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Stormont House Agreement

Adams Avoids The Trap!

Sinn Fein has agreed to social welfare cuts in Northern Ireland at the insistence of Dublin and London.

The fall of the 'Northern Ireland state' for the third time has been averted. It fell in 1972. It fell again in 1974. Then it did not exist for 25 years. And now its fall for a third time has been averted by Sinn Fein's agreement to the "austerity" measures imposed by London and supported by Dublin.

If Sinn Fein had agreed to the cut in social welfare payments in the North when they were demanded months ago, it would have placed itself in a vulnerable position in the Dail. Coalition Ministers were already beginning to criticise it for double-standards, being anti-Austerity in the South, while introducing it in the North. While the criticism would have been bogus, it would have passed muster in the South, which keeps itself ill-informed about the governing system in the North.

We assume that the handling of the situation by Gerry Adams in recent months has had the purpose of disabling the criticism of the Coalition over Sinn Fein's agreement to social welfare cuts by making the Coalition demand publicly that it should agree to the implementation of the cuts insisted on by London.

Sinn Fein went up to the wire on the issue. If it had continued to reject welfare cuts for another 24 hours, the devolved Northern Ireland system of the British state would have fallen. For a brief instant Whitehall struck the posture of threatening Sinn Fein that it would take Northern Ireland back under direct Whitehall Government. But Northern Ireland was entirely a Whitehall project imposed on the Six Counties in 1921 in response to no local demand for it and it would have done Cameron no good at all to bring about its collapse on the eve of a General Election.

Dublin, too, realised as the moment of truth approached, that it very much did not want the problems of Northern Ireland opened up again for it.

The crisis arose because Cameron over-rode the devolved authority by insisting that it must carry out social welfare cuts in line with those being implemented in England and Wales. In theory responsibility for social welfare is devolved to the Assembly. This is curious because the actual payments are made from central coffers. In this instance, London was unwilling to have NI make up the difference from its own budget.

Dublin, as a guarantor of the 1998 Agreement, might have pointed out that Whitehall was infringing on the authority of the devolved government, as established in the Agreement, by interfering with the way it chose to spend its allocation of funds. But it didn't. If it had done so, it would have been aligned with Sinn Fein. It chose to play politics against Sinn Fein on the issue instead, only to be effectively countered by Sinn Fein in the matter of politicking.

By holding on to the last minute, SF achieved some amelioration for those worst-hit by the welfare cuts by the allocation of some extra funds for this purpose from London.

Then it was agreed that "with the implementation of key measures to deliver sustainable Executive finance", there will be Westminster legislation "to enable the

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Breaking News:

academia created the Irish Revolution!

Under the guise of writing about the commemoration of 1916 Roy Foster promoted his recent book, *Vivid Faces*, in the *Irish Times* (26 December 2014). This book of his is about as insightful regarding the Irish revolution as was his book about the Celtic Tiger era—which he put down to the good fortune of the Irish. (*Luck And The Irish: a brief history of change, 1970-2000*, 2008). He never followed this up with a book explaining the recession as the bad luck of the Irish but it was the logical thing to have done. He had made the big mistake of dealing with a period that reviewers had themselves experienced and the shallowness of Foster was made painfully clear to them. The man was talking nonsense and they said so.

For the best part of the last century academia avoided the Irish Revolutionary era like the plague. And this was specifically ordered to be done by the history doyens of the time, Dudley Edwards and Moody in the 1930s. Then TCD came along with Professor Fitzpatrick in the 1980s and academia decided to write the history of the Irish revolution and we got the era personified by the methodology Peter Hart and the Professor himself, which culminated in him writing a sectarian song to try to make his case. By these means academia tried to take ownership of the writing of the history of the revolution.

In this *Irish Times* piece and in his book Foster goes one step further—he claims the Revolution itself was made by academia! He says: "*The revolution was created in colleges, theatres and libraries as well as in the GPO*" (Ibid.). He should have added bedrooms to this list as his

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

The Great Catastrophe

Mondragon, Part 37

(back page)

devolution of corporation tax in April 2017" (para 8). This means that Belfast can have the Dublin rate of Corporation Tax.

Public assets have been quietly sold off in Northern Ireland by Whitehall and other bodies for a number of years. Now the devolved Government is exhorted to do likewise.

There is to be a *Commission on Flags, Identity, Culture and Tradition*", consisting of 15 members, 7 of which will represent the parties, and the majority represent something else. The *Commission's work may touch on expressions of sovereignty and identity, it may consult the UK and Irish Governments*" (para 15)—which, having no representative connections with the Six Counties, know nothing about these aspects of life in them.

The business of the Parades Commission is to be transferred to the Assembly. But, if the Assembly can't agree—which is a certainty—there would be Independent Adjudication.

Under the heading of *The Past*, there is provision for an *Oral History Archive*—a domestic replacement for Lord Bew's disgraced Boston College operation.

Contributors are to be guaranteed against "*defamation claims*" and "*political interference*" (paras 22-24). There is no mention of possible police action resulting from statements made.

In addition there will be a *Historical Investigation Unit*, replacing both Historical Enquiries Team, and the Police Ombudsman (in this area), to deal with legacy security issues (para 30 onwards). This relates mainly to families seeking explanations for the deaths of relatives during the War. But this provision will not replace the Inquest system, which has been found the most efficacious in finding answers to security force killings—despite being hampered at every turn by Government agencies.

As for criminal prosecutions, the document declares this is a matter for the DPP.

Provision is made for yet a third institution of this kind, the *Independent Commission On Information Retrieval* (paras 41 onwards). The idea is to "*enable victims and survivors to seek and privately receive information about the (Troubles-related) deaths of their next of kin*". It will be given powers to conduct its affairs entirely confidentially and will obtain information from British and Irish Govern-

ment agencies as well as from individuals. Paragraph 49 states:

"The ICIR will not disclose the identities of people who provide information. No individual who provides information to the body will be immune from prosecution for any crime committed should the required evidential test be satisfied by other means."

There were rumours that the *Petition Of Concern* was to be dropped. That would have been a major change. It would have been a step back towards majority rule. As things stand, a petition of 30 members requires Assembly motions to be voted on by Nationalists and Unionists separately and are only passed if they gain a majority in each. That arrangement is to continue. Changes to it can only be made "*through a protocol agreed by the parties*" (para 58)/.

Paragraph 59 provides for the establishment of an Official Opposition. This Opposition would consist of—

"parties which would be entitled to ministerial positions in the Executive, but choose not to take them up".

An Official Opposition without an Official Government would be something new. The system is that every Party with a certain number of seats in the Assembly gets a Department to run. There are governing Departments, but not a general Government which supervises them.

The SDLP and UUP can now resign their Ministries and be constituted an Official Opposition, with rights imitating those in Westminster. But they will not have a Government to ask questions of. And, although debating points about the need for an Opposition have been heard from both the SDLP and UUP, it is very unlikely that they would resign their ministries in order to be an Opposition that would not be an alternative Government. And, if they were willing in principle to go into opposition, how could they as Nationalists and Unionists act as a single Opposition? Surely the only practical arrangement under the system would be for two Official Oppositions, in conflict with each other. And, in the absence of a Government to question, should there not be an Opposition Question Time in which they could question each other?

Paragraph 60 provides for the reduction of Ministries from 12 to 9.

Paragraphs 62 to 65, governing meetings of the Executive itself, read like Standing Orders one would expect a Chess

Club to have as a matter of course, e.g. an Agenda to be circulated in advance of a meeting. The object seems to be to give some appearance of being a Government to two groups of Ministers who hold their positions independently as the party nominees of antagonistic parties.

But Northern Ireland remains what Westminster set it up to be in 1921—a devolved system of communal antagonism.

Only one real change has been made since 1921. The dominance of the Unionist community, operated outside the democratic political system of the state, generated such a depth of hostility in the Nationalist community that it sustained a 25 year war against the State which the State eventually gave up hope of winning. In order to end that unwinnable war, the State changed the terms of the conflict of communities by making a level playing field for it.

How often have we heard the complaint in recent times, when a Government in some foreign part is acting against an opposition, that the playing field is not level! Well, the Northern Ireland playing field is pretty level now.

The antagonism of communities continues because outside the democracy of a state nothing else is possible. The British state has decreed that British democracy is not to be the medium of democratisation in the Six Counties. It has its reasons for that decree, and it broke the Ulster Unionist will to be British back around 1920. So, if there is to be further substantial change, there is only one direction in which it can happen.

Academia

continued

book consists of so much about the sex lives of a small number of people who were either related or closely connected socially to each other. The idea of such a group creating a national revolution is farcical. Rather, to liberate themselves from various oppressive conventions of the time, they piggy-backed very happily on the national revolution, but the idea that they created the revolution reminds one of Plekhanov's proverbial fly on the mudguard of a carriage-wheel believing he is responsible for all the dust that is being raised.

The theme of this book is that many of them were disappointed with the outcome. This is hardly surprising as Foster paints them, because they and their particular beliefs were not and could not possibly be the purpose of and be responsible for the creating of a national Revolution. That Revolution was created by a war fought and defended by the overwhelmingly majority of the people for 'four glorious years'. That war was not initiated or sustained by academics or actors. It was not fought for some sort of Freudian

liberation by the millions involved or even on behalf of a few people with such needs.

Wherever Foster has to acknowledge that these events might have had something to do with ending opposition to Britain's efforts to maintain political control of the country—well that's just Anglophobia and no more need be said. The political substance of the forces actually involved in the revolution is all strictly off stage in this work. The conflict then becomes a war and a revolution without an enemy. It's like watching a boxer in a ring fighting like mad with nobody else in sight. So he must be fighting himself. No wonder he gets disillusioned at some point.

Foster quotes why Sean O'Faolain was disappointed. What he wanted from the revolution was "*freedom from cant, freedom from lies, freedom from hypocrisy, freedom from fear, love of beauty, and a desire above all, for a fullness of being in every man*" (page 304). Foster does not record if or how O'Faolain planned to create and make a success of such a revolution. It should have been easy—who would have opposed it?

Jack Lane

NEW PAMPHLET:

**94th Anniversary,
Kilmichael Ambush
Commemoration.**

Address

by

Jack Lane,

30th November 2014

**Aubane Historical Society
€3, £2.50, Postfree from
athol-st@atholbooks.org**



Jack Lane addressing the crowd of 800 at Kilmichael, 30th November 2014

Tom Barry

Mr Chairman, Revered Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen, welcome to this spot in Fitzgerald's Park. I want to thank the General Tom Barry Commemoration Committee for inviting me to speak at the annual commemoration.

We are here today to honour Tom Barry. Tom Barry, the man. In recent years the man has been demeaned, treated as a person without feeling, humanity or any sense of compassion. So today I'd like to tell you about the man I knew, the man that other people encountered and the man whose biography I wrote. He was no saint; he was a human being with faults like all of us. But he deserves more respect than he has been getting over recent years.

In the 1930s Special Branch had a detective shadowing him and watching his every move. This man was John Browne. In 1938 Barry, who was Chief of Staff of the IRA, severed connections with the IRA, because of the decision to set off bombs in London. Barry brought his decision down to basics. He saw no sense in putting "*a bomb in a cloak room*" in another country and then a cleaning lady, earning 10/- s a week, being blown to bits. John Browne described Barry to me. He said that he was "*the most principled man*" he ever met. Those are strong words coming from a former detective.

In June 1922, Tom Barry was the first prisoner of the Civil War. He was captured going into the Four Courts, dressed as a nurse. Then he was taken to Mountjoy Jail and put into C Wing.

From early on Barry made efforts to escape. He got a letter smuggled out. He described that himself, among 80 prisoners including "*{Joe} McKelvey, Rory {O'Connor} and Liam Mellows are having a rough time*". On "*O'Duffy's instructions we are being treated like common criminals ... some fainted {they} are being dragged along corridors and flung into cells. ... It is hell to see our fellows treated like that*". His letter, which tells of one prisoner being shot, is harrowing to read. No wonder he wanted to escape!

A few efforts he made were unsuccessful. On one occasion he got an army coat and leggings and cap. Rory O'Connor gave him £5 which he hid. He organised a ploy. He got Rory, Dick Barrett, Liam Mellows and a few more to stage a mock

fight in the prisoners' yard. Barry then slid unseen through a hole in the wire, slipped off his 'dust coat' and pulled on the uniform cap. He got into line with other army men going on leave. His story of how he "*manufactured*" his way to get as far as the gate is fascinating. He was almost through when he was recognised. Prison officer Ignatius O'Rourke was walking by the big wall when he noticed "*a badly dressed soldier*".

In 1963, forty years later, O'Rourke wrote to Barry and gave him the details of what happened.

"I stopped you and asked you your name, you replied Tommy O'Brien and answered all the questions smartly. 'You are Tom Barry', O'Rourke said. Sean O'Connell, whom Barry had met with Michael Collins in Dublin, a year previously, took the cap off Barry's head, and said, 'Hard luck Tom!' Officer O'Rourke tells how his capture was celebrated in the prison office, over a bottle of whiskey. O'Rourke was given the task of taking Barry to 'B basement cell'. 'I'll never forget the state it was in'. O'Rourke went on leave from 8 pm to 4 am and returned to find that nobody had visited Barry. 'I was disgusted and went down myself'."

O'Rourke tells of how Barry complained that he was near suffocation and asked O'Rourke to break a few panes of glass. When O'Rourke hesitated Barry asked him to give him his revolver. "*I'll break them with the butt*", said Barry.

O'Rourke wrote,

"I wasn't inclined to hand you my gun without first breaking it and extracting the six-pound. You asked me not to break it, and gave me your word of Honour that you'd hand it back to me loaded as it was".

O'Rourke gave Barry the revolver, who broke five little window panes.

"True to your word of Honour you handed me back the revolver. What a relief I got when you did, is only known to myself. Never in my life did I feel fear until I handed you my gun. No one would believe what I am relating only those who acted the part. Had you decided to knock me out, you could have walked out a free man because I had all the keys of the respective gates in my person. We were about the same height and age. Had you walked up to the circle and out through the circle door it's hardly likely you'd have been questioned because three

fellows there were half asleep when I walked up."

Prison Officer O'Rourke was given the job of taking care of Barry. In his letter he paid tribute to Barry because, he wrote,

"not once did you pass an uncomplimentary remark to me either about the State I was serving, so much so that I always think of you with the kindness of feeling ... I am an honest believer in historical truth."

This account given from an opponent's point of his encounter with Tom Barry during the bitter conflict of Civil War puts Barry's character in perspective. Now, with the passage of years, when Barry is accused of deceit and untrustworthiness, this incident comes to my mind.

From my research I found he was always open and honest and truthful with others. During the 1940s, 50s and 60s he was generous with his time. He often gave talks at the ambush sites for students and groups. Lieut. Col. Eamonn Moriarty recalled for me Barry's talks for the Defence Forces at these sites, including Crossbarry and Kilmichael, where he answered their questions honestly. Lieut Moriarty said, "*I can see that Tom had very strong discipline, and it was what kept his unit together*".

