking out in whatever dusty region the said left does its political thinking, then it might yet serve a useful purpose.

For all their alleged radicalism, the Irish Left are the most deeply entrenched conservatives that exist in or around the trade union movement. Their campaign was guided by the idea of defending traditional rights, traditional bargaining procedures etc. There seems to be complete unawareness of the fact that changed conditions breed changed methods of struggle.

Up to the middle of the last century, the "traditional" bargaining methods of the working-class included machine-wrecking, rick-burning and scab murdering. All very necessary and useful at the time but hardly appropriate to the 1970s; no doubt many of our contemporary "militants" would feel emotionally more at home with Ned Ludd and Captain Swing. But the sensible workers of these islands had put these methods well behind them by the 1880s and were moving towards the form of trade union struggle we now know as free collective bargaining.

But the world did not stop still in the 1880s. It progressed and so did the working class. The unskilled workers have progressed from being an unorganised mass constantly living in the shadow of mass unemployment to a situation where they can act directly as a class in defence of their economic interests and of their jobs.

A united working class can achieve much more than a class divided and forced to bargain industry by industry, weighed down by such traditional scourges as the craftsman/labourer division. The obvious vehicle for such united action is national bargaining. It is equally obvious that attempts to go backwards from all-class bargaining are reactionary and serve merely to impede the forward movement of the working class.

This reactionary attitude was adopted by the Dublin Shop Stewards Committee

against the National Wage Agreement, when at their last conference they declared against the principle of national wage bargaining at any time in the future. A progressive attitude would have been to accept national wage bargaining as the new form of industrial struggle (as the working class have in practice done) and fight to have that struggle conducted in an effective way.

But then the Shop Stewards Committee has shown from the start that it is not too interested in the realities of the situation. It has been used as a platform for the fairytale economics and politics of the Communist Party and the various strands of Trotskyists.

At the last Conference, the impossible and socially ridiculous demand that a national minimum wage of £35 a week be paid to the unemployed as well as to the lower-paid workers, was passed as a motion, with only a handful opposed (mainly the B&ICO.) The majority of the delegates, including the CP, abstained, realising that such a motion was ridiculous, yet not having the guts to oppose the revolutionary phrase-mongering of the Trots.

Such an organisation cannot contribute to the advance of the working class. Therefore the B&ICO has decided to withdraw its support from it. We print below the letter of resignation of the B&ICO members of the Shop Stewards Committee:

"In opposing E. O'Farrell's amendment to the policy resolution to disband the Dublin Shop Stewards Committee in the event of an acceptance of the 3rd National Wage Agreement, Chris Gibson gave a number of reasons for his opposition. These included: the need for democracy within the unions, the need for a committee whose members would cut across existing trade union and job divisions, and the need to combat bureaucracy within the trade union movement. We agreed with these reasons and voted to reject the amendment to the motion.

"However, the Committee, in overwhelmingly supporting Paragraph 4 of the main resolution which committed it to 'ensure that Congress is never again mandated to negotiate such agreements' thereby committed itself to a dogmatic adherence to free collective bargaining

and closed its mind to any possible developments of centralised or Class Bargaining which we, the undersigned, stated to the Conference we believed to be the way forward for a trade union movement which now finds itself in a strong bargaining position.

"Such dogmatic and sectarian restraints on the meaningful discussion of future developments in trade union bargaining is certainly uncharacteristic of a rank-and-file movement of shop stewards and we believe that they were introduced by academic and political elements on the committee, many of them with little practical experience. Further, we believe that they will prevent the Committee from making any further useful contribution to the progress of Irish trade unionism. Accordingly, we are left with no alternative but to resign from the Committee.

Signed:
Sean Barrett,
Shop Steward, Pye Ltd.
Brendan Rushe,
Shop Steward, McInerney Ltd.
Pat Murphy,
Shop Steward,
Telecommunications Ltd."

Originally published in: *Comment*,
Vol. 3, No. 4. 29 March 1974.

We are indebted to Eamon Dyas for drawing our attention to this historic document, which is so relevant at a time when the Union movement again faces difficulty. Ed.

