

# Church & State

---

---

*A Pluralist Review Of Irish Culture*

---

---

## 'Burma' And Ireland

*Irish Catholic Surprises On Roger Casement*

**Dev And The Rock-Climber**

**'Kansas On Our Minds'**

**RTE's Hidden History: Ethnic Cleansing In Offaly?**

**Extra-Terrestrials?**

---

---

**No. 90**

**Autumn 2007**

***Price: €2.00/£1.50***

## 'Burma' And Ireland

The commentary on the Irish media in recent times consistency uses the word 'Burma' as the name of the country. The correct, post-Imperial name of the country is, of course, *Myanmar*. In the United Nations and Europe there is no problem with calling 'Burma' the name it calls itself. But in Britain, with Ireland following on, the imperial name prevails. It is, after all, familiar to all, despite these being allegedly post-Imperial times.

The prevailing Irish view of 'Burma' is, of course, an echo of the British view. Suddenly, in a very anti-monkish culture, there is an eruption of sympathy with the monks. And it is taken to be self-evident that the Government of 'Burma' is made up of corrupt soldiers whose purpose is to exercise dictatorial power because they are megalomaniacs, and to fill out their bank accounts with ill-gotten goods, and that the people of 'Burma' want to overthrow them and establish a democracy.

A BBC interviewer, seeking enlightenment from an expert, said: "*We left Burma in 1948, and we left it as a democracy.*" And she asked, why did it go wrong after that? (R 4, 26 Sept.).

We have not yet heard an RTE presenter says: *We conquered Burma in order to liberate its people from the welter of mediaevalism and clericalism which was oppressing the people, and now we must come to their assistance again.* Why not? Lord Dufferin, the conqueror of Burma, is not listed amongst our famous Irishmen. Why not? He was less alien than some of those who are. His mother wrote a popular patriotic song.

Cathal O'Shannon, the RTE programme-maker, who exposes the Republic as a haven for Nazi war-criminals, says he was in 'Burma' in a RAF uniform just after the Second World War. He has not said what he was doing there.

Dufferin's conquest of Burma in what is called *The Third Burmese War* (i.e. the third British invasion of Burma), is celebrated in a book called *The Pagoda War*, by A.T.Q. Stewart, an Ulster Unionist historian. Why was it necessary for Dufferin to conquer Burma? Silly question. Because it lay next to India, which was British, and Britain (as governors of its Empire have frankly explained) had a low tolerance of land borders. Any of its borders which were not policed by the Royal Navy made it uneasy. It could only alleviate this unease by exerting hegemony over the neighbouring territory. And hegemony led naturally to annexation—by military conquest if the natives did not offer themselves up peacefully.

Burma was making no trouble for Britain—except by existing alongside the Empire and not being part of it—when Britain decided to conquer it. The conquest lasted for fifty years, during which nothing was done by the conquerors to make it a democracy.

The British regime in Burma was ended by the Japanese invasion of the British Empire in 1941-42. Britain had made no arrangements to defend Burma against Japan, and had fostered no development to enable Burma to defend herself.

The Burmese had no good reason to defend their region against Japanese conquest. At worst, from their point of view, one conqueror was displacing another.

The British wars against Burma—which we are now claiming as part of our heritage?—were wanton acts of aggression against a harmless neighbour. The Japanese invasion was not directed against Burma, but against the British Empire. And it was not a wanton act of aggression against a peaceful neighbour.

Japan had been living peacefully for centuries, minding its own business and nobody else's, when American warships turned up in the 1850s and insisted that it should enter the capitalist world market. The Japanese leaders, observing how Britain was plundering China after making war on it ten years earlier to compel it to make itself a market for the British opium trade from India and Burma, saw that the choice for them was to become predators or be treated as prey. They chose to be predators, modernised their lethargic state into a competent bureaucracy with a strong military arm, set up capitalist production within the structures of the clan, began to make war on their neighbours, and made an alliance with the British Empire. They followed Britain—and Ireland too, of course: we must overcome the amnesia which made us forget for so long—into the first World War, and extended their conquests in China.

In 1921 the United States, wanting the Pacific for itself, gave Britain an ultimatum. Either Britain must end its alliance with Japan, or the US would enter a naval race with Britain and set about making itself the dominant Naval Power in the world. If Britain had rejected the ultimatum the outcome would possibly have been a British/American War within the following generation. One does not engage in a naval race of the kind threatened by America with the object of being friends. And many acute observers in the mid-1920s saw the next big war as being between Britain and its lost colony.

Britain submitted. It was heavily in debt to the US, and the great territorial gains it had made by defeating Germany and Turkey were already, in the early 1920s, causing it to feel over-extended. It refused to renew its alliance with Japan, which had secured its Asian Empire during the War.

Breaking the alliance with Japan on the insistence of the United States marked Japan down as a future enemy.

During the long political demoralisation and slump of the twenties and thirties Britain could take no effective measures to secure its Asian Empire with its own resources. Neither could it bring itself to negotiate a transfer of power to independence movements in its Asian possessions. It continued to hold all those peoples in the Empire, but made no serious attempt to secure the Empire against Japan after breaking off friendly relations with Japan.

Then, in the Summer of 1940—after declaring war on Germany, and abandoning the Continent to Nazism after losing the battle in France—it backed an American ultimatum to Japan which the Japanese could not submit to without wrecking the strong capitalist economy they had constructed since the first American ultimatum 90 years earlier.

The ultimatum made sense from the American viewpoint. When the United States decided that its "*manifest destiny*" to expand did not stop at California, but would run across the Pacific, it knew it must make war on Japan. Military men wrote freely about this, and with little or no moral humbug. General Homer Lee wrote about it around 1900, admitting that it was the spirited Japanese response to the American ultimatum of the 1850s that made war inevitable.

The seconding of the American ultimatum by Britain in the Summer of 1940 was an act of complete recklessness. It made a Japanese attack on the Empire a virtual certainty at a time

when Britain could do little to resist it.

Its only rational purpose was to enlist Britain as an American ally in a war with Japan in the hope that the US, once at war, would become Britain's ally in the war it had declared on Germany. And then, with victory, all losses would be recouped. The Burmese etc. were pawn sacrifices in a great game.

But Burma was never regained. And, as a matter of historical fact, Burmese independence began under Japanese occupation. Japan fostered a Burmese national development. When it became apparent that the Japanese would be defeated their Burmese collaborators changed the title of their movement, calling it Anti-Fascist.

Britain returned, along with Cathal O'Shannon, but their stay was brief. The Japanese assault had dispelled the mystique of the British Empire, and Burmese leaders, having had their moment of independence were not going to bow the head again—or the neck: Churchill demanded that Aung San should be tried for treason and war crimes. Instead of being tried as a war criminal, however, he was recognised as leader of independent Burma in 1948.

Ba Maw, in his memoirs published in the US after the War, acknowledges the inspiration of Sinn Fein on the Burmese freedom movement. But the social structure of Burma bore little resemblance to the social structure of Ireland out of which Sinn Fein sprang. The work of social destruction which England did on Ireland over many centuries had not been done in Burma. England had destroyed the Irish clans by a variety of methods, and the people had re-made themselves on new lines into an adequately individualised, or atomised, national body capable of operating a Government on the basis of party-political (as distinct from communal) divisions.

That had not happened in 'Burma'. There were in a sense no Burmese. There were Irish of two different kinds, but there was a welter of different kinds of Burmese. That would have been no problem if the Burmese had been let carry on being what they were before the British (and let us not forget the Irish) were overcome by an irresistible urge to make them into something else—something better of course—something more like Us, who cannot bear that people unlike Us should survive anywhere in the world.

Capitalist development, in national units, through party-political conflict, in a social medium of atomised individuals, on issues which transcend all traditional modes of life, in the political form that we call *democracy*, was not something that could have happened in Burma in 1948. The brief Japanese occupation gave the stratum of intelligentsia a strong national boost. The rest of it, if it was necessary that it should exist, required to be constructed. It could not be constructed through democratic conflict—and in the present conception of things democracy is a form of conflict—because the structures into which the state divided for the purpose of conflict were not the ideological parties that can exist in capitalist economies in cohesive national states.

That Britain left Burma a democracy in 1948 is perhaps the greatest lie that has been told on the media this year.

"It is in the nature of imperialism that citizens of the imperial power are always among the last to know—or care—about circumstances in the colonies"

*Bertrand Russell*

## Contents

	Page
'Burma' And Ireland Editorial	2
Justin Wintle On 'Burma' (Report)	4
Darwin's Eugenics Joe Keenan (Report)	4
Casement Controversies And <i>The Irish Catholic</i> Tim O'Sullivan	4
Hezbollah David Morrison (Report)	6
<i>Pax Americana</i> (quotation)	6
Corporate Kansas Stephen Richards	7
Religious Freedom In Iraq Manus O'Riordan (report)	9
Dev, A Cavehill Rock-climber, And Religion In The USSR Manus O'Riordan	10
Ethnic Cleansing In The Midlands? Pat Muldowney	15
Vox Pat: National Flag; Immigrants; The Pope; Education; Letterkenny Hindus; Quakers; Cork Unitarians; Nature; Former Convent; Waterford Seminary ; St. Patrick's Day; Six Catholic Nuns; Clare Crematorium; Old Glenties Catholic	11, 28
A Journey Around Tom Dunne Brendan Clifford (Part 2)	19
Tom Barry And Sectarian Degradation Manus O'Riordan	20
Devolution Of Justice Powers In Northern Ireland Angela Clifford	21
Edward Carson &... The Ascendancy (Report Of Martin Mansergh Talk)	22
Wee Joe Devlin James Connolly	16
Mid-Cork Election Ballad D.D. Sheehan	26
Extra-Terrestrials? Gwydion M. Williams	27

The web addresses for the Church & State and associated sites are as follows:—

**Church & State:**

<http://www.watholbooks.org/magazines/cands/index.php>

**The Heresiarch:**

<http://heresiarch.org>

**Athol Books:**

<http://www.atholbooks.org>

**Aubane Historical Society**

<http://aubane.org>

There is a great deal of interesting reading on each and all of them. Go surf and see!

## Church & State

**Editor: Pat Maloney**

### SUBSCRIPTIONS

Euro 10 (Sterling £7.50) for 4 issues from

**P. Maloney,  
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork City.**

All Correspondence should be sent to this address.

## Report

Justin Wintle had what was described as an "analysis" of Burmese history in the *Mail On Sunday*, 13th October 2007

### "Britain's part in creating the Burmese regime"

"...It was Aung San who won Burma independence from the British..."