UNVEILING MICHAEL COLLINS'S MONUMENT

In April 1965, Tom Barry was asked to unveil a monument in memory of Michael Collins at Sam's Cross. It was a memorable occasion. Men who had opposed each other in a Civil War, now came together for this ceremony. Before an estimated 15,000 people, Barry said,

"Let us bury the dead past of dissensions ... let us leave it that each of us, like I did myself, believed in the correctness of our choice. I concede that those who were on the opposite side believed that their decision was the right one too."

Tom Barry was a true humanitarian. He was noted for his kindness to those whom he felt life had not treated too kindly. A former Volunteer, Dan Carey, told me that he was out of work for a period. One day Barry took him to buy a new suit of clothes. "*That was his form*", Carey said. "*I never saw a mean trick out of him. Because he was so straight, so outspoken, people didn't always agree with him. Even if it meant falling out, nevertheless, he would voice his opinion*".

Upon hearing that any of his old comrades were in hospital he would call to see them. After he had left, invariably they

would find an envelope with money under their pillow. One man had been in an accident. Barry paid him a visit. When leaving he pulled a book from his pocket threw it on the bed and said, "maybe you'll read that sometime!" After Barry had left the man found £20 note in it.

There are several such stories of his humanity. Barry loved young people and was always conscious of those unable to fund further education, so from time to time he discreetly and confidentially sponsored a few students in university.

EARLY LIFE

The son of an RIC man, and second of fourteen children, Thomas Bernadine Barry was born in Kilorgan, Co. Kerry. He spent his youth in Rosscarbery and Bandon. His sense of adventure inspired him to join the British Army. As part of the Mesopotamia Expeditionary force, he was with 30,000 beleaguered troops who had failed to break the Turkish-German ring. On a camp notice board he read of the Rebellion in Dublin. Away from home it was a rude awakening. Though wounded on the borders of Asiatic Russia, he recuperated and fought in Egypt, Jaffa and Jerusalem. He served in Italy and France; when the war ended he returned to Ireland in February 1919.

Through his association with the Hales of Knocknacurra, founders of the Volunteers in West Cork, he got involved in the Volunteer movement. He served first in Intelligence and later was appointed as trainer of the West Cork Volunteers and then Commander of the Flying Column. He had asked for and was given absolute command. His decisions would be his and his alone without interference. He would take full responsibility and would have to take the blame for any failure or disaster.

His ability to plan, and make split-second decisions whether in the height of battle or during a raid, allowed his men to trust him completely. With all ambushes during the war he applied a positive attitude and inspired his men likewise.

RECENT YEARS.

In recent years Barry has been getting a sizable amount of undeserved negative comment. He has been an easy target. He has no direct relatives in Ireland, as his father, mother and family left for England when he went 'on the run'. But he has many relatives still in County Cork.

The decision to stage an ambush at Kilmichael, confronting the dreaded C Company Auxiliaries in Macroom, was brave. As with all ambushes during the

war, he applied a positive attitude and inspired his men likewise. When confronted with the enemy's false surrender, Barry was decisive. I have shown in my biography *Tom Barry: IRA Freedom Fighter*, that, during the ambush on 28th November 1920, Barry and his men accepted the Auxie's surrender call; then Auxies resumed firing with their revolvers, having thrown down their rifles. Jack Hennessy, in Section 2, a direct witness tells us this in his Witness Statement:

"we heard the three blasts of the O/C's {Barry's} whistle. I heard the three blasts {signifying ceasefire} and got up from my position, shouting 'hands up'. At the same time one of the Auxies about five yards from me drew his revolver. He had thrown down his rifle. I pulled on him and shot him dead. I got back to cover where I remained for a few minutes firing at living and dead Auxies on the road. The Column O/C sounded his whistle again. Nearly all the Auxies had been wiped out."

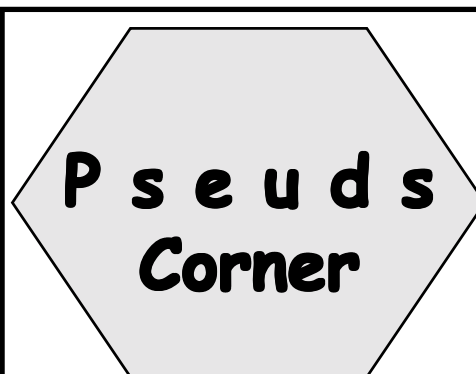
Here Hennessy described a false surrender without calling it that. Volunteers accepted the Auxies' surrender. Barry

blew the ceasefire whistle. Then an Auxie who had thrown down his rifle "drew his revolver".

The Auxiliaries' action was known and accepted in the House of Commons, as well as locally and nationally at the time. All the recent speculation of 'possibilities' and 'probabilities' won't change the facts of what the men in the line of fire have said.

I have written the facts of what happened at Kilmichael. From my primary research, having interviewed many of the men involved, including my uncle Pat O'Donovan, I believe they told the truth. Barry has been accused of 'telling lies' about what happened at the Kilmichael ambush. It is my belief that if there was anything different to tell, Barry would have said so, and given his reasons.

Kilmichael ambush was a turning point in the War of Independence, it boosted IRA morale. A member of the Flying Column, Jim Kearney, spoke about Barry to me, "Any man who would stand on the road before an on-coming enemy: men would die for him".



1. BOB GELDOLF

The history of punk is long and mercenary. Shakespeare used the word as a synonym for whore and when Bob Geldof arrived in Britain he announced his ambition to get rich, famous and laid. Great artists have reaped such rewards incidentally but enriched civilisation with their art. But Geldof went back to basics when declaring himself a punk. To misquote Mae West—*Music had nothing to do with it.*

Geldof's LIVE AID spectacular in 1986 captured the admiration of millions, including myself. It was the first I ever saw of Bono to whom I took a dislike that has not abated. His laying on of hands as if he could cure leprosy was nauseating. Though I don't doubt that it was all Pro Bono. Geldof's star, then on the wane, rose and shone more than ever.

Geldof is perhaps a greater self-publicist than the American showman P. T. Barnum

who famously observed that there was a fool born every minute.

Jeffrey Archer, who, to his credit, made Oxfam the successful charity it is, pales beside him. Perhaps in Britain only Horatio Bottomley, publisher of *John Bull*, can compare with Geldof. It must be said though that Bottomley displayed a sense of humour unnoticed in Geldof or Archer.

Within minutes of the death of Princess Diana, Geldof was all over the media like a cheap suit, blaming the media for her death. This was a bit rich, considering how she had played the media like a violin and was threatening to displace Geldof himself as its chief manipulator. Whatever respect he had earned with me through LIVE AID evaporated.

Geldof was a day-pupil in Blackrock College in Dublin, one of Ireland's most prestigious schools for a hundred and fifty years. It currently charges 6,500 Euros per annum for day pupils. Geldof's father, by all accounts a decent man, could also afford a sailing boat. But Geldof informed the High Court in London, that he came from a poor Irish background and was not particularly well-educated. In his memoir "*Is that it?*", he recalled being caned by his father for dishonesty. Considering Sir Bob's pose as *Ragged-Schooled Philanthropist*, Geldof *Pere* wasted his money on school fees and his energy on Bob's chastisement.

Donal Kennedy

At Touren ambush, prior to Kilmichael, he and his Volunteer comrades stripped their enemy of their arms and ammunition and sent them back to Bandon barracks. He always said that their return without equipment was among the most humiliating treatment for them. After the Ross-carbery ambush and surrender, Barry got some of his men to take the military to the local convent where they were bandaged. His humanity showed.

The several ambushes that Barry organised were unique. He never suggested 'a retreat' to his men. He fought to win. In open countryside like Kilmichael, or trapped at the water's edge in Burgatia, or fighting their way out of Crossbarry encirclement, all required the mind of a military genius. As one of his Volunteers,

Dan Canty, told me, "*He was a tradesman and soldering was his trade. He could take men and make soldiers of them*".

Barry was a strict disciplinarian, ruthless when the need arose, but he was also kind— kind to men who planned and fought with him, and kind also in later life to those in need.

Very often in my work I think of those men and women—the many who sacrificed themselves to give us the Ireland we have today. When I read some recent accounts, I feel the individual, the people who suffered, are lost. They are spoken of and written about, as if they were objects. This is the case with Barry also. That saddens me. Let us today remember Tom Barry, the human being—the honest man with the positive attitude.

CDS, any more than a betting shop punter needs to have an ownership interest in the horses that he bets on.

Sellers of CDS take the risk of a bond default onto themselves in exchange for a premium known as a '*spread*' and buyers may purchase it in order to hedge or manage other risks in their portfolios. Since few bonds are generally subject to default (or what is known as a 'credit event'), the business would seem to be mostly money for old rope. However, when a default does occur, losses accrue not only to the bondholders who do not have CDS insurance, but also naturally to those who have sold such insurance. The sellers of CDS are mainly the large UK, US and European investment banks, and although they have various ways of offsetting their risk, it is hard to escape the conclusion that CDS actually tends to invert the general principle of insurance which revolves around the mutualisation of risk. CDS risk is thus more of a pure gambling risk, and is largely disconnected from the relatively innocent and benign risks where bonds and equities are purchased and held for legitimate investment purposes. It is also potentially a systemic risk for the banking system as it is the banks' own capital which is at stake not that of their 'bondholder' clients.

According to the ECB the total outstanding value of CDS contracts worldwide as of December 2011 was in the region of €20 Trillion, an extraordinary figure exceeding many times over the capital bases of the banks that trade them. The degree therefore to which such derivative contracts played a part in the ECB's apparent reversal of judgement concerning the burning of Irish bank bondholders is certainly something that the forthcoming Dail banking enquiry should look into.

Sean Owens

What About Those Credit Default Swaps?

John Martin's opinion in his review of 'Brian Lenihan: in Calm and in Crisis' that Ireland could not have issued a credible threat to Europe regarding 'burning' the bondholders without committing financial suicide is surely correct. But there is at the same time something fundamentally unjust about the state being forced to assume the debts of failed private banking businesses over the long term.

For the sake of clarity as to who exactly as to who exactly the State bailed out, and an answer as to whether any long term redress for the problem might be possible, the forthcoming Dail banking enquiry needs to look carefully at whose debts the State assumed and why

According to Derek Scally in the *Irish Times* of 27th March 2013, the financing of Irish banks came very largely from UK sources and minimally from the Eurozone. Yet in Ray McSharry's contribution to the Lenihan book he makes the point that French and German banks stood to lose massively if Irish bank bondholders were burned and that Jean Claude Trichet, then President of the European Central Bank, changed his mind on this important issue, apparently in the Summer of 2010.

Perhaps it is necessary to consider who the Bondholders actually might have been. 'Bondholders' and professional investors in general, i.e. those who invest other people's money in the form of pension funds, mutual funds etc, are quite a con-

servative and cautious class of investor. As a result they diversify their portfolios extensively with the express aim that a default of any one particular security in any given portfolio, while painful perhaps for that portfolio manager's performance bonus, will not be catastrophic for the portfolio overall. Many banks and asset management companies manage such portfolios on behalf of their clients, but the money at risk is in general not the banks' or companies' own capital but that of their clients.

There is no *prima facie* reason to suppose therefore that a decision to 'burn' Irish bank bondholders *by itself* would have had systemic effects on the European banking system as the bondholders were, it seems, overwhelmingly from Ireland itself: the UK and US and European banks were not extensive holders of Irish bank bonds.

However, the bondholders are not necessarily the only people with an interest in the performance of a bond. For the last 20 years or so, a financial instrument or derivative, known as a Credit Default Swap (CDS) has been available on the markets, notionally as a form of insurance against the occurrence of a default in the payments due on the bonds to which they are referenced. To call such instruments 'insurance' however is to stretch the meaning of the word somewhat, since it is not necessary to have an insurable interest in the underlying bond in order to buy the

Facebook Posting by Sean Haughey TD

Moore Street

Absolutely delighted that Dublin City Council voted tonight [4.11.14] against the land swap proposal put forward by Chartered Land which would have guaranteed the demolition of the Moore Street Terrace. I spoke out strongly against the deal and advocated the views put forward by the 1916 Relatives Association. We now need vision and political leadership to develop the Moore Street Battlefield Site into an historical cultural quarter for future generations.

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

COST OF PAYING SENIOR BONDS

Dan O'Brien in the *Sunday Independent* (7.12.14) put the cost of the European Central Bank's decision to insist that the State repay Senior Bondholders at 5 billion euro: an enormous sum, but far less than the 64 billion euro figure that some commentators claim. What is more difficult to calculate is what would have been the cost of not repaying them (even if the ECB had allowed us). We cannot know for certain the economic costs of an alternative set of policies, which were not taken. All we can say is that the State's underwriting of Senior Bondholders facilitated the raising of finance by AIB and Bank of Ireland ensuring their survival. It also ensured the maintenance of a relatively cheap line of credit for the State. To think that the State could have obtained the same terms with a track record of default is naïve in the extreme.

WATERFORD CRYSTAL WORKERS

Congratulations are due to the former workers of Waterford Crystal and their Union *Unite* for obtaining a deal on their pensions.

It is interesting to note that some of the most high profile industrial disputes in recent years have been about pensions rather than pay. Typically these disputes revolve around defined benefit schemes which workers believed entitled them to a "defined" pension on retirement. Unlike a defined contribution scheme the general understanding was that if there was a shortfall in the fund the employer would stump up the difference.

Unfortunately with diminishing stock market returns and longer life expectancy the shortfall in most of these defined benefit schemes became so large that the funds were effectively insolvent.

In the case of Waterford Glass the workers suffered a 'double whammy'. Not only did they lose their jobs, but they discovered that their pension was practically worthless and since the company was insolvent there was no prospect of funding from that source.

The Union fought the case right up to the European Court of Justice, which ruled that the State was obliged to pay 49% of their benefits. The State complied with the ruling and following mediation through

the Chairman of the Labour Court, Kieran Mulvey, obtained a package worth 82% of the benefits they would have received if the fund had been solvent.

The package will entitle the 1,774 workers to a lump sum equal to 1,200 euro per year of service up to 40 years. They are also entitled to a proportion of the benefits they would have received if the fund were solvent. This will be equal to 90% of the first 12,000 per annum benefits; 67% of amounts between 12,000 and 24,000; and 50% of any amount above 24,000.

By any standards this is generous. It will cost the State a massive 180 million euro.

STATE PROVISION OF PENSIONS

The implications of the industrial disputes over pensions have not reverberated within the political arena. The State Pension is about 12,000 euro per annum regardless of income. While the Waterford Crystal decision gives some protection for people lucky enough to be in a defined benefit scheme, there is no protection for people in a defined contribution scheme. Also, only 41% of workers in the State (including those in the public sector) are enrolled in a funded pension plan (occupational or personal). The State should begin to take a more active role in the provision of pensions for all workers in the State. Policy on pensions should not be made on the basis of reacting to the decisions of the European Court of Justice.

Companies and Pension Funds wax and wane, but the State goes on forever and is therefore suitable for providing for the future needs of the society. A comprehensive State Pension Fund would eliminate a vast swathe of consultants, sales people and Fund Managers from the private sector whose expenses drag down the returns on private pension funds.

Such pension provision should not be financed out of general taxation. Benefits should be related to pension contributions collected by the State through deductions from payroll or other means in the case of self employed etc. While the benefits can be skewed to benefit the low paid, it is important that there is some relationship between contributions made and benefits received. The contributions made should be seen as a property right held by the contributor, imposing an obligation on the State. In order to limit the costs of the scheme, a ceiling could be set on the annual pension paid: 60,000 euro per annum at current values?