New from Aubane Historical Society

Willowbrook — A Flawed Eden

*A Memoir of Growing Up
in Millstreet, Co. Cork*

by
Jim O'Brien

Jim O'Brien was evacuated with his brothers from London during WWII and sent to live with their aunts at Willowbrook House near Millstreet. Willowbrook was a smaller version of an Irish 'Big House' and belonged to one particular Pomeroy family, now extinct. The diverse Pomeroy clan has a long, distinctive, ancestry going back to Norman times. Of them it could be said that like many other originally Norman families they became, *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*, more Irish than the Irish themselves.

Jim paints a very vivid picture of his

continued on page 25

Trade Unions continued

The company is seeking €11.7m in saving which would include cuts to wages of around €7m.

Last year the company had an accumulated deficit of €52.2m due to reduction in their Government subvention, increased operating costs and a decline in revenue due to passengers taking fewer journeys.

Siptu decided to ballot after the Labour Court recommended cuts to drivers' pay, but only until the company returned to "a sustainable level of profitability".

Siptu organiser John Murphy said "the workers' representatives are still available to meet management to engage in constructive negotiations on all outstanding issues. The ball is firmly in the company's court and we await its response."

Meanwhile the National Bus and Railworkers' Union is still studying the court ruling and has not yet balloted its members.

Public Sector

"The Government is insisting there is scope for new recruits to freshen up the public sector as new figures reveal the average public sector worker is 46—and almost half are aged over 50.

"Trade unions are now warning that the age profile is a threat and presents a big challenge for the future, with just 4% of workers aged under 30" (*Irish Independent*, 26.7.2013).

The figures illustrate the effect of the recruitment embargo on some areas of the public sector.

The statistics from the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform show the age breakdown of workers, with 287,000 in the public sector this year—a number that is expected to fall to 282,500 by the end of 2014.

The figures show: 8% are aged 60 or over; 37%—around 106,190—are aged between 50 and 59; 28% fall into the 40 to 49 bracket; 23% of workers are in their 30s; And just 4%—around 11,480—are younger than 30.

General Secretary of the Association of Higher Civil and Public Servants Dave Thomas called the situation "entirely unsustainable".

"The civil service is full of extremely talented individuals who have an excellent grasp of their various portfolios, but there needs to be a succession plan in place for staff", he said.

But a spokesman for Public Expenditure Minister Brendan Howlin, Labour said that although numbers working in the public sector would drop in the next few years, there was still scope for fresh recruitment.

Worker Scarcity?

"Employers face ongoing problems filling thousands of jobs, despite massive unemployment, a new state report reveals.

"Doctors, specialist nurses, scientists, engineers, lab technicians, specialised sales staff and software developers are among the staff difficult to find.

"Shortages of suitably qualified personnel across a wide range of sectors are reported in the National Skills Bulletin 2013, which provides an annual overview of the labour market. It points, in particular, to a lack of technology and multilingual skills" (*Irish Independent*, 15.7.2013).

The areas worst affected are information and communications technology (ICT), hi-tech manufacturing—particularly biopharmaceutical and medical devices—agri-food, financial services and healthcare.

The analysis is carried out by the state training authority, FAS, for the Expert Group of Future Skills Needs (EGFSN), which advises the Government on supply and demand of skills and anticipates mismatches.

EGFSN chairwoman Una Halligan said that while shortages were confined to niche skill areas, and in most instances were of low magnitude, they were persistent in certain sectors.

The shortages mean that employers are continuing to source skilled staff from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) with the 3,000 new employment permits issued in 2012 down 10% on 2011.

Incomes

Gross disposable household income fell 1% in the first three months of the year, according to figures from the Central Statistics Office.

Income slipped €213 million to €21.675 billion from the last quarter of 2012.

Household expenditure was down by €441 million, or 2.2%, over the same period, leading to a €228 million increase in gross household savings. Government savings deficit was €3.58 billion in the first quarter, less than the deficit of €4.1 billion in the same quarter last year.

State net borrowing was €5.3 billion, a deterioration of €437 million on the first three months of 2012 following a capital transfer payment by Government to the banks.

Haddington Road Deal

"The Unite trade union has become the latest workers' group to back the Haddington Road public service agreement on pay and reform.

"In a sharp U-turn, the union's 6,500 public service members followed their union leadership's advice and backed the deal by 82% to 18%.

"Earlier this year the members rejected the original Croke Park II agreement by more than 60% and followed that up with a similar rejection of the revised Haddington Road agreement last month.