Britain colonised Burma in a series of wars between 1824 and 1885.

While the Buddhist Burmans resented British occupation, some minorities welcomed the colonisers.

The Karens, Kachins and Karennis especially were amenable to Christianity.

The British relied on such converts to help them administer Burma.

Well before the Second World War broke out, there was a seething anti-British movement in Burma's major towns and cities.

The Japanese invaded in 1942.

The British returned, driving out the Japanese in 1945. But the British recognised that, in the long term, Burma was ungovernable, and offered independence.

It was against this background that Aung San emerged.

During the war, he collaborated with the Japanese, who duped him into thinking they would grant Burma independence.

Japan had no such intention.

But they did allow Aung San to create a puppet army.

And when the tide of war changed, he swapped sides.

His army was put at the disposal of the British.

Some British wanted Aung San hanged as a traitor.

But he managed to impress first the conquering Field Marshall Slim, then Louis Mountbatten.

Labour Prime Minister Clement Attlee too succumbed to Aung San. Burma's independence was set for January 4, 1948, and Aung San was to be its first native prime minister.

Only it never happened.

Other Burman politicians resented his success, and a hitsquad gunned down Aung San and half his "cabinet-in-waiting" as they met in Government House.

So Aung San never did become prime minister. Instead, he became a national legend. The bumbling U Nu became prime minister.

With British and American support, strongman General Ne Win, made hay.

When, in 1962, he staged a coup d'état, London and Washington nodded approval."

## Comment: What Wintle Did Not Say

Fergal Keane, the BBC journalist, produced a television programme based on released British archive material on the killing of the Burmese leader, Aung Sang and half his Cabinet. What he revealed was that the British security services arranged the killing. Whether they were acting at the behest of the Labour Government was unclear. However, the Security Services had close connections with Conservative politicians, including Winston Churchill.

The object of the assassination was precisely to weaken the newly-independent country with the object of breaking it up. Apart from wiping out the leaders, Britain has also been stimulating various tribes to demand independence.

It might be added that Myanmar is of strategic importance. Not only has it oil, and gas (with a pipeline belonging to the US company, Chevron), it also borders on China. If it fell to Western control, that would contribute to an encirclement.

## Report

Joe Keenan submitted the following letter to the *Times Literary Supplement*

### Darwin's Eugenics

Ms Richardson states in her review of George Levine's 'Darwin Loves You' (TLS, July 27, 2007) that "*It is too easy to see Darwin as anti-feminist*". Her subsequent assertion of others' reworking of Darwinism does nothing to clear Darwin of the charge, not just of being anti-feminist but of being anti-women. This is his view as he stated it in Chapter 19 of the 'Descent of Man'.

"The chief distinction in the intellectual power of the two sexes is shewn by man's attaining to a higher eminence, in whatever he takes up, than can woman, whether requiring deep thought, reason or imagination, or merely the use of the senses and hands. If two lists were made of the most eminent men and women in poetry, painting, sculpture, music (inclusive both of composition and performance), history, science, and philosophy, with half-a-dozen names under each subject, the two lists would not bear comparison. We may also infer, from the law of the deviation from averages, so well illustrated by Mr. Galton, in his work on Hereditary Genius, that if men are capable of a decided pre-eminence over women in many subjects, the average of mental power in man must be above that of woman..."

Darwin's approval of Galton in that passage extends to Galton's work on eugenics. Ms Richardson's selective quotation from Chapter 5 of the 'Descent of Man' has to be put in context and drawn out to give the full flavour of Darwin's views on the science of breeding:

"This subject has been ably discussed by Mr. W.R. Greg, and previously by Mr. Wallace and Mr. Galton. Most of my remarks are taken from these three authors. With savages, the weak in body or mind are soon eliminated; and those that survive commonly exhibit a vigorous state of health. We civilised men, on the other hand, do our utmost to check the process of elimination: we build asylums for the imbecile, the maimed, and the sick; we institute poor-laws; and our medical men exert their utmost skill to save the life of every one to the last moment. There is reason to believe that vaccination has preserved thousands, who from a weak constitution would formerly have succumbed to small-pox. Thus the weak members of civilised societies propagate their kind. No one who has attended to the breeding of domestic animals will doubt that this must be highly injurious to the race of man. It is surprising how soon a want of care, or care wrongly directed, leads to the degeneration of a domestic race; but excepting in the case of man himself, hardly any one is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed..."

"The aid which we feel impelled to

give to the helpless is mainly an incidental result of the instinct of sympathy, which was originally acquired as part of the social instincts, but subsequently rendered, in the manner previously indicated, more tender and more widely diffused. Nor could we check our sympathy, even at the urging of hard reason, without deterioration in the noblest part of our nature. The surgeon may harden himself whilst performing an operation, for he knows that he is acting for the good of his patient; but if we were intentionally to neglect the weak and helpless, it could only be for a contingent benefit, with an overwhelming present evil. We must therefore bear the undoubtedly bad effects of the weak surviving and propagating their kind; but there appears to be at least one check in steady action, namely that the weaker and inferior members of society do not marry so freely as the sound; and this check might be indefinitely increased by the weak in body or mind refraining from marriage, though this is more to be hoped for than expected..."

I think that gives rather a different, and more accurate, picture of Darwin's real views as stated by himself than the somewhat misleading account presented in Ms. Richardson's review of Mr. Levine's book. Darwin was not opposed in principle to eugenics. In fact, in principle, he was in favour of it. He just did not think political society was ready for quite so much good science. \*

Tim O'Sullivan

## Casement Controversies And The Irish Catholic

It is not usual that I find myself taken aback and somewhat shocked by the sexual content I read in a newspaper. It is even less usual when the newspaper in question happens to be *The Irish Catholic*. This is what happened, nevertheless, in the middle of August last when I casually and innocently looked through the edition of that paper dated August 9.

The cause of my concern was an article by Mary Kenny which reflected on the *Foyle Pride Festival*, a public celebration of homosexual identity, then about to take place in Derry, with the heading *Not Raining On Gay Parade..* She accepted that human sexuality was manifested in diverse ways. She expressed the view that defining people in terms of their sexuality was limiting and even narrow-minded. It missed the big picture which was that each human being was a manifestation of a greater and infinite reality. So far it was hard to object to what she wrote.

Then as an example to back up her thinking she brought in the case of Roger Casement. Here is how she continued:

"Take, for example, Roger Casement. This has been a controversial area, but all forensic historians are now agreed that the Casement diaries expressed an essential truth about the man. And the essential truth was that Casement was aroused by boys of 12 or 13. He couldn't help it. That was his nature. Today, Casement would be anathemised as a paedophile and would undoubtedly end up in jail. (So would Oscar Wilde, incidentally, since he was involved with young teenage boys.)

"Yet Casement was a great man. Aside from his brave and principled stand on Ireland, he was outstandingly heroic in exposing the horrors of the rubber trade in the Belgian Congo and South America. It would be mean and narrow to define Roger Casement by his sexual predisposition, rather than as a whole person.

"And while I don't want to rain on anyone's parade, I feel similarly about Gay and Lesbian week in Derry. Human beings are more than the sum of their sexual orientation: they have deeper, wider and more meaningful identities—and souls. "

I decided to express my disquiet in the form of a letter to the editor of the newspaper. The title I gave my missive was *"Mary Kenny on Roger Casement"*. It was sent by email on 13th August. Here it is in full:

"In her article "not raining on gay parade.." (Aug 9) Mary Kenny, in reaction to the Foyle Pride Festival, provides valuable commentary on how defining people in terms of their sexual inclinations and preferences can be limiting. She argues that each human being is something much greater and vaster than their unique individual sexuality.

"However, the example she used to put flesh and bone on her arguments was hopelessly ill chosen; Roger Casement, diplomat and humanitarian activist in Africa and South America and executed 1916 rebel. She tells us "all forensic historians are now agreed" that he was sexually interested in "boys of 12 or 13" and that "Today, Casement ....would undoubtedly end up in jail".

"The claim about the agreement of "all forensic historians", on first reading looks impressive, as it calls forth an image of an international body of professional specialists all nodding their heads in unanimity. It looks impressive until you realise that no such academic discipline as "forensic history" exists and there is no recognised specialist profession of "forensic historian".

"Regarding the disputed Casement diaries there are historians who claim them to be forged as well as those who claim them to be fully genuine. The relationship of the diaries to the world of forensic science, that is to the technical examination and analysis of evidence to a standard worthy of presentation before a court has been never more than one at arms length. The relationship has been tentative, coy and highly restrained.

"Despite puffed up media stories (they average about one per decade) where somebody takes a look and reports the disputed material appears genuine, no purported "forensic" examination met the acid test of the genuine article, which is an examination carried out and presented up to a standard appropriate for submission before a court. These examinations never fail to have a touch of the comic and bizarre. For example a report on the diaries in 2002 ruled out the use of up to date high-tech methods to detect forgery as they would be "destructive" to the paper and ink. Yet, one of these techniques has been in use in a scientific investigation on the Book of Kells for the past two years!

"Those who assert the diaries genuine, in not possessing the mettle to push for a fully fledged examination, however unconsciously, reveal a lack of confidence in their position.

"Casement can not, as Mary Kenny claims, be regarded a "great man" while at the same time the diary material is held to be genuine. In 1911, he acted for the Crown as a consular diplomat and led an investigation into the cruel and grotesque atrocities against the native population in the Putumayo region of Peru. He was under the watchful eye of ruthless enemies while working to fulfil this vital humanitarian mission. If he behaved then as the diaries allege and engaged in what were then illegal and criminal acts with males of various ages, often more than once per day, he would have gravely jeopardised his mission's chances of success. Where is the

## Roger Casement Foundation 11th ANNUAL CASEMENT SYMPOSIUM 'The Congo'

The poster features a central illustration of a man in silhouette, holding a scythe, standing over a pile of skulls. In the background, other figures are shown working in a field. The text on the poster provides the date, time, and location of the event, along with a list of speakers and contact information.

OCT 27th 2007  
Sat 11am - 5pm

BUSWELLS HOTEL  
MOLESWORTH STREET

PAUL CULLEN      DR. JEAN PIERRE EYANGA  
FIDÉLE MUTWARASIBO      SEOSAMH Ó CEALLAIGH  
PADRAIG Ó CUANACHÁIN      TIM O SULLIVAN

CONVERSATION FILM & SONG ALL WELCOME FREE ADMISSION  
Roger Casement Foundation 627 NORTH CIRCULAR ROAD Dublin 3  
(01) 8363133 rdctan@eircom.net

great man in such irresponsible and ludicrous behaviour? If Casement was such an irresponsible clown, as suggested, then he was no "great man", no idealistic hero.

