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Destinies . . .

"*Can Ireland And Britain Escape A Common Destiny?*"—that is the question asked by *Irish Times* journalist Diarmaid Ferriter (December 11), who also fills in as Professor in what was intended to be the National University. He does not answer his question. The answer is too obvious, and too embarrassing to be stated: that it depends on whether Britain abandons Ireland to Europe.

Insofar as that common destiny ever existed, it was British destiny imposed on Ireland by use of force, and then followed by a superficial trickle of voluntary Britishness which never managed to be the real thing. The real thing existed in Ireland only in the British colonies. And, even in the colonial oases of Britishness, it soon became a caricature of itself through loss of intimate contact with the mother hive. The Big House system gave rise to hordes of posturing nonentities who were doubly parasitic—on the Irish economically and on Britain culturally. And the parasite always lacks the vigour of the host.

The *Irish Times* in recent times has been displaying the characteristics of parasitic Britishness gone crazy.

Professor Ferriter, with the sophistry of an enlightened native, writes about the "*communal cooperation between the two countries*". He mentions a British financial guaranteeing of Free State Land Bonds in the 1920s—a very marginal thing indeed. The co-operation that mattered as a historical event was transacted between a Fenian land agitator who figured out what Britain was and the Unionist Party Government at a period when the Unionist Party was the major British Party—a Tory social-reform-Liberal merger—having little to do with Ulster.

That was by far the greatest piece of co-operation there ever was between the British and the Irish. The history of it has not been written by any of the Professors of History

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A Suitable Case For Treatment !

Evidence shows that Casement's barrister A. M. Sullivan K.C. plotted to betray him

A TYRANNY OF CRIME

In May 1922, the RIC Head Constable in Cavan, Andrew Jackson, received a letter from an outspoken Unionist supporter. The writer lamented the imminent disbandment of the paramilitary RIC in the newly founded Free State to which he was implacably opposed. The writer's hostility was expressed unambiguously; he observed that the RIC "*can no longer protect their Country against the bully and the brute...*" and stated that the new disposition was "*...a cringing submission to a degrading tyranny of crime...*". The RIC had fought "*...a battle against Paganism...*" for "*...the vindication of Christian civilization against savagery...*"

Anti-republican animosity was not

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Brexit: the wrong Taoiseach at the wrong time!

Brexit will come into effect when the transition period ends on January 1st. A period of transport disruption is predicted. Even if a trade deal is agreed, as seems likely at time of writing (16 December), additional red tape, breaks in supply chains and price changes are likely to impede the flow of Irish agri-food exports to Britain and British imports to this country. As the informed commentators have been saying,

regardless of the outcome of the trade talks, we are still headed for a hard Brexit.

The short term and long term effects of the end of the transition are impossible to predict. New political relationships between the affected states and new trading relationships are to be expected. As a result of the British exit, Ireland will experience economic disruption which will require a

Government response. Assistance from the various EU funds will need to be negotiated. The new transport connections with Continental Europe may also experience teething problems.

In the wider international context, notwithstanding Joe Biden's victory in the US Presidential Election, a Trade War between the US and China is ongoing

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

Socialism In Ireland

James Connolly
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Public Sector Workers Pay Increase
(page28)

that now litter the country with waste paper. It carries the wrong message for these revisionist times—that the British will deal reasonably with an intransigent force in Ireland which cannot be brought under its thrall.

The other instance of co-operation mentioned by Ferriter is the 1938 economic settlement. He says nothing on how it came about. Ireland then had the substance of a property-owning democracy and Fianna Fail was vigorously nationalist on anti-Treaty grounds. It was decided that the annual repayments on the 1903 land settlement loan should be retained in Ireland. The British Government retaliated by trying to break the Irish economy—a thing which has become commonplace with Trade Sanctions in this era of the United Nations but was a very unusual thing then.

The small-farmer majority in the country pitted their nationalist will against the force of economic determinism which Professor Ferriter seems to regard as ir-

resistible. The British market for meat and milk was closed, so they were given away without profit at home. Then, in 1938 Britain—no doubt with another World War in contemplation—gave way to the Irish, even giving up the Ports which they held under the 'Treaty'.

The Free State became politically independent of Britain in 1938 with the removal of foreign military bases from its territory. This was an achievement of the nationalist Economic War with Britain on the issue of economic determinism.

Britain was very inadequately summed up by Napoleon as *a nation of shopkeepers*. Living through shops in one way or another certainly became the general medium of life in England before anywhere else, but the State was not conducted by the shopkeepers. That was done by a ruling class based on large-scale land ownership which looked down on trade as vulgar. That ruling class is the distinctive thing about the British State. It is something that is entirely outside European experience, and

therefore Europe can only see Britain as behaving capriciously and perversely just now. But Britain—England—is behaving according to its own normality of at least three centuries' standing.

The Government did not consult the shopkeepers about launching the Great War in 1914. The Economist, which was then much more an organ of the shopkeepers than it is now, deplored the upset of business routine that the war would bring. It even pointed out that, if the German march through Belgium was really the issue, it could easily have been prevented by giving a straight answer to the German Ambassador about what Britain would do in the event of a German march through Belgium. But then it came to heel.

Europe, since the French Revolution, has had Monarchies, Democracies, and Dictatorships of various kinds. It has never had anything like the English ruling class which, since 1714, could, like a chameleon, simulate as much of any of these things as served the purpose of the moment. Because of its catastrophic history in the 20th century, engineered by England, Europe has prohibited regions of thought. The most disabling of these is the prohibition against thinking of England as anything but the saviour of Europe from itself—a prohibition which does not only apply to the Nazi period. There is nothing which England, in the exclusive regions beyond the babel of mass University education, cannot think about, and act upon.

Britain is the great peace-loving nation. That is why it has fought more wars than all the disorderly warlike states of Europe combined. Pitirim Sorokin counted them. He was a constitutional socialist dissenter from Lenin's dictatorship in Russia. He escaped to the United States in 1921 and became a historian of war. He counted England as having fought about 180 wars. That was fifty years ago. None of those wars, with the possible exception of the Spanish Armada incident, was a war of defence. The number must now exceed two hundred.

Britain makes war on its own account. It never submits itself to binding alliances. It was ill at ease with the League of Nations, and in 1939 by-passed it when launching the 2nd World War. It inveigled its way into the Common Market in 1972 with the object of diverting it from its original purpose and succeeded in doing so to a considerable extent.

It kept itself sufficiently apart as a member to be able to leave without fun-

damental disruption of its own system and to regain entire freedom of action in the world. It has had the project of leaving in mind since about 1990. No simple democracy could hold such a purpose in mind for so long, against all the accidents of electoral government, and inch its way towards implementing it.

The Brexit decision was shocking and incomprehensible to the excessively representative democracies of Europe, all of which were mushroom growths out of the shambles of 1945. It took them a long time to realise that the Referendum result was an unalterable expression of national will. They had come to regard nationalism as a form of irrationality—encouraged to do so by Britain, which deplores every nationalism but its own.

It seems that, when the EU grasped the fact that the Brexit decision was not a mistake which could be remedied, they decided to punish England for it in Ireland, by putting the effective British Border in the Irish Sea.

Many bad arguments have been deployed in support of this aim, but the outcome will not depend on reasoning. It will depend on will.

A weak point in the EU Front against Britain is Fianna Fail. Under Micheál Martin's depressing leadership, it has become fundamentally Anglophile. Life without Britain is a terrifying prospect for it. Martin, standing apart from the EU, has pleaded with both sides to make concessions.

The surprising development in Irish politics is the emergence of the Treaty Party as the national party, with Fianna Fail becoming the West Britain party.

It should not have been surprising. It was Fine Gael that was the Irish party in the European mould in the 1930s. It was re-founded out of Cumann na nGaedheal as a Fascist party in 1933 and retained a fascist orientation through the World War and after it, while supporting Neutrality. And, insofar as there was a nationalist intelligentsia, it was Fine Gael and Fascist and therefore European. Professors Hogan and Tierney are now forgotten, but there are no Professors of their intellectual calibre around today.

The Parliamentary system on British lines was maintained by Fianna Fail against Blueshirt pressure throughout that period, while in Britain itself there was an adaptation towards Fascism in the form of a suspension of party-politics and the

The Nagorno-Karabak Peace Agreement

The thing that has taken the West by surprise—including all its analysts, and all the alt-media analysts like Saker, Moon of Alabama etc.—is the strength of the Russian-Turkish partnership. They cannot seem to understand that although this is an alliance of convenience, these alliances persist if the forces that drive them together persist. And as long as the West threatens Russia it is better to have Turkey, which has shown itself to be a decent military power, onside than against. Syria, Libya, and the Caucasus are being managed by Putin and Erdogan, with the occasional problem of course. But, if this alliance persists, it blocks off a whole front for Russia against the West. Look at the diplomatic coup Putin achieved in the Caucasus as a result of it. The alt-media have really been shown up by this conflict. They are bluffers in the same way as their western counterparts. Their Russian Christian chauvinism and anti-Turk positions have blinded them to the geopolitics of the situation. Thank goodness it is Putin who runs Russia and not his western fan boys.

Pat Walsh

formation of National Governments from 1931 to 1945.

It is interesting how these movements at the base of things long ago, which were assumed to have been comprehensively superseded, assert themselves in the long run.

*

As the Day of Judgement approaches, the Irish Times turns to geography for consolation. In its editorial of December 12th, it reveals its conviction that geography is destiny, and that Irish destiny is therefore British. Geography will prove to be "*a reality trumping ideology*"!

There is a superficial notion that Ireland is an island. But it isn't. It is a piece of an Archipelago—"our archipelago"—and the archipelago is the force of destiny.

(John Donne's maxim, *No man is an island*, needs amending. *No island is an island*!)

They do not cite that entertaining West Brit, Gogarty, on the subject, but his definition of an island is relevant. An island, he said, is a "*country surrounded by a Navy*". The only Navy that has ever surrounded Ireland is the British Navy.

The Spanish Navy might possibly have surrounded it at one time—in which case Ireland would have remained Irish—but it chose to do something else. The French Navy challenged the world-conquering Royal Navy, but was destroyed by it. If Germany had won the War launched against it by Britain, the Royal Navy would

have shrunk and the Irish revival would have been boosted by German Celtic studies. But the Royal Navy maintained its world dominance across the centuries and was a physical presence more influential than geography.

Ireland appeared to be on its last legs when it joined the Common Market along with Britain. "*Is Ireland Dying?*" was the title of one of the topical books of that period. The only real sign of life in it was the War in the North, and that was disowned by the State with widespread social approval, even though the Constitution of the State held that British government in the North was illegitimate.

Official Ireland escaped from itself into Europe. It was Britain's second voice in Europe. But Europe was obliged by its own Constitution to treat Ireland as if it was a nation-state in earnest, with a national language. Europe took it more seriously than it took itself, and elements in Ireland responded.

The 'archipelago' status of Ireland may now be in jeopardy. What will happen if it comes about that the Royal Navy lies between Ireland and Britain?

The *Irish Times*, a piece of Britain frozen in a time warp, is bewildered by this turn of events. It sees the Mother Country as having embarked on a "*perilous and ill-planned expedition into the wilderness*", and sees it as a matter of great importance that Ireland should keep up a "*vital relationship*" with it in that wilderness!

Kilmichael v. Warrenpoint?

Brian Stanley (Sinn Féin TD for Laois-Offaly) has given offence to Irish officialdom by drawing a comparison between attacks by the IRA on British elite forces in two Irish wars with Britain: the attack on the Auxiliaries at Kilmichael in 1921 and the attack on British paratroops in 1979.

A year or two ago there would have been no official ground for expressing horror at the comparison. The Irish State was preparing to celebrate the contribution of the Royal Irish Constabulary to Irish freedom. From that viewpoint, both Kilmichael and Warrenpoint would be seen as atrocities. But popular revulsion at the prospect of honouring a British Fifth Column that had been inserted into Irish life restored Kilmichael to the status it had held before the onset of revisionism. It has ceased to be a criminal atrocity for all but the handful of Trinity cranks who remain loyal to the forger of history, Professor Fitzpatrick, and his minion, Peter Hart. And so it is felt that it is dishonoured by being put on a par with Warrenpoint.

But Kilmichael was a criminal act under the law that prevailed in Ireland. The Irish legal system that was fostered by the Irish Government set up in 1919 was brushed aside by what is called the 'Treaty settlement'. The state set up by Britain in Ireland under the 'Treaty' was a Successor State of the British State. It took responsibility for all that had been done by the British Government. There was a smooth legal transition from Dublin Castle rule to Government based on the Free State Dail.

The Irish system set up on foot of the 1918 Election was discarded as a piece of romantic nonsense. It was not acknowledged that there was ever a period when Ireland was not under the 'rule of law' and in which people could do as they pleased.

And, if there was continuity of law from 1919 to 1923, it was continuity of British law.

In actual life this aspect of things was glossed over pragmatically, which means in disregard of the forms of law.

If we take law in earnest, as an autonomous dimension of public life—as it likes to present itself—it is obvious that war cannot be fought within the law. War within the law can only be a conflict

between law-breakers and law enforcers. But what happens if the law enforcers lack the strength to suppress the law-breakers? What is the sense of applying legal categories to that situation?

The War between the Catholic minority in the North and the British Government—because that is what the Northern War was—was fought on a much greater scale than the Anglo-Irish War, and lasted ten times as long, and it ended with leaders of the insurrectionary Army taking positions in the devolved government of the State on which they had made war. What legal sense is there fore be made of that?

Opinion about legitimacy must be founded on other grounds. And, leaving aside the formalities of law, the case for Warrenpoint is stronger than the case for Kilmichael. The issue in the Anglo-Irish War was extensive Home Rule under the Crown for 26 Counties versus independence from the Crown. Under Home Rule the people would have governed themselves within limits, and through the practice of self-government those limits would have been extended. The Home Rule system would have had some of the

characteristics of a state. It would not have been democratic, in that it did not accord with the ideal that had been voted for, but the grievance would have been rather abstract by comparison with the highly tangible grievance of the nationalist third of the population in the positively undemocratic Northern Ireland system.

What aggravated the nationalist third of the population in the Six Counties was not the fact that it was held against its will within the British state, but that the British State—instead of governing it on a par with the rest of the state—franchised out the business of governing it to the hostile local community which had the Orange Order at its core.

Home Rule in the 26 Counties would have been self-government by the immense majority of the populace. Home Rule in the 6 Counties meant communal rule of two-thirds of the population over a third.

British government through the normal operation of British party politics would have been tolerable, but all of that was stripped away by Whitehall and Orange rule over the hereditary enemy was put in its place, because it served a British purpose of the moment to do this.

NO—there is no substantial ground of comparison between Warrenpoint and Kilmichael.

A Suitable Case

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surprising among embittered Unionists at the time although the writer's vitriolic language betrays an emotional instability rather than political disillusionment. But what is surprising is that the writer of this letter was A. M. Sullivan KC, the barrister who led for the defence in Casement's trial. (1)

COLLUSION

Sullivan has long been a problematic figure in the Casement controversy not only for his intemperate language, his contradictory statements, his improbable allegations, his marked abhorrence for Casement and republicanism (2) but also for his suspect behaviour before and during the trial. His published allegations about Casement are still today considered by some to be evidence for the authenticity of

diaries which he never saw. Several public figures have defended as true Sullivan's allegations that Casement had personally acknowledged authorship to him.

It is now difficult to imagine a less suitable defence barrister for Casement than Serjeant Sullivan who loathed everything Casement represented and who regretted that the trial was not held in Ireland so he himself could prosecute Casement. His motive for accepting the brief from Gavan Duffy was principally his ambition to enter the English Bar and secondly his substantial fee.(3)

Casement's technical defence was constructed for Sullivan by Professor J.H. Morgan, a prominent legal historian, expert in constitutional law and a friend of Casement. In essence the defence was that no treason had been committed in England or in the colonies or dominions;

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It Is Time

Interregnum

Last October 2020, I last wrote about Patricia Laurence's biography of Elizabeth Bowen (Part 8) and was just coming up to address a very important point about Bowen's spying when I concluded the article. Naturally, I intended to continue writing about it in the next issue of the *Irish Political Review* but fate intervened. I had an accident falling on my left hand and broke my little finger—didn't attend to it for a week hoping it would heal, and then finally had it seen to by an orthopaedic surgeon who after getting it X-rayed, splinted it and put my hand in a sling. Time elapsed and after another visit, he sent me to a hand therapist—physiotherapist really who was surprised at how 'frozen' my finger appeared.

Since then, after weeks of therapy, I still haven't got my finger right and typing with it is impossible, so just the two old fingers tapping away is what I have been reduced to. That of course means that any article typing is out for the while. I thought that I could make it this time, but unfortunately not so.

But the good thing is that I have been researching a lot more and have found out things that otherwise might have escaped my attention. So, a richer and more extensive analysis is now possible as running down the time to my next issue always put me up against the clock.

I find it ironic that the academics who all credit researchers will still have a go at Aubane/Clifford & Lane for their typos and "badly edited reports" (Neil Corcoran) nevertheless "this is the only way to read them in their entirety in published form" as the above acknowledged in his book *'Elizabeth Bowen: The Enforced Return'*, Oxford, 2004. And, as for Patricia Laur-

ence, well that old adage "*pot and kettle*" is the only thing that comes to mind here. And not only is her book replete with elementary mistakes, poor analysis but her typos are of a different kind altogether and don't get me started on her index!

But at least the Americans and the British can look at the Aubane *oeuvre* and deal with it in some context but that is simply not the case with any Irish historian/academic. Even London-centric Roy Foster, while giving his many kicks, has to acknowledge their constant presence in any debate now about Elizabeth Bowen and this is what their work-ethic and truth-seeking has led them to—which is, in my opinion, the necessary corrective to all that other stuff.

Any discussion of Elizabeth Bowen these days without reference to Aubane now would be like a production of *'Hamlet'* without the Prince.

Julianne Herlihy ©

A Suitable Case

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therefore the ancient statute of 1351 did not apply.

Casement preferred a political defence which explained and justified his actions but he submitted against his judgment to the advice of lawyers and friends. In the event, the technical defence was rejected by the judges by the invention of an imaginary comma.

But, unknown to Casement's other lawyers, Sullivan had an alternative defence in reserve. In mid-May at the preliminary hearing, the junior of Prosecuting Counsel F.E. Smith gave the police typescripts to Defence Counsel Artemus Jones, along with a verbal message from Smith which proposed they collude with a joint plea of *Guilty but Insane*; in the following weeks Smith persistently urged Sullivan's collusion. The insanity plea was to be based on production of the diaries or police typescripts in evidence.

Only in 1918 did Smith's motive become clear when, at a lunch shortly after the Armistice, he admitted to Morgan that he had been aware of the legal potential of the technical defence.

"You had a good point but if I had given my fiat and the Lords had quashed the conviction on such a technicality, feeling against Casement was so strong it might have brought the Government down" (4).

Smith's refusal of an appeal to the Lords was political expediency; Casement's life was sacrificed to save the Government and thus Smith himself.