"But as most of the other public service unions had accepted it, Unite feared that its relatively small number of public service members, who are scattered throughout the public service, would be isolated and have far harsher pay cuts imposed on them through legislation" (*Irish Independent*, 20.7.2013).

Public Expenditure Minister Brendan Howlin, Labour, introduced legislation last month which provides for immediate pay cuts, including a freeze on all increments for three years.

However, in a carrot-and-stick approach, unions that sign up to Haddington Road will be exempt from the legislation.

"In a further boost for Mr Howlin, the association representing about 2,000 army officers—Raco—also backed the deal by a resounding 93%" (*ibid.*).

Willowbrook

continued experiences at the house, of the people who owned and lived there and of those who worked there. He also gives entertaining pen-pictures of the local 'characters' he got to know. He describes them 'warts and all' and they are thereby made credible and unforgettable.

Willowbrook is now empty and uninhabited and may soon be just a memory but thanks to this memoir its inhabitants and the locals of three generations ago will live on.

176pp.

€15, £12

postfree Ireland, UK

Also available:

The Bard, Seán Riobaird O Súilleabháin, North Cork's Leader in the Land War 1881-1891

by

Barry Keane

120pp.

€15, £12

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sales.org](https://www.atholbooks-sales.org)

GUILDS continued

they would not become members" (ibid. p.152-3).

According to the terms of an act passed in November, 1750, for foreigners to work in the city of London, the mayor and aldermen were authorised, after the first day of December next, to grant to any free master who, after using his best endeavours failed to procure a sufficient number of free journeymen able to carry on his business, to employ as many foreigners for such a period of time and under such restrictions as to the said authorities should seem fit and necessary. (ibid. p.159, Note 137.)

In 1760 because journeymen butchers of Newcastle had refused to work for the wage which had customarily been paid and had combined in order to enhance the price thereof, every brother was given the liberty to employ any person, "*notwithstanding any other order issued against such persons ... as were never admitted freemen of this Company*". Twenty-five years later, however, this order seems to have been modified so as to read "*no nonfree journeyman to be employed when a freeman is unemployed and willing*" to do the work required.

"Again, during the first half of the century the framework knitters' company, urged on by the journeymen, called one master after another to account for disregarding the laws regulating apprenticeship, until stopped by a parliamentary investigation conducted in 1753 which pronounced the company's by-laws 'injurious and vexatious' to the manufacturers and its domination 'hurtful to the trade'" (ibid. p.159-60).

"In London, as in other places, the day of master capitalists had evidently come. Their concern to increase rather than to limit their output, demanded the erection of factories 'wherein it is intended to employ' as many persons as possible, not as few. Masters of this type had nothing to gain from a system which limited their number of employees. Many not having themselves served an apprenticeship to their adopted trade were not interested in employing only those who had served their term" (*The English Craft Guilds, Studies in their Progress and Decline*, Stella Kramer, Columbia University Press, 1927, p.160).

CORK PLANTATION

Throughout Stella Kramer's exhaustive study of the English Craft Guilds, the city of Cork is recorded five times in the index, Kinsale on nine occasions, Youghal seven times and Dublin is recorded on six

occasions. Indeed, throughout the book: "*The English Craft Guilds, Studies in their Progress and Decline*" reference to all four centres is even more numerous.

The following historical item by Brendan Clifford throws an interesting light on the Cork aspects and its plantation antecedents:

"Lord Inchiquin, who, no doubt about it, was the lineal descendant of Brian Boru, was the army commander in Cork of a forgotten society, which it took me a long time to recognise the existence of. This was the **Cork Plantation** fostered by Richard Boyle, an English adventurer who began to make his fortune in Ireland during the turmoil of the late Elizabethan period. After a false start, he had an outstandingly successful career as a planter and as an organiser and leader of the planters during the reign of James the First, becoming known as the Great Earl of Cork. He survived until 1643, carefully tending to the affairs of his Plantation to the end. And he had two famous sons: Robert, who invented Boyle's *Law of Gases*, and Roger, better known as Lord Broghill, who commanded the Parliamentary army at Knockbrack. {The Battle of Knockbrack or Knocknaclashy took place in 1651, following the Battle of Knocknanoss which took place in 1647, a few miles east of Kanturk. Knockbrack was 10 miles distant, south west of Banteer. The battles involved the forces of the Confederation of Kilkenny and Cromwell's Parliamentary army.}

The **Cork Plantation** governed by the Boyle family was a strip along the coast from Bandon to Youghal, with a leg stretching up through east County Cork to Liscarroll. In later centuries it merged with other elements in the County to produce modern Cork. But a 17th century historian, Richard Cox, who was a Judge in Kinsale, writing about forty years later, in 1690—he wrote what I think is the best account of the conflicts of the 1640s—described Cork as *the most English County in Ireland*. This is a bit startling when you are used to Rebel Cork. But when you go into it, you find that Cork was in fact the most English County in Ireland in that period" (*Spotlights on Irish History*, Aubane Historical Society, 1997, p. 15-16).