"The notion Casement was homosexual lacks the support of conclusive evidence. It arises out of the disputed diary material and a small bit of other matter much of which is highly dubious.

"After a life greatly devoted to others and marred by ill health the real Roger Casement converted to Catholicism before he was executed. Surely, he deserves from a Catholic newspaper the respect which informed comment entails?"

As well as this formal letter above I also wrote to the Editor personally telling him about the state of play as regards how much had really been established as to what lay behind the authorship of the disputed material contained in the so called black diaries. I explained that academic opinion was divided and that there was much evidence the diaries had been the subject of systematic forged interpolation. Also I mentioned the late Peter Singleton-Gates as having a crucial influence on the evolution of public opinion on the matter and how Gates had been "outed" in the 1990s as a Fleet Street "spook".

At the same time I entered into an email dialogue with Mary Kenny about what she had written. It became apparent she was not aware of developments in the Diaries controversy of relatively recent vintage such as the work of Angus Mitchell. Mitchell has done very extensive research on Casement and he considers the Diaries forged. She had read Roger Sawyer's book on Casement in South America in 1910 and had also been influenced by numerous conversations where current fashionable belief on the subject was taken for granted. One can surmise that living in England, as she does, puts her in a position where she is exposed to a narrower range of opinion on the subject than if she lived permanently on this side of the Irish Sea.

After discovering that current "expert" opinion on the question of the Diaries was much more divided than she had realised she was in favour of my long letter being published by the paper and graciously volunteered to contact the Editor to advise him to do so. In the event the letter did not appear. I can sympathise with the Editor's position. His brief is to oversee a religious publication not one devoted to teasing out secular historical questions.

Another letter from me was printed in the edition of 30th August which set out my basic objection to the article. Above it appeared a letter with an older and more impassioned nuance:

*"Disgusted at Remarks about Casement*

For years those who continue their occupation and oppression of this country have been attempting to attack the moral characters of our dead heroes, branding the likes of Pádraig Pearse as homosexual.

"Irish martyrs, such as those who died in 1916, were always renowned for their strong, unwavering faith and high moral standards.

"I was shocked and disgusted to see Mary Kenny's article which claimed that Roger Casement was a paedophile. She has no proof of such, and were Casement alive today she would no doubt be sued for slander. It appals me to think that this man gave his life in an effort to give the Irish liberty, and that someone who claims to be an Irish Catholic should have the audacity to say such foul and ungrounded things about his character, now that he is no longer here to refute them. Shame on you. **Íde Nic Mhathúna**"

"In her article "not raining on gay parade" (Aug 9) Mary Kenny, in reaction to the Foyle Pride Festival, commented how defining people in terms of their sexual inclinations and preferences can be limiting. She argued each human being is something much greater and vaster than their unique individual sexuality.

"However, the example she chose to put flesh and bone on her views was questionably chosen; Roger Casement, diplomat and humanitarian activist in Africa and South America and executed 1916 rebel. She claimed the sexual diary material attributed to him was now unanimously accepted as genuine. This is not so. Professional historians are divided as to whether forgery could have occurred.

"*"Roger Casement in Irish and World History"* was published in hardback in 2005. Various aspects of the life of the man are discussed by different writers and academics. Widely differing views on the question of the controversial diaries are expressed. **Tim O'Sullivan**"

## Report

The following letter by David Morrison failed to find publication in the *Irish Times*

### **Hezbollah:** *A Lebanese Terror Group?*

Jim Cusack ('US calls on Irish to ban terror group', September 23) follows the US State Department in branding Hezbollah "*a Lebanese terror group*". It is true that Hezbollah is on the current US "List of Designated Terrorist Organisations". But it is not on the equivalent EU list, nor is it a banned organisation in Ireland—so there are no grounds for refusing a Hezbollah representative entry into Ireland.

Hezbollah is a Shiite political organisation which currently has 14 MPs in the Lebanese Parliament (and would have considerably more if the Shiite community were represented fairly within the Lebanese political system). Until last November it had two Ministers in the Lebanese Government under Prime Minister Siniora, the programme of which recognised the contribution of Hezbollah's military wing in combating Israeli aggression.

In a report published on 25 July, the UK House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee described Hezbollah as "*undeniably an important element in Lebanon's politics*" and recommended that the British Government reverse its policy of refusing to talk to it. In arguing for this reversal, the report said:

"... we asked a range of Lebanese politicians whether the British Government should engage directly with the group. No one, including bitter opponents of Hezbollah, told us that the current [British] Government approach was the correct one."

When Hezbollah's Lebanese opponents are arguing for engagement with it, should we in Ireland be adopting a policy of boycott? I think not.

"The United States must cultivate a mental view toward world settlement after this war which will enable us to impose our own terms, amounting perhaps to a *pax-americana*."

—U.S. Department of State, Source: Minutes S-3 of the Security Subcommittee, Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy, 6 May, 1942, Notter File, Box 77, Record Group 59, Records of the Department of State, National Archives, DC.

## Stephen Richards

Part One of Review of *What's the matter with Kansas?* by Thomas Frank.  
(Owl Books 2004 and 2005)

### Corporate Kansas

The title for this book comes from an 1896 article by William Allen White, a distinguished journalist from Emporia, Kansas. The article possibly swung the Presidential election of that year in favour of the Republican, McKinley. That year was the closest that the Nebraskan, William Jennings Bryan, Christian "fundamentalist" and socialist icon, came to the White House. How different things might have been if Bryan had won! More about Bryan later on, I hope. Frank's basic thesis is that Kansas over the last forty or fifty years has been standing on its collective head. The question he sets out to answer is why its people consistently vote against their self-evident economic interests, and most notably in the Presidential elections of 2000 and 2004. Bush is portrayed as the new McKinley, dominating the states which used to look to Bryan. The solving of this conundrum, Frank believes, will go some way to explaining what has been happening in the United States as a whole since the state is an anticipator of national trends in undiluted form, so it's a worthwhile case study.

I suppose I hadn't thought much about Kansas until I read Frank. If I had been asked what I knew about it I would have replied with a series of unconnected images: cattle, wheat, gunslingers, the Great Plains, an unflattering reference in a monologue by John Cleese, Woody Guthrie, The Wizard of Oz, the confusing business about Kansas City not quite being in Kansas, Bob Dole (the veteran Senator and onetime Republican contender for the White House), and the Kansas City Prophets. I didn't know much about the Prophets except for a couple of names. But I see they have over a hundred thousand entries on the Web, and some of my readers might find it interesting rather than profitable to dip into these. They achieved an entrée into the more mainstream evangelical world over twenty years ago through their temporary endorsement by the late John Wimber, an endorsement which the latter, a sincere if deluded man, came to regret bitterly.

According to Frank, Kansas is also the home of Pizza Hut, and has pioneered other national trends. Around 1870 the Kansas radicals came up with crazy ideas like women's suffrage. Their modern counterparts have explored the merits of denying the vote to women. There seems to be one Kansas township where it's

illegal for citizens not to have firearms in the home. Some of Frank's other examples are curious: I didn't think that opponents of water fluoridation were all crackpots; and as for the inhabitants of the state's most scenic region fighting "*with fanatical determination to prevent a national park from opening up in their neighbourhood*", isn't that just what most of the people of South Down seem to be doing with regard to the proposed National Park in the Mourne? So the Kansans may be no crazier than us.

I had meant to say before now that this is a really great book. That's the most important thing I can say about it. Everything else I say should be read in that context. Imagine if you like a writer with the wit and punchy flair of a Mark Steyn but without the slickness. Underneath Frank's verbal sparkle there is a sort of righteous anger brewing, a frustration with the blind alley of what passes for populist politics in present day Kansas, and a refusal to patronize the militants of the so-called conservative revolution. As he argues, in its own way it isn't a conservative revolution at all but a radical movement which has enjoyed electoral success at the same level as the Populist movement of the late 19th century. The only difference is that the people are being led away from the promised land. In those areas where I would disagree with Frank he has forced me to re-examine the basis for my disagreement. As for Jim Wallis's book, *God's Politics*, which I recently reviewed for *Church & State*, all I can say is that I recently came across a woman reading it in a concert queue, and courteously suggested she chuck it. Wallis covers much of the same ground but refuses to venture upon the really dangerous places. Specifically he pulls his punches when dealing with the gods of corporate America. Where Wallis is earnest and measured, Frank is deadly serious and lets fly.

The main problem with this book is that it's so quotable. The temptation is to quote whole reams of it and I think I'll succumb to that temptation. First of all the stirring climax of the prolegomenon:

"From the air-conditioned heights of a suburban office complex this may look like a new age of reason, with the Web sites singing each to each, with a mall down the way that every week has subtly anticipated our subtly

shifting tastes, with a global economy whose rich rewards just keep flowing, and with a long parade of rust-free Infinitis purring down the streets of beautifully manicured planned communities. But on closer inspection the country seems more like a panorama of madness and delusion worthy of Hieronymous Bosch: of sturdy blue-collar patriots reciting the Pledge while they strangle their own life chances; of small farmers proudly voting themselves off the land; of devoted family men carefully seeing to it that their children will never be able to afford college or proper health care; of working-class guys in midwestern cities cheering as they deliver up a landslide for a candidate whose policies will end their way of life, will transform their region into a 'rust belt', will strike people like them blows from which they will never recover."

I suppose I must have had a picture of America as a sort of vast Switzerland, a society full of self-governing semi-independent communities going about their business comparatively unmolested by the federal authorities, a land where a hundred flowers could bloom. While I wouldn't want to forsake that comfortable vision altogether, I have to say that I'd failed to realize the extent to which the people of the "*flyover states*" are dominated by corporate imperatives which have destroyed their culture, their identities, their whole way of life. Conservatives like me have to recognize that this is a form of social engineering different only in degree from what Stalin was attempting with his forced collectivisation policy: the only difference is that this time it's being done by the unbridled forces of capitalism. I should add that in America, and in Kansas in particular, the Kulaks have been conspiring in their own destruction.

Frank, himself a native of the Mission Hills suburb of Kansas City explains what has happened to the beef industry based, now largely based in Garden City in the far west of the state:

"Beginning in the sixties the big thinkers of the meat biz figured out ways to routinize and de-skill their operations from beginning to end. Not only would this allow them to undercut the skilled, unionized butchers who were then employed by grocery stores, but it would also let them move their plants to the remotest part of the Great Plains, where they could ditch their unionized big-city workers and save on rent. By the early nineties this strategy had put the century-old stockyards in Chicago and Kansas City out of business altogether. As with every other profit-maximizing entity,



the industry's ultimate preference would probably be to have done with this expensive country once and for all and relocate operations to the third world.....sadly for the packers, they are prevented from achieving that dream by various food regulations. So instead they bring the workers here, employing waves of immigrants from Southeast Asia, Mexico, and points south.