Private pension schemes build up investment funds to finance the pension benefits of their members, but since the

State goes on forever such funds are not necessary. The Long Fellow favours a pay-as-you-go system. However, the State should consider earmarking the contributions received for long-term investment. There is no better way of ensuring that pension requirements can be met than by increasing the productivity of workers in the State. As well as through investment in education and training,, improvements in the State's infrastructure will also increase worker productivity.

WATER INFRASTRUCTURE

There can be few investments that would give a greater social return than investment in our water infrastructure. Recently, the UK regulator decided to impose a 20% reduction on water charges to householders. This is possible because the significant investment in the infrastructure in recent years has driven down the costs of supplying the water.

The investment is not because the water companies in Britain are largely in private hands, it is because the money has been made available through charging for water services. There is a relationship between the revenue raised and the amount of investment.

The Long Fellow favours a nominal charge for water usage—far less than the UK rate which averages over 400 pounds a year. Extra revenue could be raised by a proportion of the Property Tax being allocated to capital investment in water.

TAX AND PUBLIC SERVICES

The Irish Times (10.12.14) reports that the amount of Irish tax and social charges as a proportion of GDP is below the OECD average (28.3% compared to 34.3%). However, the make up of the tax revenue diverges quite significantly from the OECD average. 33% of total tax revenue from Ireland comes from tax on personal income, profits and other gains. The equivalent figure for the OECD is 28%. In other categories Ireland doesn't diverge much from the norm: corporate tax Ireland 8% v 9% OECD average; VAT revenues 21.7% v 19.5%. However, there is a significant divergence in the proportion of revenue accounted for by social security contributions: in Ireland it is 15%, whereas the OECD average is 26%.

Can Ireland learn from other OECD countries? It may be the case that there is a limited scope for increases in income tax, but the data on social charges suggests another source of revenue for the State. People would be prepared to increase their contribution to the State if they saw a direct benefit (e.g. improved pension

benefits, improved health services, improved quality of water provision). The level of compliance would be greater if it reduced other costs (e.g. no longer necessary to contribute to private pension plans or pay private health insurance premiums). The Long Fellow doubts very much that calls for increasing income tax is a realistic means of improving social services.

FUTURE ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

Predicting the economic future is always a hazardous business. There are threats to our economic recovery such as war in Ukraine, recession on the Continent

etc. But the Long Fellow thinks the economic prognosis is more positive than negative. World Oil Prices have dropped by 40%. This is a massive stimulus to oil importers such as Ireland (*The Irish Times*, 8.11.14). It is gradually feeding itself into the economy. Wholesale gas prices fell by 23% in the 12 months to October. Wholesale electricity prices were down 7% compared to October 2013 (*The Irish Times*, 28.10.14).

If the economy does recover, as most of the forecasts suggest, the political landscape may be very different in 2016 to the lie of the land at present.

ions to the British system. Perhaps one who had served with, or close to, the Brits. Policing, Security, Intelligence. There was a certain death-wish involved. Someone who had Six County connections. A member of PSNI or RUC. It is believed that someone in Government had been leaning that way. There were benefits, they contended. But it was a step too far. Too soon, for them. The result might be employing one and wondering for whom they were working. We should be used to this. It's one thing to invite one in, it's another to give them the key to the house. A bit like having Al Capone as doorman to Fort Knox. But Sanity prevailed.

EU members were considered, to be sure. But they too would be fraught. NATO membership would debar. Such duality would complicate. Someone might come to the force who had another's welfare at heart. The diaspora would raise issues too. Similar considerations would arise. Influences could intrude from afar. There are seldom absolutes. But it's best to play tightly. Know your devil rather than the one you don't know. Shuffle the cards. Cut the pack. Omit the Joker. Always expect the unexpected. Everyone is suspect. It's a matter of degree. Inducements always hover.

The Troubles brought heady days. Strange men occupied powerful places. Some were fighting their own war. Some were prejudiced. Bribes were available. British operatives were active, all over. Wealth was pursued. Lifestyles altered. Wheels grew bigger. Homes were extended. Addresses altered. Some were influenced by family background, giving service, as of yore, to their Monarch. Service rendered in uniform or in civilian attire. At home or abroad, overtly or covertly. When one on the way to the stars suddenly jumps—you know he's had to go. Caught. Getting out. A 'favourite son' departing, unnoticed, he hopes. Having talked too much, perhaps. Or a step too far. (See *The Steps To Take And Those Not To Take*. To be published on a date to be decided.)

Sometimes you'll know when someone is bought. Some are readymade. Bespoke. The opportunity may be awaiting. There is a moment of delicacy. When will the approach occur? Must it be contrived? Or is there creativity? The ambiguity of the offer is dangled. The line is cast. A process ensues. It is not an exact science. More impromptu art. He is bought. His handler takes over. Their relationship

Sir Robert Armstrong, British Cabinet Secretary, reported to PM Margaret Thatcher in a secret Memorandum, dated 4th May 1985: "a small number of Garda officers... are... prepared to be extremely helpful" (State Paper releases, *'Uneven Quality Of The Garda' Raised In British Security Assessment*, John Bew, Irish Times, 30.12.14). **RTE's David McCullagh reports (30.12.14) that the British security coordinator reported that the "degree of cooperation and... flow of intelligence...[is] at a greater level than is suspected by at least some Irish ministers". Ref: PREM19/1548.**

The Unlikelihood Of The Unlikely

Words convey many things. Take Pacific. Very deep, wide as the ocean. Pacifists are possessed of principles. These can be overpowering. They can be transformed and alter the principles. The principles can be confused with principals. They in turn may possess many of the former, but fewer of the latter. You could make a fortune trading one. The others may be at a premium.

Take immortality and immorality. Sound alike, look alike. Just one little letter. One is forever and the other maybe. You may seek one even as the other seeks you. One you knew you have, the other you may never know. One usually brings high repute. High status may come with the other; though not necessarily. Either or both may be pursued and never achieved. One may come in a lifetime, the other fall into your lap. Amid these fissures and fractures, the fairer sex appears disadvantaged. But take the Garda Commissioner vacancy. Just filled by a lady.

Sounds, too, can alter things. That chattering may not be the exaltation of crows. It may be the excited expression of principles by a gathering of principals, regrouping after recovering their equilibrium. Surprise and capacity are linked. One may follow the other, or *vice versa*.

But students should not be easily surprised. The new lady Commissioner was on the cards. An Garda is going through the throes. Arguments pile up. Morale is low. Systems are antiquated. Trust has evaporated. Recriminations are rife. The new incumbent has her hands full. The resolution may rest with a handful. Barristeresses, as it were. Mesdames. Now it's Queens Wild and petticoats all the way. Once it was Uachtarán for the ladies. The odds are cut. Everything has changed. Girl-power. The distaff side. All strictly legit. No frills attached. Neither custom nor costume.

Now An Garda has a top cop-ette. One of their own. Someone who came through the system. A clear field and a wind to your back. But Parnassus is uphill. Full of temptations.

The previous incumbent had fallen foul. He'd been helped with a slight nudge. He'd put his foot in it. Afflicted with *hauteur*. It's a long beat when you're to big for your boots. He's confused *My Way* with *My Force*. He was hung out to dry. He went. Counter-claims ringing about. He'd been done. When they *do* you, you're done. It's best to raise your hands.

Someone from outside was mooted as a successor. Maybe one who had connect-

develops and is dominated by need, not by choice. Words endanger. Duplicity occurs. Two horses may be ridden at the one time. Drink must be controlled. Word-spillage is a danger. Over-talking is a risk. Over-lapping duties may intrude. One participant will emerge as the more dominant. Teeth may be bared. Venality may emerge. The more close the action, the more risky. The game goes on and on. The rules are made up as it goes.

Take Patrick Crinnion. He was a part-time male model. He was also a full-time Special Branch Detective Sergeant. He was stationed at Garda Headquarters in Dublin's Phoenix Park. He was at the heart of things. His duties included the handling of sensitive files. He was on his way.

But Crinnion had been turned. His controller was John Wyman, Brit SIS. Crinnion came from Bray. His family was connected to the Bray Wheelers, a well regarded cycling club, with which Stephen Roche had ties. In October 1972 Crinnion was under surveillance as he proceeded to the car-park of a city hotel in Dublin. There he was seen handing over top-secret files to Wyman. They'd become careless. Special Branch officers were watching. The cat was out of the bag. Crinnion and Wyman were taken. The law took its course. Both were charged and found guilty. Wyman was also the Controller of the Littlejohns, two British ruffians who'd been engaging in nefarious activities in Ireland, on behalf of the British State. They'd been put behind bars too. Crinnion and Wyman were exchanged for the Littlejohns, who muddied the waters by appealing sentence, then escaping from Mountjoy; then being recaptured and re-imprisoned. Crinnion found sanctuary in Britain, going to ground there. Nor was there any further trace of Wyman. He'd been reassigned, it would appear, elsewhere. Or put out to grass if you like.

But the Gárda Síochána had been penetrated by the British. It would be foolhardy to assume that Crinnion was a Lone Wolf. The probability is that there were others. This would not be an isolated case. The GS had been breached. There were red faces all around. Some interception had been made in a hotel car park. Brit. Intelligence had suffered a rebuff. But they'd beaver away. Feathers ruffled, maybe, but still on the wing. And how big was the Wolf Pack? One Special Branch collaborator had moved on. But were there others? And who were they?

Detective John McCoy would emerge. He was stationed in Monaghan. His fame would spread. British Intelligence operatives knew him as *The Badger*. This name would echo and re-echo. A country-cop, but a cute-hoor. He had extensive Brit connections. When it suited, he went public. He knew his way about. The Badger was nobody's fool. His name became synonymous with collusion. He would forever be associated with a British Bomb Intelligence Officer, Major Pater Maynard. McCoy and Maynard. A double act, but not one bit funny. (McCoy has stated, publicly, that "*they*" (Branchmen) were all colluding with Brits.)

The Dublin/Monaghan atrocity occurred on Friday 17th May 1974. Three bombs ripped apart the centre of Dublin. Twenty-seven people died in Parnell St., Talbot St., South Leinster St. The time was 1730 hours. One hour and thirty minutes later a bomb was exploded in Monaghan town. Seven more died. The three Dublin bombs had been brought to an assembly area, at the Coachman's Inn, near the Airport. The vehicle (a poultry-truck) was owner-driven by The Jackal, Robin Jackson. He'd collected the bombs in the farm of James Mitchell, at Glennane in South Armagh.

The Monaghan bomb was armed at Ward's Cross, inside the Six Counties. This was done by a British Officer with bomb expertise, assisted by a Captain in the UDR. The meticulous Dublin operation involved six Northern-registered vehicles penetrating through the heart of the Republic, in broad daylight, unhindered, during the conduct of the Ulster Workers' Council Strike in the North. At this sensitive time there was no security—I repeat—no security in place in Dublin or on the route (the vehicles involved crossed the Boyne at Oldbridge) to the city. The bomb, exploded in Monaghan later, was the Supporting Attack (a decoy) to the Main Attack in Dublin, facilitating the escape of those concerned. The Dublin attack had done its dirty work in the selected streets as itemized. Hundreds of casualties occurred.

Three months later something peculiar transpired. Strange things occur for strange reasons. Sometimes there are connections that can be made. Two men came into Dublin from the North. It was the Saturday of the August Bank Holiday weekend, 1974. These men were up to no good. They had not come to help the bereft. There was something afoot. They were operating illegally. They were both on

business for British Intelligence. One was Major Peter Maynard. The other was The Badger. Maynard has been described to me. (I think I saw him once on TV.) He is said to be fair-haired (or was), well-built, perhaps wearing a trench-coat. (Sometimes your informant may be misleading you.) They went to a domestic house in Blanchardstown. They rang the door-bell. Comdt. Patrick Trears, an Army Explosives Ordinance Officer stationed in Dublin, answered. The visitors entered the entered his house.

Introductions were made, they sat back. They had tea and sandwiches. The Badger left at some stage. Maynard propositioned Trears, who has related that he was offered money in order to collude. He had tried to contact his Commanding Officer, but failed. The offer was never finalized. Maynard, his mission not completed, departed. Trears states this was the end of the contact. There was nothing else to the matter. Back to work on Tuesday, Comdt. Trears, himself a distinguished bomb-disposal operative, reported to his superiors. There, he has stated, it all ended. Gone. A puff of smoke.

Now what have Maynard and McCoy to say? Where did they meet afterwards? Did either make official reports? (Many supplementary questions arise.)

Maynard, witnesses state, was a frequenter (illegally) of Monaghan Garda Station before the bombing. McCoy was stationed there. (See my book, *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, 1974*, Belfast Historical And Educational Society). Monaghan was wide open (1900 hours explosion-time) ninety minutes after the devastation of Dublin. The bombers had fore-knowledge of the security situation. As did some others. How could Dublin be reached so easily at a time of crisis in the North? Why did Monaghan stay open after the Dublin attack? Why did the worst atrocity of all remain a mystery? Why was the investigation closed down, abruptly? Now, forty years on, why the cover-up? Some shadow-boxing. A bit of sparring, but the bell to begin has not been sounded.

Edmund Garvey was Assistant Commissioner for Crime and Security at the time of these bombings. He was promoted in September 1975 to Garda Commissioner, despite the security failures which appertained when the bombings took place. Fianna Fail came to power in 1979 under Jack Lynch. He sought Garvey's retirement. When that failed, Garvey was dismissed in January 1978. No reason

was given.

James Downey was Assistant Editor, *Irish Times*. In his memoir *In My Own Time*, he writes of meeting Frank Dunlop, Government Press Officer:]

"I was flabbergasted when he (Dunlop) approached me one day and told me that the Lynch government wanted to force Garvey's resignation because they believed he was a British spy. They thought, he said, that it would be a good idea if the *Irish Times* carried an editorial calling for the Commissioner's resignation..." (Downey, p180).

The following resume has credence: Garvey, when the bombings took place, was responsible for security. There was no security applied. Garvey had 'closed-eye' collusion in place, wherein the British military and Intelligence personnel involved, together with the Loyalist paramilitaries participating, were permitted to conduct the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings—a professional operation of complexity and co-ordination—without any of the scrutiny required at such a parlous time. Garvey and the British system were in tandem, both desiring the wrath of the Government of the Republic to fell upon the Provisional Republican movement. Thus, the bombers had been afforded freedom to pursue their objectives. There was no follow-up action in the aftermath. The UWC Strike served as a cover. It started on May 15th. The outrage occurred on May 17th. By August, active GS investigation had ceased. The file remains "open". Make what you will of that. A small number of senior Gardaí were privy to the plot, it is held.

Hardly the "unlikely of the unlikely".

John Morgan (Maj. Gen. Retd.)

Editorial Note: Last month an Editorial Note to Colonel Morgan's *Principles, Principles Everywhere* inadvertently referred to David O'Connell. It was in fact Professor James O'Connell who was head of the Dept. of Peace Studies in Bradford University between 1978 and 1993.