Spotlights On Irish History by *Brendan Clifford*. Talks given at Duhallow Heritage Centre on topics ranging from Confederation of Kilkenny to Civil War. 168pp. Illustrations. €15, £12

TRADE UNION NOTES

The Labour Court has recommended a 3% pay increase for all workers employed by Penneys.

The deal has been welcomed by retail union, MANDATE, as a positive benchmark for the whole retail sector.

It comes following the breakdown of talks between management at Penneys Ireland and Unions in March, when bosses of the giant clothing retailer refused the pay rise and instead issued a list of counter demands proposing a lower pay scale for workers.

"The Labour Court recommended the abolition of the under-18 rate of pay and the introduction of banded hour contracts within one month, which would guarantee employees the hours they now work. It also recommended against a new three-point salary scale to replace the current six-point scale" (*Irish Independent*, 2.7.2013)

Construction

New laws that will strengthen income protection for construction workers were enacted by the Oireachtas in Dublin on 24th July 2013.

The Construction Contracts Bill—first introduced in the Seanad by Independent senator Feargal Quinn—will help protect construction-industry workers like carpenters, painters, plumbers and electricians who have difficulty getting paid for completed work.

The legislation gives subcontractors the right to suspend work when payment has been withheld and the right to clarification about when and how they will be paid.

"Bringing in laws that strengthen payment practices in the construction industry will improve crucial cashflow to those subcontractors working in the industry, thereby helping companies involved in this vital sector to survive and keep people in employment during these particularly challenging economic times", said Mr. Quinn.

At the height of the boom, some 273,000 people were employed in the sector — that has now dropped to 96,000.

Dublin Bus

"An overwhelming majority of Siptu drivers working for Dublin Bus have voted for strike action.

"The results of a ballot conducted amongst the union's 1,200 drivers at the company showed 94% were in favour of strike action if Dublin Bus proceeds with its attempts to implement changes to their terms and conditions of employment without agreement" (*Irish Examiner*, 13.7.2013)

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GUILDS continued

to carry on their crafts in Bristol were suspended so that several old soldiers might engage in business in that city.

"It seems, however, that at the Restoration {1660-1685} local authorities ignored this measure and forced soldiers to pay gild tribute for trading privileges... In 1725 several soldiers were discovered keeping open shop in Kinsale to the disadvantage of the 'poor inhabitants'; whereupon the authorities forbade their continuing in business.

"However, it seems certain from complaints which continued to emanate from gilds deprecating the practice, that, despite the opposition local gilds could muster, outsiders continued to encroach upon local trade" (ibid. p.143-45).

RIISING PRICES

"When gildsmen took advantage of their power to raise arbitrarily the price of their labour the boroughs retaliated by bringing in outsiders to take their place. In 1673, the mayor of Hartlepool, in Durham, was empowered to invite foreign artisans to come into the liberties of the borough 'when the freemen will not work at a reasonable rate'. Again, when Dover built a gaol in 1747, the common council ordered such bricklayers to be employed 'as will work cheapest whether they be freemen or not'..." (ibid. p.145-46).

"And in altering the constitution of their city in 1672, 'for the better regulating of the corporation', Dublin provided for the admission to its freedom of merchant strangers and artificers, foreigners and 'aliens' as well 'protestants' as others, upon their paying the sum of twenty shillings. Elsewhere during these days penalties for irregular trading were sometimes dispensed with altogether. Boroughs still bent upon exacting the full penalty for irregular trading were obliged to resort to law to collect it" (ibid. p.147).