"On the High Plains the packers are just about the only game in town. And they use their power accordingly. They threaten to close down a plant if they don't get their way on some issue or other. They play towns off against one another the way sports franchises do. Who will give the packers the biggest tax abatement? Who will vote the fattest bond issue? Who will let them pollute the most?"

".....The area around Garden City is a showcase of industrialized agriculture: vast farms raise nothing but feedcorn despite the semiarid climate; gigantic rolling irrigation devices pump water from a subterranean aquifer and make this otherwise unthinkable crop possible; feedlots the size of cities transform the corn into cowflesh; and the windowless concrete slaughterhouses squat silently on the outskirts of town, harvesting the final product. Take a drive through the countryside here and you will see no trees, no picturesque old windmills or bridges or farm buildings, and almost no people. When the aquifer dries up as it someday will—its millions of years of collected rainwater spent in just a few decades—you will see even less here.

"One thing you do see these days are the trailer-park cities, dilapidated and unpaved and rubbish-strewn, that house a large part of Garden City's workforce. Confronted with some of the most advanced union-avoidance strategies ever conceived by the mind of business man, these people receive mediocre wages for doing what is statistically the most dangerous work in industrial America. Thanks to the rapid turnover at the slaughterhouses few of them receive health or retirement benefits. The 'social costs' of supporting them—education, health care, law enforcement—are 'externalized', as the scholarly types put it, pushed off onto the towns themselves, or onto church groups and welfare agencies, or onto the countries from which the workers come."

And as for Wichita in the southern part of the state, a city just a bit smaller than Belfast, it has been sent crashing down by a massive corporate shrug of the shoulders on the part of Boeing. After several years away Frank came back to

take a look:

"There were so many closed shops in Wichita when I visited in 2003 that you could drive for blocks without ever leaving their empty parking lots, running parallel to the city streets past the shut-down sporting goods stores and farm implement stores. Once I simply stopped my car for several minutes in the middle of what my map claimed to be a busy Wichita thoroughfare; there was nobody around. Along Douglas Avenue the city's main drag, there used to be a famous sign that arched over the throngs, crowing 'Watch Wichita Win'; these days the street is lined with bronze statues of average people, apparently so it doesn't look quite so eerily empty."

We've all seen those job advertisements that prophesy "The successful candidate will...." This is the way that Boeing went about making its decision on where to base construction of its 7E7 airliner. A competitive tendering system was set up. The winning town was to answer to Boeing's shopping list:

"The competing states responded by generating statements of high romantic love for Boeing and obsequious promises of eternal meekness. People in the Puget Sound [Washington State] area remembered how Boeing had once criticized the state for having high taxes and workers' comp costs; now they declared themselves ready to change all that, with attractive tax incentives and a promise to make the state's troublesome environmental bureau into 'a more business-friendly' outfit.

"Plain-spoken Kansas tried to compete in its direct red-state way by heaping money at Boeing's feet."

Setting aside the desperate problems they were already having in trying to balance the state budget, the legislature voted a huge bond issue for Boeing, to be raised by state taxes. This was a form of compulsory state capitalism: Boeing was to repay the capital, but the people of the state had to foot the bill for the interest. And this peculiar arrangement was put in place purely to attempt to safeguard the jobs of the existing Kansans employed in the Wichita plant. They managed to safeguard some of the jobs, for a few years, until Boeing decided that Wichita might not be central to its corporate vision after all. I remember some years ago Eamonn McCann mocking those who, as he thought, imagined that the bosses in Monsanto were having sleepless nights as they pondered the damage that might be done to the social fabric of the city on the banks of the Foyle by the company's departure. It's clear from Frank that the welfare of the American heartland means

nothing to the CEOs, so they're even less concerned, if that were possible, about communities elsewhere.

Some of Frank's best writing details the dereliction and general air of hopelessness in what now passes for small-town Kansas, a place which in his youthful imagination he had peopled "with all sorts of righteous Jeffersonian yeomen". He imagined "tidy prosperous shops and quiet, rustic, Hemingway types, stoically enduring their round of toil on the banks of the romantic Arkansas so that all of the undeserving city people could freeload through life". After taking us through the downtown squalor of Emporia, William Allen White's home town, he writes:

"This kind of blight can't be easily blamed on the usual suspects like government or counterculture or high hat urban policy. The villain that did this to my home state wasn't the Supreme Court or Lyndon Johnson, showering dollars on the poor or putting criminals back on the streets. The culprit is the conservatives' beloved free-market capitalism, a system that, at its most unrestrained, has little use for small-town merchants or the agricultural system that supported the small towns in the first place. Deregulated capitalism is what has allowed Wal-Mart to crush local businesses across Kansas and, even more important, what has driven agriculture, the state's *raison d'etre*, to a state of near collapse."

For Wal-Mart substitute Tesco, less red in tooth and claw maybe, but still one manifestation of the Great Satan. I've seen this happen in my adopted home town of Ballymoney, where Tesco at one end and Super Valu (why is it considered attractive to misspell everything?) at the other combine to suck the retail life out of the rest of the town. The problem with Tesco is that, not content with just selling groceries, it aims through its bulk ordering and loss leader systems to undercut clothes shops, camera shops, kitchen shops, petrol stations, and every other kind of shop you can think of, so that ultimately we'll be left with no choice but the Tesco big tent. This is the trend that G.K. Chesterton saw coming and campaigned against in his *Outline of Sanity*. I suppose it's one of the many Chestertonian paradoxes, how the multi-nationals are the enemy of business, just as agribusiness is the enemy of farming.

It's interesting to note the instinctive aversion of those in government to the *Small Is Beautiful* principle. When Gordon Brown wants to cosy up to business he invites Digby Jones the Chairman of the Confederation of British Industry into his inner counsels. In



Northern Ireland Brian Faulkner's achievement as Minister of Development in the 1960s was to induce companies like British Enkalon, Dupont, Monsanto, Hoechst, Michelin and so on to set up substantial plants. Not all of these withered but many did; and when they had gone the smaller family-owned textile businesses became visible again, until most of them eventually went under, faced with far eastern competition that couldn't humanly be competed with.

Incidentally, I read somewhere lately that in West Virginia, the ultimate blue collar state, Wal-Mart is the biggest employer, with its low-grade, low-paid jobs with no prospects. Once upon a time the labour force was dominated by the miners and the mill workers. I would strongly recommend to anybody who hasn't seen it the 1987 film *Matewan*, directed by John Sayle, which didn't go on general release in Europe, and deals with a savage confrontation between miners and mine owners in the 1920s.

Most of Frank's time is taken up with working out how and why Kansas has enlisted on the conservative side in the "culture wars" of modern America. It had always been a Republican state, from the days of the "free-soil settlers" who were encouraged to go out west to outflank the "slave states" like Missouri. Of course the Republicans were the socially progressive party in those days. But it was Republicanism with edge and attitude.

Kansas was the home of the Populist movement of the 1890s, "the first of the great American leftist movements". Small farmers all across the state who were on the brink of ruin rose up in fury to sweep the Republican establishment out of office. The fury has endured but has taken a different form:

"Today the two myths are one. Kansas may be the land of averageness, but it is a freaky, militant, outraged averageness. Kansas today is a burned-over district of conservatism where the backlash propaganda has woven itself into the fabric of everyday life.

"Today's Kansas has got the hell-raising farmers and the class-conscious workers all right, but when they come sweeping through the state legislature, clearing out the old guard, what they are demanding is more power for Wall Street, more privatization, and the end of Progressive Era reforms like the Estate Tax."

The moderate Republican ruling bloc in the state legislature, typified by men like Bob Dole, which all through the 1980s had been "passing legislation like a well-oiled machine" found itself on the defensive from 1991 onwards with the rise of the highly-motivated, agenda-

driven fundamentalist protest movement. Confusingly Frank calls these people the "cons" (they seem to be anything but conservative) as contrasted with the corporate country club culture of the privileged "mods". The occasion for this transformation of the political landscape was the launch of Operation Rescue, an anti-abortion protest, which brought Wichita to a standstill during the summer of 1991.

"The journalists were right about the coming 'voters' revolt'; what they got wrong was the identity of the revolutionaries. This was no moderate affair. The ones who were actually poised to take back control of the system were the anti-abortion protesters. Theirs was a grass roots movement of the most genuine kind, born in protest, convinced of its righteousness, telling and retelling its stories of persecution at the hands of the cops, the judges, the state, and the comfortable classes. They had no newspaper of their own—the Eagle, for its part, ran story after story in which activists warned against the maniacal ambitions of the Bible-thumpers—but one of them did set up a 'Godarchy hotline', a telephone number you could call to hear recorded suggestions for action."

In Kansas the backlash against the exploiting classes takes the form of digging down in search of authentic, usually Christian, American values, as set out in songs like Merle Haggard's (presumably) tongue in cheek *Okie from Muskogee*, which was an anthem of Middle America in the 1970s. Of course every so often Hollywood deigns to take notice of the rednecks, in films such as *Sweet Home Alabama*, which trots out every stereotype in the book, and the unspeakably dire *Elizabethtown*; and the rednecks are often happy to fall in with the Hollywood clichés. The revolutionaries that Frank writes about however, even if they do seem to parody themselves at times, reject Hollywood and all her works. Frank indeed makes the pertinent point that the coarsening in popular culture which has been seen in recent times isn't a product of social engineering by liberals, but is the outcome of consumer capitalism doing what it knows best. This failure of analysis by the cons leaves them fulminating impotently on the wings:

"In a media world where what people shout overshadows what they actually do, the backlash sometimes appears to be the only dissenter out there, the only movement that has a place for the uncool and the funny-looking and the pious, for all the stock buffoons that our mainstream culture glorifies in lampooning. In this sense

the backlash is becoming a perpetual alter-ego to the culture industry, a feature of American life as permanent and strange as Hollywood itself."

The fury of Frank's cons in tearing down the fortresses of the mods has been a blessing in disguise for the latter, argues Frank. The focus has been on nebulous concepts such as family values, or else on *Roe v. Wade*, so the cons are bogged down in the trenches using up all their energies in battles they are never going to win, while the corporate big shots continue to get their way unchallenged. For this state of affairs Frank blames the Clinton Democrats as well. The point is that those who have an interest in holding the robber barons to account have been deflected from their duty, or have cynically rewritten their manifestoes to appear "business-friendly" and get elected.