MADNESS & MENDACITY

In 1947 the Bureau of Military History began to gather Witness Statements from those involved directly or otherwise in the independence struggle. In 1949 Sullivan was invited by Mr. Brennan of the Bureau to make a statement concerning his role in the 1916 trial. This statement (WS 253) contains his first written reference to the scandal:

"The second matter that troubled him [Casement] was the fear that the prosecution would introduce, in the trial, the deplorable entries in his Diary. In fact, the Attorney General sent me a number of messages asking me to inspect the Diary ... Sir Travers Humphreys ... handed me a full copy of the Diary on the morning of the trial. I did not read it but passed it to one of my juniors."

Sullivan's statement is typed but not signed or witnessed. It opens by saying he cannot write and is relying on an un-

identified person to "write" for him; no explanation is given as to why he cannot write.

An internal Bureau memo of May 1949 states "*In the opinion of the Director, the letter dated 23rd May, 1949 received from Mr. Serjeant A.M. Sullivan K.C. ... regarding the trial of the late Roger Casement is of little value*".

Sullivan's letter was kept on record while futile attempts were made to obtain his signature. After some two years of refusal, these attempts were abandoned. All Witness Statements were confidential and were not to be made public for fifty years. The files were opened only in 2003. Sullivan's typed, unsigned allegation, which remained deniable in his lifetime and secret for 54 years, has nonetheless been accepted by some public figures as true.

By 1951 both witnesses at Sullivan's only meetings with Casement in Brixton, Duffy and Jones, were dead. In 1952 Sullivan published *The Last Serjeant*, and made public for the first time his controversial and highly improbable allegations about Casement. On page 271 he confirms receiving "*the envelope*" containing the typescripts on 26th June, which he passed to Jones, his junior, without reading them. He adds that he had enough to do "*without*

the strain of perusing this dreadful document of which I knew quite enough”.

That he considered the document dreadful without reading it means he had been informed of its scandalous contents. Both Jones and Smith had read the typescripts. It was impossible for Sullivan not to be aware, since Jones had offered him the typescripts upon his arrival in London along with Smith's verbal message concerning a plea of *Guilty but Insane*. And Smith had contacted him about the diaries long before his arrival in London. But his 1949 Statement reveals that he had already decided to attribute his knowledge of 'the dreadful document' to Casement rather than to Smith; "[Casement's] fear that the prosecution would introduce ... the deplorable entries in his Diary". (5)

And more was to come. In a letter to René MacColl of 12th January 1954 he wrote

"I refused to read it as I knew all about it from Casement himself... [he] instructed me to explain to the Jury that the filthy practices and the rhapsodical glorification of them were inseparable from genius..."

In June 1954 Sullivan gave a two-hour interview to Dr. Mackey, Chairman of *The Casement Repatriation Committee*, which included his opinion of Casement:

"... a liar, a rogue, a paid spy, a sex maniac, a traitor and a murderer. Hanging was too good for Casement".

Then interviewed by MacColl in November, 1954 he stated of F.E. Smith:

"Freddie Smith did his best to get me to plead guilty but insane, but I refused to have anything to do with the diaries... Smith wrote to me and wired me... to persuade me to go over and inspect the diaries. But I could not persuade Casement himself that these documents would never appear in evidence... There is no doubt whatever about the genuineness of the perverted diaries". (6)

FACTS:

Sullivan met Casement only twice on 12th and 24th June;

at both meetings in Brixton, Duffy was present; Jones was present on 24th June; neither refer to any conversation about diaries or scandal at those meetings;

in 1954, when Sullivan published his claim above, both Duffy and Jones were dead.

The four defence lawyers, Duffy, Jones, Doyle and Morgan, had many more meet-

ings with Casement but none reported anything to corroborate Sullivan's later allegations.

The *Irish Times* review of MacColl's book on 7th April 1956 provoked two leading barristers who demanded Sullivan show Casement's written consent for the scandalous allegations. Sullivan replied that no consent was needed, adding "On reflection, I perceive that he neither affirmed nor denied authenticity". (7)

Further press letters appeared from Senator McHugh, MacColl, Dr. Mackey, Shane Leslie, and later 34 members of the Irish Bar requested that Sullivan be struck off on grounds of "gross and dishonourable professional conduct". After being censured, he resigned.

Sullivan's published statements are here listed in chronological order to expose their incoherence and contradiction.

1 — "The second matter that troubled him [Casement] was the fear that the prosecution would introduce, in the trial, the deplorable entries in his Diary." BMH unsigned Witness Statement 253, May, 1949.

2 — "... without the strain of perusing this dreadful document of which I knew quite enough." *The Last Serjeant*, 1952.

3 — "I refused to read it as I knew all about it from Casement himself ... [he] instructed me to explain to the Jury that the filthy practices and the rhapsodical glorification of them were inseparable from genius..." 12 January, 1954. Letter to MacColl.

4 — "I could not persuade Casement himself that these documents would never appear in evidence ... There is no doubt whatever about the genuineness of the perverted diaries." 16 November, 1954. Interview with MacColl.

5 — "He talked more about the diaries than about anything else ... He discussed them on the basis that he had written them." 15 February, 1956. Interview with Robert Kee. (8)

6 — "On reflection, I perceive that he neither affirmed nor denied authenticity." 21 April, 1956. *Irish Times*.

7 — "... he was extremely anxious that this mission should be carried out whenever the fact of the diaries was revealed." 26 April, 1956. *Irish Times*.

8 — "He told me nothing about the diaries or about himself..." 26 April, 1956. *Irish Times*.

9 — "Casement never suggested there was

anything wrong with them." 8 September, 1957. *Sunday Press*.

10 — "It is near falsehood to suggest that Casement told to his solicitor... that he was not the author of the indecent entries" 8 September, 1957. *Sunday Press*.

11 — "Casement told us nothing about the diaries or about himself." 25 September, 1957. *Sunday Press*.

12 — "He certainly denied again and again that he had written anything indecent." 25 September, 1957. *Sunday Press*.

DARKNESS FELL ... I CRASHED

Suddenly on Day 3 Sullivan ended his role in the trial. In his 1927 memoir *Old Ireland* he wrote:

"Half-an-hour before the crash came, I believed that I was dying. Then it appeared to me that I commenced to rave. I implored my junior to ask for an adjournment... I was assured that I was in perfect trim and was urged to go on — again and again. I looked for the clock — it had disappeared — the jury faded away and still I raved on — the Lord Chief Justice commenced to recede down an infinite vista, until he was a pin point — then darkness fell and I crashed." And as late as October, 1955, Sullivan wrote to MacColl: "... worrying... caused me to break down and fall senseless..." (9)

But it is a fact that he did not 'fall senseless'. Those who observed this alleged 'collapse' report simply that Sullivan seemed confused but clearly announced to the judges that he had "broken down", and, as *The Times* reported, "He then sank to his seat and rested his head on his hands". He did not collapse or fall or lose consciousness; no medical help was called and upon adjournment, he left the court on his own feet. Jones, his Junior, does not report being "implored to ask for an adjournment". Court transcripts do not show that he "commenced to rave" for half an hour, nor would the judges have permitted him to rave for so long. His melodramatic descriptions above can only be intended to conceal that his 'collapse' was feigned so that he could abandon the trial as a lost cause.

Sullivan's descriptions of his withdrawal present it as evidence of heroic endeavour by a man who had attempted the impossible. Within days Sullivan wrote what all commentators consider to be an abject and sycophantic letter of apology not to Lord Chief Justice Isaacs but to Smith. (10)

PLOT TO BETRAY CASEMENT

There are indications that Sullivan had indeed secretly agreed with Smith to plead *Guilty but Insane*. Some details of this plot appear in Herbert Mackey's 1962 book, *The Forged Casement Diaries*. (11) However, Mackey provided no corroborating sources and it follows that the confirmation of a plot rests upon the quality of the circumstantial evidence.

Mackey left extensive papers with his family in 1966, which remained unseen until this author accessed them with the consent of his family. (12) Mackey relates in his book that, on the second day of the trial during an interval, Travers Humphreys, Smith's Junior Counsel, revealed to Casement's legal adviser, Professor J.H. Morgan, the agreed plan to change the pleadings. Morgan confronted Sullivan, who denied any such plan and then signed a paper to that effect which Morgan showed to Smith. Thus the plot was foiled.

Mackey also states that Sullivan's 'collapse' was staged as a way of abandoning that projected defence. There is substantial evidence above to support this assertion.

Further, it can be wholly confirmed from the Duffy Papers in the National Library of Ireland that, as Mackey states, Sullivan, despite his "fall senseless", was fit enough to travel alone to Dublin as soon as the trial closed, and that his fee cheque arrived at his Dublin address at the same time. External corroboration for Mackey's reference to Smith's motive for refusing an appeal to the Lords is found in Note 4 below.

It is confirmed that Mackey was in contact with Gertrude Parry for many years in their joint endeavours on *The Casement Repatriation Committee*, which Mackey chaired after her death in 1950. Among his papers there are clear indications that Gertrude Parry (present throughout the trial) was told at the time by Morgan of the plot, and it is reasonable to infer that Mackey later heard the details directly from her.

Two aspects must be evaluated: firstly, it is undisputed that Smith urged Sullivan to plead *Guilty but Insane*; secondly, there is nothing improbable about such a plot agreed between Smith and Sullivan. All the circumstantial evidence supports Mackey's statement, while the absence of documentary corroboration is insufficient to dismiss it.

FACTS in circumstantial evidence:

- 1 — Sullivan's repeated and revealing claim that "Smith was savage at me"

for not using the diaries;

- 2 — his apologetic letter to Smith after the trial;
- 3 — Sullivan's confirmation that Smith before the trial requested his entry to the English Bar as K.C. (13);
- 4 — that in 1919 Smith, then Lord Chancellor, raised him to K.C.;
- 5 — Sullivan's many dishonest public statements as listed above.

It must be admitted that Mackey's research lacked both rigour and impartiality and his failure to cite sources is unforgivable. But, while there is evidence of errors and of excesses, there is no evidence of dishonesty.

DEATH BETTER THAN DISHONOUR

The key which exposes the full extent of Sullivan's Iago-like duplicity is found in his MacColl interview, where Sullivan explained why he excluded the 'diaries' as evidence. "*I did not give Casement any option in the matter... I finally decided that death was better than besmirching and dishonour*".

The former sentence is another implicature which, although true, suggests the option was discussed when in fact it was not.

While claiming to have defended Casement's honour before his death, he proceeded to slander him as pervert, traitor and megalomaniac after his death; years later Sullivan seldom missed an opportunity to dishonour the dead man whose betrayal had escaped him. A lawyer who publicly maligns his former client has no sense of honour.

Sullivan's duplicity and treachery were premeditated and derived from a hatred which, when prolonged and deep-rooted, is symptomatic of mental illness. There is abundant evidence above to support the contention that Sullivan was for much of his life so emotionally unbalanced as to be pathologically disturbed and thus was a suitable case for treatment. It might be that those public figures who still trust his pernicious lies would benefit from the same treatment. Sullivan died on 9th January, 1959 without ever having seen the Black Diaries.

NOTES

- 1 - Sullivan's 1922 letter was found only in 2002 by a descendant of the original recipient. It was sent to the Northern Ireland Police Federation and featured in an article, *History Repeats Itself*, by

barrister John Hunter in the Federation magazine *Police Beat* of October 2002 and in an *Irish News* article of 17 October, 2002.

- 2 - Sullivan's political sentiments were well known in Ireland before 1916 and they made him few friends after 1916. By 1920 he was "*an armed civilian*" in fear of the indiscriminate violence of the Black & Tans and the Auxiliaries, and of the hostility of the IRA. In 1920 the latter made two attempts on his life and he left Ireland soon after to start a lucrative career in London.
- 3 - Casement's solicitor, George Gavan Duffy, was unable to find any barrister willing undertake the defence. Sullivan, his brother in law, was a barrister and crown prosecutor in Ireland whose ambition to enter the English Bar was known to Duffy. Duffy's colleagues in his London legal practice obliged him to resign over his defence of Casement.
- 4 - Smith's comment was published in *The Daily Telegraph* of 9th August 1957 in an article entitled *Two Cases Of Treason* by R. Barry O'Brien, literary executor of Professor Morgan.
- 5 - Letter, 21 April, 1956, *The Irish Times*. As with a number of Sullivan's published statements, this sentence is negatively predicated which classes it as an implicature. It appears to confirm a real event in which a specific thing did not happen. The implied event is a discussion referring to the diaries and in that discussion there was neither affirmation or denial of authenticity. The existence of the discussion is thus asserted by what was not discussed rather than by what was discussed. Paradoxically the sentence is true but its truth derives from the non-existence of any discussion.
- 6 - Sullivan's claim that he heard of the diaries scandal from Casement is easily disproved. He met Casement for the first time on 12th June in Brixton. Before that date he had already heard of the scandal from three separate persons: Attorney General F. E. Smith, Director of Public Prosecutions; Charles Mathews; and junior Defence Counsel Artemus Jones. Smith was in contact with Sullivan from around mid-May, urging his collusion on the grounds of alleged insanity manifest in the police typescripts. It is no more credible that Sullivan totally ignored Smith's several communications by not responding, than it is credible that Smith did not refer to the scandalous contents.

Nor is it credible that Jones, who had read the typescripts in May, did not refer to the contents when he offered these to Sullivan in early June. It is more than probable that the DPP contacted Sullivan before 12th June to support Smith's collusion proposal with a false explanation of how the diaries had been obtained. It is not remotely credible that these three persons kept silent about the scandal for almost a month and that it was Casement who revealed it to Sullivan on 12th June in the presence of Duffy.

7 - Sullivan letter in *The Irish Times*, 21 April, 1956.

8 - Robert Kee refers to his interview in February 1956 with Sullivan in *Ourselves Alone* (vol 3 of *The Green Flag*, 1972). Kee reports Sullivan telling him yet another version of the diaries' provenance. According to Sullivan, the DPP had informed him in 1916 that the diaries had been stolen from Casement by Christensen on the 1914 trip to Oslo and later sold to the British authorities. This would be the seventh version of provenance.

9 - Sullivan claimed later that he had been suffering from anemia of the brain due to stress during the trial and had risked his mental health by undertaking the appeal in July. The most common cause of this condition is iron deficiency which is treated with vitamin supplements. Brain anemia is not caused by mental stress.

10 - If Sullivan felt an apology to the court was appropriate, he ought to have been addressed his letter to the chief law officer of the court, Lord Chief Justice Isaacs. That he addressed his apology to Smith indicates that he recognised he had offended Smith; the only possible offence was his breach of the secret agreement between them which he feared had put at risk his entry to the English Bar.

11 - *Roger Casement; the secret history of the forged diaries*, Herbert O. Mackey, Apollo Press, 1962. pp. 103-104.

12 — The author thanks Deirdre Mackey for access to her grandfather's papers.

13 - Brian Inglis describes Sullivan's entry to the English Bar as "his reward" without specifying why he was rewarded.

Paul Hyde

Brexit: *the wrong Taoiseach*

continued

ing, and international trade no longer enjoys the high priority it held in the era of corporate-driven globalisation. In diverse ways power is slipping back to the nation state.

Against all of this, the Irish state is currently being led by a politician who remains fixated on pre-Brexit agendas. Taoiseach Micheal Martin has an axe to grind about maintaining a close relationship with Britain and seems blind to the changes being wrought on the international stage. Like many others, he has failed to recognise the changes set in motion as a result of the financial crisis of 2008. The time has passed when political leaders only needed to dance to the tune of international trade requirements.

When, under the previous Government, Leo Varadkar adapted pragmatically to Brexit by aligning with the EU, Martin was sharply critical of him for generating tension in the Anglo-Irish relationship. He is also known to sympathise actively with the revisionist school of Irish history, and his most vociferous supporter in the media is the anti-nationalist ideologue, Eoghan Harris, who writes for the pro-British *Sunday Independent*.

While Leo Varadkar and Simon Coveney demonstrated agility and competence in cultivating EU support for keeping the Irish Border invisible, Martin's leadership of Fianna Fail has been marked by resistance to change; witness the snail's pace of his response to the proposed merger with the SDLP. Possibly recognising that he is out of his depth in trying to cope with Brexit, he recently employed as his chief spokesperson a public relations expert, Paul Clarkson, whose most recent position was Group Managing Editor of *The Sun* newspaper in London. Martin has also created a new advisory position in the Department of the Taoiseach with the title, *British Irish Relations and Brexit*, which is being filled by Lisa-Dee Collery, the official whom Clarkson is replacing. These cosmetic initiatives are unlikely to be much use when tensions between Britain and the EU eventually surface after Brexit.

**THE STEPHEN COLLINS VIEW OF
INDEPENDENT IRELAND**

A very honest expression of the view-

point that Micheal Martin represents is to be found in three paragraphs of a recent column by Stephen Collins in the *Irish Times*. Under a heading, "*Pooling national sovereignty has given Ireland great clout*", Collins argues that the UK is pursuing an outmoded version of national sovereignty, and that Boris Johnson has been forced into a humiliating climbdown over the *Internal Markets Bill*. Developing the point made in the Column's title, he enthuses over how much Ireland has contributed to the EU. He then meditates on the awfulness of the history of independent Ireland before we tasted of the fruit of international free trade. He states:

"This has not always been the case in our independent history. We began almost a century ago with a bloody civil war fought over different definitions of sovereignty and then in the 1930s fought an economic war with the UK so that the "ourselves alone" definition of independence could be exercised to the full. The outcome was economic devastation which forced almost a million people to emigrate in a few decades to seek a better life in the very United Kingdom from which we had withdrawn.

Things were so bad in the late 1950s that the population had fallen to 2.8 million and people began to question seriously whether independence had been a mistake. This state of affairs prompted a fundamental rethink about where we stood as a nation so that in the 1960s we began the process of entering the modern world which culminated in joining the EEC.

That was the catalyst for the emergence of modern Ireland with its strong export-orientated economy which has transformed living standards to such an extent that the population has risen to five million" (IT, 11 December 2020)

One problem with this analysis is that, if Fianna Fail under Eamon de Valera had failed to achieve a solid measure of national sovereignty in the thirties, Ireland would have remained within the British orbit and we would now be exiting the EU on the coat-tails of our near neighbour. In the same vein, Varadkar and Coveney were able to stand up to British pressure during the Brexit negotiations for the reason that they were standing on the shoulders of de Valera: they were representing an independent state whose independence had been attained by previous generations.

Collins is also on weak ground in the way that he characterises as *outmoded* the national sovereignty currently being pursued by the Johnson Government. A majority of the British electorate voted to regain their sovereignty and through a period of stormy political conflict the

electoral majority held to that decision. Since Johnson became Prime Minister, the British negotiating strategy has been aimed at achieving a meaningful independence from Brussels. It is true that Johnson has dropped the offending clauses of the *Internal Market Bill* but there were legitimate reasons as to why the clauses were needed as an insurance policy. The point is explained in a report from RTE's Europe Editor Tony Connelly as follows:

"...the UK wanted to overturn a provision within the Protocol which kept EU state aid rules operational in Northern Ireland. The rules contained a "reach-back" effect which would have extended the remit of EU state aid law into the rest of the UK if the government subsidised a British corporation with branches in the North" (*The level playing field: Brexit for slow learners*, 12 December 2020, RTE website).