The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, 1974,

a military analysis by

John Morgan, Lt. Col (Retd.).
248pp. €20, £17.50

Review: "Something of the Nature of a Massacre" The Bandon Valley Killings Revisited by John Borgonovo and Andy Bielenberg, assisted by S. Donnelly Junior (Eire-Ireland, No. 49, 2014)

A Sectarian Massacre?

Yes, No, Maybe, Sort Of

Cork University is learning that it can't get away with historical murder.

Andy Bielenberg led the claque in the History Department which ensured a rapturously mindless acclamation of Peter Hart's Oxford book on the Cork IRA's defence of the elected Irish Government against the British war on it. An effort to enter a mild dissent was howled down. It was the kind of thing that would not have been out of place in a German University in 1933. But now Bielenberg is joint author of a long article on the Dunmanway killings of April 1922 which, under the form of a defence of Hart, whittles away the substance of the case put by Hart in *The IRA And Its Enemies* (Oxford University Press, 1998).

The high points of Hart's sensationalist treatment of the War of Independence (which followed an Election victory that Britain ignored and Hart treats as irrelevant) were that at Kilmichael Tom Barry accepted the surrender of Auxiliaries and then killed them, and that in the Dunmanway region in late April 1922 thirteen people were massacred just because they were Protestants. The latter assertion is made in a chapter entitled *Taking It Out On The Protestants*.

In a later book, Hart wrote:

"On 27, 28, and 29 April 1923, in and around the nearby towns of Dunmanway, Bandon, and Clonakilty, thirteen Protestant men were shot dead and another wounded after an IRA officer had been killed during a raid on a Protestant household. The anonymous killers were also members of the republican army, some of whom may well have been victors at Kilmichael. Yet this episode, equally violent and with similarly far-reaching local consequences, carried out by the same organisation—perhaps even the same individuals—is rarely mentioned in histories and memoirs of the IRA or their revolution, is not preserved in song or story, and is not even recalled—except privately, by local Protestants.

"The difference in public meaning given to these events demonstrate the chronological and categorical problems with the stand narrative of violence-as-war. Kilmichael came at the climax of the first war. The second war did not begin until 28 June 1922. The April massacre... fell in between" (*The IRA At War 1916-23*, Oxford 2003).

Hart presented no evidence that Auxiliaries (soldiers masquerading as Police Cadets) had offered surrender at Kilmichael, had their offer accepted, and were then killed in captivity. It is a mere speculation that he saw an opportunity to insert into his story. But Cork University—mentally undermined by its refusal to deal with Northern Ireland realities in connection with the recent War there—was happy to receive the speculation as being tantamount to fact. And one of its Professors, Geoffrey Roberts, a British nationalist formerly of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wants the names of the Auxiliaries killed at Kilmichael to be listed as victims on a memorial at the site.

Once speculation is hailed as fact because it serves a purpose, it can free-wheel. The speculation that the speculated killers of POWs at Kilmichael might also have done the Dunmanway killing is freewheeling—fantasy running riot.

Why is Dunmanway not celebrated as Kilmichael is? Because Dunmanway was **not "equally violent"**. It was not a battle. It was a killing of selected individuals, miles apart from each other. The targets did not shoot back—apart from the first incident at the Hornibrook mansion, which was different in kind from the others. And, aside from the Hornibrook incident, the killers remain utterly unknown.

The academic Establishment is revisionist. That is, it writes Irish history in the British interest and looks for a pat on the head when it comes up with ways of suggesting that Britain was an all-but-innocent party in the War following the unmentionable 1918 Election. When Taoiseach Lynch lost his nerve in 1970 and aborted his Northern policy of 1969, he and his colleagues concluded that Irish history needed to be rewritten from another vantage point. And there was only one other vantage point.

A University College Dublin Professor, Raymond Crotty, wrote an article for the *London Times*, pleading with Britain to take Ireland in hand once again, as it was unable to think for itself (3 July 1972, reprinted in *Irish Political Review*, February 2012). And Cork Professor

John A. Murphy—who verged on Republicanism and kept his distance from me as a heretical two-nationist when I shared a platform with him at a May Day meeting—was enormously grateful to Jack Lynch for ordering Fianna Fail to "About face", apparently feeling that this had saved him from himself.

Hart was clever in a rather childish way; he was industrious; and he was probably instructed by his Professor at Trinity, the Australian David Fitzpatrick, that nationalist Ireland had collapsed mentally and had become a blank page on which you could write whatever you fancied.

Fitzpatrick told his students that what was called the Irish War for National Independence was a sectarian rampage against Protestants, and instructed them to rake over the archives for snippets in support of this view. Hart did this diligently. His examiners nodded his thesis through for a PhD. And it was made into a book, which was given worldwide publicity, by Oxford.

Hart's book was chosen to be the battering ram that would pulverise the popular culture centred on the War of Independence and impose the new academic orthodoxy on the popular mind in place of it. It is easy to see, in the light of the condition of public life in the 1980s and 1990s, why that was thought to be a practical project. But the scale and character of the publicity with which Hart's book was launched at the country provoked a culture that seemed dead into rousing itself into resistance. The book was subjected to criticism, outside academia, so effectively that a reluctant academia found itself obliged to notice it. And, once it was not taken on trust as a revelation, and its mistakes and inventions were detailed, the falseness of the general conceptions became easily visible and it fell into discredit.

The purpose of the 50 page article by Bielenberg & Borgonovo (B & B) seems to be to put something in print on behalf of Cork University saying that it is no Doubting Thomas, that it still believes despite everything—despite even the statements it makes in its defence of Hart which undermine him:

"Many unionist residents of Dunmanway were left unmolested, as were the two Protestant churches... This outcome is connected with the attackers' selectivity in choosing their victims. Essentially, they targeted those townspeople whom they suspected of having provided material assistance to the Crown

forces during and after the War of Independence" (p24).

"The attacks in the Bandon Valley were highly localized. Most Protestant Communities in West Cork were untouched by the violence... Perhaps most surprising in this regard was Bandon, the leading unionist community of West Cork. The town experienced no killings, though a brutal assault did occur there on one of the days that Michael O'Neill's body was lying in repose in the Catholic Church..."

"The majority of the 1922 Bandon Valley victims appear to have been loyalists outwardly hostile to the IRA, mostly coming from the Protestant urban and rural middle classes. Of the twenty households visited by the IRA during the Bandon Valley episode (or warned of the intention of the IRA to visit), thirteen can be classified as hostile loyalists (65 per cent). Three of the nine households where fatalities occurred were occupied by civilians who appeared on a 1921 IRA list of suspected civilian informers. Nonetheless, the 1922 killings do not appear to have been a clinical IRA purge of civilian spies active in 1921" (p55).

"The scale of these 1922 attacks against Protestant civilian loyalists was unprecedented and uncharacteristic of IRA actions in Co. Cork throughout the revolutionary period. Victims included persons who were not initial targets; a few were unlikely to have been enemies of the IRA. The killings were selective and primarily directed against Protestant loyalists suspected of having directly supported the crown forces... There was no general onslaught on Protestant institutions, but the attack on the Church of Ireland rectory at Murragh and the burning of the Clonakilty Masonic lodge added further sectarian elements" {Further to what? And I would have thought a Masonic Lodge was Imperial rather than Protestant.} "There is only a minuscule mathematical possibility that all those killed would have been Protestant by random chance, given the mixed religious composition of civilian fatalities across Co. Cork between 1920 and 1922" (p56).

I don't see the point of that last remark. And why is "random chance" suddenly introduced after so many pages telling us that there was selection on the basis of support for the Crown forces against the democracy?

B & B say that a few Methodists could be found among the victims and targets, but they attach no special significance to their presence among the majority of Church of Ireland members. This is made the occasion for a footnote: "Fitzpatrick, Spectre Of 'Ethnic Cleansing'" (p56).

The air was heavy with brooding on ethnic cleansing in County Cork 15 years ago. Even a few years ago John Borgo-

novo, a novice to the revisionist mode, which he was made to understand he must adopt if he was to have much of a future in Cork University, contemplated the awfulness of the prospect of it in his evasive account of the Treatyite conquest of Cork. But it has been found that ethnic cleansing doesn't play and the Fitzpatrick footnote is the only trace of it in B & B.

And even "sectarianism" is having a thin time of it.

"A key finding of this article is that the share of Protestant civilian fatalities in West Cork was far higher from 1920 to mid-July 1922 than in County Cork as a whole. Moreover, the Bandon Valley experience of April 1922 was unprecedented, exceptional, and highly localized. Hart's conclusion that it marked a culmination of sectarianism within the nationalist revolution in Co. Cork therefore requires considerable qualification" (p57).

Of course there would be more Protestant fatalities in West Cork than elsewhere because it was only in West Cork that a substantial remnant of the Munster Plantation survived; and on the whole it remained British in orientation despite the rise of Irish democracy around it.

B & B quote from a book of Hart's on the subject of West Cork Protestant informing to the Crown about Republican activity:

"According to a British army assessment after the conflict, Protestants were more willing to assist the crown forces in West Cork than anywhere else in the South of Ireland:

'In the South the Protestants and those who supported the government rarely gave much information because, except by chance, they had not got it to give. An exception to this rule was in the Bandon area, where there were many Protestant farmers who gave information. Although the intelligence officer of this area was exceptionally experienced, and although the troops were most active, it proved almost impossible to protect these brave men, many of whom were murdered, while almost all the remainder suffered grave material loss' (Peter Hart, ed. *British Intelligence In Ireland, 1920-21. The Final Reports*, Cork University Press, 2002, 49).

"The 'brave men' mentioned in this report almost certainly were those who were killed or fled" (p13-14).

Cork University published part of the British *Record Of The Rebellion In Ireland* in 2002, edited by Hart, four years after Hart had quoted it in *The IRA And Its*

Enemies, and had run into trouble because of the way he had quoted it.

Hart had written that the IRA had fought an "unacknowledged civil war: the war against spies and informers" (*The IRA And Its Enemies*, p293). But the IRA was not good at identifying spies and informers because of

"the unfailing IRA belief in conspiracy theories. Opposition implied intrigue. Wherever the guerrillas looked they saw loyalist subversion and secret societies... The Freemasons, those perennial objects of Catholic and nationalist paranoia, were especially feared... Identifying and suppressing Masonic conspirators became a near obsession for guerrillas all over Ireland" (p302).

"The Irish {i.e. British} Command's official history states flatly that although 'a considerable number of Unionists were murdered on wholly groundless suspicion ... at no time did this class make an united movement towards supporting the forces of law and order' {*Record of the Rebellion*}.

"The truth was that, as British intelligence officers recognised, 'in the south the Protestants and those who supported the Government rarely gave much information because, except by chance, they had not got it to give.' Protestants, ex-servicemen, and vagrants did not have access to the right social and political circles to know anything very damaging to the IRA" (p305-6).

So, writing about West Cork, Hart said that the IRA had a groundless spy mania with regard to Protestants, and he quotes the British *Record Of The Rebellion*, which says that Protestants rarely gave information because they had none to give, except in West Cork—but he ends his quotation before it got to the exception of West Cork.

That can only have been a deliberate deception.

Given the condition of academic history-writing in the Universities, it was reasonable to see it as a safe deception.

But Hart was unlucky. There was an old-fashioned academic historian in Ireland, not subject to revisionist discipline in a University, Brian Murphy osb, and he immediately drew attention to the deception. A general unravelling of Hart's work of art then followed quickly.

In an attempt to repair this part of the damage, Cork University published part of the *Record Of The Rebellion*, with an Introduction and Notes by Hart. And now the revisionist UCC duo, B & B, quote from this book by Hart, including the sentence from the *Record Of The Rebellion* which he excluded in his major work, and

not giving any explanation of that exclusion, or even mentioning it.

This is how 'scholarship' operates these days.

I should say that Brian Murphy did not accuse Hart of deception. Brian, as well as having an intellectual conscience—a very rare thing in academia nowadays—also has the kind of Christian spirit one does not often come across. He simply drew attention to the fact that Hart omitted a sentence from the *Record Of The Rebellion* that was particularly relevant to the subject he was dealing with.

In *British Intelligence In Ireland*, Hart gives thanks "to Paul Bew and Patrick Maume for supplying missing pieces of the puzzle". Maume, a graduate of Cork University who is currently an Editor of the *Dictionary Of Irish Biography*, published by Cambridge University and the Royal Irish Academy, was present at a talk given by Brian Murphy in Dublin on the subject of mistakes and omissions in Hart's magnum opus. He wanted to know what Brian was saying—was he saying that Hart was a cheat and a deceiver?

Brian explained that he was describing the things in Hart's book that were factually not right. Maume did not take issue with any of the facts listed by Brian—which included cutting short the quotation from the *Record Of The Rebellion* just before it became relevant to the West Cork situation. He did not say that Hart was right and that Brian was wrong on any of those things. But he was obviously upset by Brian's insistence on giving a dispassionate factual review of Hart's argument, and would apparently have preferred a subjectivist approach.

Hart, in *British Intelligence In Ireland*, has an Endnote on the paragraph which he misused in *The IRA And Its Enemies*:

"In the south the Protestants... rarely gave much information... An exception to this rule was in the Bandon area...*" (p49).

*In *The IRA and its Enemies* (p293-315) I argue that the great majority of those shot as informers in Cork were not British agents, and that many actual informers were spared because they were protected by their social position and connections. Some condemned West Cork Protestants did give, or try to give, information but there is no evidence that they acted *en masse* despite this statement. It is worth quoting Major Perceval, the 'exceptionally experienced' officer mentioned, on the Protestant element: 'a few, but not many, were brave enough to assist the Crown forces with information'... (p102).

The *Record Of The Rebellion* does not say that Protestants in the Bandon area informed "en masse". It says that "many Protestant farmers" gave information. How many are many? As compared with none, a small number makes many.

Hart quotes Major Perceval against the *Record* (but without giving a source) as saying that "a few, but not many" gave information. The distinction between "a few" and "many" is related to expectation. Where nothing is expected a handful might be seen as many.

It's a matter of 'perception', to use an imprecise term on which B & B place much reliance.

Major Perceval was the organiser of torture in West Cork. Perhaps a torturer has greater expectations than normal people since, by profession, he places less value on human life than normal people tend to.

(Twenty years later Perceval, as commanding General, surrendered the British Empire at Singapore to Japanese on bicycles, Japan having been provoked into making war on the Empire by a British ultimatum with which it could not comply.)

The Record Of The Rebellion was not written as Imperial propaganda, but as a confidential contribution to Imperial understanding.

It admitted that extensive use of informers by the British administration in the past led to a situation in 1920 where information was not to be got for love or money. The informer was held in abhorrence, even where ordinary crime was concerned:

"This feeling made it very difficult to obtain information during 1920-21, apart from the fact that the bulk of the people were our enemies and were therefore far more incorruptible than has been the case in former Irish movements. The offer of large rewards produced no results, partly for the above reason and partly because the people were terrorised more thoroughly than has ever been the case before, and realised that it was difficult if not impossible for us to protect them" (p47 of Cork University edition).

The bulk of the people were enemies of the British regime and therefore, as well as not being inclined to give it information, they were more effectively terrorised than ever before against giving it. It makes sense, doesn't it? They were more effectively terrorised because it was themselves that were doing the terrorising. The freedom of the ambitious individual to give himself a boost in life by informing, and the odd individual who continued to

feel loyalty to the regime which his community had rejected, to do his loyal duty toward that regime, was no longer operative. Those freedoms were overruled by an insidious public opinion.