I would like to say something more in the next issue about the mistakes of the Christian "Right" in America, with a few glances closer to home.

## Report

The following letter by Manus O'Riordan was published by the Irish Examiner on June 8

### Religious Freedom In Iraq

I refer to the murder on Sunday June 3 of the Irish-trained Iraqi priest Fr. Ganni and three of his deacons, after he had celebrated Mass in his native city of Mosul. Your report (Irish Examiner, June 5) records: "President McAleese, who met Fr. Ganni at Lough Derg, recalled a long conversation with the priest, in which he told her of the growing religious freedom for Christians in Iraq."

For fear that readers might conclude that this had been a recent conversation, it is important to quote the President's exact words, as recorded on RTE News on June 4:

"I remember the long conversation we had with him—it was before the Americans and the British invaded Iraq—and he telling me of the time that Christians were enjoying at that particular era. Actually, it was one of the best in their history because, ironically, under Saddam Hussein they were enjoying considerable religious freedom."

Much has since changed for the ancient Chaldean Christian community.

## Dev, A Cavehill Rock-climber, And Religion In The USSR

*an honest-to-God Christian/Marxist Dialogue*

*Documents On Irish Foreign Policy, Volume IV, 1932-1936* was published by the Royal Irish Academy in 2004. In it is reproduced some fascinating archival material that shines the spotlight on the pivotal role played by Éamon de Valera, as President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State and its Minister for External Affairs, in facilitating the admission of the USSR into membership of the League of Nations in 1934.

On 4th August 1934, the Irish Minister to the Holy See, William Macaulay, reported as follows to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Joseph Walshe, on the attitude of the Vatican in respect of this issue:

"I have to inform you that the Holy See prefers not to express an opinion on the question of the admission of Russia to the League of Nations, as the Holy See itself is not a member. However, when I suggested that Russia as a member of the League would perhaps be more susceptible to pressure in favour of relaxation in its attitude towards religion in general and the Church in particular, I was countered with the remark that, on the contrary, Russia would merely find at Geneva another point from which to disseminate her propaganda and this she would do incessantly. There is no doubt in my mind, from the conversations I have had, that the Holy See fears Russia's admission and would be prepared to oppose it if that were possible. The Holy See will in no way do anything to obstruct Russia's admission in view of the attitude of France and Britain on this matter."

In a follow-up report, the Irish Legation's Chancery Clerk, Patrick Byrne, also wrote to Walshe on 28th August 1934:

"I visited the Vatican yesterday morning and had a talk with Mon. Pizzardo. I mentioned the *Osservatore Romano* article of August 18 and he immediately asked me if I had read the one in the *Avenire d'Italia* of 22nd. I replied that I had, and furthermore that I had sent translations to the Department. He inquired if the articles were quite clear. I said that the question of 'conditions' in the *Osservatore* article was somewhat vague and might be shown more clearly. I then asked him if the Vatican would consider that conditions similar to those required by

England and the U.S.A. (as mentioned in the article) were sufficient to admit Russia to the League with satisfactory hopes for the future. He replied by partly shaking his head and said: 'Russia is everywhere going ahead; she is using every means of furthering her policy in Europe; she is working her way into all countries, and this is her great effort at Geneva.' I said that France seemed to be very prominent in backing her candidature, but that there seemed to be some doubt regarding Italy's attitude. He replied that France was at the back of the whole movement, that she was 'the leader' ... He then made a very complimentary remark about the Irish people who subordinate everything to the Faith, 'who keep it continually present in all their actions'. He said: 'you are a great missionary people and naturally you view world events from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine'. He added that my inquiry about the conditions of Russia's admission to the League 'was extremely welcome' and that he would like me to go to the Vatican again tomorrow (Wednesday) to talk further on the matter. Returning to the subject of Italy, I said that it might be supposed that the price of Italy's support at Geneva would be an extension of her trade with Russia. He replied 'absolutely; Russia wants immense quantities of aeroplanes, and Italy requires the orders; it will help to solve her unemployment problem'."

"I will send you a further minute tomorrow after my second visit to the Secretariat of State. Mon. Pizzardo was extremely gloomy on the subject of Russia and the League. He regarded the result as a foregone conclusion and repeated several times that it was 'all France' and that in Italy's case it was the necessity of 'providing for the stomach'. These phrases alone are of full eloquence."

When President de Valera rose to address the Plenary Session of the League of Nations in Geneva, on 12th September 1934, he felt he had the leeway to take a bold and imaginative initiative to resolve the log-jam on this issue. This speech, entitled "*Russia and the League*", deserves to be quoted in full:

"It was with a feeling of no little anxiety that I ventured to put my name on the list of speakers for this evening. Many of the delegates present will

remember that on a former occasion I availed myself of the indulgence which is usually given to a newcomer to the seat of the League to make some frank comments, and to give expression to the views of the plain people in my own country, as I understood them—views which I believed were largely shared by the plain people of many countries who desired to see peace reign in the world. My remarks were received not unfavourably, in the belief that they were prompted by a sincere desire for the welfare of the League. May I claim the same favourable consideration for the remarks which I am now about to make on an even more delicate subject."

"Not a single delegate to the League but must be aware that the dominant issue at this Assembly in the question of the entry of Russia into the League. That was known before we came to Geneva. Since we came here it has been the sole topic of conversation, I might say, between delegates; and it is, in my opinion, in the interests of the League, in view of the suspicions and the distrust which have been aroused not merely among delegations here but among our people at home who receive the Press reports, that this subject should be dealt with frankly and plainly in the Assembly."

"I do not want anyone to imagine that I am not fully aware of the difficulties, or that I do not realise that there are many questions which have to become the subject of private negotiations and conversations before a public arrangement can be reached. I fully realise that, but I am convinced that a continuance beyond a certain period of those private negotiations may very well defeat the purpose for which they were entered upon; and if I can judge from what I have heard from other delegations, we have arrived at the time when the danger is a real possibility."

"Now, what is the position? The position, as I conceive it, is this: that it is believed—the various trends of opinion having been explored fairly carefully—that there is in this Assembly the necessary majority of votes to secure Russia's entry into the League. Of course, not every delegation has at its disposal the evidence which would assure it of that fact, but it is a fact, I understand, which is generally accepted. On the other hand, there is a belief, and those who seem to speak with authority on the matter say they are certain, that Russia desires to enter the League. We have therefore the two necessary conditions. On the one hand there is the readiness of Russia to enter, and on the other hand there is here, we understand, the

necessary majority to secure her entrance if she applies."

"What is it reasonable for Russia to expect? Russia, like any other State—great or small—naturally wants to assure herself, before applying, that she is not to be subjected to the humiliation of having her application rejected. That is very natural. It is a thing we can understand; it is a thing that our peoples can understand, and that can be understood in this assembly hall as well as in some hotel room. That being so, why can we not state it openly here? On the other hand, the League has also a dignity to maintain, and the members of the League have a dignity to maintain; and those who talk of issuing invitations must realise that any person who is likely to be a party to such an invitation will need to be assured that the invitation, if issued, will not be rejected. I think the people of Russia, or the people of any State that desired to enter the League, would understand that."

"With regard to this question of an invitation: those delegates who, like myself, for example, would not sign any invitation without first of all having the assurance that the invitation would not be rejected, have another very important matter to consider. It is true probably—I am assured by very many delegates that that is a fact about which there can be no doubt—that the necessary two-thirds majority is available here to support an invitation to Russia, but it is well known also that there are States which are not prepared to support Russia's entry. These States have rights too; they have the right to express their views, and any invitation or procedure that would have the effect of depriving any of those States of this right is something, in my opinion, that it would be unworthy of the League even to consider."

"The necessary machinery is provided by which, when a certain majority of votes is available, the opposition of a minority can be overborne. There is no humiliation to Russia in coming along in the ordinary way, having been assured that there is no intention on the part of the majority of delegates to attempt to humiliate her in any way. But, as I have said, those of us who are in the League, whether we are in support of Russia's entry or against it, have rights which must not be abrogated. They are provided for, and if a matter of procedure is involved, have we not the Sixth Committee, for example, in which the whole question of procedure could properly be considered in the presence of all the delegations instead of in caucus in a hotel room."

"I think there is no real difficulty at all. We have only to face the situation frankly. We can individually make quite clear what our attitude will be when the necessary application or the necessary steps to bring about Russia's application are taken. Russia will have in that way the assurance she requires in advance. She can then make her application. In the nature of things she must feel in any case that there is going to be a favourable consideration of the application. Why? Because it is obvious that anyone who has the interest of the League at heart, and looks upon the League as an instrument for the preservation of world peace, must desire to see in the League a nation of the importance of Russia."

"Her territory is two, perhaps three, times the size of the rest of Europe; she has a population, I believe, of some one hundred and sixty-five millions. Is it not obvious, *a priori*, that there must be a strong feeling on the part of everybody who wishes well of the League in favour of having such a nation participate in the League's work, subject, of course, to the understanding that in entering the League she was entering it in no special or privileged position; that she was to be subject to all the obligations which other members of the League have to undertake."

"I represent a country which, if you consider its political and religious ideals, is as far apart as the poles from Soviet Russia; but I would be willing to take the responsibility of saying openly and frankly here that I would support and vote for the entry of Russia into the League on account of the considerations I have mentioned. I admit that I should be much happier, as the representative of a country which has suffered greatly for religious freedom, if Russia, on entering the League, were to make universal those guarantees which she gave to the United States of America on resuming diplomatic relations with that country. I hope that the rights which Russia agreed to accord the nationals of the United States on the resumption of diplomatic relations with that country will, on Russia's entry into the League, be made universal. I believe that the day has gone when nations that want liberty and peace, or enlightened Governments claiming such ideals, can continue persecution, or persist in the denial of religious freedom."