The offending clauses have been removed, but if that provision is used by the EU at some time in the future, the British will have a strong case for resisting it. Arguably, the deleted clauses served a useful purpose for the British side at a particular time in the negotiations.

In *Irish Political Review* we consider that, despite many flaws in the European project, Ireland's best interests lie in membership of the EU and the Eurozone. We further believe that the Barnier team has been right in the firm stance it has taken during the talks, and that solidarity between EU States has been, and remains, essential with regard to Brexit.

There is a reasonable chance that the EU will be more cohesive when the UK has left. But we also respect the British desire to make a success of independence. One positive aspect of Brexit, for other nations as well as for the British, is that, in striking out for national sovereignty, Britain is repudiating the form of globalisation that negated or minimised the status of nation states. As to whether that sovereignty is outmoded, only time will tell but, knowing British history, it is not outside the bounds of possibility that the exit will have an invigorating effect on the society.

MICHAEL McDOWELL AND THE COMMON TRAVEL AREA

To give a fuller answer to Collins's distortion of history, and to further examine the thinking behind Micheal Martin's espousal of a close Anglo-Irish relationship, it will be instructive to answer in some detail another exponent of the anti-nationalist position: Senator

Michael McDowell. I will first quote from a speech McDowell made to a session of the Oireachtas Committee on the European Union, quoted in the last edition of *Irish Political Review*. He stated:

"Post Brexit, Ireland will have a peculiar and unique relationship with the UK because we have a common travel area. This means that, on migration, customs control and so on, we will have to remain integrated in some respects with the UK. We cannot pursue a different approach of an open border, free movement and citizens' rights being mutually agreed as if we were Sicily. We are going to have our own set of issues. This feeds back into the question of home affairs because we and the British have a fairly similar justice and home affairs arrangement. In light of Northern Ireland and the South, diverging our systems gratuitously or unnecessarily would pose significant issues. I hope I do not sound reactionary or too conservative. I am just saying that we should not cod ourselves" (Dail record, 11 Nov. 2020).

Two important points are being made here and we can expect that this line of argument will be used in the future to prevent Ireland from moving closer to the EU.

The first is that the *Common Travel Area* represents a form of integration with Britain that is positive for Ireland and should be defended. The second is that closer integration with Europe will deepen the partition between the two parts of Ireland and should be resisted. Neither point stands up to scrutiny.

The Common Travel Area (CTA) has its origin in the idea that there should be common citizenship between Britain and Ireland, a concept pressed by the British in the negotiations for the 1921 Anglo Irish Treaty, and incorporated in that Treaty. Common citizenship later took the form of the CTA and retained the purpose of denying Irish sovereignty, or, in the language of the Brexit debate, of keeping Ireland in the status of a "vassal state".

A preoccupation of the British side in the Treaty negotiations was maintaining continuity in the supply of recruits from Ireland into the British forces. This never recovered from the drop in recruitment that followed the 1916 Rising. However, an important provision of the CTA was that Irish citizens residing in Britain could be conscripted in times of war. Whenever controversy flared up on that particular topic, official British policy never wavered from the principle that Irish citizens remained British subjects.

The story of the CTA is summarised in a research paper produced in 2000 by Elizabeth Meehan for the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform in association with Trinity College. The paper has the title, "*Free movement between Ireland and the UK: from the common travel area to the COMMON TRAVEL AREA*" and is available on-line.

When Fianna Fail came to power in March 1932, one of its key objectives was abolishing the Oath of Allegiance to the British monarch, in that way undermining the Treaty. That such a policy impinged on the CTA posed a problem for the Government in that it threatened a number of practical advantages for Irish people and the Irish economy. These included: easy access to the British labour market for unemployed Irish workers; easy travel for Irish emigrants between Britain and Ireland; and easy movement for British tourists to Ireland. Recognising the tension between achieving sovereignty and maintaining the CTA, Meehan states: "*Irish Governments were remarkably successful in realising this uncomfortable pair of objectives*" (p. 10).

De Valera countered the idea of *common citizenship* with a concept more befitting an equitable relationship between states, *reciprocal citizenship*. Independently of the Treaty and the statutes that make up the British Constitution, he tackled the sovereignty issue through enacting changes in Irish constitutional law. In 1933 the *Oath of Allegiance* was removed by constitutional amendment. Around the same time he used the power contemplated in Article 3 of the 1922 Constitution to repeal the *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914* (as amended in 1918). The ensuing Irish legislation, the *Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act*, was many years in gestation and was duly signed by the King (as was required under the 1922 Constitution) in 1935.

Other milestones in the process were the passing into law of the *Aliens Act* (1935) and the *External Relations Act* (1936). The introduction of the *1937 Constitution* further consolidated the position. Ultimately the substance behind Irish independence was shown by the successful implementation of a policy of neutrality in the 1939-45 War. An important point that should be understood about these developments is that they had the support of all sections of political opinion in the country, showing that the division over the Treaty was basically tactical; all sides wanted sovereign independence for Ireland.

Of course the passage of Irish legislation only had effect in Ireland. The legislation informing the British view continued to be the *Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914*, which specified that persons born in what was then the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, as well as the Commonwealth, were British subjects. A British judicial decision delivered in 1942 declared that the 1922 Constitution “*did no more than confer... a national character as an Irish citizen within the wider British nationality*” (p. 15). The Common Travel Area remained a manifestation of that official British position.

Things changed in 1947 when, following discussions with representatives of the Irish Government, a British *Nationality Bill* was amended to include four categories of people: British citizen, Citizen of the UK and Colonies, Alien, and Irish citizen. The addition of Irish citizen into the *British Nationality Act*, a recognition of the blatantly obvious as some would see it, was certainly a step forward but it was not the end of the story.

In 1949 the first inter-party Coalition Government under Taoiseach John A. Costello declared Ireland a *Republic*, thereby removing the country from the British Commonwealth. Making a concession to the British Government in the course of defending his *Republic of Ireland Act (1949)* in the Dail, Costello stated that Irish people and British people were not ‘foreign’ to each other (p.18). This approach was duly taken up in Section 2 of the UK’s *Ireland Act (1949)* which stated that, though Ireland was not part of His Majesty’s Dominions, “*it was not a foreign country*” (p. 19).

In that way the former Imperial Power officially designated Ireland as not a foreign country; and consequently the long-standing refusal of the British Foreign Office to recognise Irish sovereignty was retained. That explains in summary the context in which Ireland and Britain share a common travel arrangement.

When Michael McDowell invokes the CTA as a mechanism through which Ireland is in some way integrated with Britain, he is disregarding decades of legal and diplomatic endeavour on the part of this State; he is straightforwardly expressing the official British view. And, when Stephen Collins speaks dismissively of how “the definition of independence” being “*exercised to the full*” caused “*economic devastation*”, he is doing the same thing. They have both adopted apostate

positions regarding the constitutional foundations of the Irish State. Their thinking is anti-national. The problem for Irish politics is that all of this has practical implications. It is precisely this thinking that underpins the current Taoiseach’s determination to prevent Brexit from upsetting the close Anglo-Irish relationship of recent memory.

NORTH/SOUTH DIVERGENCE

McDowell’s second point is as significant as his first. He thinks that, if we move closer to the EU following Brexit, this will cause the Northern and Southern parts of the island to diverge unnecessarily. Here again he is beating a drum for retaining close ties with Britain. In this instance he is calling for a stable door to be closed long after the horse has bolted. The major North/South difference in relation to Europe is the currency difference: the Republic uses Euros while Northern Ireland uses Sterling. But the section of the Southern business community that engages in trade with the North has long learned to cope with the two currencies and ditto for those trading with the South from the North.

Forty years ago, when the question of breaking the link with Sterling was being debated in Irish politics, John Bruton made the same point that McDowell is now making. If we cut loose from Sterling, Bruton argued in 1978, the Border will increase in importance and the two parts of Ireland will diverge.

While joining the European Monetary System (EMS) and breaking with Sterling in 1979 was initially mishandled and did cause a degree of disruption in the early eighties, the new connection between the Irish Punt and the Deutsch Mark eventually came right and the resulting monetary stability contributed to the economic turn-around of the 1990s. Being part of the EMS also helped prepare the Republic for membership of the Eurozone.

Contrary to McDowell’s disingenuous

logic, the *Northern Ireland Protocol* in last year’s *Brexit Withdrawal Agreement*, poses no threat to the all-Ireland economy. The Protocol allows Northern Ireland to retain the advantages of EU membership by permitting its companies to have continued access to the Single Market. In these circumstances closer ties between the Republic and the EU will not disrupt the North/South relationship.

John Bruton, Michael McDowell and Stephen Collins would each lay claim to being defenders of conservative values, but what class of conservative fails to understand or even distorts his own country’s history and traditions? If conservatism is to have a place in Irish politics, as it should, a re-think of first principles, in the light of Brexit, is surely in order!

Micheal Martin is an experienced Government Minister. It so happens that the present writer had a career in the Further Education sector, otherwise known as the Post Leaving Cert (PLC) sector. That neglected branch of the education system received an invaluable boost when Martin, as Minister for Education in the late 1990s, increased the eligibility of PLC colleges to receive Capital Grants and allowed PLC students to receive Maintenance Grants. By introducing those reforms, probably against the wishes of powerful elements in the Department of Education, Martin showed himself to be in tune with the needs of working class communities, as the PLCs have been popular and innovative institutions. It showed him having the social democratic reflexes once expected of a Fianna Fail Minister.

It is a reflection of the strange thought processes that have gone on in Irish politics in the last thirty years and longer, that such a politician could become invested in anti-nationalism which inevitably translates as Anglophilia to the point that, effectively, he now seeks the destruction of everything his party once stood for.

Dave Alvey

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Celebrating the Kilmichael Ambush *and reflections on the War of Independence*

Jack Lane, Aubane Historical Society:

I want to thank the Kilmichael Commemoration Committee for organising this event and inviting me to speak. It is a pleasure indeed to be participating in this centenary commemoration of the Kilmichael Ambush. Other speakers have pointed out the significance of this victory both in military and psychological terms. It was a turning point in the War of Independence.

What I would like to do is to reflect on what might be called the second ambush of Kilmichael—the attempt to ambush the reputation of Tom Barry and the War of Independence generally:— Barry as a ‘*serial killer*’ and the war as a sectarian war. They attempted an alternative narrative. An attempt to give us a bad conscience about the Kilmichael Ambush and the War of Independence itself and that the state it helped create was deformed at birth—so to speak.

A number of people deserve recognition for refuting this narrative over the years—Meda Ryan, Brian Murphy OSB, Niall Meehan, John Regan, Padraig Óg O’Rourke, Manus O’Riordan, Barry Keane and others.

These types of commemorations were seen as in bad taste. The only disagreement I have with the commemorations is that they should be called celebrations, but never mind.

I would like us to reflect in particular on the weasel words that abounded in this other narrative and as the Centenary Commemorations are not over we will continue to hear them thrown around.

One of these was that we should look of the War of Independence as part of a *shared history*. How any war can be described like this is weird. The analogy has been made that, if one of us was assaulted on the way home tonight, our assailant could defend himself by claiming it was a shared experience. Likewise a rapist could claim that he had a shared sexual experience with his victim. Could the burning of Cork be described as a shared experience?

Another typical weasel word criticising this type of commemoration is that it should emphasise *reconciliation*. Yes indeed reconciliation is fine, but reconcili-

ation between what and what? The real reconciliation that was, and is, needed is reconciliation between the facts of the situation then and the way our historians and commentators should account for them.

But our historians and commentators seem to be on another planet sometimes. Reconciliation should be calling a spade a spade.

But these weasel words have a very clear purpose, which is to explain away rather than explain situations relating to our War of Independence.

Fortunately these notions and this kind of narrative are on the back foot at the moment.

And that is because of Government decision to have an event to commemorate the RIC’s role in the war of Independence earlier this year.

I think people finally woke up to what these weasel words actually meant. Such a commemoration would have made our history a joke—commemorating a force that fought to prevent the state coming into existence. There was an outcry and the obscenity was abandoned. Our history was liberated from a lot of nonsense.

There may be some people who believed or were led to believe that the RIC were just policemen doing a policeman’s job—but they were not. They were never policemen. It was another weasel word to call them policeman. The British Government itself made this perfectly clear during the War. In early 1919 it was proposed by some MPs in Westminster that the RIC be allowed to join the Police Union of the UK. The Chief Secretary, McPherson, refused point blank and explained that:

"It was decided by the Government that the Royal Irish Constabulary could not be permitted to join the National Union of Police and Prison Officers, in as much as the Royal Irish Constabulary is a semi-military force directly under the control of the Crown, and subject in many respects to the same conditions of employment as the army and navy forces" (March 6, 1919, Hansard, Volume 113, Series 5, column 626).

That’s calling a spade a spade!

For my sins I wasted my time by writing letter to the *Irish Times*, pointing this

out, but it was not published—surprise, surprise.

So they were part and parcel of the Crown Forces, in fact they were central to the Crown Forces as described very accurately at the time. The Tans were recruited as a special reserve for the RIC; and the Auxiliaries were a Division of the RIC. So, in commemorating the RIC, we were commemorating all of these. They were all part of the RIC. The RIC, being local, acted as bloodhounds for the others, as they did not have a clue about the country and how ‘suspects’ could be traced and dealt with.

There were decent men in it of course, but they resigned en masse during the War, and there was no planned commemoration for them, though they should have been commemorated. They bravely resigned en masse and some mutinied.

So this planned commemoration was also a commemoration of the Tans and Auxiliaries, but it was a step too far and had to be withdrawn, and the issue played a significant role in the defeat of that Government in the subsequent election. It had become embarrassing that any Irish government would have proposed such a thing.

That episode is important because it changed the tone of the public discourse on the War for the better and the view on how the events of the War should be commemorated. And it was therefore a very good thing to have happened. Some of the old nonsense had to take a back seat. It cleared the air and so once again the plain facts could be stated and prioritised properly. Spades could be called spades again.

So what were the main facts that caused the War in the first place? It did not start because we felt like a war—WWI was enough war for everyone and they did not want more. Anyway, that was supposed to be ‘the war to end all wars’. But it resulted in more wars than ever before, right down to the wars of the present day. My grandmother used to say that the world went mad in 1914 and has never been right since. There was a profound truth in that because the declaration of that war on Germany was the most important and most disastrous event in modern history.

The most basic fact of all about the war of independence is that it need not have happened at all. The most important event of all was the British General Election of 1918. That is the overwhelming fact that can never be over emphasised. The handle on which all the rest turns. That was the

most democratic of all elections up to then because adult men had the vote and many women. The electorate here elected about 75% of the seats for candidates who stood for Independence and the electorate was never bigger.

The result could not be clearer. No need for recounts or legal challenges that we heard so much about in other elections. Even if Donald Trump was around he could not say a word of objection.

This was more important than the 1916 Rising, which would have been considered a failure if not endorsed by that election. It's simply the most important event of all.

Now a strange thing is that I have never come across a book on that Election. A lot of references to it but just passing references. There have never been so many historians in our Universities and never so many books but none specifically on this Election and its significance for Ireland. There are dozens, hundreds, about the war for Irish Independence but a book called 'The vote for Irish Independence' is a book yet to be written.

A good example of this treatment of that Election was last year, when UCC produced one of the biggest books I ever saw called "*The Atlas of the Irish Revolution*". It weighed in at over 11 lbs., over 5 kilos, with just under a 1,000 pages. It was introduced by President Higgins. Glowing reviews by everybody, prizes galore, contributions by over 100 historians, the cream of the present crop, over 160 chapter headings according to subjects.

But not a single chapter/subject heading on the 1918 Election. Just a passing reference as usual. So, despite all the work and cost, our historians will not see the wood for the trees and so do many more. Any historian worthy of the name will prioritise the facts as well as provide them but not in the case.

The 1918 General Election remains the elephant in the room.

Why did people vote that way? Did they just get the notion into heads? No. People were told that a World War had just been fought and won for 'the freedom of small nations'. People generally believe what governments tell them over and over again and claim to be fighting a war for what they say. And, not only that: the people's own party, the Irish Parliamentary Party, was in total agreement with the Government on this.

On that promise about a quarter of a million Irishmen at home and abroad fought in that War **and anything up**

to 50,000 were killed. About **10 million others** were killed. Think about that! And spare a thought for all the Germans, Turks and others that these soldiers from Ireland killed. If they killed at least one each of the 'enemy', we are talking of hundreds of thousands being killed for "*the freedom of small nations*"—the freedom of Ireland! Mick O'Leary from Inchigeela killed 8 Germans in one incident and got the VC for it from King George at Buckingham Palace. If he was in any way typical, the numbers they killed are huge indeed. But these victims are never noticed.

And what had these Germans, Turks and others ever done to Ireland? The last intervention by the Turks was to send money during the so-called Famine, and German scholars had almost created the Gaelic Revival.

This war affected everybody in the country. Naturally people expected that, after such sacrifices and promises made, getting independence would be a walk in the park. They did not vote for more war. They had had enough of that. Also, the whole world was for national independence. The Americans joined the War to ensure the same, with their declaration of '*14 Points*' to justify their intervention. The new Russian Government left the War for the same reason and encouraged national independence in all the colonies of the European Empires—and they are all now independent states in the world. National independence was the flavour of the era, its zeitgeist. The British, the Americans and the Russians were all for it.

And we sometimes forget that there had been an example of another country voting for independence and getting it a few years earlier in Europe—without any war, without a shot being fired. And that happened not a million miles away. In 1905 Norway voted to be independent of Sweden, which had ruled it since medieval times, and it was conceded without a shot being fired. It was accepted that this was the civilised way to deal with this type of issue—self determination.

But what was the British Government's attitude? Not only did it ignore the result,—there was total contempt for it: The Irish will get over it! And the British had good reason to believe this. They had put down such notions by the Irish before. This was spelt out clearly by their propagandists—in particular a Major Street. They would come to their senses and forget this notion that they could run an independent country; so the elected Government was proscribed and hunted down.

But the unexpected happened. The Irish did not vote for war but they took to war to defend the Government that they had voted for. I think we surprised ourselves. The Irish took themselves seriously. Citizen soldiers emerged all over the country. And, after about two and half years of war, the British conceded a Truce to people they had just recently described as "a murder gang". An admittance that they could not militarily win, despite being the greatest Power the world had ever seen on whose Empire the sun never set.

But there is no more experienced State for waging war than the British. That was how it had become the most powerful Empire the world had ever seen. And, for the British, those Wars don't end when the shooting stops, if the objective has not been achieved. It simply takes another form. There is more than one way to skin a cat. Politics becomes war by other means and this happened here. For example, WWI did not end on 11th November 1918. There was a Food Blockade of Germany that starved about three quarters of a million of the German population; that's how the War finished.

After the Truce, the British Government decided that at all costs Ireland was not going to be 'lost' as they would put it.