To put it another way, an interconnected democracy, a national body politic, had been constructed in 1918-19. Nationalist Ireland was no longer a patchwork organised by Westminsterist Parliamentary demagoguery. O'Connell's mob had realised itself as a nation. Nationalist Ireland had achieved the degree of uniformity without which it is impossible to maintain a state.

It took the Imperial regime some time to see this:

"Secret service was on the whole a failure in Ireland. For many reasons it was practically impossible to place a man in any inner circle. For Irishmen, the risks of discovery and its consequent results were too great, the Sinn Fein movement was so general, the proportion of Irishmen outside it so small, and any stranger in a country district so suspected that consistent, regular and unsuspected informers, such as had been employed on other occasions, were almost unobtainable at any price. The desire to inform for the sake of informing, which is such a common characteristic among secret service agents, was conspicuous by its absence. For Englishmen the work was exceedingly difficult and dangerous. Their accent usually betrayed them. If they wanted to get into inner circles they had to become more extreme than the extremists, in which case they ran a reasonably good prospect of being shot at any moment by the Crown Forces.

"The British Government hoped and intended at one time to flood Ireland with agents. The case of Belgium was quoted. There the Germans were faced with a network of spy systems, and information was passed to the Allied Intelligence services over the Dutch border without cessation during the war years... It was at first overlooked that the Crown Forces in Ireland, and not the Sinn Feiners, were in the position of the Germans opposed by a national movement. Soon it was realised that such a scheme was impracticable, and the efforts of the police intelligence were concentrated in Dublin" (p55).

Despite their assertion, repeated throughout the article, that the IRA applied a political test to the conduct of individuals in the large Protestant community, which might be expected in the light of its origins to be strongly attached to the Crown and hostile to the Irish democracy, B & B cannot let go of the notion that the Republican movement was shot through with "*sectarianism*"—even if it was only with trace elements which it was not easy to isolate and demonstrate:

"Suspicion generally seems to have been based on political rather than religious allegiances; though these were not always easy to disentangle" (p10).

"The IRA... faced determined civilian opposition in Dunmanway, which likely contributed to the establishment there of an effective British intelligence system that mapped the allegiance of local households. IRA intelligence in turn had penetrated the police headquarters in Dunmanway, which helped the IRA to identify civilians in the area who were assisting the Crown forces" (p15).

"Many unionist residents of Dunmanway were left unmolested... Essentially they targeted those townspeople whom they suspected of having provided material assistance to the crown forces" (p24).

Hart's prime sectarian exhibit was Sean Moylan's threat that, if Britain set about a re-conquest, he would see to it that not a Loyalist would remain in his Brigade Area. Although it was well known that Moylan had established good relations with a wide range of Protestants, Hart presented this speech as a threat to exterminate Protestants.

B & B write: "*The sectarian aspect of these {Dunmanway} events cannot be taken to characterise the revolution in County Cork or the wider experience nationally*" (p57). That's a rejection of the case built by Hart on a sectarian reading of Moylan's speech, at the same time as they assert that there was a brief, local spurt of sectarianism in Dunmanway.

But this brief, local spurt of sectarianism is what they fail to demonstrate the existence of.

They whittled away the superstructure of Hart's case in order to reveal a sound foundation for it in the residue. But, having undermined Hart's case, they are only left with a belief that there must be a sectarian element, though it is difficult to disentangle from other elements.

All that the immense resources of Cork University can discover to shore Hart up against his ruin is the possibility that in one or two cases there may conceivably have been a trace element of sectarianism present in minds that did not lack other motives to activate them.

English intellectuals who were involved in the handling of Irish affairs around 1921, and had a trace of intellectual conscience in them, confessed that it was difficult to isolate and demonstrate the sectarianism which they knew must be the motive force in Republicanism in dealing with Protestants because, with fiendish ingenuity, the Republicans blended their

sectarianism into secular political reasoning and hid it there. They could present a convincing facade of secular political reasoning based on the long system of British misgovernment, and they did so, but the Imperial ideologue knew in his bones that behind it all the Irish were just Catholic sectarians. And how did he know? Because he was an agent of the Protestant State which was the essence of his liberal secularism.

What *is* sectarianism anyway? Bielenberg and Borgonovo do not define it.

I had reason to think about it in the seventies in Belfast. I was living in West Belfast, opposing the War, and advocating the 'Two nations' view and the admission of the North to the democratic politics of the (British) state. There was a reasonable possibility that somebody would kill me: Loyalists because they were beyond reason, Eoghan Harris's Official Republicans because they were engaging in assassinations, were living in an ideological fantasy—and one of their important gunmen offered to shoot me. The Officials characterised the Provos as sectarian fascists, as did Dermot Keogh, who was on the way to becoming a big-wig in Cork University. But I had seen the Provos materialising out of nothing in the Winter of 1969-70 and felt in no danger from them. They based themselves on the social reality of the North and that is why they were condemned as sectarian by the Officials. But their aim was to alter the political context of things so that the sectarian reality could be overcome. I was trying to do the same thing but in the context of the other State. And I did not see how one could act on the reality of things if one began by denying its existence. Call it what you will, but there were two communities in the Six Counties, which were usually called by religious names, and they were closed worlds to each other, with no possibility of the growth of a common political medium between them in the weird entity that Professor Keogh called the 'Northern Ireland State'.

The Provos launched a war on Britain. I did not support it, though I saw that Britain was responsible for the entrenched sectarian structure of the Six Counties by excluding it from the democracy of the state after Partition.

In 1974 the Secretary of State tried to transform the Republican War on Britain into a Catholic/Protestant War, so that Britain might self-righteously declare that the Irish were fighting one another again.

I published a pamphlet against this attempt to sectarianise the War, which had some effect. The present Republican leadership nipped in the bud a tendency to accept the Secretary of State's sectarian agenda for the conflict.

Elements in the Protestant community were eager for sectarianisation—for Ulsterisation. Some joined the Ulster Defence Regiment, as a substitute for the B Specials. But the UDR was under some vestige of State control and could not participate freely in a war of communities—in a religious war?

In a war of communities the other community is the enemy.

The Westminster decision to govern the Six Counties by the device of Northern Ireland, instead of blending them into the political life of the rest of the state, was a decision to lock the region into an antagonism of communities that operated unceasingly at every level. There was virtually no cross-community life. Each community appeared to the other as a dense, unknowable mass, moved by strange passions. So it was not surprising that Loyalist terrorists, when they set about Ulsterising the war, should simply take Catholics to be the enemy, and shoot them indiscriminately.

Was that sectarian? It was in the logic of the arrangements Britain imposed on the Six Counties in 1921 in preference to holding them within the democracy of the state.

It was a basic assumption of British political culture that the masses in a democracy need the guidance of orderly political structures connected with the governing of the state. In Britain it is taken as a danger sign when any large numbers stray outside those structures. But the Six County masses—two mass bodies into which the populace was divided by the 35 year Home Rule conflict—were excluded from those structures, with one set in dominance over the other. The Catholics had to fend for themselves under Stormont and they were, of necessity, a state within the state to a considerable degree. The Protestants lived an illusion of political life within Stormont, and when it was taken from them they were lost souls.

There was a time when anybody going through Carlisle Circus (Belfast) in a particular direction after dark was liable to be shot on the assumption that he was a Catholic and therefore a representative sample of the enemy mass. Sectarianism? If so, it was a predictable product of British

villainy in setting up the venomous Northern Ireland system.]

An acquaintance of mine, Liam Lynch, a former monk, was picked up on the fringes of East Belfast one night and taken away for shooting. During the delay, he persuaded his captors that he was a very unusual Catholic. They were doubtful, but they agreed to take him to his flat where he would show them proof. The proof was a stack of 'two nations' leaflets written by me with his name and address on them as publisher. This was incomprehensible, but was convincing enough to cause them to let him go.

Here we are in the region of something that deserves to be called sectarianism. But still I could never see that the word explained much.

The British *Record Of The Rebellion* comments:

"On the borders of Ulster, where a considerable proportion of the population were Protestants, information was not reliable because almost every Protestant saw a Sinn Feiner and political murderer in every Roman Catholic.

"In the South the Protestants and those who supported the Government rarely gave much information because, except by chance, they had not got it to give" etc.

The Protestant and Catholic communities were closed worlds to each other and therefore they could not give away each other's secrets.

Is it meaningful to describe this as sectarianism? Was the difference in religion the only difference between them? Or was it the essential difference? And are religions simply sets of doctrines about another world which have no proper place in the public life of this world, in that believers become sectarians if they do not keep their beliefs to themselves?

It might be that there have been situations in which peoples engaged in conflict to the point of war over pure and simple differences about religious doctrine. But, if there have been, the Irish situation in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries was not one of them. The English situation of the mid 17th century possibly was one of them.

England set out to dominate the world, and to change the world to make it amenable to English domination, it adopted a religious doctrine as a justification for the destructive action it had to undertake in order to accomplish its ambition.

The Irish were made to submit to English rule by English conquest, and then they were to be broken by means of

a cultural regime of totalitarian Protestantism.

If this word, sectarianism, is to be used meaningfully, then it has to be said that the source of sectarianism in Ireland, the source of public conflict in which religious belief plays a prominent part, is the fanatically religious English State—or the power-hungry English State which simulated religious fanaticism for an Imperial purpose.

If the Irish had been broken, that would have been the end of the matter. Success is one of the great English virtues—one of the signs of grace. But the Irish weren't broken. And the Protestant British colonies that were planted amongst them with a view to displacing them found themselves obliged to live alongside them, having failed in their mission.

The relationship of a failed colonising force, with an implicitly genocidal purpose, with a native populace which was resurgent after having come to the verge of extermination, is a difficult and delicate one. The Jewish colony in Palestine, in its relationship with the native population, is approximately where the British colony in Ireland was in the 1790s. The Zionist leaders still hope that an opportunity may occur in which the Zionist mission could be completed. For them the establishment of a functional Palestinian state, with the withdrawal of settlements, within the borders of the 1948 conquest (not to mention the borders set by the 1947 UN resolution) would signalise the aborting of the great project on which they set out—as the abolition of the colonial Parliament in Ireland in 1800 signalised the aborting of the Glorious Revolution project in Ireland.

The Irish colony, after three generations of subordinate government, achieved political independence in 1780, overreached itself in the course of the next generation, and was taken back into the British Parliament. The national resurgence of the Irish began within a decade of the Union, and the colonial structures in Ireland were dismantled bit by bit in the course of four generations by the pressure of the Irish on the Westminster Parliament—which had a world to govern and had little attention to spare for the ailing Irish colony.

In recent weeks there has been a fake furore about Gerry Adams' remark that equality was a Trojan Horse that subverted the enemy. But what reasonable doubt can there be that it is so? The colony could only flourish when it stood in a relationship

of dominance over the native population, with organs of force to maintain that dominance. The imposition of a formal relationship of equality, with the communal organs of force dismantled, exerts a demoralising influence on the colony (which has an assumption of superiority ingrained in it) and exerts a stimulating influence on the native population.

The colony responded to the Union—to the loss of its own organs of force—with a vigorous attempt in the 1820s and 1830s to subvert the dynamic of the native population by religious proselytism: something it had not much concern with in its days of glory when it relied on a monopoly of power and anti-Catholic laws. When this second reformation failed, and the Providential Famine had the opposite effect on morale to what might have been expected, existential crisis set in.

When the political representation of the colony was taken back into the Mother Parliament in 1800, promises were given that the world power of Westminster would uphold the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. The contrary promise was given to the Catholics. They had been rigorously excluded from the Irish Parliament but were promised admission to Westminster. The promises to the Catholics were broken but it was they who flourished after the Protestant colonial Parliament was removed. And the promise to the Protestant colony that the Imperial Parliament would tend to its interests was kept for a generation but was then broken piecemeal over three-quarters of a century under pressure from the resurgent Irish.

Much has been made, in recent years, of a flare-up of Catholic-sectarian millenarianism in the 1820s among Catholic tenants. The millennium would be the end of Protestantism and landlordism. But, under the regime of the Glorious Revolution in Ireland, land could only be owned by Protestants.

Protestantism and Landlordism were intimately related in the colonial power-structure. The millenarians only expressed their ideals in terms of the combination which the State presented to them: Protestantism as a condition of land-ownership.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 established a Protestant sectarian structure in both politics and civil society in Ireland. The erosion of that structure by the Irish resurgence—whose first achievement was the ending of the Protestant monopoly of Parliamentary seats in 1829—set in motion

a decline of Protestantism and Protestants in Ireland. Britain had arranged things in a way that made this inevitable.

A recent publication by Manchester University Press tells us that:

"The formation of Irish missionary societies from the mid-1820s took place against the backdrop of the efforts that Irish Protestant loyalists, both elite and plebeian, were making to mobilise Protestant forces against the threat posed by politicised Catholicism".

That is from *An Anglican British World: The Church of Ireland and the expansion of the settler-empire, 1790-1800* by Joseph Hardwick, 2014, p153.

These Irish missionary societies "were part of a far-reaching 'crusade for moral and social reform' that embraced both the conversion of the 'heathen' overseas and the reformation of Roman Catholics closer to home".

As the home mission failed Protestant energy went towards the Empire:

"The largest non-ethnic group was the Irish; indeed the importance of the Irish element in the colonial work-force suggests that we should think of the Anglican Church as an important component in the creation of a 'Greater Ireland' and Protestant Irish diaspora. Twenty-eight per cent of the Upper Canadian workforce was of Irish origin... Colonial dioceses became more Irish as the century progressed... Irish Protestant migration was one factor; another was the increasingly insecure nature of ecclesiastical careers in the Church of Ireland. Not every Irish cleric was fleeing depressed circumstances, but the worsening religious situation in Ireland—as well as the increasingly insecure nature of clerical incomes—forced many to look overseas. The County Longford curate Benjamin Cronyn was among a party of five Irish curates who chose to migrate to Canada in 1832, rather than stay and eke out a living in the Irish Church that was shrinking as a result of the Whig reforms of the early 1830s" (p49).

Because of the way Protestants positioned themselves in the Glorious Revolution regime following the Battle of the Boyne, there was no possibility of "non-sectarian" political development in Ireland. It was a case of either/or. The Irish could only survive and develop by ousting the Protestants.

Protestant "livings" shrank as the "politicised Catholics" objected to paying for them.

The writing was on the wall after 1829. The Protestant Ascendancy institutions were dismantled bit by bit from that point onwards—against Protestant resistance right to the bitter end. Tithes went, the

Anglican Church was dis-Established, Local Government was made representative, and finally land-purchase subsidised by the State ended landlordism as a system after 1903.

Canon Sheehan and William O'Brien then thought that, the Protestants being deprived of their privileges and having nothing more to lose, might possibly be willing to take part in Irish national life. They recognised that the Home Rule Party had been given a Catholic sectarian character under Redmond's leadership through being merged with a Catholic secret society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, so they founded a new movement, specifically directed against Catholic Ascendancy, and appealed to Protestants freed from the burden of exclusive privilege, to take part in it. The new movement broke the Redmond Party in Co. Cork in the 1910 Elections, but the Protestant community, for the most part, stayed aloof. It was Catholics who rejected Catholic Ascendancy politics—and it was in this area that Republicanism flourished ten years later.