"I say, then, that what we should do here in this assembly is to get at once about this business, and if it is a matter of procedure—as it now seems largely to be—to bring that matter to the Assembly. And let us not, for the credit of the League, attempt to deprive any

State of its rights under the Covenant and of its rights to object and criticise if a proposal is made for a new entrant into the League. As I said at the beginning, I have ventured on rather delicate ground. I hope that my doing so will be understood by the Assembly. To my mind, if we continue this method of hawking round draft after draft for signature, we shall do nothing but excite suspicion, and give an impression of intrigue which will be fatal to the credit of the League. It is not in the interest of the League, nor is it in the interest of Russia, that any special method should be devised for her. It is important that it should be understood that she comes in in no specially privileged position. A special situation is created here by the fact that because of want of unanimity you cannot adopt procedures that were adopted recently in a few cases. In the great majority of cases, however, the regular procedure was followed. As far as I know, the regular procedure was departed from only where there was no question of depriving any delegation of its rights—its rights of criticism. When there is unanimity, and all are in agreement, there is no deprivation in passing over or side-tracking (if I may say so) the ordinary procedure; but when there is not unanimity, any attempt to side-track that procedure is made at the expense of certain members of the League, and this, I think, should under no circumstances be done."

On 13th September 1934 Frederick H. Boland, Head of the League of Nations Section of the Department of External Affairs, reported as follows to his Departmental Assistant Secretary, Seán Murphy:

"The President spoke in the Assembly yesterday afternoon on the question of the procedure to be adopted for the admission of Soviet Russia. I enclose a copy of the speech. The speech was well received in official circles here and we are now waiting to see the press reactions. We understand, however, that [the British Foreign Secretary] Sir John Simon summoned the Press to a special meeting last night and made an attack on the President's speech on the ground that it revealed a lack of knowledge of the procedural difficulties of the situation. The points mentioned by Sir John Simon did not bear out his general thesis because they were carefully discussed by us with the President before the President spoke at all. The President's speech was made at a most strategic moment and the general feeling here is that it is bound to exercise a strong influence on the future course of the negotiations

in connection with the admission of Russia."

Four days later, on 17th September, Boland further reported to Murphy:

"So far as we can judge from the English, French, Swiss and other newspapers, the President's speech has been very well received everywhere. Neither the *Osservatore Romano* nor the *Avennire* appear to have made any special comment on it, but so far as we can see, the President's reference in his speech to the desirability of obtaining guarantees of religious liberty from the Soviet Government has created a most favourable impression in Catholic circles generally. The curious thing is that the speech seems to have pleased everybody, both those who are in favour of Russia's entry into the League and those who are against it; and a great many people here are loud in their praises of the tact and delicacy with which the President publicly discussed the question of Russia's entry into the League at a moment at which the private, hotel-bedroom conversations on the subject were at a peculiarly difficult and delicate stage. I think the *Journal de Genève* was right when it said that the practical effect of the speech was to bring about a *détente* in the atmosphere of strained anxiety which the secret conversations had been responsible for creating. The President is on the Sixth and Second Committees ... He proposes to take part in the discussion of the Russian question when it comes before the Sixth Committee this afternoon ..."

And so it unfolded. The strategic intervention by de Valera paid off on the following day, 18th September 1934, when the League of Nations formally voted to accept the USSR into membership.

An indication of how vitally important Dev's strategic intervention had been can be gleaned from a virulently anti-Communist source—Tibor Eckhardt—the founder President of the Hungarian Smallholders' Party, its chief delegate to the League of Nations in 1934, and a wartime and post-war exile in the USA. In his memoirs entitled *Regicide In Marseille*, which were first published in 1964, Eckhardt was to recall (and, incidentally, also reveal just how respectful and devoid of bitterness or prejudice de Valera had remained towards the memory of Arthur Griffith, notwithstanding Ireland's own Treaty split and Civil War):

"In mid-September 1934 the admissions of the Soviets to the League of Nations caused considerable uneasiness among the delegations in Geneva ... In 1924, I had prevented the establishment of diplomatic

relations between Hungary and the Soviets by quoting in Parliament passages from a British Red Cross report (1919) on the mass murders committed by the Bolsheviks in Leningrad. I never changed my views of the Soviets, so when their admission was put to a vote, I walked out of the Assembly. An official of the Hungarian Delegation then carried out the Hungarian Government's instruction to vote for their acceptance ..."

"According to the alphabet, Hungary is a neighbor of Ireland, so sitting next to Mr. Éamon de Valera in the Assembly of the League, I listened with sympathy to his honest views, which he expressed with much clarity. I feel indebted to him for a book he gave me, written by Arthur Griffith, the hero of Irish independence, who was inspired—as Mr. de Valera related—by the example of the Hungarian, Louis Kossuth, who dared to challenge two Empires: the Austrian and the Russian; whereas, Ireland had to fight against only one Empire: the British. On the Soviet issue, de Valera's speech greatly relieved my conscience, for he said much of what I could not voice, (September 12, 1934), that the days were gone when freedom of religion could be denied by a government. His political and religious ideals represented the opposite of the Communist teachings, he continued, yet he would vote for admission of the Soviets, since this was a League of Nations and the Russians were one of the largest nations on earth. But he wanted to bring the Soviets into the League so that they might learn to respect human rights and to induce them to extend to all the nations the guarantees against subversion which they gave to the United States when diplomatic relations between them were established. And, certainly, he stated, the admission of the Soviets was no occasion for any celebration; no privileges should be accorded to them; the problem of their membership must be discussed publicly, and the opportunity must be accorded to every member to vote against their admission."

"This plain talk decided the issue. Mr. Motta, the Swiss Delegate, told the Assembly that the Soviets would have to give some explanations when they joined the League. Their anti-religious propaganda plunged Christianity into tears and compelled us to ask God for justice. Mr. Eden, far from showing enthusiasm, explained that he would vote for the admission of the Soviets because he wished the League of Nations to be as representative as possible. Finally, the Soviets were admitted with only 39 votes."

The character of de Valera's intervention was to come up two years later in a remarkable conversation that took place between Francis Cremins, Ireland's Permanent Representative to the League of Nations, and the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Maxim Litvinov (1876-1951). A right-hand man of both Lenin and Stalin, Litvinov had served as Soviet Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs 1921-30 before being promoted to Commissar of Foreign Affairs 1930-39. He had been in a political limbo during the period of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, before becoming once again—until his retirement from public life—Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs 1941-46, while also serving as USSR Ambassador to the USA 1941-43. Unlike the phony "Christian-Marxist" dialogues of the 1960s and 1970s, this dialogue between Dev's representative Cremins and Commissar Litvinov was an impressively honest-to-God and no-holds-barred frank exchange of views from conflicting ideological perspectives. On 29th September 1936 Cremins submitted to his Departmental Secretary Joe Walshe—for the expressed purpose of having it brought to the personal attention of de Valera himself—his report on a luncheon that he had attended in Litvinov's company that very day in Geneva. It had been hosted by the Aga Khan, who sat on Litvinov's left, while Cremins sat on his right. The report contained the following detailed narrative:

"M. Litvinoff opened the conversation with me by an enquiry for the President. How was he? Did he not want to come here any more? I explained the President's absence (as in the case of numberless other enquiries from Delegates to the Assembly) by stating that the President was unable to leave home this year owing to pressure of other work. M. Litvinoff then said 'I like your President de Valera, except for one thing'. I asked what that was, and he said 'he is too religious'. I said that, as no doubt the Commissar was aware, religion counted much with us in Ireland. 'I know that', he replied, 'but he allows his religion to interfere with his policy'. 'In what way?' I asked. He hesitated, and I said, 'did not President de Valera vote for the admission of Russia to the League?' He said 'yes, but with reservations'. I said: 'so far as the vote was concerned was it not 100 percent support? President de Valera did, certainly, make an appeal to the Soviet Government to extend to all foreigners in Russia and to the Russian people, the guarantees of freedom of conscience and of worship which the United States Government made a

condition, in regard to American citizens, of the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A.. Surely, M. Litvinoff would admit that that was a natural appeal to make, seeing that the Soviet Government had declared its desire for peace; that peace could not be had without goodwill, and that there could be no goodwill when people found that attempts were being made to destroy things which meant most to them in life.' He said 'we do not care whether other people have religion or not, but we can have no such thing in Russia'. I said that the Soviet Government did not confine her activities in that respect to Russia; take for example, the anti-religious broadcasts. Did they stop at the Russian frontiers? He said: 'they are for our own people'. 'But do they stop at your frontiers', I asked, 'and are they not given in other than Russian languages?' He repeated that Russia did not interfere with religion in other countries, but she could have none of it in Russia; at least, he said, we will teach against it. I pressed him on this. 'Your Constitution', I said, 'provides for liberty of conscience, and is supposed to allow religious as well as anti-religious teaching, but how does that work in practice? I have read that religious teaching is forbidden in the schools, but that anti-religious teaching is given. Where is the equality there?' He seemed to assent to this, and said that atheism was taught; 'but that is for our own people', he said. I asked him would his Government now reconsider their whole attitude seeing that it clearly interfered with good understanding between the peoples, but he said that that was a matter for the Russian people themselves; they could practice religion if they liked and go to Church, but 'we will continue to teach against it', and as regards broadcasting, he said 'why should we give up such an excellent means of propaganda?' adding that other people were free to listen in or not as they might desire. I pressed the point. 'If Russia was not concerned now with the destruction of religion in other countries, that was certainly a change. The Soviet policy was not merely a Russian policy, but a world policy, and was it not the original intention to destroy religion, as a necessity for putting over the Soviet Social policy on other peoples, as on their own.' He maintained that, now at any rate, it was none of Russian policy to interfere with religion in other countries ..."

"At the end, on the question of religion, he said to me that Russia wanted to provide for Paradise in this life, not in the next. I said that, the next life being so much longer than

this one, would it not be wise to provide for it also? 'If there is a next life', he replied. I asked if that meant that he believed that he would be as dead 'as a door-nail' when he died, and he said something to the effect that he would probably then have joined the other minerals in the earth."

"My talk with M. Litvinoff, which was of course in friendly strain, was not so continuous as I have reported it, as he was frequently engaged in conversation with the Aga Khan. The latter, also, asked questions bearing on the religious issue. I heard him ask, for example, whether the young people in Russia now show any desire for religion, to which Mr. Litvinoff answered, 'no, no desire at all'. The Aga Khan then asked whether there were any divisions between the young generation? For example, did the children of Jews mix with the children of Christians?, to which M. Litvinoff replied that the young people mixed freely, and that there were no differences between them".

"With regard to M. Litvinoff's speech to the Assembly, I remarked that it had caused something of a stir. 'Yes', he said, 'the British people do not like frank speaking', and he coupled this with some reference to the *Manchester Guardian* which I did not quite follow ..."