The secret of Irish success had been the unity of all the forces, military and political. And it's not rocket science to decide how that could be frustrated and stymied—create a division in that unity. And the technique was a tried and tested one—split the opponent's forces; split the Independence movement.

And the British had a particular genius in charge for a task like that in David Lloyd George, the Welsh Wizard. And wizard he was. He was fit for anything—war, threats of war, terror, promises, lies, cajolery, flattery, trickery, bluff etc. You name it Lloyd George had it and would use them all and play them all like a musical instrument. He was an artist at it.

There was ditty composed about him by, a fellow Welshman I believe, who knew him well and he assumed that, when he passed to the other side, he would go straight to hell and the ditty went:

Lloyd George no doubt when his life runs out will ride in a flaming chariot
He'll sit in state on a red hot plate between Satan and Judas Iscariot
And on that day the devil will say 'my place of pre-eminence fails
So I'll move a bit higher away from the fire to make room for this fellow from Wales'.

That's who the Republican government was faced with.

Negotiations ended after five months under the threat of 'immediate and terrible war' by Lloyd George unless what was called the 'Treaty' was signed. And who has not heard of the Treaty? But read it and the word treaty is not mentioned in any of its 18 clauses or in the Annex list. Because it was not a Treaty. Paper never refused ink but calling it a Treaty is another weasel word.

It was not a Treaty for the simple reason that a Treaty is an agreement between two independent states mutually recognised as such and freely entered into. This was not the case here. Ireland was treated not as an independent Republic, which it was, but as a subservient Dominion of the British Empire and threatened with war if its representatives did not sign, 'immediate and terrible war'. And what Lloyd George had in mind was the method used to defeat the Boers. Blockhouses and the first concentration camps, invented by Britain, to win that war. Also one side was asked to take Oath of Allegiance to the other. Such threats and oaths are not part of any Treaty worthy of the name.

A good example of a real treaty is the Treaty of Rome.

So what was this? It was repeatedly called an '*instrument*' in the text itself—never a *treaty*. An instrument for what? An instrument like a hatchet to split the Republican forces! TDs in the Dáil, including Sean Moylan, and particularly Dr. Francis Ferran*, queried calling it a Treaty and pressurised Griffith into consulting Lloyd George about it and Griffith did so via Austin Stack. And he explained:

"MR. GRIFFITH:

The questions, I think, which the Deputies refer to were sent across by Mr. Stack. They are:

'(1) whether he had any communication, direct or indirect, from the British Government, in connection with the Treaty?'

The only communication I had was this produced here, except one where he (Lloyd George, J.L.) stated it was not a Treaty, and I got the official title: 'Articles of Agreement between Ireland and Great Britain'."

(Dáil debate, 10/1/1921).

Birkenhead defended it on the same basis in the House of Lords, see e.g. the debates there on 16th December 1920 and 23rd July 1923. But, like the RIC being called policemen, the name Treaty sticks.

The imposition of this instrument by

the threat of war led to a conflict within the united Irish forces.

And already the doomsters are at it, to give us a bad conscience by describing this conflict as a civil war. And again paper will never refuse ink about a so-called 'civil war' that followed this threat of renewed war.

This is another weasel word. It is was not a civil war: no matter how often it is said—no more than the '*Articles of Agreement*' was a Treaty or that the RIC were policemen.

What the conflict was about was how to respond to the threats that went with the Articles of Agreement. The reaction to it is what we read about, but the cause is what matters. This is not the place context to pass judgement on how different people reacted to the threat of renewed war. It was no easy problem to deal with.

Trying to get these Articles of Agreement accepted depended on the threats. Liam Mellows put it very well—acceptance depended on the fear of the people not the will of the people. Votes based on fear and terror have no moral authority whatsoever.

The Dail never approved the 'Articles of Agreement' because it simply could not, as agreeing to those articles abolished the Dail!

What is a civil war? There have been many. There has been civil war in many countries, England, America, Spain, Russia, China etc. What were these about? They were wars between people of a country who wanted totally different systems of government for their countries. In England, there was Puritan Parliament (of Cromwellians) versus a monarchy; in America between a federation of states or a Union; in Spain a republic or fascism, etc. In other words disputes over completely different systems of government. But here that was not the case. Because both sides here were Republicans. And they reacted differently to the threat of renewed war. That is not a civil war.

But calling it a civil war has a purpose, a psychological purpose. Again, it is a very good way to try to give us a bad conscience about ourselves. Like the effort to give us a bad conscience about the War of Independence itself.

The subliminal purpose is that we could not really cope and so we went in for a form of faction fighting; or 'the fighting Irish' took over once we were on our own. We could not cope. It is an insult and a way to dismiss the real issue and its source

originating in the Articles Agreement—and nowhere else.

But why do we celebrate this Ambush and the War of Independence?

These helped set up a state that lasted for over a 100 years. That is an achievement in itself. States have come and gone in that time. Empires have come and gone. And some have been destroyed before our eyes in recent years. No state is guaranteed an easy life. International relations between states are dog eat dog. Some peoples have not yet achieved statehood, despite great efforts. It is no easy task—ask the Scots, Basques, Palestinians, Kurds and others that we do not hear about.

But, not only has it survived, it is a state that has maintained an unbroken democratic system intact for all that time. It never succumbed to totalitarianism of the right or the left; has not been destroyed by war and invasions; has not waged war on anybody; has sought the very opposite; avoided the world Depression of the 1930s; and the destruction of WW2.

Have a think about how many other states can claim the same!

The vast majority of states today did not exist in 1919. You will find that the number of state that can claim such an unbroken record of continuous democracy for over 100 years are few and far between—you will not need all your fingers to count them.

This is therefore a very successful state. It had of course all the problems that states have—crimes, corruption, scandals, economic problems, etc. But every state dealing with millions of people has these and we have dealt with them as well—or as bad—as anybody else.

But our commentators report these problems as if they were unique to us and tend to use them as a condemnation of the state itself and give us the impression that maybe we took a wrong turning in going for Independence. That we are some sort of failed state as the jargon has it. We are not. We have met the test of any state—we have survived and thrived and we have done so thanks to the men and the women who helped them carry out this Ambush 100 years ago.

For that we are right to commemorate and celebrate what they did. And this is why I am delighted to be part of these celebrations.

*Dr. Francis Ferran was TD for the Sligo-Mayo East constituency and re-elected in 1922. He died while imprisoned in the Curragh by the Free State in 1923.

Social Housing In Northern Ireland

Sir Basil Brooke was Prime Minister of Northern Ireland in 1945. My family was living in Carryduff, County Down, during that period and Brooke was to visit Carryduff in 1945. Carryduff was unionist-dominated and a very hostile area for Catholics to live in, though there might have been only about forty Catholics, including parents and children, scattered over a wide area, to the Protestant two thousand.

Sectarianism was of a violent nature that saw the stoning of some homes, besides our own. Sir Basil Brooke, as he was known then, was apt to sudden outbursts like:

"I wouldn't have a Catholic about the place." He was certainly on someone's assassination list when explosives were found rigged on his boat on Lough Erne. Generally he was known as that: *"Babbling Brook, that needs damned."* He was also known as: *The Corpse*, because of his appearance.

That evening, back in the Summer of 1945, he spoke at a packed-out meeting in the hay-barn of a prominent farmer. The venue was just two fields away in a slight valley in front of our house. The host farmer was our landlord, and he had been trying to evict us through the most of WW2. His three sons, B'Specials, were leading a gang who stoned our house one night. The B'Specials also rallied at our front gate each week with their .303 rifles, lining up for inspection and giving a loud hurrah as they marched off in different directions. A few nights after the Brooke meeting, we suffered an intensive stoning that broke a window and a number of slates on the roof.

A Protestant farmer at the back of us volunteered to lend his shotgun to my father. Who refused it. My father had originally rented the house and, as a Protestant (he looked like one, and of course his name was Protestant), the farmer had agreed to the tenancy until he found he had also allowed *'a nest of Catholics'* to also move in.

It must have taken me most of my life to realise my Protestant father was a unionist, despite holding communist beliefs all his life. A Presbyterian, he claimed to be an atheist, and his constant reading of the Bible, he claimed, was in order to contradict it. He was quite a scholar of

the Bible and could quote long passages from it. He had also learnt quite a bit of ancient Greek and Hebrew for his study of the *Old Testament*. He was still studying it into his 80s and asked me to send him a large-print Bible from London.

He wasn't one to plead with the stone-throwers. His idea was that Catholics had rights too. They would live where they wanted and so we remained under siege for many years. During WW2 sectarianism of this nature was uppermost in our minds, rather than the rumours of the danger of German paratroopers landing. We didn't listen at night for the Germans but for the B'Special-led stone-throwing mob.

*

I remember my mother reading aloud from the *Belfast Telegraph* about the setting up of the Northern Ireland Housing Trust that was to engage in a massive building of new houses for tenants at a controlled rent. Most rural Councils were Unionist, as was the Belfast Corporation, so she didn't think we had a chance of getting a house. Was it not set up by the Sir Basil Brooke's Government? My parents must have agreed to apply anyway. I remember well a couple of years later the woman representative for the Housing Trust coming to our house to inspect its 19th Century environment, with the well in the front garden and the dry-lavatory in the back garden, plus the two bedrooms in the roof, the house having been converted from a two-storey stone bungalow, for a family of seven. She was asking our religion and who was exactly RC and who was Protestant. We didn't have much hope after that.

Suddenly, a year later, we were offered a Housing Trust house in Carrickfergus — four bedrooms, running water and flush toilet, garden back and front. We discovered we had a Catholic family as a neighbour, and the neighbour, on the other side of us, was a Protestant family. And so this was the arrangement throughout this brand-new estate within walking distance of Belfast Lough.

That was Easter 1950. I was 18. I and two of my sisters had left a Protestant school in Carryduff, at the ages of 14. Now my two younger sisters could attend a Catholic school. The older of the two was now attending St. Dominic's College in the Falls Road area. She travelled to and fro through the estate in her maroon uniform

that told everyone interested that she was going to a Catholic College. There were no problems.

The estate was amazingly clear of Union Jacks over the 12th of July, while from the town of Carrickfergus itself we could hear the huge Lambeg drums and the flutes of the marching Orangemen. This is where King William of Orange had landed in 1688 by Carrickfergus Castle. This was re-enacted every year.

The year we moved there, 1950, I went down to have a look. There was some problem with the horse being ridden by 'King William'. The poor beast had been lent by the local bakery, which the rounds-man used to deliver bread and pastry, and now, out of force of habit, it was stopping at every house, and being given a threshing for its diligence.

Courtauld, the artificial fibre manufacturer, had built a huge factory on the edge of Carrickfergus. It was said to employ about two thousand and many came from the estate and the town. Numbers of English and Welsh workers, including female admin staff, were sent to teach the locals the business of artificial fibres, and these were now housed on the estate. The town had no cinema, so a hall was rented to show quite recent films. Another hall had regular talent contests and visiting comedians. They opened up a gym and a place of learning on the estate, with Courtauld money.

The English workers could be a bit overbearing in their new 'colonial posting', which saw clashes and anti-English rhetoric from both Protestant and Catholic workers. This led to Trade Union organising to settle the matter, which it did.

That resulted in turning the town of Carrickfergus to the left. You could now get the works of Karl Marx and sympathetic biographies of Mao in the local library. Even the local paper became radical. This influenced the Labour opposition on the Council trying to stop the financing of the annual spectacle of the King William landing at the cost of £900. The Protestant pro-Labour group would have known it was part of Protestant history, while my family saw it as provocation, a festival of sectarianism, which the Labour group were eager to dampen down. Everything was being done to cultivate a peaceful life.

At that time Catholics didn't represent anything or anybody in the town. The Presbyterian church had notices appealing to people to be kind to their Catholic neighbours. They still carried this message at the entrance of their Church right through the war situation that was eventually to break

out. It was like coming across an oasis in the desert, but outside it the desert still existed. It wasn't that we weren't grateful but generally the feeling was that we were being killed with kindness. We were rendered mute and the Protestant was also rendered mute. How long could it last?

A young Ian Paisley founded the *National Union of Protestants* in 1949. In 1951 he co-founded the fundamentalist Free Presbyterian Church, which aggressively preached against Roman Catholicism and Ecumenism. He was also involved in the kidnapping of a 15-year old Catholic girl who wanted to convert against her family's wishes and whom he had taken to Scotland to hide out the storm. She eventually un-converted and went back to her family.

There were forced marches through the Cromac Square Catholic area, which caused a riot, with some of the victims jailed for resisting the invasion of the bigots.

Paisley was confronting the idea of social engineering on the new estates being carried out by a Unionist Government. But it was never put in these words. What Unionism was doing was turning Catholics into being even more British. Many of us become snobs when we looked at the *reservations* of the Falls, the Markets, Ardoyne, and other Catholic areas.

Meanwhile: There was only one problem, in Carrickfergus, and it was a big problem in the end for those not employed by Courtauld. It was the chemical fumes coming from the factory. When the wind blew in the direction of the estate it permeated the houses. You would wake in the morning, coughing the chemicals out of your lungs. 1950 was not the period of petitions in order to stop things like that getting into the environment. You wouldn't have thought of going around the estate with a clipboard!

If possible, it would be pointless because of the number of people who made a living from working in Courtaulds. I think the company released the chemical fumes at night. I did see yellow clouds above the factory around about 11 pm when I was near it. The yellow clouds were caught in the beams of the security lights. It was pretty bad during the fogs of the Winter, which held the chemical fumes down to ground level. The fog-horns on the Lough would sound throughout the night. That was an oddly comforting sound, but now it reminded you of the chemical clouds that was filling the house!

My household had a keep-fit-regime: no drinking, no smoking, wholemeal bread, All Bran, plus my father and I cycled the 12 miles to the shipyard and another 12 miles back. But in the end we asked for a transfer out of Carrickfergus.

This estate had so many pluses. I and others of the Young Workers/CPNI had sold the *Daily Worker* there. It was a British paper I suppose, though to us, the sellers, it was international. We sold every bundle we brought there and had 8 sign up to the CPNI.

We were now living on a new estate in Holywood, on the County Down side of the Lough this time. Behind us were the Castlereagh Hills. We were in a brand new house, with a toilet upstairs and one downstairs, a garden back and front, and on another mixed estate. At the back of our garden was a golf course, which was to produce, in future years the Holywood-born world-class golfer, Rory McIlroy, a Catholic, and an MBE.

(Talk about NI Catholics being Brits. You have OBEs there by the bucketful, and who became Sir Declan in the legal profession. They seem to be replacing the Protestant professional. Liam Neeson, a Hollywood actor and OBE, is a former persecuted Ballymena Catholic. As Peter Brooke said recently. Mindful of his Protestant community: *'The Protestants have won'*.)

A sister of mine then falls seriously ill. It looks like a long-term series of hospital visits by our parents. It is a pretty round-about journey, and an expensive one, to the County Antrim side of the Lough. They ask for a transfer. Now it's the third brand-new house on the brand-new *Rathcoole Estate*. Very mixed of course. The Lough is still within walking distance and it is the Carnmoney Hills at the back this time.

I never lived there but left for London from the Holywood Estate. On a visit, during a fine Summer, the doors of the houses are left open. Pre-school children wander in and out of the houses. A croaky-voiced three year-old has wandered into the kitchen.

My mother introduces him to me:

"Here's a fenian for you." Addressing the child: *"Aren't you a fenian, son?"*

And when Bobby Sands nods his head: *"Good boy!"*

I think we all had to be reminded of our identity under the new conditions of muteness.

My own father, a joiner, put on new internal doors for some neighbours, free of charge, at the week-end. He also learnt TV repairs from technical books and repaired neighbours' TVs, again for free. This was to promote good relations among everyone, and it did.

Time moved on and during my visits I noticed the constant cultivation of the front and back gardens of the houses. My parents had grown a hedge around the back and front gardens. A tree they had planted was growing taller year by year.

Then one night, in the early 1970s, I got a phone call from my sister. Gangs of men, one with a list, were going round with brushes and paint-buckets of red lead. They were printing letters on the front of Catholic houses: BW (break windows) or BO (burn out). She was waiting for the lettering but they skipped my parents' house. Throughout the estate there could be heard the sound of scrubbing as desperate women tried to obliterate the painted lettering before the wrecking gang arrived with stones and petrol.

Then came the sound of breaking glass and the screams of women. This was a warning to get out. But those with BO in front of their houses had to get out immediately. The Sands family were designated BO, and they were in the street already arguing with the gangs—but at the same time hoping the furniture van wouldn't be too long in coming. *'Infested'* was already written in paint on their windows. The gangs were discussing how many *'nests of Catholics'* they had removed.

The houses with BO painted in front of them were vacated very quickly to avoid being fired. Furniture was being removed by the tenants into the street.

Some families just put on their coats and fled, leaving everything. Some promised to leave the next day and were allowed to stay the night.

On a visit to the estate later in the year I noticed the letters KAC on the walls.

I asked a sister, who was also visiting my parents what that meant. She said: *'Kill all Catholics.'*

Another visit and the letter had changed: *KAT – Kill all Taigs*. KAC seems to have been too liberal.

The contradiction was that my mother had nothing but praise for the black taxi drivers for the way in which they helped her as she grew older. Black taxis were former London cabs used as an alternative transport system when the bus company,

suspended its bus service due to its buses being hijacked. They were run by Protestant Para-militaries in that area. I also used them. I was asked by the drivers who I was and what I was doing on the estate, and what address was I visiting. I seemed to be such an outsider now I was left alone.

There was a small British Army outpost at the back of the estate, across a road. On the night of the pogrom my father slipped out of the house, despite the pleas of my mother and a sister still living with them. He went to the outpost and asked to see an officer. The sentry said *No*. My father asked him if he knew what was going on. The sentry said: *'Sorry, sir, but it's nothing to do with us.'*

Later my father heard that a lot of people had gone to the outpost pleading for the army's intervention but had been told the same thing: *'Sorry, it has nothing to do with us.'*

Phoning the RUC brought the same response. No RUC personnel came near the estate. One or two were even threatened that, if people kept calling, they would be arrested.

Who knows if social engineering had continued, and not been destroyed by the fundamentalist, what would have been the outcome—the solidifying of Loyalism? the permanency of unionism?

But after a terrible 28-year-war, isn't that what is happening, with NI still cut off from British mainstream politics and now a NI Catholic revulsion of Southern ways? After a century of the border corralling Catholic and Protestant from the rest of Ireland and from Britain, we are even more now in one another's pockets in Britain's manufactured enclave.

But there have been unbelievable changes. Carryduff (*Ceathru Aodha Dhuib*—Black Hugh's Quarter) has a GAA Hurling Club, a second Catholic Church has been built to replace the smaller one, due to a rise in the Catholic population. Carryduff, where we suffered so much as a family, is mixed and peaceful now, except for . . .

There is always an exception in NI.

Wilson John Haire
8.11.20

Some Further Reflections:

Mark Langhammer, Regional Secretary of the National Education Union, comments about Bobby Sands, and the Rathcoole Estate:

"The Sands house in Rathcoole was in

Doonbeg Drive.