"In 1678 the goods of the cutlers, painter-stainers and 'staconers' of Dublin were distrained by order of the city assembly because they had sworn men free of their society before they were sworn free of the city. In 1684, the 'taylors' of Abingdon were disfranchised and their charter 'made void' for a time, for making free of their company men who had not been made free of the borough. At Youghal, seven years later, because several corporate groups had admitted persons to the freedom of their trade with the consent of the mayor and 'Bayliffs', 'contrary to the covenant in their several charters ... and in contempt of them', the corporation directed that the charters of the guilty groups be 'condemned as forfeited' unless at the next 'court of Record' their master and wardens should 'give in their several lists of their companies'. Those who claimed the freedom

of their trade were to produce copies thereof under penalty of having their shop windows shut down and of being debarred from using their trades thereafter, within corporation limits" (ibid. p.153-54).

COMMON LAW

"Still other boroughs, uncertain as to the best course to pursue against alien intruders, consulted their counsel before taking action" (ibid. p.147).

"However, the solicitor consulted in 1768 by the drapers and taylors of York as to whether the power held by their company under their charter justified it in collecting damages from outsiders who practised their handicrafts, gave as his opinion that legally it did not. He considered a gild by-law which conferred an exclusive right to trade a restraint of trade and contrary to the natural rights of mankind. It does not appear that this particular organisation ever again puts its rights to the test, but efforts made by other corporation to enforce powers of monopoly based only upon their by-laws seem to have proved their undoing" (ibid p.148-49).

"At Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire, a certain shoemaker whose goods were 'distrained' by local shoemakers for doing business before he had secured membership of their gild, retaliated by suing the warden for 'trespass', and won his suit, the jury sustaining him on the ground that the by-law which was enacted by the shoemakers during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I and founded on a custom to exclude foreigners from trading in the borough, was illegal. This verdict is said to have put on end forever to the pretensions of the Haverfordwest shoemakers. An adverse decision rendered by the courts appears likewise to have brought about the dissolution of the cordwainers' gild of Nottingham in 1747. A verdict against restraint of trade did not always bring to an end the organisation involved, yet was apt to cause disaster" (ibid. p.149).

GUILD RESISTANCE

"In 1678, and again in 1690, despite the success of the Free Traders, the Hull company made so bold as to issue warrants authorising the seizure of goods of various persons 'for their unfree trading'. During the closing years of the century the company still sought to enforce its authority, though fain to confess that its 'antient grandeur... is much of late decreased'. But despite its obstinate stand, the company's grandeur decreased so far as to leave it little or no use for its plate, since this, together with the company's books hitherto kept in their own 'Hall', were removed to the Town Hall 'for their better security in regard to the governor's absence and that Courts there are very seldome kept'. That they were ever again kept is problematical.

At any rate history seems to have little more to say regarding this particular merchant company" (ibid. p.150).

"Again, the Eighteenth century found the Dublin merchants, questioning the legality of the power under which they had been monopolising local trade. In 1755 the 'Recorder' of their city assured them that the right to seize as forfeited such merchandise as non-freemen exposed for sale within corporate limits was valid in law because their charter had the force and authority of an act of parliament; but the assurance failed to fill the company's depleted treasury. Indeed two decades later the only 'emolument' the company could count upon was that derived from the quarterage hitherto paid by non-freemen. 'This of late,' it appears, had 'not been received at all'. In addition members lamented their failure to meet the civic obligations still devolving upon them, and viewed with concern the heavy debt, still due 'former masters', and which, from present indications, they feared more likely to be increased than diminished. By 1783 the fines assessed upon non-freemen had not perceptibly diminished that debt, and as there seemed little likelihood of its ever being diminished from that source, the company at a meeting held on April 1, of that year passed a resolution repealing the 'By-law restraining to receive Quarteridge from non-freemen'. The repeal of this by-law marks the end of the Dublin merchants' efforts to handicap local trade" (ibid. p.151-52).

Note 91: p.152:

"Dublin Merchant Gild, Egerton MS, No. 1765, f. 67. The recorder held that the power conceded the merchants by their charter, to seize and convert to their use merchandise exposed for sale by non-free persons was legal because Queen Elizabeth {1558-1603} had conferred the power by authority of Parliament, the chancellor and chief judges of the realm having decided in a former case that the words 'by authority of Parliament' in a charter gave it the force of a parliamentary measure" (ibid. p.152).