When Litvinov admitted to Cremins that he knew just how much religion counted for in Ireland, this was about as much as he was prepared to admit. He was not prepared to own up to any first hand experience of Ireland as a one-time Cavehill rockclimber who had in fact spent two years of his life living in Belfast. Such details constituted the subject matter of an article entitled "*A Bolshevik in Belfast: an episode in the biography of Maxim Litvinov*", which was published in *Irish-Russian Contacts*, a special 1984 issue of *Irish Slavonic Studies* (Belfast), and written by that volume's editor, Neil Cornwell. He narrated:

"Litvinov was born as Meier Wallach (on July 17, 1876) in the town of Bialystok in Russian Poland. After being discharged from the Russian army he joined the Social Democratic party in the late 1890s and embarked on a long and famous revolutionary career. This included an escape from Kiev prison in 1902, a first meeting with Lenin (in the Reading Room of the British Museum) and participation in the famous Congress of 1903, running the distribution of *Iskra*, *Vperyod* and *Novaya Zhizn* in Riga, St. Petersburg and other locations, and buying arms for the Bolsheviks. He had adopted the name of Litvinov,

probably taking it from Turgenev's novel **Smoke**; apart from Max Harrison, other aliases used included Gustav Graf, Ludwig Wilhelmovich Neitz and Engineer Tech. He also operated under the Bolshevik code-name 'Felix' and the nickname (accorded him by Lenin) of 'Papasha'. In January 1908 Litvinov was arrested in Paris, in possession of banknotes taken in the Tiflis expropriation of 1907 (carried out by Kamo, under the orders of Stalin), and deported to England".

Cornwell then related the story of Litvinov's sister Rifka:

"Litvinov spent some considerable part, if not all, of the two years from 1908 to 1910 with his sister and her family at 15 Cliftonpark Avenue in North Belfast ... David Levinson, 'then a pushing young merchant', met Rifka Wallach, 'renowned for her beauty' and the daughter of a well-to-do and cultured Polish Jewish family, in Bialystok. The best man at their wedding was the bride's brother, the future Maxim Maximovich Litvinov, then a cadet in the Tsarist army. The story of the Levinsons then becomes ever more romantic. Conscripted into the Russian army, David Levinson took the first available leave pass and was promptly smuggled out of the country on a cart by his young wife. The couple traveled further and further westward and eventually arrived at Liverpool. There they met some people from Enniskillen (Co. Fermanagh) who advised them to go to Ireland ('there being no Jews there!'). They settled first in Enniskillen and then in Clones (Co. Monaghan). David Levinson's business activities made him a well-known figure, both in the border areas (following partition in 1921) and in Belfast. He is mentioned in a book of Patrick Shea (1981), and a former Belfast resident remembers him as 'a strongly built Russian (sic) type who would give me—a youngster—a kindly nod of greeting'. The Levinsons' three children were all born in Ireland ... David Levinson, 'general merchant', moved into the Cliftonpark Avenue house during 1908 and had vacated it by 1913."

The Enniskillen people whom the Levinsons had met in Liverpool had only been strictly accurate in terms of their own native patch. There had been no Jews at all in Co. Fermanagh in 1891 and only 3 in 1901, while the number of Jews in Co. Monaghan was a mere 7 in 1891 and 6 in 1901—with the Levinsons themselves possibly being included in one or other of these counts. But, against the background of rising anti-Semitism

in the Russian Empire, the Jewish population in Ireland as a whole was to increase from 400 in 1881 to 1,500 in 1891, to 3,000 in 1901 and to 3,800 in 1911. (For two recently published essays-in-review in which I examine the details of Irish Jewish history, see [http://www.drb.ie/june\\_citizens.html](http://www.drb.ie/june_citizens.html) for the Summer 2007 issue of the *Dublin Review of Books* and—for a more extensive evaluation—<http://www.anfearrua.com/story.asp?id=2126> on the website of *An Fear Rua—The GAA Unplugged!*)

But what specifically of the Belfast Jewish community, among whom Rifka and David Levinson would finally settle? There had been no Jews at all in the city in 1814, but in 1871 a synagogue was opened in Great Victoria Street for a community of about 50, primarily German in origin. Its founding father was Daniel Joseph Jaffe, who originally hailed from Mecklenburg-Schwerin. His son Sir Otto Jaffe in turn became the congregation's Life-President, and also went on to serve as Lord Mayor of Belfast in both 1899 and 1904. Notwithstanding his services to the city, including his funding of a physiology laboratory in Queen's University, and despite the fact that his own son was serving in the British army, Empire Loyalist war hysteria seized on Otto's own Hamburg birth in 1846, and subsequent service as German consul in Belfast, to force his resignation from Belfast City Council in 1916, while also forcing the Jaffe family to flee for their lives from the province.

By this stage the Belfast Jewish community was also overwhelmingly composed of immigrants from Lithuania and Russian Poland, increasing in number to 200 in 1891 and 700 in 1901. It was to cater for such a growing community that in 1904 Sir Otto Jaffe had opened a much larger synagogue in Annesley Street, Carlisle Circus. This would have been David Levinson's place of worship. But we can also be reasonably certain that this was one Belfast building whose doors Maxim Litvinov himself never darkened. For his uncompromising atheism held as much antipathy towards his sister Rifka's Judaism as it would towards Dev's Catholicism.

Cornwell proceeded to quote from a two-part article written by local journalist Tommy Anderson for the *Belfast Telegraph* on 26th and 27th August 1940. He detailed how Litvinov had spent the years 1908-10 living with his sister Rifka in Belfast (where she was to die in 1933). This article was primarily based on interviews conducted by Anderson with Litvinov's two Belfast nieces, Ray and Estar, as well as with

their father, David Levinson:

"What rejoicing there was that day [in 1908]. Rifka laughed and cried alternately—laughed with joy at seeing her beloved brother again, cried because of the marks which privation had left on his face. He was thin and emaciated. His clothing was shabby. He had the furtive air of a hunted man. And he has his 100,000 roubles in 1,000 rouble notes—the full of a suitcase. But that, Litvinoff explained, was the sacred property of the Party and could not be touched. Then, the family were introduced to this strange, foreign-looking Uncle Max about whom they had heard their mother talk so much".

"And what a jolly uncle he proved himself to be—bubbling over with fun and high spirits when he could be prevailed upon to come out of his serious moods, always ready for a game with his little nieces, full of the most wonderful bed-time stories which simply made you ask for more".

Cornwell continued with some further information supplied directly to himself by Estar, still alive and well in Belfast in 1984:

"Two [Tsarist] Okhrana agents (anachronistically described by the *Belfast Telegraph* as 'the hounds of the Cheka') had allegedly followed Litvinov to Belfast and kept watch on him from a house down the road. He therefore carried a revolver and a Gurkha knife (at which his sister was 'aghast'), which frightened the children (particularly little Estar, then aged about ten); thereafter he cleaned his knife behind a locked door".

"Litvinov obtained a job, through the influence of his brother-in-law, as a teacher 'in a school of languages in the Antrim Road'. Estar Levinson is certain that her uncle worked in the Berlitz School. This establishment, however, occupied premises at 5 Royal Avenue in 1908, moving in 1909 (until its closure in 1915) to Kingscourt, Wellington Place (both locations in the centre of the city). There exists also folk memory that Litvinov taught at the [Belfast Jewish community's] Jaffe National School, at 6 Cliftonville Road."

Anderson had also related:

"He was engaged principally to teach Russian, but as the number of students of Russian, was not numerous he also taught German, French, Spanish, Italian and other language that Belfast people wanted to learn. Even Japanese ... His students were mostly connected with the textile trade, and needed Russian, German French and Spanish for their business journeys in those countries".

Cornwell commented:

"Unusually, perhaps, for someone alleged to know fourteen languages (in prison, 'learning foreign languages was his method of killing the time'), Litvinov had first to learn English before he could take the job at the languages school: 'He spoke a little English when he came here, the result of his brief residence in London, but inadequate as the medium of explaining the intricacies of another language.' His sister and the children rallied to assist and 'at the end of six weeks he was speaking the language almost 'like a native'."

"Apart from teaching, Litvinov spent much of his Belfast nights reading and smoking, and his days walking and rock-climbing (on the Cavehill). Unusually dressed, in a Parisian white linen suit and Panama hat, Litvinov was commonly seen 'striding along with his head in the clouds, puffing furiously at a cigarette ...—one of the most hunted men in Europe'. He seems to have avoided any political activity while in Belfast. On his arrival, Litvinov had agreed to stay with his sister until 'I get the call from Moscow'. 'I can see why you call Belfast your home', he is said to have told his sister, 'and why you never sigh for the loveliness of our beloved Poland'. Two years later the call came and Litvinov immediately left, with his suitcase of roubles: 'that was the last of Litvinoff so far as Belfast was concerned.' Folk memory persists that Litvinov left hurriedly, following an attempt made upon him by the Tsarist agents. However, in reality he is said to have left quietly, thorough the back door at night, leaving the Okhrana men to watch patiently for him for days to come."

"Litvinov's only remaining contact with Ireland would appear to have come in January 1918 when, as Bolshevik plenipotentiary in London, he received a deputation from the Irish TUC and, [according to John Carswell, author of *The Exile: A Life of Ivy Litvinov*, his English-born wife], 'assured them that the Bolsheviks had long been students of the writings of James Connolly'."

The conclusion of Cornwell's article indicates that Litvinov's own uncompromising atheism had also led to conflict with the observant Orthodox Judaism of his sister's family in Belfast:

"Estar Levinson recalls letters arriving from her uncle for a period of a year or two after his departure from Belfast; she also thinks that at least one letter came mentioning Ivy (which suggests that the correspondence may have continued longer, or else re-

started). Furthermore, she recalls subsequently meeting an aunt of Ivy's, Fanny Low, in London. There is therefore some grounds for supposing that Ivy and her family should have at least been aware of the existence of Litvinov's Belfast relatives. A possible clue to the situation may lie in Estar Levinson's recollections of the circumstances in which contact between the family and Litvinov ceased. She remembers a row between her mother and her uncle over religion; Rifka Levinson apparently severed connections with her brother for fear that his atheistic and revolutionary ideas would infect her Jewish family. The Levinson children were dismayed by this development; when Estar wrote to her uncle some time later, wishing to renew contact, he replied—coldly denying the relationship."

"Following the quarrel with his

'favourite sister', it seems likely that Maxim Litvinov might have regarded his duty to her as best served by maintaining a strict silence over the Belfast branch of the family and by enjoining others to do likewise. This would have been very much in character; remembered still by his niece as 'a charming man' and 'a gentleman', Maxim Maximovich Litvinov was also a man of delicate family sensibilities."