Bobby Sands was born in Newtownabbey and grew up and around Rathcoole and actually played for a local football team, the Star of the Sea (Stella Maris) which was mixed and subject of the 1983 BBC documentary *"Old Scores"* (see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tv82cJeB1qc>).

He didn't move to Twinbrook until the family were intimidated out of Rathcoole in the early 1970s.

I remember canvassing that part of the estate, and spending a lot of time listening to a neighbour of the Sands' (the Da) who, apparently, had a greenhouse the produce of which were shared round the neighbours. She recalled getting an aubergine grown by Mr. Sands and hadn't a clue what it was, still less what to do with it, cooking wise. Strange to recall that Rathcoole once sustained enough Catholics to support a Primary School and Secondary School, Stella Maris. Not to get nostalgic about pre-'Troubles' times, the early 60s seemed like a hopeful time. Most constituents I came across, the first residents in the estate, described the *"paradise"* they found: with the gardens, inside toilets and heating system. The NILP's Bob Kidd got elected for years on the back of getting the bus route extended to the top of the estate—never forgotten."

Bill McClinton writes:

"Yes I remember that in Rathcoole (the emptied houses). The Sands didn't live far from us. We ended up in Rathcoole as the result of slum clearance. I was born in Ligoniel. For a time Rathcoole worked okay. I remember as a wee lad, say about 7, every Sunday we would weigh into Derryhill Pitches and Sands and all the big lads were there. We used to play football about 30 aside, with young men and wee kids all playing. It's one of my best memories from then.

Then I woke up one day and about a third of the part of Rathcoole houses were empty. There were kids who I was friends with who I never seen again. I have often wondered how things went with them.

I can't remember exactly where the Sands lived but it was at the what we called the top of the estate. My older sisters were the same age and I know they all hung out together

Wilson refers to Paisley: I can remember as a kid Paisley coming to Rathcoole at that time. He stirred up all kids of shit and has I think a lot of responsibility for what happened to Catholics on the estate. There was also awful opportunism: in

the street I lived in, some of the people intimidated out were so because certain individuals wanted their houses.

I think another thing worth mentioning is that, at the time, I was only a wee boy, but found this out later from Bob Kidd, Tommy Davidson and Tommy Crawford, that the NILP held 3 of the local seats for Labour. I have never checked whether this is historically accurate. I asked why they didn't do anything. They claimed they did, and if they hadn't, it would have been even worse. Tommy Davidson, who had been a Councillor for the area for a while and was a crane driver in the Yard, told me that at their branch meeting—would have been the old AWEU—that a proposal had been put that it become branch policy that, if a fenian walked below them on the gantry, that a hammer be dropped on their head. I remember Tommy telling me that in those days Branch meetings had a massive attendance and they had a real struggle to defeat this proposal. He said they tried to help in the Rathcoole area but in the end getting people safely out was the most practical contribution they could make, so they helped with that.

Just awful: it changed the whole character of the area and a lot of people got caught up in the tide of it all."

David Jackson writes in answer to the *Guardian* journalist, Ian Cobain, who skipped over the trials and tribulations of Bobby Sands and his family by placing the family on the Catholic Twinbrook estate, which they escaped to after the pogrom at Rathcoole:

"Bobby Sands was born in Newtownabbey and grew up and around Rathcoole and actually played for a local football team."

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1920: A Year When The Whole World, Not Only Ireland, Was In A State Of Chassis!

In June 1914 a young man with a pistol killed the blameless Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his equally innocuous spouse, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenburg.

On 26th July 1914 the King's Own Scottish Borderers discharged their rifles at unarmed civilians in Dublin, killing three and wounding thirty-two. Nine days later the Regiment, together with the Crown Forces of Britain and her Empire, was in alliance with the young gunman against the peace of the world. The officer who gave the order to fire had expressed his hatred of the Irish a few days before proving it. Neither he nor his subordinates were punished.

Neither Germany nor Austria nor Turkey had territorial claims on Britain, nor France, and their Empires, nor on the Tsarist Empire. The French hungered for revenge and the provinces of Alsace - Lorraine, lost when they picked a war with Prussia, and lost, in 1870. The Tsar coveted Constantinople, which was held out as a bribe by the British, who themselves had resolved to crush Germany, a growing industrial and trading rival with more advanced social legislation than theirs.

T.E. Lawrence, posing as an academic, spent years in the Middle East, while a British Naval Officer, Maurice Hankey, on a 'Courtesy' visit to Constantinople with his ship, dropped off at Gallipoli, to spy out the land, years ahead of the battle there. Hankey was Cabinet Secretary during the Great War and later wrote up or altered the records of its conduct.

For ten years, from 1904 on, the Committee of Imperial Defence plotted the destruction of Europe and the expansion of the British Empire.

Between the Ambush in Kilmichael on 28th November and the burning of Cork on 11th December 1920, *The Times* of London published reports from New York and from Austria which depicted the Hell on Earth created by Britain and her Cronies during the previous six years.

The Americans were about to restrict immigration. It was said that, if a ship could carry three million passengers, every Jew in Poland, newly liberated from Russian

and Austrian rule, would immediately make for the States. It was believed in the States that those Jews who had recently arrived were incapable of making a living there. It was also said that eight million Germans, freed from the yoke of the Kaiser, would be racing them across the Atlantic to the land of the free.

The numbers fleeing Continental Europe to the US were a reasonable cause for concern there. But much of the fear could be put down to xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and the dread of the infection of Bolshevism.

On 10th December 1920 *The Times* reported on the ruination of Austria, and in an unusually decent manner called for international aid for her citizens, who were praised for their abilities and civilised values.

On 11th December 1920 *The Times* carried a report, *Martial Law In Place Of Reprisals*, which praised Lloyd George's conduct in the Commons the day before—

"The Prime Minister bestrode the House today... his Parliamentary mastery has never shown to greater advantage... his Irish policy has two faces... One looks smilingly to a peace of negotiation. The other frowns on crime and insists there can be no real peace until it is under lock and key. He fears that that there is no chance of the real mind of Ireland expressing itself until the murder gang has been broken up... His idea of peace by consent is that the Sinn Fein MPs, already legally elected, should meet and draft with us the terms of peace. He spoke of bringing the criminals "to justice, or at any rate, to surrender"...

That was one face of his policy. The other is relentless prosecution of the war on the murder gangs as a condition of the free expression by Ireland of her real opinion... He stated a new policy of martial law... it would seem more humane than the present reprisals... It is proposed... to issue a proclamation calling all... to surrender their arms either to the military, or (a stroke of genius) to the parish priest... This strikes one not as an increased measure of coercion, but as a decided amelioration of the present system of reprisals."

The following day, 12th December 1920, *The Times* reported *The City Of Cork In Flames*—in a supposed 'Reprisal'

the centre of Cork city was set on fire and looted by Crown Forces, and civilians were murdered by them. The City Hall, centre of democratic local government, like most local authorities in Ireland, following elections in January and June 1920, was firmly committed to the Republic—a clear manifestation of "*the real mind of Ireland*".

The burning of the City Hall revealed the real mind of British officialdom to democracy, and the burning of the Carnegie Library showed its concern for culture and learning.

The industrial scale of the looting revealed the motivation of the 'police cadets', as the British soldiers who carried out the 'reprisal' were called! The British Army provided explosives and expertise in their use in the destruction in the city.

All the pieces quoted from *The Times* were reprinted in recent weeks. Some enterprising scholar might make an collection of the pieces referring to Ireland, reprinted in this decade of remembrance, and put them online. They are mines of both information and misinformation.

*

I wasn't hallucinating but standing in the shower listening to BBC Radio Four when an Irish short-story writer named Kevin Barry endorsed the statement that Ireland was catapulted into the 21st Century from the 19th Century, missing the 20th. What a cockeyed, perverse and ignorant contention!

James Joyce, for a start, made his name in the 20th Century.

In 1905, when none of the political parties at Westminster, and few in the world at large, advocated universal adult suffrage, Sinn Fein adopted that principle on its inauguration. The Irish Labour Party on its founding in 1912 held the same principle.

The first of the 20th Century's Wars for Democracy, launched in Dublin in 1916, enshrined that principle in its Declaration, and the signatories proved their sincerity by sacrificing their lives. In the first use of radio addressed to the world—"*To the Nations of the World, Greeting*"—they were long in advance of BBC Radio Four.

The 1914-1918 and 1939-45 Wars launched by Britain were for Empire, not human liberation. Indeed I cannot think of any war since in which Britain has been a champion of liberty.

The Sinn Fein General Election victory of 1918 was the first such manifestation of the principle of National Self-Determination. The defensive war from

1919-1921 waged by the Republic was an inspiration to oppressed nationalities and to individuals such as Ho Chi Minh, and Nehru (and Marcus Garvey). Nehru visited Ireland on his own country becoming a Republic in 1950, to pay homage to De Valera (who was in opposition at the time).

In 1921 Dev had formulated the concept of a Republic, externally associated with the British Commonwealth, too advanced for British statesmen at the time.

Those who can remember "A Hard Day's Night" might care to consult *The Illustrated London News* for its coverage of Dev's welcome at Euston Station in 1938.

The photos might have been a template for scenes in the movie.

And, 45 years before the Beatles visited the States, and 20 before John Lennon was born, Dev's supporters were packing American Sports grounds from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and Dev, jointly with Indian Nationalists, also packed New York's Madison Square Garden.

The Irish Tenor John McCormack's records outsold those of any other artiste for the first half of the 20th Century. He was nearly 10 years dead when Bing Crosby became the best seller.

Donal Kennedy

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR · LETTERS TO THE EDITOR · LETTERS TO THE

Jeff Dudgeon Responds To The December *Irish Political Review*

Three articles in the December issue of the *Irish Political Review* that mention my role in Irish affairs have made a short response necessary.

Regarding the first item (p.4-5), I won't be celebrating the centenary of Northern Ireland. Nothing admirable came out of that separatism, most especially Stormont, a 'factory of grievances'. Devolution was a curse and a snare—a holding operation that lasted a hundred years. We may agree.

I must however repeat I was uninvolved in creating or launching 'Democracy Now'. Indeed I do not even recall how or when Kate Hoey became President of the *Campaign for Labour Representation*. In neither instance, do I remember having any communication with the now Baroness of Lylehill and Rathlin Island.

*

That Paul Hyde, in the article after mine (p.17-18), accepts Sidney Clipperton had to be wrong about Naval Intelligence getting him to bring a charge against Binker Hall's son for homosexuality is appreciated.

As to HMS Violent, I accepted, as Paul wrote in November, that Clipperton was on that ship in 1918. My reference was actually copied from his own article which read "*Forces War Records online provides the following information 'Sidney R Clipperton J.31169 1914 Royal Navy Leading Telegraphist 1918 Hms Violent'.*"

He now disputes his own statement by writing in December: "*Since Clipperton was on the Queen Elizabeth in 1918, it follows that he was not on HMS Violent at the same time.*"

Hard to win against such silent reversal.

Paul repeats, "*There is no evidence of any kind which proves the material existence of the bound diaries during Case-*

ment's lifetime." However he knows there are many references to the diaries in official documents and about their handover to Scotland Yard by Mr. Germain on 25th April 1916 after Casement's arrest. If these police documents are also falsified, there were many more in on the deception yet he often relies on such documents

No "independent witness" may have recorded seeing "*the bound volumes*" but several said, admittedly imprecisely, they saw something, usually photographs of pages. The much-relied on American journalist, Ben Allen, first wrote on seeing a Casement manuscript, "*I glanced it over rather perfunctorily until my eye caught passages tending to confirm the gossip I had already heard concerning the document.*" He did say what he saw was not in diary form, but it was a manuscript. He added gratuitously he would call himself "*a rabid nationalist*".

Hyde also writes, "*The present attribution of authorship would not stand in a court of law*". But that is an irrelevant assertion. We are making historical assessments not trying to obtain a conviction.

I have now seen the 24 pages of typed extracts from the diaries and the ledger sent by the police to the DPP on 5th May 1916. They consist "*of entries evidently written by Sir Roger of his sexual habits with male persons both in England and abroad*" (TNA DPP 1/46). This is an item I was not aware of before Paul mentioned it in an earlier article. It would be a remarkable achievement if the police had concocted such a mammoth account of Casement's sexual encounters with numerous individuals in just two weeks, and left not a trace of their research in records.

Jeff Dudgeon MBE
8.12.2020

Editorial Response

We are surprised and puzzled by Jeffrey Dudgeon MBE's outburst against Unionist separatist politics in the Six County devolution system. He is a member of the Ulster Unionist Party, and the UUP is fiercely devolutionist and fiercely separatist from the British party political system.

We assume he is a member of the UUP. He stood for election in its name and won a Council seat.

For about twenty years he was not a separatist Unionist. From around 1970 to 1990 he was associated with the movement against devolutionist politics and for the inclusion of the Six Counties in the mainstream political life of the British. It is true that he always seemed to be slightly offside in his engagement with that movement, in both its Labour and Tory aspects (*Campaign for Labour Representation* and *Campaign for Equal Citizenship*) as he had been previously with relation to the People's Democracy, but he can hardly not have been an actual member of the Unionist Party when he contested elections for it.

He says that he "*repeats*" that he had no involvement in the creating of Kate Hoey's Protestant Unionist break with the CLR. We cannot recall a previous denial by him, though we have frequently commented on him as having been active in it. He now denies it, and we find it entirely credible that he just went along with it, while coincidentally ceasing to go along with the CLR.

While Kate Hoey, an Ulsterish Unionist in a safe Labour seat in London, was freeing the Labour Party from the irritation of the growing presence of the CLR at Party Conferences by founding a Protestant movement, Democracy Now, funded by big money and drawing some members of the CLR to it, Robert McCartney QC, was doing much the same thing with the Tory-orientated CEC. Does Dudgeon MBE now deny that he was part of that too? As we recall, he did not do so at the time. He thought he was going places with it.

Atol St. decided back then, in 1990 or 1991, that it would have nothing further to do with democratising the Six Counties within the political life of the state. The WP, the DUP and the Alliance Party were strongly against it, and to that extent were in agreement with the SDLP and Sinn Féin. The normalising structures of British democracy were what none of them wanted in the Six Counties of the British state. So we decided to withdraw and let them pursue their differences on their chosen battleground of Northern Ireland.

Casement: Paul Hyde Replies

In his letter of 8th December Mr. Dudgeon MBE has simply created more confusion, as usual.

1 – I do not accept that “*Clipperton had to be wrong about*” anything. Nor do I suggest that Clipperton was “*to bring a charge against Blinker Hall’s son for homosexuality*”. Clipperton was a technician helping Naval Intelligence to gather evidence about an unspecified matter. He had no power to bring charges.

2 – Concerning Mr. Dudgeon’s confusion about HMS Violent: there is no “*silent reversal*”, and I do not dispute my own statement. Clipperton’s naval record shows that he was on HMS Elizabeth in 1918, as I clearly stated. Forces War Records, which I cited, do not state that he was on HMS Violent in 1918.

3 – There are indeed official documents which state the trunks were delivered to Scotland Yard on 25th April. These MEPO (Metropolitan Police) papers state that the diaries were found in one of the trunks. Like other researchers, I rely on documents, official and unofficial, but I do not necessarily believe what the documents report. There are seven or eight versions of provenance of the diaries and I dealt with most of these in pages 137-144 of *Anatomy of a lie*. The version favoured by Mr. Dudgeon MBE is the ‘official’ one and it is demonstrably false because it rests upon police documents which are demonstrably false. It was also denied by the head of CID, Basil Thomson.

4 – Mr. Dudgeon MBE now concedes that no independent witnesses were shown the bound diaries at that time. He wrongly states that Ben Allen was shown “*a Casement manuscript*”. We do not know the provenance of what he was shown or who wrote the manuscript. I am unaware that he described himself as “*a rabid nationalist*”.

5 – Many rational persons would hold that an impartial court of law is a suitable place to test the truth of assertions made about people and events. They would also agree that it is highly relevant that the present attribution would fail in court.

6 – It would indeed be “*a remarkable achievement if the police had concocted such a mammoth account... in just two weeks*”. But this did not happen. I refer again to *Anatomy of a lie* where it is

demonstrated that no trunks were delivered on 25th April and that the trunks in police custody before that date contained no incriminating diaries.

The claim by Mr. Dudgeon MBE that “*we are making historical assessments*”

is intended to give his work an aura of objectivity which it wholly lacks. I am not interested in subjective historical assessments but only in revealing the truth of what happened through patient and impartial detective work.

Paul R. Hyde

Paul Hyde’s recent research is available at <http://www.decoding-casement.com>

The International Brigades : review

A Superb International Brigades History, Sadly Gift Wrapped in Guardian Anti-Communism

In 2007 Giles Tremlett, Madrid-based Contributing Editor of *The Guardian*, authored *Ghosts of Spain—Travels Through a Country’s Hidden Past*, a wonderful portrait and insight into post-Franco Spain. All the more reason, then, to have looked forward to the publication this October of his 700 page history, *The International Brigades—Fascism, Freedom and the Spanish Civil War*. The book’s cover carries the following endorsement from the doyen of Spanish Civil War historians and biographers, and founding patron of the International Brigade Memorial Trust, Paul Preston:

“The bravery and sacrifices of the volunteers from all over the world who fought fascism in Spain keep alive interest in the civil war. Many of the tens of thousands of books about the conflict are about the International Brigades but there has never been one like Giles Tremlett’s deeply moving account.”

I quite agree.

(See www.rte.ie/culture/2020/1022/1173292-reviewed-the-international-brigades-by-giles-tremlett/ for an RTÉ News review with which I also agree.)

Tremlett further received particularly enthusiastic reviews in both the *London Times* and the *Irish Times*. Tremlett’s own *Guardian* was, however, too keen to be first out of the box with excessively enthusiastic reviews from a duo with observations sharply at variance with some of the facts in Tremlett’s own narrative, which would be obvious to anybody who had read the book with due care. On Saturday, 3rd October 2020, the *Guardian* review by Dan Hancox gave the following misleading impression: “*The Brigades drew an astonishing array of international literary figures—Orwell, Hemingway, Spender, Auden.*” None of

these were International Brigaders. Only one of them was at all in combat, but it was with the quasi-Trotskyist POUM that George Orwell had enlisted. In fairness, the Hancox review was well intentioned, and he had the good grace to remove a first line howler that it had initially carried: “*This article was amended on 3 October 2020 to remove a reference to the Spanish Communist La Pasionaria also being an opera singer.*” !!!

I would, nonetheless, concur with the sub-heading to the Hancox review—“*This overarching history of the Brigades who fought in the Spanish civil war is a remarkable collection of testimonies and captivatingly readable*”—and with his final summing up:

“Tremlett has created a dazzling mosaic of vignettes and sources, of lives lived and lost, of acts of heroism, solidarity, betrayal and futility, that builds to a grand picture of a conflict that drew idealists from across the world. The war left many of them in despair, injured or dead—but also hardened many more in their determination to defeat fascism. This book is as close to a definitive history as we are likely to get.”