Hart was ignorantly dismissive of the All-for-Ireland movement. And when John Borgonovo came from America to make a career in Cork University he found, after an initial phase of free thought, that it would be prudent to follow Hart in this matter as in others. His first publication, a criticism of Hart on the Dunmanway issue, was forgiven when he showed willingness to toe the academic line. But now it seems that academic uncertainty has set in, resulting in incoherence.

Hart's vision of the IRA killing Protestants, just because they were Protestants, but under a pretence that they were Loyalist informers, and missing the real informers because they were well-concealed Catholics, has disappeared. The Dunmanway victims are said to have been Loyalists under suspicion of collaboration with the Occupation Force. (Well, no, they have not yet gone as far as describing the British administration as an Occupation Force: but going on the precedent of Bosnia, where we all agreed that the Yugoslav administration became an Occupation Force immediately after the Bosnian Election, how else are we to describe the British administration after 1918?) And if B & B continue in their present trend they may yet discover that the 1918 Election was a democratic watershed in British/Irish relations!

They say that the victims were Loyalists, and that there was a war in the offing, but they assume that the only possible war

was what we call the 'Civil War'—the war the Irish fought on Britain's insistence under ultimatum.

But it was far from being the case that Collins was generally expected to make war on the IRA under British orders and in the British interest. He had drawn the IRA into his war on Northern Ireland, and was negotiating an Election Pact with Anti-Treaty Sinn Fein, and it was not an unreasonable expectation that he might call Britain's bluff at a certain point, for example by rejecting its orders over the wording of the Constitution, and dare it to resume its war against a re-united and strengthened national movement.

Moylan's speech, which Hart made much of, referred to a British war of reconquest, in which Loyalists would be called on to play their part as a Fifth Column.

Assuming, as B & B do, that the Dunmanway killings were done by Republicans in preparation for war, then surely it was for resumption of the Anglo-Irish War.

But this is all speculation. There is hardly any direct evidence about the killings. There is only Mrs. Gray's. She saw her husband shot. And she heard the killers say, "*Take that you Free Stater, Free Stater, Free Stater*". B & B only mention this in passing. They do not even quote the whole sentence. Presumably they have been made sufficiently sensitive to the realities of April 1922 to see that it is problematic and sounds like a set-up.

But, despite so many concessions to reality, they are under obligation to pay lip service to Hart's "*sectarian*" characterisation of the incident—a sectarianism which it is difficult to disentangle from secular political motives.

Their evidence that it was sectarian is that there was a "*perception!*" that it was sectarian; and that it was widely condemned and condemnation implied sectarianism. "*Perception*" is used extremely figuratively. The only perceiver was Mrs. Gray. Otherwise it means something like a rumour, or a superficial assumption that cannot be pinned down. Dorothy McArdle is said to have had this perception, but no reference is given.

Another person quoted as having that perception is Jim Lane of Cork City (no relation to Jack Lane). Lane was a member of BICO in 1970 and was a sympathetic onlooker on the Lisburn Road (Belfast) at the 12th Parade from a two-nations vantage point. He resigned from BICO soon after and condemned it. He then, as far as I could understand it, adopted a purist form

of Republican socialist ideology, loosely connected with a strand of the ISRP, and uninvolved in political affairs in the North where ideologies were put to the test.

B & B do not mention Danny Morrison who, when members of the Dublin Establishment who still saw the Old IRA as a good thing, condemned the Provos for debasing the ideal, responded by raking up sectarian allegations against the Old IRA.

I don't know if Hart picked up on that, and I don't recall that the Dublin Establishment, Right or Left, made any reply to Morrison. I assume it didn't, because in my experience the last thing members of the Dublin Establishment, of whatever hue, wanted to do was engage their minds with the actuality of Northern Ireland so as to be able to think about it and make meaningful comparisons between the Old IRA and the Provos.

The justification of the revisionist mangling of nationalist history under Oxbridge direction was that it was a contribution to peace-making in the North. But the revisionist historians never asked the basic question: What is Northern Ireland? The war in the North, an outcome of British policy, was seized by Britain as an opportunity to re-make Southern history. The war in the North ran its course and was brought to a conclusion without help or hindrance by the Southern revisionists. And the only effect that I could see of the revisionist rubbishing of Irish national history was that helped to make Sinn Fein an all-Ireland Party.

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The current (2014) issue of *Field Day Review* contains a 45 page article, *Examining Peter Hart*, by Niall Meehan. It deals with Hart's treatment of the Kilmichael Ambush and the Dunmanway killings, and with the apologetics in support of Hart by his Trinity Professor, David Fitzpatrick, and by Eve Morrison. It does not name the Dunmanway killers, or speculate about them in the absence of evidence.

It would do with publishing as a booklet because *Field Day* circulation has rather fallen away in recent times.

It is hard to see what more can be said about the Dunmanway incident after Meehan's review, unless somebody turns up hard evidence about the perpetrators—except to question why a PhD was awarded to Hart for such a botched piece of work by his examiners, Professors Fitzpatrick and Charles Townshend. The responsibility is theirs, rather than his.

Brendan Clifford

MASTER BUILDERS

They dug deep down in '16
to lay the foundations of a nation
while incoming lead keened
and outgoing lead
would mean
a challenge to the world's
greatest empire
as the gunboat in the river
hurled
Central Dublin into the mire.
And afterwards,
afterwards
dying in Kilmainham
as the firing scatters the birds
and blood darkened the sand.
Then the coup de grace, to make sure,
to make sure
to make sure
to make sure of what,
when death became a lure
and not a blot.
They have built many houses
on that sacred plot
since:
one destroyed and others
fell when they could not stop the
rot.
But the foundations remained
deployed.
Now they want to tear it up
and afterwards
afterwards
to where
where
to where no house can stand
except one
but in another land.

Wilson John Haire
12 December, 2014

Jean-Claude Juncker warns UK over immigration curbs

During a debate on Austrian TV, Mr Juncker, who became President of the EU Commission at the start of November, said he wanted Britain to remain an active member of the EU.

But he went on to suggest that the knock-on effects of curbing free movement could have a negative impact on the City of London. He said:

"This fundamental right of free movement of workers cannot be questioned existentially because if you question the free movement of workers, Great Britain has to know that one day the free movement of capital will also have to be called into question." (BBC 12.12.14)

Does
It
Up

Stack
?

COMPUTERS, THE INTERNET AND ALL THAT

Some years ago, it might be ten or perhaps fifteen years ago, a container-load of toy plastic ducks fell from a container ship in mid-ocean. In the sea eventually the container split open and the ducks came out. Those ducks began to be washed up on beaches, here and there and almost all over the world. Is it not truly amazing therefore that a Malaysian Airliner can vanish without trace over the Indian Ocean? All the tons of plane, seating, baggage, freight, meals in sealed packages, bottles and cans of drink, insulation material, passengers et cetera—so much of floatable material—yet nothing was ever recovered. All vanished! Was it all vaporised by a nuclear missile gone astray or intentionally sent astray?

We now know that nuclear missiles, aeroplanes, drones, modern motor cars, trains and up to date battle ships are all controlled by computers and are therefore controllable by hackers. It is entirely feasible that a nuclear missile was hijacked and that the State from which it was hijacked will not admit to such an awful scenario. Without a doubt, we in the public sphere were being fed with lies throughout the incident. It is not probable that the location of the Malaysian airliner could not be traced for every minute of its journey and that therefore the exact location of its disappearance could not be traced. Mobile phones work via VHF radio technology which is ineffective out of sight of land, but there is always a communication satellite within range of Sat-phones and in addition to the plane's own radios, it is almost certain that there were several Sat-phones on board. Business people use Sat-phones to keep in touch all the time. So somebody somewhere knows exactly where the plane disappeared and it suits somebody not to disclose this information because we might find **nothing** there.

Another aspect of the situation was why did the Australian Navy go searching in the Southern Ocean? Did it really? Or was this announcement just another lie? The Southern Ocean is thousands of miles from where the plane should have been and if the plane went that far off course it would have been reported by one of the pilots, or by one or more passengers or by

a surveillance satellite long before it disappeared.

The lesson we should learn from this and from the recent hacking of Sony Corporation is that computerisation is gone away too far for human safety and well-being. Computerisation is not, on balance, a good thing. You now cannot purchase a new car that is not hackable from outside i.e. that can be driven by a hacker or run off the road by a hacker. Bomber drones are not a good thing despite the much accompanying hype of *precision strikes* that kills the bad guys only. We should cease to marvel at people being killed by someone sitting at a computer console thousands of miles away. It is lethally dangerous and evil and not least because no matter how "*legitimate*" the perpetrator tries to make it, the fact is the drone technology, once it is available, can be used by evil hackers *from anywhere to anywhere* in the world. Since drones can be powered by sunlight, nowhere in the world is safe anymore. This state of affairs is undoubtedly against the best interest of mankind.

What is shocking in recent weeks is the reaction of the USA to hacking. No one knows who the hackers are—if they are good at it—no one will ever know, and yet influential voices in the USA have called for the hackers to be bombed! Bombed? So Sony Corporation thought it was fair to make money by making a film about the intended assassination of an existing Head of State and then—after being hacked and losing millions—Sony was forced by commercial realities to cancel the release of the film and thus lose more money. Meanwhile the reaction of their President (Obama) is to talk about going to war and bomb the people of North Korea where the hackers originate as *suspected* by the FBI! (That force of intellectual rectitude and exactitude!)

We are losing touch with reality. Instead of using the enormous potential of computers for good and peaceful purposes, the computerised society reacts by using computers for war.

Most hackers are showing us the way forward, how for the first time in our history the world could become a global village where we could be at peace with one another and where malefactors could be easily traced and sidelined. Instead the reaction is to lock up the hackers and demonise them so that aggressive and terrorist Governments can control and exploit people who want a peaceful life—and unfortunately computers enable the oppressors much more than computers assist the oppressed, so far anyway.

Has the "*herd instinct*" for "*computerisation-at-any-cost*" gone too far? It just does not stack up. What would Nikola Tesla think of it now?

NIKOLA TESLA

Nikola Tesla, the Serbian genius who "*invented the twentieth century*", as his biographer Robert Lomas rightfully stated, would be horrified at where we are seemingly going now. In 1884, Nikola Tesla after emigrating to America wrote:

"What I had left was beautiful, artistic and fascinating in every way; what I found was machined, rough and unattractive. Is this America? It is a century behind Europe in civilisation."

It still is, but Europe is losing ground fast. Nikola Tesla's contribution to Ireland's Rural Electrification Scheme was that he was a senior consulting electrical engineer on the Shannon Scheme. He had been engaged by the Professor of Engineering at Galway University at a fee of £2,000. But John McGilligan, Minister for Finance wanted to deduct tax from the fee. The Professor said the deal was for the State to pay £2,000 and if Nikola Tesla was left short—the Professor himself would pay it. There was some acrimony but Minister McGilligan eventually gave in and Nikola Tesla was paid in full. Though Tesla died in poverty and his name and credit censored by the USA, he is finally after so many years after his death now remembered by the **Tesla Museum** in Belgrade and, more recently by the electric motor car named Tesla in his honour.

The United States High Court decided in Tesla's favour that he and not Marconi had invented radio, though this came after both their deaths. Tesla also invented the 'Star Wars' electric shield, the laser beam, the technology behind the world wide web, fluorescent lights and lots of other things. His papers, truckloads of them were seized (stolen) by the United States and he and his inventions were declared to be **Top Secret** and it was forbidden in the USA (land of the free) to write or talk about Nikola Tesla. This is why we do not hear much about him. The conduct of the US Government in this does not stack up at all. If Nikola Tesla's inventions and papers had been made public, mankind would undoubtedly have benefited. His works are at least as important in the twentieth century as Leonardo da Vinci's in the Italian Renaissance.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

The *Sunday Business Post* on 7th

December 2014 said the current unemployment rate was 10.7% and it reported the number on the "live register including jobseekers and social welfare applicants" was 352,647. Now if 352,647 is 10.7% then 100% is 3,200,000. Is this 3.2 million people intended to be the population of Ireland including babes-in-arms to Old Age Pensioners? If so, is it correct? In the *Times Atlas of the World* (2005) the population of "Ireland, Republic of" is given as 3,841,000—perhaps net emigration was 600,000 in the last ten years? Whatever about the populations—would it not be much more meaningful to give the percentage unemployed as a percentage of the total number available for work i.e. the employed plus the unemployed? The number of employed, other than those in the Black Economy, is most readily available from The Revenue Commissioner's office where they keep track of all employee PPS numbers and so the total could be published each month.

COMPANIES ACT

The Companies Bill before the Oireachtas at present weighs in at 1.75 Kgs. And consists of 1429 sections and 17 Schedules in 1136 pages. It is about five centimetres thick. The Bill proposes two new kinds of limited liability companies. The Bill in its complexities is the most comprehensive change in company law ever and is a monument to the inventive ingenuity of company lawyers. Loopholes are closed off by the sack-full. And yet, and yet, in all that the Bill in its last section; Section 1429, refers to English Acts—the Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1893 and the Friendly Societies Act of 1896. In the interest of our national dignity why were these Acts not re-enacted by our Oireachtas long before now? Operating Co-Ops and Friendly Societies under English Acts of Parliament does not stack up at all in 2015.

PADDY TERRY, 'RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS OF A CIVIL SERVANT' (UNPUBLISHED)

Philip O'Donoghue SC, head of the Attorney General's Office, had been a district justice either in the Dáil Courts—those operating under the First Dáil Courts side by side with the established courts—or those that operated before the permanent system was set up in 1924. And he had a fund of stories. I liked the one of the Limerick farmer who had a row with his neighbour about some land, which ended up in the District Court. The Court found decisively against him. After the hearing, the farmer wanted to appeal to the Circuit Court but his solicitor advised that it would be a waste of time and money. 'But suppose

I send the circuit judge a brace of chickens?' said the farmer. The Solicitor was horrified. 'Look', he said, 'whatever chance you might have, and I don't think that you have any, you'll have none at all if you do that'. 'All right' said the farmer, 'but appeal anyway'. At the appeal hearing, the judge took a completely different tack to the district judge and rubbished the neighbour's case.

The solicitor was delighted but amazed. 'Now aren't you glad you didn't send the chickens', he said to the farmer. 'Oh but I did', he replied. 'Only I put the neighbour's name on them!'

Lord of the Files: Working for the Government. An Anthology. Edited by Michael Mulreany and Denis O'Brien. IPA. 2011.

Michael Stack ©

Irish Bulletin, missing issue for Volume One of AHS reprint

[The following material, probably published in February 1920, was omitted from the microfilm version of the *Irish Bulletin*. which is the generally used version. Jack Lane.]

Summary Of Outrages Committed By The British Government In Ireland, During The Period From:- May 1st, 1916, to December 31st, 1919.