"By 1782, at Chester, local smiths, cutlers, plumbers and the various other groups associated with them practically abandoned further efforts to force into their ranks craftsmen who seemed unwilling to enter. According to an order issued in that year the company's stewards were directed to wait on half a dozen craftsmen 'to have their respective answers to know if they or any of them will become Brothers of this Company'. Only one of the six showed any intention of joining its ranks; whereupon it was ordered that no further application be made to those who had intimated that

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Them 'Forrayners'

In the June issue of the *Labour Comment* (Mondragon, Part 19) there was an account of the amalgamation of the English trades and handicrafts, and of the conflict which developed between them as they struggled with one another, often from their rise, for the right to Guild existence. The account of the two movements appears for the most part one of conflict between local guildsmen, but their final acts reveal them quarrelling not with one another as much as with outsiders who were doing business on their own account against the rules of the established Guilds.

"By the middle of the Eighteenth century, despite the effort expended, the power of boroughs and guilds to confine local trade and industry to free guildsmen seems to have broken down in most places of importance. Indeed, to judge by the evidence of local records, it had begun to give way by 1654, fully a century earlier, when boroughs and guilds worked together to keep strangers from using the trades and manufactures of the nation. At this time, too, by order of the borough of Bedford, strangers were neither to practise a craft nor sell their merchandise within the liberties" (*The English Craft Guilds, Studies in their Progress and Decline*, Stella Kramer, Columbia University Press, 1927, p.142-3).

"At Kinsale, too, in 1687, the shopkeepers and 'tailors' who failed to agree with the corporation for their freedoms were to have their shops summarily shut up, and a gild of the standing of the Shrewsbury mercers was diverting considerable sums toward the suppressing of 'Forrayners and Intruders'..." (ibid. p142-3).

NEW ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
Apparently, even at this late date {1716}, there were Guild masters who were not yet ready to go to such lengths but who, nevertheless, expected their journeymen to accommodate themselves to changed economic conditions. However, journeymen of the period had evid-

ently gotten beyond the accommodating stage, and as Guild masters, at least, in the metropolis, had plenty of foreign labour to draw upon, and in addition were practically all-powerful in the councils of the city, they succeeded before long in having passed a city ordinance empowering employers to engage non-free journeymen whenever freemen proved unreasonable.

"Most of the boroughs seemed determined to confine the exercise of local trade and industry to freemen—hence their zeal in punishing trespassers at this late date. In 1700, acting under its chartered rights, the city of Cork seized goods which non-freemen sold by retail, and disposed of them 'to the use of the corporation'" (ibid. p.141-42).

"Five years earlier, the common council of Abingdon forbade any "Forraigner" whatsoever to use any manner of trade within the borough until he should have paid the sum of fifty pounds for his freedom" (ibid. p.142, Note 30).

"In 1771 the mercantile guilds of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and of Alnwick still restrained non-members from exercising the business of a merchant within local precincts. In 1823 the mercers of Shrewsbury forced a recalcitrant mer-

chant to pay their company tribute, and even as late as 1835 the mercers' company of Faversham still imposed certain restrictions upon all persons who sought to trade within corporate limits" (ibid. p.139).

"In 1730, the corporation of Youghal declared it lawful for the guilds of clothiers and leathermen to prosecute "encroachers and to attach them by their bodies or goods until they make due satisfaction as shall be adjudged by the Magistrates"... (Youghal *Council Book*, p.431, ibid. p.141)

In 1732: "...the city of Cork appointed an attorney to help local barber-surgeons uphold their corporate rights against certain 'refractory persons' who had preferred charges against the company" (*Council Book*, p.512, ibid. p.141). Indeed, in the above case "*The freemen who 'do assist' such persons were, in their turn, to be disenfranchised*".

"In 1772, officials of the barber-surgeons, wax and tallow chandlers pledged themselves to proceed according to law against townsmen who used these occupations, but failed to join the company at the urging of the stewards" (ibid, p.140).

CROMWELL

We learn from the weavers of London that foreigners who were admitted to fill vacancies in their ranks when their own members 'engaged for the Parliament... {1642-1651} by degrees got all the trading'. As a result many weavers were forced to take up other callings in order to gain a living. So, by the passage of an act to enable soldiers who had served in Cromwell's army to re-enter the business world, boroughs and Guilds were forced to lift the embargo they had placed upon the exercise of trades and industries. Thus, during the Commonwealth {1649-58}, civic ordinances forbidding non-freemen

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