The following day, however, October 4th, in *The Guardian*’s Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*, the review was a rather different affair, where its ignorance was but one component in a particularly nasty anti-communist diatribe. Paul Mason wrote of the February 1937 Battle of Jarama:

“For the English Speaking Battalion, so named to assuage the former IRA men who were among its few skilled fighters, the baptism of fire was to be brutal... After a three-day retreat, in which all but 80 were either killed or wounded, a Red Army colonel persuaded the stragglers to march back towards the enemy, singing the Internationale.”

There was no such entity entitled “*the English Speaking Battalion*”. There were indeed several English speaking (lower case) battalions, respectively named the British Battalion, the Abraham Lincoln Battalion (USA), and the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion (Canada), with IRA veterans fighting in all three. And the Irish International Brigade leader, Major Frank Ryan, was no Red Army colonel!

See <http://irelandscw.com/org-Ryan-Comm.htm> for my graveside oration at the Frank Ryan commemoration held by the International Brigade Memorial Trust in October 2005, where I highlighted how it had been Frank Ryan who had rallied Brigadistas at Jarama with “*The Internationale*”. Ryan’s great rally had been powerfully inspirational as a deed in its own right. But it was no less inspirational in the way that he himself went on to recount it in 1938 in *The Book of the Fifteenth Brigade*. In fairness to Tremlett on this score, he quoted Ryan’s account in detail, but Mason proved incapable of absorbing what was before his eyes.

Paul Mason’s ‘review’ was nothing but a travesty. What was particularly insufferable about it was the arrogance of his invincible ignorance. “*The Mason’s Apron*” is a traditional Irish fiddle tune. Well might its name be applied to *Guardian* Newspapers. In the week that followed, the Chair of the International Brigade, Jim Jump, sought to address the overriding distorted character of Mason’s ‘review’ with the following letter to *The Observer* which, however—Surprise! Surprise!—was denied publication:

“Anyone reading Paul Mason’s review of Giles Tremlett’s book might be forgiven for concluding that the Spanish Civil War was a conflict between Stalin-backed communists on one side and General Franco, helped by Hitler and Mussolini, on the other. They might also think that the Spanish Republic was defeated because of disorganisation, demoralisation and the conduct of Soviet personnel. The whole truth is much closer to home. Behind the veil of so-called non-intervention, the British government prevented the Republic from buying arms, oil and other essentials. Why else did the British Battalion of the International Brigades enter the Jarama inferno poorly equipped and suffer ‘senseless losses’? Such was the anti-left hostility of Baldwin and Chamberlain and their eagerness to appease the dictators that they were happy to see democracy crushed in Spain. It’s not unreasonable to speculate that without the arms embargo there would have been no need for the International Brigades, nor for Stalin to be asked for help by a desperate government. The Spanish Republic

faced many enemies, overt and covert, as well as a challenge to its authority from revolutionaries that no wartime government would have tolerated. Orwell and others may have enjoyed indulging their revolutionary fantasies, but there was only one way that fascism could ever have been defeated in Spain: on the battlefield by a proper army. Those who volunteered for the International Brigades understood this well enough. As Paul Mason acknowledges, we should remember their courage and sacrifice, including those 526 men and women from Britain and Ireland who gave their lives.”

See www.international-brigades.org.uk/content/travesty-review-observer for more details.

Mason’s ignorance of history cannot be blamed on Tremlett, but it can be blamed on the prevailing liberal anti-communist ethos of *Guardian* Newspapers, for which Tremlett himself has also demonstrably signed up. Now, I myself have not been a communist true believer for a good four decades. Yet I am also an ex-communist who is nonetheless very proud of having been one. And I am immensely and immeasurably proud that my communist father was a 20-year-old “*premature anti-fascist*” who volunteered for the International Brigades and fought in the Spanish Anti-Fascist War. See http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/ipr/2006/IPR_July_2006.pdf for my obituary of my father in the July 2006 issue of this magazine, subsequently republished by the Communist Party of Ireland in the October 2006 issue of *Unity*.

But what of the ideological prejudices of a proclaimed anti-communist such as Tremlett? In and of themselves, these prejudices do not constitute a barrier to him being a good historian, honestly chronicling the roles played by both communist and non-communist International Brigaders during the course of that War. In actual fact, Tremlett has pioneered the extensive use of the Moscow Archives of the International Brigades, and one can ignore his constant pejorative use of the terms ‘communist’ and ‘Stalinist’, as long as, in his ‘warts and all’ narrative, he presents all the evidence to be freely weighed up by the reader, who can then, at times, come to different judgements than the author himself. Tremlett unquestionably achieves this in respect of that 1936-39 War, resulting in a superb and gripping narrative. However, very different standards come to the fore in how Tremlett writes up the post-Spanish War years in the concluding chapter of his book.

(ii)

In Chapter 25 of *The International*

Brigades, Giles Tremlett writes of “*the Great Rally*” at the February 1937 battle of Jarama:

“Frank Ryan was amongst those who heard a rumour that the entire front line had been ordered to retreat... Ryan shouted ‘Sing up, ye son o’ guns!’ It was, he said, the sort of thing he had previously shouted to raise morale before banned Irish Republican demonstrations. Slowly the men began to sing a tune whose English words may not have been intelligible to everyone but whose melody was instantly recognisable... This was ‘The Internationale’, the anthem of leftists across the world. For those present, it was one of the most remarkable moments of the war. ‘Stragglers still in retreat down the slopes stopped in amazement, changed direction and ran to join us; men lying exhausted on the roadside jumped up, cheered, and joined the ranks’, recalled Ryan.” (pp 227-8).

Tremlett writes of Ryan as “*the guiding spirit of the Irish volunteers*” (p 437), and of how, in March 1938, he became “*the most senior International Brigade prisoner*” (p 447), before going on to write of him in Chapter 46:

“The senior prisoner, along with the Mackenzie-Papineau commissar Carl Geiser, was the charismatic Frank Ryan... When asked (on capture) who was in command, Ryan stepped forward immediately—despite the fact that officers were more likely to be shot... When they were taken to Zaragoza, they were ordered to give the fascist salute... ‘I call upon all my fellow soldiers to refuse’, said Ryan... Frank Ryan was eventually recognised by all (in San Pedro concentration camp) as the natural leader. After they were visited by foreign journalists, news that he was being held reached Ireland and Prime Minister Éamon de Valera himself tried to arrange his release. Ryan felt free to upbraid the *New York Times*’s William Carney for his pro-Francoist articles. He was eventually removed from San Pedro and subjected to a trial that saw him sentenced to be executed, though this was later commuted to thirty years in jail. Ryan would, in any case, remain in Spanish prisons until after the end of the war.” (pp 466-7).

So far so good, then, for the 51 chapters covering the Spanish Civil War itself, until we come to the concluding overview Chapter 52. I have no problem with Tremlett’s ‘warts and all’ narrative in those first 51 chapters. What is written there of heroes and villains, courage and cowardice, is all evidentially based, and it makes for superb ‘must read’ of thoroughgoing historical research of the highest order. Indeed, Tremlett’s particularly well rounded and balanced narrative of the May 1937 events

in Barcelona serves as a wake up call to readers who have hitherto had their judgments shaped by an uncritical reading of George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*.

What, however, Tremlett introduces to readers in his final chapter are not just warts. They amount, in fact, to malignant tumours of character assassination, which disregard any sense of obligation to weigh up the evidence, both pro and con, against the accused. Tremlett here ceases to be a serious historian and opts instead to play the game of sensationalist journalism. He now proceeds to write:

"One of the most curious figures was Frank Ryan, the bold, left-leaning IRA man who had been captured during the retreats... He was eventually freed by the Abwehr (German military intelligence) who organised a mock 'escape' for him in July 1940, and spirited him away to Berlin. There he seems to have worked with other Irish Republicans who thought that the war offered a unique opportunity to bring about a reunification of Ireland — especially if Hitler should invade Britain. There is still bitter debate over whether this meant the avowed anti-fascist who had persuaded XV Brigade to return to the line at Jarama became a Nazi collaborator, placing Irish nationalism above all else and losing the right to be considered a socialist. With his health failing, Ryan tried to return to Ireland, but was refused permission as his country did not wish to jeopardise its position of neutrality. He suffered a stroke, and died in a German sanatorium in June 1944" (pp 528-9).

The Queen's University Belfast site www.qub.ac.uk/sites/frankryan/ is the sole source provided by Tremlett for his drumhead court martial and 'conviction' of Ryan on the "Nazi collaborator" charge, with particular reference to "*Frank Ryan: a revolutionary life*", the site's 2012 "historical essay" authored by Fearghal McGarry, who had first levelled that charge a decade previously in his 2002 biography.

(See <http://irelandscw.com/docs-RyanReview2.htm> and <http://irelandscw.com/docs-Ryan2.htm> where, under the heading of "Frank Ryan—Patriot or Collaborator?", the *Ireland and the Spanish Civil War* website reproduced in full my reviews of McGarry's 90 page *Frank Ryan* biography in two separate journals, respectively, the Spring 2003 issue of *History Ireland* and the Fall 2003 issue of *Irish Literary Supplement—A Review of Irish Books*, published by Boston College. Therein I refuted, point by point, McGarry's charge that Ryan should be regarded as a Nazi collaborator.

Readers interested in an even more

detailed examination of Frank Ryan's role and record can freely download, from the Athol Books website, a series of three articles I wrote for the March, June and September 2012 issues of *Irish Foreign Affairs*. They make clear that the only Irish Republican that Ryan was working for in Berlin was de Valera himself, pledging total wartime allegiance to him, firmly upholding Dev's policy of neutrality, protesting to the Germans for their bombing of Belfast, and bluntly telling them that their war was lost with their invasion of the USSR.)

British Intelligence files containing the January 1946 interrogation of Madrid Abwehr agent Wolfgang Blaum record:

"In May 1940 Blaum was instructed to contact Frank Ryan ... who had commanded an Irish volunteer brigade with the Loyalist (Republican) forces in the Spanish Civil War until his capture and imprisonment... With the aid of Ryan's lawyer, Blaum was able to see Ryan in the prison and he persuaded Ryan to go to Germany if he were released. Blaum agreed to Ryan's stipulation that he go to Germany as a free man, and not as a paid German agent."

Ryan was then hoping to go from Germany to the USA to campaign in support of Irish wartime neutrality. Frank Ryan in Germany was neither the anti-fascist conspirator and martyr of Socialist Republican iconography nor the collaborator with the Nazis portrayed by McGarry. Even Abwehr officer Kurt Haller's British intelligence interrogator at one point observed of Ryan: "*Regarding himself as an Irish patriot and not a creature of the Germans, he refused to associate himself in any way with Hartmann's Irish broadcasts*".

"Patriot" might well indeed have been the appropriate chapter heading to have used in respect of the final four years of Ryan's life, rather than the heading of "Collaborator" chosen by McGarry. Patriotism can, of course, also be the last refuge of the scoundrel. But Ryan was no scoundrel. Undoubtedly he fails to pass the Stalinist test of unconditional loyalty to the interests of the Soviet Union, as he also fails to pass the Churchillian test of loyalty to the British Empire. He would have been a prime candidate for a Show Trial under either regime. But perhaps an admittedly more insular standard of patriotism will allow us to acknowledge the integrity of the role he played. If he had been a collaborator, de Valera would have been his target. All the more remarkable then that McGarry, while making a

passing dismissive reference to Michael McInerney's 1979 study "*The Enigma of Frank Ryan*", makes no mention at all of McInerney's 1975 interview with de Valera himself, who pronounced: "*I am very pleased that you are writing the biography of this great Irishman. Frank Ryan always put Ireland first in everything he did or said, at home or abroad. He has earned his place in history*".

It is difficult to imagine how Tremlett avoided being aware of my two critical reviews of McGarry's biography, as they are clearly listed on the International Brigade contents page of the *Ireland and the Spanish Civil War* website referenced by Tremlett as his source for information on another Irish International Brigader. Two other online sources researched and referenced by Tremlett were the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives blog *The Volunteer*, and the International Brigade Memorial Trust's *IBMT Newsletter*. In the January 2015 issue of both, I drew attention to my earlier review of McGarry. Moreover, the Spring-Summer 2012 issue of the *IBMT Newsletter* carried my review of *The Enigma of Frank Ryan*, a film for which McGarry was the historical consultant, and where, under the heading of "*Frank Ryan Film Pulls Back From Controversial Thesis*", I wrote: "*The film received a second showing on 26 February, followed by a debate organised by the journal History Ireland, in which both McGarry and I participated. My original review refuting McGarry's thesis is online at [link provided] and I again took issue with him in the February debate.*" At the very least, Tremlett must have been aware that on the Queen's University website, which is his sole source for his denigration of Frank Ryan, the following also appears:

"A recording of History Ireland's Hedge School on Frank Ryan:

On 26 February 2012, following the second screening of *The Enigma of Frank Ryan* at the Irish Film Institute, Tommy Graham hosted a History Ireland hedge school on the life and legacy of Frank Ryan. The panel consisted of historians Brian Hanley (UCD), Leeann Lane (DCU), Fearghal McGarry (QUB) and David O'Donoghue. Contributors from the floor include Manus O'Riordan, who has written widely on Ryan and Irish responses to the Spanish Civil War, and Maeve Clissmann, whose parents, Helmut and Elizabeth, are portrayed in the film. Among the issues discussed are Ryan's relationship with Rosamond Jacob, the ideology of Republican Congress, Ryan's motivations for fighting in Spain, and just what Ryan may have been doing in

Nazi Germany during the Second World War. This debate is also available to download from History Ireland at iTunes."

The wording here is that of *History Ireland* itself, not of the Queen's site. Of note is the fact that that "also" no longer applies. The recording was subsequently removed from Queen's own site. But curiosity ought to have led Tremlett to that of *History Ireland* itself. Most damning of all, however, is the fact that two 300 page biographies, sourced and referenced by Tremlett in respect of Ryan's earlier years, are not even mentioned in his final chapter. In his 1980 biography, *Frank Ryan—The Search for the Republic*, Seán Cronin pioneered the use of Irish National Archives in exonerating Ryan of the "collaborator" charge. And in his 2004 biography, *In Green and Red—The Lives of Frank Ryan*, Adrian Hoar also made extensive use of British Intelligence files in the UK National Archives to arrive at the same conclusion as both Cronin and myself. The least that can be said of Tremlett's character assassination of Ryan is that his 'research' here was unconscionable.

But Frank Ryan is not the only International Brigader to have his character smeared by Tremlett in that concluding chapter. He further writes:

"Jack Jones who survived the Ebro battle, became head of Britain's mighty Transport and General Workers Union. It has been suggested that he may even have been a Soviet informer, though this was something he vigorously denied. If it were true, however, Jones would have been just one of at least a dozen Brigade veterans in Western Europe who served communist Moscow's spy machine. The most famous, or infamous, of these was Morris Cohen, who recruited a scientist at the Los Alamos testing centre in New Mexico to pass on blueprints of the first American nuclear weapons in 1945" (pp 534-5).

So, 'on balance', Tremlett comes down on the side of the "probability" that MI5 was correct in alleging that Jack Jones had indeed been a paid KGB informant, whom he accordingly consigns to a rogues' gallery of those he calls servants of "communist Moscow's spy machine". Once again, a shameless refusal on Tremlett's part to go to the bother of investigating any supposed 'evidence'.

See, however, http://free-downloads.atholbooks.org/pamphlets/Jack_Jones_Vindicated.pdf to download from the Athol Books website my 50 page booklet, *The Vindication of Brigadista and Union Man Jack James Larkin Jones: In Refutation*

of the British Intelligence Campaign of Character Assassination, where I refuted, pony by pony, the charges made by MI5 Professor Christopher Andrew in his 2009 book, *Defence of the Realm—The Authorised History of MI5*. I could do no less in memory of my father's Ebro comrade-in-arms and founding President of the International Brigade Memorial Trust, alongside whom, as IBMT Ireland Secretary, I had the honour of serving on its Executive.

In his concluding chapter, Tremlett also proceeds to write:

"Nowhere were the Brigaders more powerful than in Eastern Germany (officially the German Democratic Republic, or GDR—MO'R), as the Soviets struggled to find people they could trust who could help them construct a narrative of historic anti-fascism, cleansed of Hitler's Nazi legacy... The new German state also needed armed forces and police, often to repress its own people. Brigaders took prominent positions... providing seventeen generals, forty colonels and numerous other officers. Considering that there were barely more than a thousand veterans in East Germany, their importance is outstanding. Some German Brigaders became notorious oppressors, with veterans providing more than a dozen senior members of the feared Stasi secret police, while a hundred more joined the ranks of various police forces. The infamous Stasi, indeed, was founded by Wilhelm Zaisser (aka General Gómez in Spain) with the help of Brigader Karl Heinz Hoffmann. The 85,000-strong Stasi 'People's Police' force... was led by Brigade veterans for all but four years until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. By that time it had become East Germany's most notorious and hated tool of state repression... At one stage, veterans were in charge of all three branches of the security services—including the army, the interior ministry's police and the Stasi." (pp 530-1).

I myself am far from having been an apologist for the GDR. In the March 2020 issue of *Irish Foreign Affairs* I related:

"My own more critical view of the GDR had been particularly influenced by two books published in 1977: Jonathan Steele's *Socialism with a German Face* and Stefan Heym's novel *Five Days in June* which was set against the background of the revolt of East Berlin workers in June 1953. In an article published in the December 1978 issue of *The Communist*, a theoretical journal of the British & Irish Communist Organisation, I recounted how, in early 1952, Stalin had told Ulbricht's ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) that it should be prepared to "follow the Italian example" and become a minority party in a united Germany. I went on to relate the story of the June

1953 workers' revolt, concluding with those ironic lines penned by Brecht in his poem on the SED's condemnation of the workers it purported to represent:

'Would it not have been simpler
If the Government had dissolved the people
And elected another?'..."

But Tremlett sets no store on the fact that, unlike Hungary and Czechoslovakia, there had been no International Brigade "Show Trials" in the GDR. And what he went on to write about the GDR in the *Guardian* on October 22nd was something else again. Tremlett does indeed wear his anti-Communism on his sleeve. In "The Contested Legacy of the anti-fascist International Brigades", this contributing editor of the *Guardian* proceeded to sell his book to *Guardian* readers with the following opening sentence to emphasise his anti-communism:

"In the 1930s, thousands of men and women around the world enlisted to fight fascism in Spain. Many survivors went on to play a key role in the fight against the Nazis—but, in some cases, later became powerful servants of brutal regimes."

But, further on, his article gets worse:

"Some were noble and brave in their actions, others were cruel, cowardly or callous. Some fought for an ideal, others for adventure. And, for some, those ideals would take them on a journey of oppression that placed them closer, in their behaviour and blind defence of Stalinist communism, to the fascists whom they declared as their enemies than to the democratic Republic that they defended."