	1916 (From May)	1917	1918	1919	TOTAL
Murders	38	7	6	8	59
Deportations	1,949	24	91	20	2,084
Armed Assaults on Unarmed Civilians	§	18	81	476	575
Raids on Private Houses; Burglaries; Robberies, etc.	§	11	260 ⁺	13,782 ⁺	14,153*
Arrests	3,226	349	1,107	959	5,641
Sentences	160	269	973	636	2,038
Proclamations & Suppressions	§	2 [∞]	32	335	369
Suppressions of Newspapers	13	3	12 [#]	25	53
Courts-Martial	199	36	62	209	506
TOTAL:-	5,585	719	2,624^{+#}	16,450⁺	25,378

§ No Totals available.

+ Wholesale Raids in Addition.

∞ General Suppressions & Proclamations.

28 Papers denied Foreign Circulation.

1916.

(From May 1st to December 31st.)

Murders:-	38
Deportations:-	1,949
Armed Assaults on Civilians:-	-- +
Raids on Houses:-	-- +
Arrests:-	3,226
Courts-Martial:-	199
Sentences:-	160
Proclamations & Suppressions:-	---+
Suppressions of Newspapers:-	13
TOTAL	5,585

+ Wholesale.

* Should read 14,053. Final total is correct. CW.

1917.

Months:-	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Murders:-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	7
Deportations:-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
Armed Assaults) on Civilians:-)	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	1	2	3	3	1	18
Raids on Pri-) vate Houses:-)	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	+	-	3	3	1	11+
Arrests:-	6	37	10	16	22	8	19	84	6	82	55	4	349
Courts-Martial:-	1	6	2	-	-	2	-	1	9	4	10	1	36
Sentences:-	3	19	27	14	2	22	7	50	37	9	60	19	269
Proclamations &) Suppressions:-)	1	∞	∞	∞	∞	∞	2	1	∞	∞	∞	∞	2 [∞]
Suppressed) Newspapers:-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	11	86	41	32	27	37	34	137	56	101	131	26	719

+ Wholesale. ∞ General Proclamations & Suppressions.

1918.

Months:-	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Murders:-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Deportations:-	-	-	-	1	77	-	6	4	2	-	1	-	91
Arrests:-	7	92	213	93	123	171	120	81	84	61	40	22	1,107
Raids:-	-	3	1	11	18	20	27	29	96	14	29	12	260
Sentences:-	3	51	238	119	32	123	127	67	96	71	32	14	973
Courts-Martial:-	-	-	2	1	6	13	4	10	6	10	6	4	62
Proclamations &) Suppressions:-)	-	1	1	1	-	20	+	2	1	1	5	-	32
Armed Assaults:-	1	9	12	5	1	3	11	6	1	3	5	24	81
Suppressions of) Newspapers:-)	-	-	-	5#	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	3	12
TOTAL	11	156	469	238#	257	251^a	295⁺	201	287	161	118	80	2,624^b

28 Papers denied foreign circulation. + Wholesale.

1919.

Months:-	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Murders:-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	8
Deportations:-	-	-	4	-	10	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	20
Arrests:-	103	80	88	82	84	51	63	70	78	82	116	62	959
Raids:-	442	388	142	1009	151 [*]	870	596	158	2018 [¢]	123	1954	931	13,782 ^c
Sentences:-	58	42	42	63	93	57	42	33	26	53	93	34	636
Courts-Martial:-	25	11	9	13	19	4	21	46	24	20	8	9	209
Armed Assaults:-	6	2	6	6	11	12	45	12	47	298	23	8	476
Proclamations &) Suppressions:-)	17	20	11	24	17	14	33	22	76	58	29	14	335
Suppressions of) Newspapers:-)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	22	2	-	-	25
TOTAL	651	544	303	1199	386[*]	1010	800	342	2292[¢]	637	2223	1063	16,450^d

+ Approximately.

* General Raids in addition.

¢ Includes 5,000 raids carried out in Tipperary in military "drives" during May and June — not reported in the Newspapers.

THE FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS OF THE 56 MURDERS:-

1916.

In addition to the 16 Irish Leaders executed after the Rising the following were brutally murdered by the military. The List is necessarily incomplete:-

George Ennis (51)	174	North King Street, Dublin.
Thomas Hickey (38)	168	North King Street, Dublin.
Christopher Hickey (16)	168	North King Street, Dublin.
Peter Connolly (39)	164	North King Street, Dublin.
Michael Hughes	172	North King Street, Dublin.
John Walsh (56)	93	Upper Church Street, Dublin.
Patrick Bealen (30)	177	North King Street, Dublin. Afterwards buried in the cellar by the murderers.
James Healey (44)	7	Little Green Street, Dublin.
John Burnes (50)	80	Church Street, Dublin.
Peter Joseph Lawless (21)		American citizen, 27 King St.
James McCartney (36)		(Manager of Gallagher's Tobacco Store, Dame St.) 27 King Street, Dublin.
James Finnegan (About 40)	27	North King Street, Dublin.
William O'Neill		Murdered by military on Constitution Hill, Dublin; adjoining Nth. King St.
Patrick Hoey (25)	27	North King Street, Dublin.
Francis Sheehy Skeffington	11	Grosvenor Place, Dublin.
T. Dickson,	12	Harrington Street, Dublin.
P. McIntyre	21	Fownes Street, Dublin.
J.J. Coade	28	Upper Mount Pleasant Ave., Dublin.
P. Derrick	22	Eustace Street, Dublin.
Councillor O'Carroll	49	Cuffe Street, Dublin.

1917.

<u>March 14th</u>	-	John W. Wallace died as result of Frongoch Prison Treatment.
<u>May 14th</u>	-	Bernard Ward died after release from Wandsworth Jail. Health broken down.
<u>June 25th</u>	-	Abraham Allen bayoneted to death by police in Cork.
<u>July 14th</u>	-	Daniel Scanlan killed by police, who fired at crowd at Ballybunion. Verdict of wilful murder returned against police.
<u>July 26th</u>	-	William Paartridge died on release from prison.
<u>September 26th</u>	-	Tom Ashe died after forcible feeding in Mountjoy Jail.
<u>September 29th</u>	-	Thomas Stokes died. Released from Frongoch in broken health.

1918.

<u>March 2nd</u>	-	John Ryan died at Ennis; shot by police on 26th February.
<u>March 29th</u>	-	Thomas Russell died; bayoneted by English soldiers on the 24th.
<u>April 15th</u>	-	John Brown and Robert Laide (shot); killed by police at Gortalea.
<u>June 7th</u>	-	Patrick Duffy shot at Castleblayney on June 4th.
<u>December 7th</u>	-	Dick Coleman died in prison.

1919.

<u>February 12th</u>	-	While driving a cow to Newbridge Fair on February 12th 1919, Patrick Gavin,
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Maddenstown, was shot dead by a British sentry at the Curragh Camp.

<u>March 6th</u>	-	Pearse McCann, M.P., East Tipperary, died on 6th March in a hospital in Gloucester, where he was removed to, in a dying condition from Gloucester Prison. He had been imprisoned since previous May without trial or charge of any kind.
<u>April 6th</u>	-	Robert Byrne, shot by police in Limerick Workhouse.
<u>April 25th</u>	-	Michael Walsh, Dungarvan, was shot by a member of the R.I.C. on 25th April, 1919. At the Inquest the jury found that "the deceased died from a bullet wound deliberately fired by Constable McCarthy".
<u>June 5th</u>	-	Matthew Murphy, Dundalk, 23 years of age, was shot by a British military sentry on June 5th. Mr. Sergeant McSweeney, K.C., who appeared at the Inquest for the British military and Constabulary stated "The homicide was unjustifiable".
<u>June 29th</u>	-	Patrick Studdert, fisherman and farmer, Kilkee, was shot by a soldier of the Scottish Horse on Sunday June 29th. At an Inquest held in Kilrush Workhouse the following verdict was returned:- "Death resulted from bullet wound deliberately inflicted by Sergeant Wolsley".
<u>August 14th</u>	-	Francis Murphy, aged 15 years was "unlaw fully and wilfully murdered at Glan, Co. Clare, on the morning of the 14th August, 1919, by a bullet unlawfully and wilfully fired by members of the military unknown to us, into the house of his Father, John Murphy, which bullet caused immedi ate death". (Vide Press reports of Inquest and Verdict 22/8/19.)
<u>December 28th</u>	-	Laurence Kennedy, labourer, of Lucan, Co. Dublin, was killed by four soldiers while walking home through the Phoenix Park, Dublin. Having fired on the man the soldiers according to their own evidence left him lying mortally wounded on the ground for half an hour, when he was finally despatched by shots fired into his prostrate body by one of the soldiers in whose custody he was. The verdict of the jury declared "the [sic] Laurence Kennedy was killed on his way home by a military patrol, and we consider that the military acted in a most heartless manner". (Vide Press Reports, Dec. 30th.)

The following is a List of the Papers suppressed during this period:-

"Ballina Herald"	-	Ballina.
"Belfast Evening Telegraph"	-	Belfast.
"Bottom Dog"	-	Limerick.
"Cork Examiner"	-	Cork.
"Cork Weekly Examiner"	-	Cork.
"Cork Evening Echo"	-	Cork.
"Clare Champion"	-	Ennis.
"Enniscorthy Echo"	-	Enniscorthy.
"Evening Herald"	-	Dublin.
"Fainne an Lae"	-	Dublin.
"The Factionist"	-	Limerick.
"Freedom"	-	Dublin.
"Galway Express"	-	Galway.

continued on page 21

GUILDS continued

reduced to a slavery which differed from that of the blacks in no respect except that they might not be taken from their families and sold to the highest bidder. *"Yet this law was often eluded and the serfs were often trafficked like horses or cows."* (18)

Basing his statements upon the facts gathered by Dollinger, Alfred Baudrillart, of the French Academy, thus summarises the conditions of the European peasantry at the effect of the Reformation:

"The introduction of the Reformation in Pomerania caused the introduction of a similar slavery. The law of 1616 decreed that all peasants were serfs without claims of any sort. Preachers were obliged to denounce from their pulpits the peasants who had taken flight... In Sweden the liberty of the peasants was the price the King paid for the assistance of the nobility in the accomplishment of the religious revolution. In Denmark and in Norway the nobles followed this example. In Denmark the peasant was subjected to serfdom like a dog. *"Enforced labour"*, says the historian Allen, *"was increased arbitrarily, the peasants were treated like serfs"*. As late as 1804, *"personal liberty was granted to 20,000 families of serfs... In Scandinavia, as in Germany, Lutheranism was advantageous to the sovereign and the aristocracy only"*. (19)

THE HAMMONDS

But could this catastrophe have been averted by the Church? It certainly could have been. As John L. and Barbara Hammond state the case in their book *"The Town Labourer"*:

"Religion in one form or another, might have checked this spirit by rescuing society from a materialistic interpretation, insisting on the conception of man as an end in himself (i.e., dependent upon God), and refusing to surrender that revelation to any science of politics or any law of trade. Such a force was implicit in the medieval religion that had disappeared, good and bad elements alike, at the Reformation." (20)

It had not indeed disappeared with the Reformation, but its voice had for the time been disregarded in the political and economic life of the nations. There was nothing *"bad"* in the elements of this religion itself. The evil was all, then as now, in the hearts of men and in their want of conformity to its teachings. By the unhappy separation from the Church founded by Christ upon Peter men had lost the one and only authority that could with certainty guide and direct them in the

principles of social justice and of charity. Under Catholicism, however unworthy individual representatives of the Church might at times be found, the principles which they were obliged to admit and to teach ever embodied the true spirit of Christian brotherhood. There was consequently not merely the possibility, but the moral certainty of reform.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

As a teaching body, the clergy remained true to the unadulterated Gospel of Christ. The doctrine of the Church insisted upon the rights of the workingman, the just and reasonable distribution of earthly goods, and the universal law of helpfulness and brotherly love. It repudiated the claim of the capitalist to dispose at pleasure of his property, without regard to the common good, and denied in all its phases the theory of the false modern individualism, while offering the fullest liberty to all true individual development in every sphere of endeavour. So, too, the monk was kept within his strict, but voluntary, vow of poverty and the ecclesiastic might not appropriate at his mere will the proceeds of rich benefices without considering the poor. To all alike was applied the principle, so clearly expressed by St. Thomas in the famous passage quoted by Pope Leo XIII in his labour encyclical: *"Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share with them without difficulty when others are in need"*. This doctrine has found its practical expression for our own times in the concluding words of the pastoral on *"Social Reconstruction"* by the American Bishops:

"The labourer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages. This is the human and Christian, in contrast to the purely commercial and pagan, ethics of industry."

So the unbroken tradition is handed down and the inviolate teaching of the Church still continues from the Middle Ages, as it began with the preaching of Christ and the Sermon on the Mount. By this teaching can the evils of today be remedied as were the evils of yesterday. By its light shall we learn the proper limitation of interest on capital, and the fair remuneration of management and labour, together with the true spirit of cooperation, co-partnership and Christian

brotherhood.

(To be Continued)

- (1) Dr. Cram: "The Sins of the Fathers", p.9.
- (2) Cardinal Francis Aiden Gasquet, O.S.B.: "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury", p.25, 26.
- (3) Johann Janssen (Ger.): "History of the German People", II, p.293.
- (4) "The Sins of the Fathers", p.96.
- (5) May, 1917, p.223
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) "Now that one devil has been driven out, seven others, worse than the former, have entered into us, as we can see in princes, lords, nobles, burghers, and peasants."—Luther's words in 1529. (Erlangen Edition, xxxvi, p.411.) "What Luther Taught", Chapter IV.
- (8) William Cobbett.
- (9) "The Great Pillage."
- (10) Erlangen Ed., XLIII, p.164.
- (11) P.113
- (12) "Modern Times", Part I, p.26
- (13) "Industrial and Social History", p.158
- (14) Herbert, op. cit., p.119
- (15) Stype's Stow, II, 293. W. Herbert.
- (16) "The Sins of the Fathers", pp. 94, 95
- (17) Chapter XXV.
- (18) Baudrillart, "The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism", p.308; Boll, "Histoire de Mecklembourg"; Dollinger, "Kirche und Kirchen."
- (19) Op. cit., pp.308,309,312
- (20) "The Town Labourer, 1760-1832", pp.328,329.

IRISH BULLETIN continued

"The Gael"	- Dublin.
"Honesty"	- Dublin.
"The Irishman"	- Dublin.
"Irish World"	- Dublin.
"Irish Republic"	- Limerick.
"Irish Worker"	- Dublin.
"Irish Volunteer"	- Dublin.
"Ireland"	- Dublin.
"Kilkenny People"	- Kilkenny.
"Kerryman"	- Tralee.
"Killarney Echo"	- Tralee.
"Kerry Weekly Reporter"	- Tralee.
"Kerry News"	- Tralee.
"The Leader"	- Dublin.
"Limerick Leader"	- Limerick.
"Limerick Echo"	- Limerick.
"Liberator"	- Tralee.
"Mayo News"	- Westport.
"Munster News"	- Limerick.
"Meath Chronicle"	- Navan.
"Nationality"	- Dublin.
"Newcastle Observer"	- Newcastle West.
"New Ireland"	- Dublin.
"The Republic"	- Dublin.
"The Spark"	- Dublin.
"Scissors & Paste"	- Dublin.
"Sligo Nationalist"	- Sligo.
"Sinn Fein"	- Dublin
"Southern Star"	- Skibbereen.
"The Voice of Labour"	- Dublin.
"Waterford News"	- Waterford.
"Weekly Nationalist Journal"	-
"Westmeath Independent"	- Athlone.
"The Worker"	- Dublin.
"The Workers' Republic"	- Dublin.
"Southern Democrat"	- Newcastle West.
"Freeman's Journal"	- Dublin.

In April, 1918, 28 papers were denied foreign circulation by the British Government.

GUILDS continued

chaplains, whose very *raison d'être* was that they were to look after and care for those who were past caring for themselves—these were stripped of all their belongings, the inmates sent out to hobble into some convenient dry ditch to lie down and die in, or to crawl into some barn or hovel there to be tended, not without fear of consequence, by some kindly man or woman who could not bear to see a suffering fellow creature drop down and die at their own doorposts." (9)

NEW RELIGION— NEW MASTERS

The same results followed in Germany, and Luther's complaints that people, after adopting the 'true' religion of his own making no longer interested themselves in charity as they had done before, were unavailing. The princes and their hirelings had eaten up and spent in horses, luxuries and vices the dowries of the poor. The people had no mind to replace them. "We wish to do nothing but take and rob by force what others have given and founded", Luther exclaimed regretfully of the work begun by him. (10).

The looting of the Guilds began with the Act of Parliament of Henry VIII entitled: "An acte for dissolution of colleges, chauntries, and free chapelles, at the king's majestie's pleasure", and was brought to its completion in the next reign when the new Act, 1 Edward VI, c. XIV, demanded that: "All payments by corporations, misteryes or craftes, for priests' obits and lamps", be thenceforth given to the king. The law itself was entitled: "An acte whereby certaine chauntries, colleges, free chapells and the possessions of the same be given to the king's majestie". Writing of the effect of these acts, in his work on "The Livery Companies of London", William Herbert says:

"The effects of the Reformation were severely felt by the livery companies. It had been customary in making gifts and devises to these societies in Catholic times, to charge such gifts with annual payments, for supporting chauntries for the souls of the respective donors; and as scarcely an atom of property was left without being so restricted, at a period when the supposed efficacy of these religious establishments formed part of the national belief, almost the whole of the companies' Trust Estates became liable, at the Reformation, to change masters with the change of religion." (11)

What was true of these companies, which represented the wealthier middle class, was all the more true of the ordinary

Craft Guild. "The powers of the gilds", Professor Cunningham believes, "had been so much affected by the legislation of Edward VI {1547-53} that they had but little influence for good or evil." (12) Professor Cheyney considers it the heaviest blow inflicted on the Guilds. (13)

GOOD QUEEN BESS

Enormous loans were next exacted of the companies and a number of "sponging expedients" resorted to, by which, as William Herbert says: "That 'mother of her people,' Elizabeth, {1558-03} and afterwards James {1603-25} and Charles {1625-49}, contrived to screw from the companies their wealth". (14) When forced loans and levies had been pushed as far as they would go, Elizabeth granted "patents for monopolies and for the oversight and control of different trades". Thus in 1590 one of the Queen's courtier, Edward Darcy, sued and obtained a patent against a Leathersellers' Company. This empowered him to set his seal upon all the leather that was to be sold in England, for which "he sometimes received the tenth part, the ninth part, the seventh, the sixth, the fourth and sometimes, and often, the third part of the value of the commodity". (15) We are not therefore surprised that the establishment of Guilds was still encouraged in Elizabeth's reign. They were a constant source of revenue to the Crown or the courtiers. The Guilds were not discontinued at once with the Reformation; many of them sufficiently recovered from the confiscation of their property after redeeming it at a high cost, but their economic efficiency was a thing of the past. This is one fact to be borne in mind. They now gradually passed away or became mere capitalistic societies. Their soul was reft from them with their religion.

CAPITALISTIC AUTOCRACY

The way was now open, both for political autocracy and for individualistic capitalism. What followed is too well known to call for description here. The domestic system, the factory system and the industrial revolution are the successive milestones. With each step forward towards a loudly acclaimed national prosperity, the toiling masses were ground more helplessly beneath the feet of that merciless idol of modern commercialism to which the Reformation has surrendered them. In breaking with Catholicism, as Dr. Ralph Adams Cram wisely analysis the process that now took place, religion and all spiritual interests and principles were separated from the economic and

material phases of life:

"The division was not avowed, indeed, particularly during the Puritan regime; it was part of the system that religion and life should be more aggressively at one than at any time since the earlier theocracy of the Hebrews. Under the Commonwealth in England, the Puritan tyranny in New England, and the capitalistic autocracy in Great Britain, it was practically impossible to draw a line between Church and State; superficially it seemed as if the identity, or rather cooperation, was more perfect than at any time during the Catholic Middle Ages. Certainly the abuses of power, the gross infractions of liberty, the negation of even rudimentary justice in legislation, in law and in society, that followed from this apparent union, were more aggravated and intolerable. As a matter of fact, however, the alliance was only between a formal and public religion and the equally formal machinery of government; it did not extend to the individual, and here, in his domestic, social, business and political relations, the severance was almost complete. The typical figure in Protestantism is Luther, preaching a lofty doctrine of personal union with God, and conniving at bigamy, adultery and the massacre of starving peasants; and the pious iron-master or mill magnate of Bradford or Leeds, zealously supporting his favourite form of Evangelicalism, pouring out his money for the support of missions to heathen countries or for the abolition of slavery, enforcing the strictest Sabbatarianism in his own household—and fighting in Parliament and through the press for the right to continue to employ little children of six years old in his mines, crawling on all fours, half naked, dragging carts of coal by ropes around their tender bodies, or to profit, by the threat of starvation, through mill hands whose wages were a miserable pittance, insufficient to keep body and soul together, and who were forbidden under penalty of the law to combine with one another for self-protection." (16)

LAND

The industrial slavery that fettered the city-labourer after the Reformation can be paralleled only by the injustice perpetrated upon the land. Reference has already been made to Outhwaite's treatise (17) which tells how the tenements of Glasgow were crowded, "because 3,600,000 acres had been turned into silent sanctuaries for the red deer". So the English farmer was driven to the slums of London to yield place to the Rothschild stag-hounds. At the Diet of Mecklenburg, in 1607, as Dollinger informs us, the peasants were declared mere ciphers. They could be robbed at pleasure of the acres their forefathers had possessed. They were

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GUILDS continued

REFORMATION: A GODLY ACT?

It was but the fulfillment of Christ's prophecy that the tares should be permitted to grow up with the wheat, and that the net of His Church should hold alike the good and the bad until the time of final separation. So it has always been from the days of the Apostles, and so it will remain. But it is also true that there are periods of more than usual delinquency. Such was the case in the years immediately preceding the "Reformation". Unhappily, in place of seeking to conform the lives of men more perfectly to the true Faith of their fathers, a new religion was substituted in its stead. Here, as is now more clearly seen than ever before, was the beginning of all our economic evils. Ralph Adams Cram thus briefly states the case:

"For 300 years, generation after generation has been fed on the shameless fiction of historians and theologians until it is bred in the bone that the Reformation, the suppression of the monasteries, the Huguenot revolt, etc., were godly acts that formed the everlasting cornerstones of modern civilisation. They were: but what that civilisation was we are now finding out and paying for at a price never exacted before since Imperial Rome paid in the same coin." (4)

LIFE: A MEANING!

To have these facts made clear in the minds of men, and to know that such statements can no longer be looked upon with suspicion, as the product of Catholic zeal or of an artistic or intellectual partiality for mediaevalism, is a distinct gain, economically no less than culturally. As Muezzin writes in the *London Athenaeum*:

"Man in the Middle Ages somehow held the clue to a happiness and a harmony that we have lost. Life had a meaning for him which transcended the desires of the flesh and the promptings of self-interest; his universe was charged with intelligible and blessed purpose; and his work, which was consecrated to the service of that meaning and that purpose, was crowned with such exuberance of joy and beauty that the cathedrals, abbeys and churches of his creation tease us moderns out of thought, so sublime they seem, so unattainable to the more accomplished, more learned craftsman of to-day." (5)

The greater accomplishment and learning of the modern labourer, where this may be said to exist, is merely upon the surface. Culturally the mediaeval craftsman was immeasurably superior to

the average workman of to-day. Education is of the whole man, and such an education the mediaeval craftsman enjoyed in his religion and his churches, as well as in his Guilds and his craft. The most striking and obvious fact of these ages, as the writer last quoted remarks, is "*the universality of the feeling and appreciation for beauty*". Beauty dwelled with men and walked with them and found expression at their touch. The things of the spirit were then shared by all and expressed by all.

"Those prayers in stone, which are so marvellous in the eyes of posterity, were not built by highly paid specialists, but by the common people themselves, who enriched their handiwork with a thousand blossoms of their quaint and untutored imagination" (6)

Such was the perfection of democratic industry, its flower, and glory, and joy.

CAPITALISM

"*In those times and in that society the trinity of the human spirit, beauty, truth and love, was a trinity in unity*", the unity of one Catholic Faith. All this was swept away by the Reformation, through the instrumentality of autocratic rulers to whose grasping greed the people were mercilessly delivered, to fall an easy prey, subsequently, to the no less merciless autocracy of that capitalism which now was given birth.

LUTHER AND INDIVIDUALISM

The sickness which had broken out in the social organism, previous to the Reformation, was not unto death, nor did it at all affect the entire body. This still remained sound. A local remedy only was needed. Luther himself was forced sadly to admit on many an occasion that the cities of Germany which most eagerly welcomed him had changed for the worse after accepting his "*New Evangel*". (7) The same can clearly be shown to have been the case in England, where the Commons became the labouring poor, (8) and in every other land into which the Reformation entered. Catholic countries were in many cases hardly less affected by the reflex of the disastrous economic doctrines which now gained ground as the corollary to the new religious theory of individualism. In too many instances the State, though nominally Catholic, hampered the Church in every way and made impossible her free social activity, while the false principles, imported from abroad, confused the minds of men. Hence the universality of the social disorder, as wide-spread as had once been the

beneficent influence of the Church.

The width and breadth and depth of the economic disaster implied in the Reformation is only now beginning to be understood. "*We talk with a great deal of indignation of the Tweed ring*", says a Protestant divine, the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, in "*The Great Pillage*",

"the day will come when some one will write the story of two other rings: the ring of the miscreants who robbed the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII {1509-47} was the first; but the ring of the robbers who robbed the poor and helpless in the reign of Edward VI {1547-53} was ten times worse than the first."

From the closing of the monasteries, as the havens of all human miseries and the open inns of God's poor, the world has never recovered:

"The burnt the homes of the shaven men, that had been quaint and kind, Till there was no bed in a monk's house, nor food that man could find The inns of God where no man paid, that were the walls of the weak, The King's Servants ate them all. And still we did not speak."

So sang Chesterton of the first of the great deeds of pillage which took place at the same time with the looting of the churches, and whose spiritual consequences extended with the most dreadful results into the domain of economics. The second act was the robbing of the gild property devoted to religious purposes, which practically implied a complete act of confiscation, since the great funds which the gilds devoted to works of charity and similar objects, were intimately associated with religion and held and administered in its name. Hence the writer upon "*Gilds*" in the non-Catholic "*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*" rightly affirms that:

"The Reformation by disendowing the religious and social gilds and crippling the organisation of the craft gilds, prepared the way for Poor Law reform and the changes in the industrial revolution which were then shaping".

The immediate consequences of the royal pillage are thus forcefully described by Dr. Jessop:

"Almshouses in which old men and women were fed and clothed were robbed to the last pound, the poor alms-folk being turned out into the cold at an hour's warning to beg their bread. Hospitals for the sick and needy, sometimes magnificently provided with nurses and

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The Great Catastrophe

(Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D.-*Democratic Industry, A Practical Study in Social History*, New York, P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1919).

The Reformation, as every intelligent and impartial student of history will now freely admit, was not primarily a religious, but an economic revolution. It took root, as a non-Catholic clergyman recently expressed it to the writer, in autocracies only. It relied entirely upon the favour of the powerful secular lords, who gladly disguised their personal greed and ambition under the cloak of religion. The poor, as even men like Harnack confess, were to be the great sufferers. "*Politically and socially*", writes Dr. Cram, "*the inevitable outcome of the Renaissance and Reformation was absolutism and tyranny, with force as the one recognised arbiter of action.*" (1) That such statements are matters of fact that can no longer give offence to open-minded Protestants shows the progress that has been made towards a better understanding of history.

CHURCH & STATE

It is equally admitted by Catholics, in their own regard, that grave abuses existed at this time in the Church, not doctrinally, since her teaching has never changed since the days of the Apostles, but on the part of many of her members. In England and in Germany, the two great Reformation countries, the Church was suffering at the same time both from a plethora of wealth and an anaemia of poverty. A vast proportion of the landed property of these countries had been gathered into the hands of ecclesiastical lords who often took but little interest in the welfare of the souls entrusted to their care. Abbeys and convents were not unfrequently tainted with worldliness. In the meantime deserving priests were, in too many instances, but poorly and inadequately provided for. Such conditions lent themselves admirably to the caustic pen of the satirist and the misdirected attacks of the reformer. The fault, where it existed, was not that of

religion, but of politics. It was not a question of the Church interfering with the State, but the time-worn story of the State interfering with the Church. As Cardinal Gasquet writes of the time of Henry VIII {1509-47}:

"The bishops were, with some honourable exceptions, chosen by royal favour rather than for spiritual qualifications. However personally good they may have been, they were not ideal pastors of their flocks. Place-seeking, too, often kept many of the lords spiritual at court, that they might gain or maintain influence sufficient to support their claims to further preferment. The occupation of bishops over much in the affairs of the nation, besides its evident effect on the state of clerical discipline, had another result. It created in the minds of the new nobility a jealous opposition to ecclesiastics, and a readiness to humble the power of the Church by passing measures in restraint of its ancient liberties." (2)

Similar precisely was the dark side of the picture in Germany, as presented by Janssen, a most impartial historian. Men had in many instances flagrantly failed to

observe the teachings of the Church, and avarice became the besetting sin of the day. Neither had the clergy themselves always been loyal to the spirit of their Divine Master and the high ideals of the Sermon on the Mount:

"The lower orders of parochial clergy, whose merely nominal stipends were derived from the many precarious tithes, were often compelled by poverty, if not tempted by avarice, to work at some trade which was quite inconsistent with their position, and which exposed them to the contempt of their parishioners. The higher ecclesiastical orders, on the other hand, enjoyed abundant and superfluous wealth, which many of them had no scruple of parading in such an offensive manner as to provoke the indignation of the people, the jealousy of the upper classes, and the scorn of all serious minds." (3)

Here then we have plainly stated the worst side of the case. Moral delinquencies were obviously not wanting, and we must add in fine, as Cardinal Manning suggests, the distraction caused shortly before in the minds of men by the great Western Schism.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

But this is not the entire picture, nor does it in any way represent the Church herself. Hampered by the evil of State interference which thrust into the place of the chosen shepherds of her flock world-minded princes and court favourites, she continued as before in her work of charity and in her fearless vindication of the principles of social justice, while preaching the pure Gospel of Christ as she had done in the centuries past. Sanctity had not departed from her religious orders because some of their members had fallen into laxity, nor was zeal for the cause of God and of his poor less truly the dominant characteristic of the Church because some of her pastors had been found unworthy.

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