In the concluding chapter of his own book, Tremlett had indeed cited Paul Preston's 2012 book *The Spanish Holocaust*, when writing that Franco's Spain was a place where "tens of thousands were placed before firing squads". "Some 150,000 people were killed by Franco's own firing squads and associated right-wing death squads alone" (pp 536-7). As Helen Graham had pointed out in her review of *The Spanish Holocaust* for the Spring-Summer 2012 issue of the *IBMT Newsletter*:

"After Franco achieved victory in spring 1939, the mass murdering dimension inherent in war-forged Francoism became fully apparent, as the final section of Preston's study explores. Of the baseline figure of 150,000 extra- and quasi-judicial killings for which it was responsible in the territory under direct military control between 1936 and the late 1940s, at least 20,000 were committed

after the Republican military surrender in late March 1939.”

For Tremlett to compare GDR repression to the Spanish Holocaust, placing GDR International Brigade Vets involved in that repression “closer to the fascists”

was an obscenity. As already stated, I have no hesitation in recommending 51 chapters of *The International Brigades* as a superb history of the Spanish Anti-Fascist War. Pity about Tremlett’s final chapter and its *Guardian* Newspaper gift wrapping.

Manus O’Riordan

Serious research

When Mairéad Wilson decided upon undertaking serious research the time for her retirement from the Civil Service was still a few years off. Her father Patrick also had been a civil servant. He had come from a family which had owned a shop near to the Cathedral in Longford town. He had been accepted into the British Civil Service and had held a post in London. When he returned to Ireland about 1912, he arrived newly married. His wife, Lillian, was from the East Anglia region near Ipswich. He worked in Dublin as part of the previous civil administration until 1922 when he transferred to the administrative apparatus of the new Free State.

Encouragement for her newfound research interest was not abundant. She was given an impression, and it was just that—an impression—that those in positions of leadership in the state and in society were inclined to think the Diaries probably genuine, and the arguments of biographers such as Inglis and Sawyer probably well founded and accurately researched. Even Todd Andrews, a distant relative, who had been active in the War of Independence and who had held leadership roles in the semi-state sector and had written a well received memoir, provided no encouragement. He had read the Inglis book himself some years previously. His advice was that it was best she left the matter alone.

Groundbreaking approach

At first her research involved the study of books which concerned themselves with the Diaries. Some of these, especially those by Dr. Herbert O Mackey, she had already been familiar with. The list of books consisted of works which supported authenticity as well as those that did not. She was being presented with the opportunity to compare and contrast the approaches of the two schools of thought on the Diaries; a challenging but worthwhile task which could only throw up revealing new insights for whosoever had the mental stamina to stay the course. This approach to the Diaries question had never been attempted before. It was groundbreaking.

The truth was that up to this point the proponents of authenticity and proponents of forgery appeared to inhabit parallel worlds, which rarely if ever overlapped. Sometimes this occurred to a comical extent. In an interview in 1973 with Gay Byrne on RTE’s *Late Late Show*, Brian Inglis, the author of what has come to be considered a ‘classic’ biography, admit-

Mairéad Wilson (1921 – 2019) — An Appreciation

In the mid-1980s, an article appeared in a Dublin newspaper concerned with a then recent biography of Roger Casement. The title of the book was: *Roger Casement, the Flawed Hero*; its author: Roger Sawyer. The piece took it automatically for granted, in keeping with the new book, that the controversial Diaries, associated with Casement, were fully authentic. One newspaper reader, a woman, a career civil servant, with an inquiring mind and a love of reading, found this strange. As well as strange, it seemed dubious and even a little upsetting.

This individual possessed a keen interest in matters historical. In Ireland, as elsewhere, such people form a small minority. Among some such historically aware people there had existed, since the beginning of the 1960s, a consciousness that what was at issue was something other than a question of mere same-sex attraction; the Diaries related the preoccupations of a most bizarre and demented protagonist. A letter to *The Irish Times* from a reader helps fill out the picture: “If the Black Diaries are authentic, then Casement was no “ordinary” homosexual but a man who was totally sexually obsessed in that way, almost to the verge of insanity” (The Irish Times, May 23, 1973, Hazel Dunne).

Mairéad Wilson did not believe those who had given their lives in the Irish independence struggle of the early 20th century should be placed aloft on pedestals. But, they should at least be granted appropriate respect. At that time, the mid-1980s, the respect was evaporating from the public space. Irish Historical Revisionism, so called, was rampaging through the academy and the media. It was something she found dismaying.

Up to about a decade beforehand it had been the general presumption, in what

one might call Nationalist Ireland, that the Casement Diaries, such as they were, had been the product of forgery. Now the situation had been turned upside down. Now it appeared it was the complete opposite that was the general presumption. Her curiosity provoked she decided to read the biography by Brian Inglis, called simply *Roger Casement*.

Roger Casement by Brian Inglis

Inglis, originally from Malahide, Co Dublin, was a noted BBC television current affairs commentator, journalist and writer. This was the biography which was so well received by the media and by some academics such as Prof F.S. Lyons, the History don based at Trinity College, Dublin, that it had already achieved some of the status of a classic. The book had originally appeared in 1973, at a time when the troubles in Northern Ireland were at their most bloody. It had had a very significant influence on altering perceptions of the *Diaries* and with that, of Casement himself.

It was her reading of this book which properly set Mairéad upon the path of investigating matters concerning the authenticity or otherwise of the Diaries. There were aspects of the Inglis book that were questionable. For instance, the title of the most convincing book Herbert Mackey had written in support of the forgery contention, *The Truth about the Forged Diaries* (1966) was listed in the bibliography. However, as far as the text written by Inglis went, Dr Mackey, his arguments, his researches, his books, his very existence as a human personality, remained unacknowledged.

Nevertheless, the overall effect of the Inglis book had led her to waver in her conviction that forgery had occurred. Her curiosity would now propel her to delve further.

ted he had not read *The Truth about the Forged Diaries* by Herbert Mackey, a relevant study which had appeared some seven years previously. A letter to *The Irish Times* relates: “In his recent RTE appearance, Dr Inglis (whose book has been inexplicably praised as well-researched by Leon O Broin and F.S.L. Lyons) stated that he had not read the later Dr Mackey’s book of 1966” (*The Irish Times*, May 18, 1973, Criostoir O Floinn).

Having retired in the late 1980s Mairead now had more time to pursue her research. She followed up her reading of published commentary with perusal of relevant material at the National Library, Dublin (NLI). In December 1989 she applied to the Public Record Office, at Kew, London (now known as the National Archives) to get permission to view the Diaries. After a four month wait she was awarded a refusal, accompanied by a desultory excuse to the effect that her prior examination of documents at the NLI did not automatically entitle her to view “the papers lodged in the Public Record Office”.

Probing the Archives

As here already alluded to (save for Reid), a trio of biographers, Brian Inglis, B.L. Reid and Roger Sawyer, had been setting the tone for Casement studies. These were literate and accessible life studies, comprehensive as far as appearances went, and, in their way, sympathetic. Each had a chapter devoted to defending why authenticity was taken as justified.

But how well did they stand up against the archival record at the NLI? Mairead noted the detailed journal in Casement’s own handwriting written almost entirely in pencil on foolscap paper, covering Sept 23rd to December 6th 1910, time he spent in the Amazon region, is without any personal sexual content.

In written instructions Casement gave to his solicitor Charles Gavan Duffy regarding the recovery post-Trial of his personal artefacts and papers from the Crown authorities, there is no stipulation forbidding material, including diaries, from being read. Why no such instruction if there was something painfully incriminating he needed to hide? This was an anomaly Mairead took careful note of.

Dr. H. S. Dickey, an American doctor who accompanied Casement on part of his 1911 Amazon journey, and got to know him well, wrote in a 1936 letter of his deep scepticism of the allegations.

Similarly, the NLI contains a 1932 letter from an American journalist, Ben Allen, who had met Casement and been impressed by him, which expressed his disbelief in authenticity.

A statement from Casement’s American trial lawyer, Michael Francis Doyle, tells how he had met Casement in his prison cell and informed him of the allegations and rumours and how he had emphatically repudiated them.

While B.L. Reid author of *The Lives of Roger Casement* (1976) suggested that Casement’s solicitor Charles Gavan Duffy had been inclined to consider the Diaries genuine, a private letter from him, when read in its entirety, showed the very opposite. Reid had misinterpreted it.

Reid had also reported that John Devoy, the Clan-na-Gael leader in America, who had known Casement personally, had actually spoken to Casement’s sister, Nina, of his belief in authenticity. This was based on a misquotation of a letter from Nina to her cousin Gertrude Bannister.

Arguments evaded

Surveying how the trio of biographers dealt with previously published arguments in favour of forgery was to prove revealing. Dr H.O. Mackey, *The Truth about the Forged Diaries* (1966), had asserted there were a good number of instances in the 1903 and 1910 diaries where it could be seen alterations had been made in the handwritten text, such that innocent entries took on a completely different insinuation. Inglis, as already mentioned, ignored Mackey completely. Reid and Sawyer, in contrast, did mention what Mackey had written. However, they only mentioned one of the instances of altered text where it could be proven he had made an error. On the strength of this they were dismissive of Mackey. The more than twenty other instances of alteration he had alluded to they simply ignored.

Between 1921 and 1939 Sir Basil Thomson, the Special Branch Chief who claimed to have discovered the Diaries, wrote four descriptions of how his sensational discovery had occurred, all mutually contradictory. These were carefully analysed by Alfred Noyes in his book *The Accusing Ghost or Justice for Casement* (1957). Roger Sawyer excused Thomson’s self-contradiction for a reason that was “almost too simple to be grasped”. Sawyer explained that Thomson was a prolific writer and so, (given that he tended to

write in a hurry), his writings abounded with errors of detail!

Authenticity proponents unconsciously promote the forgery case

Unlike most other authenticity advocates, B.L. Reid was prepared to concede in the text of his book that the authorities could indeed have searched Casement’s London lodgings in late 1914, after news of his arrival in Germany and his contacts with the German Government had become known. This implied that his belongings, including the Diaries, would have been confiscated over a year earlier than Thomson and other defenders of authenticity had claimed.

Without Reid apparently realising it, this lent support to the pro-forgery position. It suggested there could have been ample time for a forgery project to have been carried out, using confiscated personal diaries. It also suggested that Basil Thomson’s various descriptions of his discovery of the Diaries were outright lies, for Thomson had placed the discovery near to the time Casement was taken into custody in April 1916.

In describing the Diary originals they had viewed, both Sawyer and Reid referred to the chaotic touch to the appearance of the handwritten pages; bits erased, pieces cramped in at the top or the end, frequent changes from pen to pencil and back again, variations in the size or weight of script, oddities in sequence of events, etc. Both men were keen to dismiss the possibility of forgery and put these aspects down to various reasons such as the busy circumstances of the diarist. Nevertheless, all these features imply the possibility of text being altered by some unknown hand and so they lent credibility to the thesis of forged interpolation which had been advocated by Prof Roger McHugh, Dr H.O. Mackey and others.

Casement:

Public Record Office Manuscripts

Roger McHugh, a lecturer in English at University College Dublin, in 1953 became the first Irish holder of a Council of Europe Fellowship. An historian as well as a renowned literary critic he became the first Professor of Anglo-Irish Literature and Drama at the college in 1966. He died in 1987.

Mairead considered his 1960 study of the Diaries, the originals of which he had personally examined, as highly insight-

ful scholarship and the most convincing exposition of the pro-forgery position. McHugh explained the Diaries as the product of erasure and interpolation into seized existing personal diaries of Casement from some years before his arrest. *Casement: the Public Record Office Manuscripts* had appeared in the Spring/Summer edition of the Belfast published magazine *Threshold*. Motivated by her belief in the quality of McHugh's detailed article, she approached his surviving family members and was allowed to view his papers and received their assent to quote extensively from the study.

A booklet or pamphlet rather than a book

The final text Mairead Wilson produced in 1992 did not concern itself with any of the alleged forensic examinations which had, up to then, been reported as having been carried out. Though touched on, it did not discuss in detail the appearance of the handwritten pages. It did not discuss if the language used diverged from what was known of Casement's habitual word use. It did not discuss the 1910/1911 Cash Book, which also contains disputed entries. It did not discuss the variety of perceived contradictions in specific day to day details between the contended text and other sources of evidence. The strange history of the Diaries between Casement's execution in 1916 and their being put on limited release for viewing by interested parties in August 1959 is not mentioned. Allegations associated with the content of the Diaries, though not contained within them, such as the proposed nature of Casement's relationship with the Norwegian sailor, Adler Christensen, are not alluded to. Nor are the attitudes to the Diaries of various Governments and politicians over time considered.

What finally emerged was a booklet or pamphlet which made no pretence at being comprehensive. However, there are plenty of pointers to where a reader might go if they feel inclined to seek out further and more detailed information.

Controversies

The pamphlet concerns itself with a series of points of contention which arose between those who portrayed the Diaries as genuine and those who opposed them, during the three decade period from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s. Points of contention can also be called *controversies*. So the final title became: *Roger Casement: a Reassessment of the Diaries*

Controversies. There are eleven of them in number:

- 1) When were the Diaries really discovered?
- 2) What was the impression made on those who actually inspected them?
- 3) What is to be made of the two diaries of Casement covering the same period in 1910?
- 4) What conclusions might be drawn from the extraordinary 1911 diary?
- 5) Was Casement himself defensive about his private papers and diaries?
- 6) What was the true quality of Casement's personal character?
- 7) Did his solicitor Charles Gavan Duffy verifiably believe the Diaries genuine?
- 8) Did Francis J. Bigger, really burn a salacious Casement diary in Belfast?
- 9) Did Casement refer to the Diaries with approval before his defending barrister?
- 10) Have the trio of biographers really upended the analysis of H.O. Mackey?
- 11) Did John Devoy, Clan-na-Gael leader, actually believe the Diaries genuine?

Precise and unadorned narrative

The booklet is built around a collection of references and quotations from articles, books and letters to publications and archival matter, all aptly deployed to advance one or other particular point. The accompanying narrative is precise and unadorned. Elaboration is minimal. There is no padding.

Though only 32 pages in length it is not meant for reading at one sitting. The material is too dense; a lot of ground is covered over a short span of text. The reader needs to read a certain amount then sit back and reflect and give themselves the chance to mentally absorb the content and to sort out for themselves the implications of what they have just covered.

A criticism can be made in that so much reliance is put on reproducing extracts from Roger McHugh's detailed *Threshold* article from 1960. As such then, there can be said to be a certain lack of originality. In defence it can be argued that the reproduced highlights from the McHugh article are powerfully thought-provoking. The article was the very best exposition of the pro-forgery position up to then, in the opinion of Mairead. As the saying goes; *why reinvent the wheel?*

The cumulative effect of the pamphlets argumentation is that, as it were, it exceeds the sum of its parts. A short concluding section, at the end, lists six grounds why "*there are very strong reasons for believing that the documents in the Public Records Office have been tampered with*".

Efforts to secure publication

After she had written up a draft text in 1992 she approached a number of publishers. Little enthusiasm was shown. She was told if she "*plumped it up*" to book length it *might* be considered for publication.

She discovered the *Roger Casement Foundation* in 1998. She joined and found she enjoyed attending its annual symposium at Buswell's Hotel, Dublin. Speakers gave talks on various aspects of Casement's history and legacy. Lively responses were provoked from the floor. As an active Foundation member she was always ready to provide practical support as well as advice and encouragement to those who showed an interest Casement's life and works.

The Foundation edited and published her pamphlet in A4 format in 2000. It was distributed at Foundation symposiums. It was also mailed to a few parties who might have found it interesting.

In 2005 Athol Books published *Roger Casement: a Reassessment of the Diaries Controversies* in an attractive pamphlet format, on behalf of The Roger Casement Foundation. It has been in print since then.

It has helped to open the eyes of those who had held the cosy assumption, weighted with the authority of television documentaries and presumptuous academics, that the Diaries must surely be genuine.

Declining Health and Mobility

As the first decade of the new millennium wore on, Mairead found herself beset with problems of declining health and decreased mobility. First she had to put an end to her attendance at the annual Foundation symposium. Some years later she had to take up residence in a nursing home.

Despite these setbacks she maintained a stoical and good humoured attitude. As far as she could, she kept up her interest in reading. Though of an advanced age she remained alert to what was going on in the wider world and was always glad to be kept informed of the most recent twists

and turns in the ongoing Diaries saga. She was disappointed by the tendency of some to place those who had gone with John Redmond to fight on the side of Britain in the Great War on the same level with those who had marched out with Pearse and Connolly in 1916. Whatever might be said of Pearse, she maintained he ought to be considered a success overall. It was his actions which led ultimately to the emergence of the state we now have. This, she believed, was no mean achievement.

She swam against the tide of lazy intellectual conformism. The role of passive object of media manipulation she rejected.

She did her own careful painstaking research and formed her measured conclusions based on that and demonstrated that, if we make such an effort and then work to place our conclusions before the public, we can, eventually, make a difference.

Mairead Wilson died on 25th September 25 2019 in her 99th year.

Tim O'Sullivan

**Roger Casement:
A Reassessment Of
The Diaries Controversies**
by Mairead Wilson.

ISBN 0 85034 112 4. 32pp, AB.

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Pensions And The Need For Clear Vision

The new Commission on Pensions, despite its limited brief, must look further than the question of the state pension, the age at which it is paid, the eligibility criteria, the real cost (not just the gross), the demographic picture and other related issues.

As Michael Somers, the former chief executive of the National Treasury Management Agency says, the “real elephant in the room” is the huge cost which has already built up in relation to both public sector pensions and social welfare pension entitlements, both contributory and non-contributory; and the absence of funding for this (“We continue to ignore massive pensions elephant in the room”, Business Opinion, November 23rd).

He describes some of the reasons and context for the establishment of the National Pensions Reserve Fund (NPRF) in 2000, following two separate reports on public service pensions and social insurance pensions; mentions that by law no money was supposed to be taken out of the fund until 2025; but that “the law was changed” in 2009 “to invest in the two major Irish banks”. He concludes by expressing the hope that the NPRF could now be reconstituted, but doubts if the necessary vision and conviction to do so exist.

I’m afraid I would be less polite and diplomatic about the way the NPRF was raided to save the banks; how it was then abolished and the remains transferred into the Strategic Investment Fund; how the small remains of the SIF were later watered down into the rainy day fund; and how none of this fund, initially well-costed and earmarked for pensions alone, has ever gone back to future pensioners, as intended.

But I would also be less pessimistic about the prospect of re-establishing the NPRF. Surely now is the ideal time, when money is so cheap and when the banks are actually charging people for looking after their money? The State could easily borrow enough to make a good start; and many individuals and investors might be prepared to invest their savings in a fund which could give a safe return, however low initially. And such a fund, if well managed, could invest in sustainable, socially responsible, environmentally friendly initiatives, yielding the good long-term returns needed to fund pensions in future.

Rosheen Callender
(*Irish Times*, 25.11.20)

Starving The Germans! This is the second volume of a Trilogy that examines the manner in which the First World War was fought by Britain and its Allies against the civilians of Germany and the Central Powers and the way in which the outcome of that war distorted the prevailing trajectory of European history.

This volume begins at the point when the United States formally joined the war in April 1917. It shows how, through the use of food embargoes on the northern neutral countries, the United States completed Britain’s food strangulation of Germany and brought misery and death to the civilian populations of those countries in the process.

It explains the way in which the terms of the November 1918 Armistice was arbitrarily expanded by the Allies to ensure that Germany was made malleable to the British demand that it accept total responsibility for the war and at the same time hampered its chances of a post-war recovery. It further explains the impact of the Armistice on the food supply mechanism that had been established in the United States to supply its own troops and the Allies during the war. In addition it reveals the way in which the post-Armistice attempts by Herbert Hoover and the American Food Administration to use the American food surplus to feed Europe were thwarted by obstacles placed in its path by France and Britain.

Finally, the volume reveals Britain’s role in formulating the reparations demanded of Germany in the face of initial American opposition. The volume ends with an examination of the way in which the powers of the Reparations Commission undermined the incipient democratic institutions established in Weimar Germany.

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Does
It

Up

Stack

?

Brexit and Connectivity

At the time of writing in mid-December no one knows what Brexit will mean for importers and exporters in Ireland. Boris Johnson is playing hard-to-get or perhaps it is his usual chaotic performance when he is without his trusted advisers: anyway, it is chaotic.

For importers and exporters there are two types of transport: there are shipping containers (known in the trade as 'boxes') and there are trailers—usually 13 metres long and either dry or refrigerated. The trailers are Roll-on-Roll Off on the ferry ships. The 'boxes' are lifted on and off container ships by specialised cranes.

Most perishable foods and medicines are transported in refrigerated trailers because they need energy to keep them refrigerated. Most refrigerated trailers these days have their own generator and their own fuel tank or batteries.

Therefore transport for refrigerated containers is expensive but not time-critical. And, because of the expense, some food, such as vegetables and fruit, is sent by container box, which is time-critical because the food may go 'off' if delivery is delayed.

Not all ports can handle boxes, because of the need for special cranes. Belfast, Dublin, Bell Ferry Waterford, and Cork have the necessary cranes. Rosslare does not have special cranes, nor does Ringaskiddy (near Cork city). Rosslare, Dun Laoire and Ringaskiddy are Roll-on, Roll-off ports used by trailers, and by passenger cars and vans.

So the logistics of importing and exporting are a complex matter. Once upon a time no commercial office was complete without two large wall maps showing all the railway networks of Ireland on one and the railway networks of Great Britain on the other. And each map showed the connecting shipping routes.

The railway companies even built their

own harbours where necessary. Holyhead in Wales and Rosslare Harbour in Ireland are examples of railway harbours. Rosslare Harbour is still owned and operated by an English company.

PORT OF CORK

What is happening in the Port of Cork is very strange: in the past few years the Port of Cork Authority decided to sell off its excellent offices and stores in Cork city centre and to move its offices downstream Ringaskiddy, where for many years there has been a Roll-on Roll-off facility.

There was no obvious reason for this move because, with modern communications facilities, a virtual presence in any location is possible. Also Ringaskiddy is one the southern side of Cork Harbour, whereas the railway terminus at Cobh is at the northern side. And there is no bridge.

So, while Ringaskiddy is ideal for Roll-on, Roll-off, it is in the wrong place for container box traffic, much of which could travel by rail—but not to Ringaskiddy—where a new lift-on, lift-off facility is being built.

An excellent lift-on, lift off facility in Cork City at Tivoli is set to be sold off for property development. Cui bono? Cui bono?

As well as the Brexit situation being used for personal advantage, there are strong currents of politics and religious affiliation coming into play. For example, Brittany Ferries were introducing a new ferry service in 2020 from Ringaskiddy to Bilbao in Spain. After the schedules and promotional literature was printed in 2019 the ferry was changed from Ringaskiddy to Rosslare. The reason given was the roads to Ringaskiddy were not suitable to the drivers of trucks.

Most of the road and built infrastructure in Ireland is centrally controlled in Dublin by the Government Department of Housing, Planning and Local Government and its offshoot, Transport Infrastructure Ireland. (Not, as you might think, the National Transport Authority, which deals only with Dublin—but then, to Dubs, Dublin is the nation.)

Local Authorities cannot move on infrastructure without permission from Dublin, and so political favouritism comes into the picture and Cork does not do too well. For example, the access to the

Tivoli Container Terminal is via a bridge over a railway line, and the bridge has a 90 degree bend on it, which is not suited to five- and six-axle trucks and trailers, and the bend could have been avoided in the design process.

Also, and not coincidentally, in a recent re-design of the main entrance to Cork City from Dublin and from Waterford and Rosslare, the width of the road was reduced to three metres! And also, in the signage on the approach road into Cork City, the way to Limerick is signposted seven times in five kilometres—giving travellers the message, why would you be going to Cork? Limerick is 100 kilometres from Cork.

Foynes Port, the port of Limerick, is in strong contention now for export/import traffic between Ireland and continental Europe, and Limerick public servants are working hard to promote it.

I mentioned religion as a factor in the Brexit shake-up. Not that saying prayers has anything to do with it but, due to Irish history, many of the big importers and hauliers tend to be non-Catholic, and they were for cultural reasons quite comfortable trading with English companies and with Dutch companies. And so it seemed quite natural to them to do business from Dublin, via Liverpool or via Holyhead, and so into the English Midlands or to London, or on to Holland via Harwich.

Now all this is being shaken up and new thinking is required. The nearest ports to continental Europe are Rosslare—which has no container box facility; Waterford which has but has no Roll-on, Roll-off; and Cork (Ringaskiddy), which has both Roll-on, Roll-off, and Container box facilities.

But Cork is in the middle of property dealings at present, and is not making much of an effort to get the business!

The Capitalist system will sort it all out in time, but—until it is sorted—things are going to be muddled and expensive.

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CONNOLLY continued

I do not believe it to be possible to prevent a continual extension of the powers of government, even if it were desirable, but I look to the cultivation of the rebel spirit to secure that that extension of the functions of government shall connote a conquest of powers by the working-class instead of an invasion of our rights by the master class.

It is because of that defiant, rebel spirit in Ireland today, ever keeping step with, indeed outmarching, the trend of legislative experimenting with social problems that we Irish Socialists feel at last that we are leaving the stage of theorising and are seeing our principles becoming the faith that moves our class to action.

It is an inspiration to know the working-class of Ireland in their times of conflict. To see that class resolute, erect, defiant, day by day battling with its Nationalist masters, and in starvation and suffering winning its way to victory, which, at the same time as it closes in grappling with the Irish exploiter, it holds itself uncompromisingly aloof from and hostile to its British rulers and their Irish allies. To know that class is to love it.

And I pity those in whom the narrow prejudices of a colony are still, after 300 years of plantation, too strong to permit them to identify themselves with such a nation. ■

Public Sector Workers Pay Increase

Public sector workers are set to get two pay rises of 1% in the next two years worth at least €1,000 under a deal hammered out with trade unions via the Workplace Relations Commission on Friday, 11th December 2020.

It means that the pay of more than 90% of civil and public servants will be restored to the same levels — or higher — since before pay cuts were introduced in 2010 during the economic collapse.

It is expected that 340,000 will receive the salary rises between now and October 2022 under the new agreement.

The Agreement, which succeeds the expiring Public Service Stability Agreement (PSSA), which expired at the end of November 2020, acknowledges that issues outstanding from the 2013 Haddington Road Agreement remain to be addressed, with commitments made to establish an independent body by March 2021 to aid in the process of returning to pre-Haddington Road hours, and to resolve issues surrounding pay for entrant teachers, which would see their opening pay jump two points on the profession's salary scale.

Chair of the ICTU's Public Services Committee (PSC) and Fórsa General Secretary Kevin Callinan said that the pay agreements in this latest deal are "skewed"

towards the lower earners in a "context of limited resources".

The package, if ratified by members, will run until 31st December 2022 commencing from 1st January 2021.

NURSES

"Hundreds of nurses in more senior grades would receive special pay increases of just over 3 per cent under new proposals put forward by an independent expert group established by the Government" (Irish Times, 14.12.2020).

The increases would form part of a process to deal, in part, with the fallout from the settlement of a strike in 2019. This saw the establishment of new, enhanced, nurse contracts with higher salaries for thousands of staff nurses and midwives.

On foot of this settlement, nurses in more senior positions sought higher pay to restore the difference between their salaries and those applying for lower level posts that existed prior to the strike in 2019.

It is understood that in recent days the review group has proposed that the salaries of nurses in these higher grades would need to increase by just over 3 per cent to restore the pay differential.

The proposed increases would be separate to the 1 per cent rise scheduled for October 2021 and a further 1 per cent rise in October 2022, set out in a new Agreement for most public service staff which was reached between the Government and Trade Unions on 11th December 2020.

Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, from Ballydaly on the present-day Cork-Kerry border, is one of Ireland's greatest poets. This book seeks to make his poetry accessible. The selection of poems here, including his superb poem addressed to the Hill of Clara, leads up to the three surviving poems which Gofraidh made for the English, or English-Irish, earls of Desmond. These intense communications throw light on one of the most famous but least understood facts of Irish history: that the colonists from the first English invasion took up Irish thinking-patterns and ways.

The original Irish is given here, in its appropriate script, with facing translations. While the virtuoso musical qualities of the originals cannot be matched, the English versions do try to convey their vitality and main concerns. John Minahane's introduction explores the historical and cultural context.

"*I love the rivers of Ireland*" and some other poems attributed to the 3rd Earl of Desmond, Gerald FitzMaurice (Gearóid Iarla), are included also, as relevant to the theme.

Gofraidh's dates, incidentally, are: born about 1300; died 1387. This book is unique in recent times, as a sympathetic and respectful presentation of the work of one of the great professional poets who were such a distinctive feature of civilisation in Ireland.

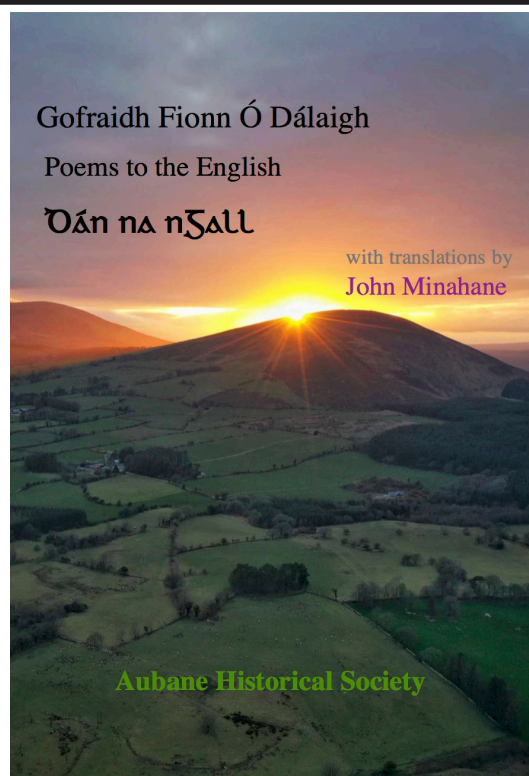
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Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh

Poems to the English

Ḑán na nḐall

with translations by
John Minahane



CONNOLLY continued

The Land Acts or rather the Purchase Clauses of the Land Acts upon which so many of our doctrinaires waste so much good ink in reckless denunciations are, despite their many drawbacks, an assertion of the right of the original community not only to establish new property relations to suit new ideas, but also to establish tribunals by means of which the working of these relations may be supervised and controlled.

Of course it is not the Land Nationalisation many of us would like to see, but it is nevertheless the germ out of which a socialisation of the land may ultimately develop. In Ireland the propaganda of Land Nationalisation was doomed to sterility in the past by virtue of the fact that the most earnestly radical and truly revolutionary people in the country, and hence the people most sincerely democratic, looked upon the Government as a foreign government and, therefore, upon the proposal to nationalise the land as a proposal to hand over the soil of their country to a foreign government and thus to increase the powers of that government over the economic as well as over the political life of the Irish.

In their phraseology, Land Nationalisation meant making the land the property of the government, and they would inquire:

“What government? The English Government! We have no other government here. Oh, no! It is too much power that government has already.”

Hence, not even Michael Davitt could popularise Land Nationalisation in Ireland in his day. The political groundwork was wanting, the necessary basis of a government directly under the control of the people concerned. With the Nationalist masses the same difficulty was encountered in the propagation of Socialism, until the uncompromising attitude of the Dublin Socialists on the national question made it clear that Socialism meant on the political side of Ireland an absolute revolutionary change which would make the people of Ireland complete rulers of their own country, as the economic change would thus logically make them owners of the country they would politically rule.

In other words, the Socialists of Ireland had to recognise that the world for the workers can only be realised by the people of each country seizing upon their own country and wresting it by one means or

another from the hands of the present rulers or proprietors and restoring it with all its powers and potentialities to the people who inhabit it and labour upon it.

With the advent of self-government in any shape in Ireland, the question of the ownership and administration of the soil can, and will, be approached in a new spirit.

One change I foresee, and hope for, exists already in embryo in the Labourers' Cottages Acts. Under these Acts, the Local Authority has the power to acquire land and build cottages for the labourers. These latter become the tenants of the Local Authority.

Now, I foresee that there may be a change in the spirit of future Land Acts, and that the local County Councils may be authorised to acquire the lands now being purchased by the farmer, and that the purchase price being paid by the present tenants may be changed into a rent payable to the democratically elected County Councils.

If this were done and a reduction in the yearly payment, coupled with a guarantee of fixity of tenancy and right to a selling interest in the farm (goodwill) given to the farmers in return for their surrender of their future rights of ownership, it is quite conceivable that such a change might be effected without any more opposition than would be offered to any other legislative change.

But the result of this change would be that the local County Councils would become the owners of the soil under the national government, that all questions affecting the administration of the soil would be as keenly under the supervision of the democracy immediately interested as questions affecting the occupancy of labourers' cottages are now, and that thus the gradual democratisation of the agriculture interests would become the vital question in rural politics, as the spread of the same political principle and method of administration would similarly affect industrial interests in urban and national politics.

The squabbles over the occupancy of a labourer's cottage which, at present, make such piquant reading in our Irish newspapers have a sordid side, but this that I have glanced at shows that they have a practical, illuminating side also.

When the principal deliberations of an Urban or County Council perforce turn on the question of the administration of the farms and other lands of the County, as the deliberations of Boards of Guardians now turn upon the occupancy of labourers' cottages, we will begin to have a vivid understanding of the Marxian phrase about “the government of men being replaced by the administration of things”.

The Land Acts dispossessed the landlords and thus ended the economic influence upon which their political power is based. Hence, outside of North-East Ulster, the landed aristocracy have ceased to be a power in politics. An agricultural labourer would have a greater chance to be elected than a landlord in the south-west or east of Ireland would have by his former tenants.

The genius of peasant proprietorship is essentially individualistic, and therefore exercises a disintegrating influence upon the political strength and influence of the peasant proprietor. The Land Acts, therefore, have, despite their faults, destroyed the slavery of the Irish tenantry, taken from agricultural questions their exclusive power over Irish affairs, and opened a way for the fundamental reorganisation of the social life of the community.

Then, two years ago, another Royal Commission investigating the question of Irish railways, reported in favour of Nationalisation. With the coming of self-government the almost unanimous expression of approval with which this was received in Ireland is likely to take concrete form in a legislative enactment.

And now another Commission reports, likewise, in favour of a State Medical Service. And this, also, is received with a chorus of approval.

Said I not that although the Irish have little regard for Socialist theories they have a strong bias in favour of action on lines that are in essence lines of Socialist activity?

Side by side with all this development of mere Government Socialism, those who know Ireland best know that there is also developing that strong and active spirit of industrial rebellion, that aggressive challenging of the rights and powers of the master class that is absolutely necessary to prevent such governmentalism degenerating into despotic paternalism.

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**LABOUR**

Comment

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James Connolly Socialism in Ireland

(The Harp, March, 1908 and Forward, 16 August 1913.)

I

We find that amongst a large section of the Irish in this country (the U.S.A.), and Irish Socialists here are included, it is tacitly assumed that Socialism cannot take root in Ireland, that the Home Rule press, the supposed conservative habits of thought of the people and, above all, the hostility of the clergy, make it impossible for Socialist thought to make headway amongst the Irish working class.

This assumption is, of course, not to be reasoned with—you cannot reason with a thing that ignores facts—but is only to be combatted with a quiet presentation of facts to prove that which is assumed as impossible of existence, is already existent, and not only existent, but lusty, aggressive and powerful. The influence of the Home Rule Press is in reality nil amongst the intelligent working-class of Ireland: the conservative habits of thought supposed to be characteristically Irish are in reality the reflex of agricultural conditions in Ireland, as elsewhere, and do not prevail where the Irish worker lives and suffers in the industrial environment of a city and the hostility of the clergy has worn off its own edge by too frequent and indiscriminate use.

The Irish Socialist Republican Party—founded in May 1896, in Dublin, and now represented by the Socialist Party of Ireland—has had to suffer under the boycott of the entire Irish press, with the single honourable exception of the *United Irishman*, in the early days of that journal (now rechristened, *Sinn Féin*).

Of the weekly newspapers was this more particularly true, and it is from the weekly Irish newspapers that the Irish

in America and the agricultural Irish, derived and derive their impressions of political life in Ireland. Yet, despite this attempt to destroy the influence of this working-class party and to circumscribe the scope of its activities, it has to its record and to its honour, the credit of having initiated and carried to a successful conclusion—unaided—the most striking protest against British tyranny in Ireland in this generation, viz., the Anti-Jubilee Protest of Dublin in 1897, of having been the moving spirit in rendering nugatory the visit of the late Queen Victoria on a recruiting mission to Dublin during the Boer War (a fact recorded by the French newspapers of the time, which spoke of the Socialist Republicans as the only centre from which the British authorities expected trouble) of having originated and popularised an anti-enlisting crusade at a time when even some well-intentioned ‘physical-force men’ favoured the idea of Irish youths entering the British army, “in

order to learn the use of the rifle”—one of the most disastrous ideas ever current in Ireland; of having emphasised the fact that there have ever been two currents in modern Irish history, viz., the revolutionary and the compromising or constitutional, and that their ideas can no more mix or their ideals be compounded, than may blend oil and water, and finally, of having conducted the first political campaigns of the Irish working-class on the basis of revolutionary Socialism.

Let those who tell us that the Irish will never respond to the call of Socialism remember that five years ago the candidate of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, in contests against the nominees of the Home Rule and Unionist Parties, polled a vote which represented a third of the total electorate; let them remember this, and then, thinking of the frantic joy of the Socialist Parties of America when they succeed in polling the necessary three or five per cent to get on the official ballot, let them stop trying to discourage the Irish in America by their foolish declarations that Socialism will never take root amongst the Irish.

Socialism in Ireland is now a force, influencing alike the political, economic and literary thought of the island.

II

It is interesting to observe how Ireland has been and is being made the scene of many radical experiments in legislation which, in any other country, would be only looked for as the result of a great Socialist upheaval.

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