Such then, was the Irish background of Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet statesman and militant atheist who in 1936 would express such genuine political respect and personal concern for the well-being of that Irish statesman and principled Catholic, Éamon de Valera, who had been the architect of such a successful diplomatic strategy in Geneva designed to bring the USSR in from the international cold.

ance of those redneck culchies caught bang to rights on camera. We have not mended our ways, still in denial after nearly a century!

But anyone who has studied the matter know that this is a travesty of the truth. There was no land-war against the Pearsons. They ran into trouble because they were collaborating with the British to undermine local independence fighters and later shot two IRA men in an unprovoked assault. When their land came to be sold, none of it went to those who had been active in the War of Independence.

The Hidden History documentary is being debated at

<http://www.indymedia.ie/article/84547>

where the documentary evidence of the case against the Pearsons is presented.

### RTE's Programme Advisers

One of the academic advisors for the documentary is Terence Dooley, History professor at NUI Maynooth. His expertise is on Big Houses in Ireland, and on the role of land agitation in the Independence movement.

Dooley is coordinator of the Centre for the Study of Historic Irish Houses and Estates at the History Department, NUI Maynooth. His books include *The decline of the big house in Ireland* (2001); *A future for Irish historic houses?* (2003); *The big houses and landed estates of Ireland* (2007).

One of his recent books is *The Murders at Wild Goose Lodge: agrarian crime and punishment in pre-famine Ireland*, which received a brief review in October's Books Ireland. Here is the publishers' (Four Courts) blurb:

"On the night of 29-30 October 1816 eight people were murdered by burning to death in a house in a remote part of County Louth, known locally as Wildgoose Lodge. Those killed included a five-month-old child. The perpetrators all belonged to a local agrarian secret society that was avenging the execution of three of their comrades hanged for an earlier raid on Wildgoose Lodge the previous April, following information given to the authorities by the owner of the house, Edward Lynch.

"Following the murder of Lynch, his family and servants the local community closed ranks. For months the authorities failed to arrest anybody in connection with the crime. Then the state administration took over. From Chief Secretary, Sir Robert Peel (later British Prime Minister) down to the police force operating in Louth there was massive collusion between Dublin Castle administrators, a corrupt chief police magistrate, lawyers and land-

## Pat Muldowney

*RTE Watch:* Readers may have been following the story of the Pearsons of Co. Offaly, whose story forms a part of a forthcoming *Hidden History* programme. Pat Muldowney, along with others, has been involved in canvassing the programme makers and the station to give a more balanced presentation than seemed likely at the outset. It remains to be seen how successful their efforts have been

## 'Ethnic Cleansing' In The Midlands?

### RTE Programme

In October or November of this year RTÉ is broadcasting a programme on the 1921 executions by the IRA of the Protestant Pearson brothers in Coolacrease Co. Offaly. The programme has had various titles including *Ethnic Cleansing in the Midlands* and *Atonement*. The RTÉ schedule has the following blurb:

#### *"Guns and Neighbours: The Killings at Coolacrease*

The bloody tale of a bitter land dispute, involving a family of Protestant farmers in County Offaly, which comes to a deadly conclusion during the War of Independence. Featuring interviews with descendants of the men who carried out the killings, this portrait of a forgotten atrocity features substantial newspaper archive research, IRA witness statements and military documents from the period."

Though RTÉ may be withdrawing, under pressure of publicity, from the more extreme version of these events as set out below, the following appears to be the underlying message:

1. There was bad blood because the Land Commission placed the Pearsons in the Coolacrease estate (341 acres) around 1910, favouring a single family

of Protestant blow-ins against, say, 10 families of deserving Catholic local people who believed they had every right to expect a share of this land.

2. Local agitators used a dispute over a mass-path to stoke up further animosity against the Pearsons—at the height of the 1919-21 troubles when feelings were already tense.

3. Some confused incomprehensible midnight incident took place over trespassing/tree-felling and shots were fired. The Pearson brothers were in the right (though a bit rash and over-zealous) in defending their property.

4. Trumped-up charges of informing were brought against them in some kangaroo peasant paramilitary "court-martial", providing quasi-legal justification or cover for carrying the sectarian vendetta/land jealousy against the Pearsons to the point of actual murder.

5. But as the interviews conducted in May/June (& July—me) 2007 by Hidden History prove, not a single verifiable act of informing can be produced by those who say today that the IRA action was justified. So the poisonous sectarian atrocity cover-up continues right into our own times—just look at the shifty, guilty perform-



lords in Louth to bring suspects to trial and prosecution. Four men on death row for unrelated crimes were reprieved and offered significant monetary rewards in return for giving evidence. Local informers—neighbours, friends and possibly relatives—of those murdered as well as those tried gave corroborating evidence. In the end eighteen men were executed and then gibbeted or dissected, at least half of whom were innocent. This was an awesome local episode with national implications which makes for an absorbing and intriguing story."

The October issue of *Books Ireland* also has a brief review of a book by Leigh-Ann Coffey, a Canadian from the University of Toronto who visited NUI Maynooth for a year to study for a Master's degree under Dooley's supervision. The result is published in *The Planters of Luggacurran, County Laois: a Protestant community, 1879-1927* (Four Courts, 2006). This work relates somewhat to the Pearsons of Coolacrease, because they were distantly related to William Stanley who came from one of the Planter families in Luggacurran and who was ordered out of that area by the IRA because of his paramilitary activities on the side of the Auxiliaries, before he took up with the Pearsons, living with them under a pseudonym.

William Stanley was the father of Alan Stanley whose 2005 book *I met murder on the way* is the basis of the Hidden History documentary, or at least the version of it outlined above.

The story of the Pearsons of Coolacrease is linked to the history of the Planters of Luggacurran in other ways also, and it might be worthwhile to revisit these in a further article. But here is the gist of Leigh-Ann Coffey's story.

Luggacurran is near Stradbally in Co. Laois, about 20 miles from the Pearsons' place in Coolacrease, Co. Offaly. The Luggacurran landlord Lord Lansdowne owned many great estates across Ireland and England, and even though he resigned from the Gladstone Government over its Irish Home Rule policy, Gladstone appointed him Viceroy of India and Governor-General of Canada. Lansdowne had a doctrinaire landlord-rights attitude to the Irish land question, and when the Land League adopted Michael Davitt's Plan of Campaign (a trade union approach of strike with solidarity; in other words non-payment of rent to the worst landlords, supported by boycott of anyone who broke the rent strike by entering into evicted farms—the practice known as land-grabbing), Lansdowne evicted nearly 100 tenants in 1887, replacing them with about 30 Protestant tenants. These were

local emergency-men (landlords' bailiffs and the like) and some people from Ulster and Scotland who responded to advertisements.

But the evicted tenants did not meekly take passage to America as millions did in the earlier bouts of ethnic cleansing. Times were changing. They lived in huts in the village of Luggacurran, supported by the Land League and holding out for re-instatement in their farms. Along with Land Purchase, re-instatement of evicted tenants was part of the policy by which the British Government brought the Land War to a close. But this proved difficult in Luggacurran and a few other places, where the evicted farms were successfully tenanted, and sometimes bought outright.

Alan Stanley comments on this episode in his book (*I met murder on the way*), wondering, on the one hand, what the new occupants thought about the people who had been put out on the roadside; and on the other hand whether those people expected to get the land for nothing. He repeats some Planter myths; that a bolshie local priest had worked the original tenants up to challenging Lord Lansdowne in the first place. The Hand of Rome, in other words.

Leigh-Ann Coffey reports that while some of the evicted tenants of Luggacurran were re-settled under the new government policy, many were not; and

thirty five years later (1922) the issue had still not been completely resolved. In the course of the Civil War in that year, she says, a group calling itself the Luggacurran Land Committee forced several Planter families (Stanley, Stone, Mullens) off their farms by threats and by direct action—occupying the farms and ordering the families out. She does not suggest that either Free Staters or Irregulars had anything to do with the Luggacurran Land Committee, but maintains that the issue was strictly local. The Free State Government got the Planter families re-instated in their farms within a year or so.

It is interesting to compare these Planter names with the names of individuals (such as Stanley and Stone) mentioned in Alan Stanley's book as participating in a loyalist paramilitary group in Luggacurran in 1920-21. Throughout her book, Coffey pays lip service (possibly obligatory) to Peter Hart's theories. But in the end she is somewhat non-committal and reserved in her assessment, and casts doubt on Catholic-nationalist sectarianism being the cause of the trouble. She appears to have no knowledge of the outbreak of loyalist paramilitarism described by Alan Stanley in his book.

Read together, the books of Stanley and Coffey provide significant insights into the connections between the Coolacrease and Luggacurran affairs.

From *Aubane Historical Society*:

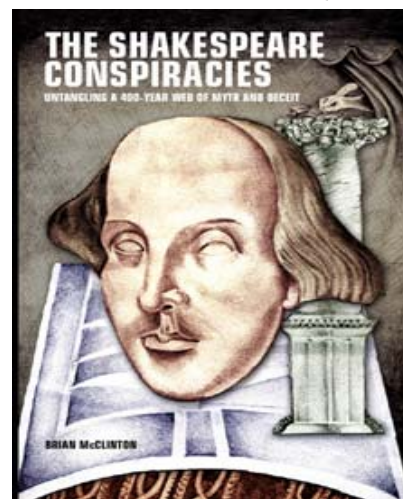
To question the identity of the universal cultural icon known as Shakespeare might be seen as placing the sceptic in the loonier department of the conspiracy market. Yet this very challenge is now refreshingly renewed for a new generation of readers by **Brian McClinton**. Many in the past have doubted the orthodox claimant. Included among the doubters are Charles Dickens, Mark Twain, Sigmund Freud and Enoch Powell.

In this brilliant synthesis, with its illuminating study of one of the richest periods in human culture, Brian McClinton provides incontrovertible evidence that nothing in the life of the Stratford man is commensurate with the incomparable learning, determined literacy and philosophical and educational purpose of the plays. Although many candidates have been proposed as the true author, there was one genius in particular who fulfils all the necessary and sufficient criteria to qualify as the prime mover of the Shakespeare enterprise. The depth of the author's research and the clarity of his prose point inexorably to one man as the mastermind behind the greatest literature ever penned.

Harold Bloom suggests that Shakespeare 'invented the human'. He certainly helped to extend our understanding of human consciousness and defined with greater clarity

than any previous writer what it is to live as a human being in the world. Read Brian McClinton's book and you will see that this was not an incidental effect but indeed the central purpose of the Shakespearean canon, namely the education of humanity through a myth. Read also to discover why only one man had the genius, knowledge, skill and unparalleled understanding to carry through this task—a man, as Ben Jonson said allegedly of another, who was 'not of an age but for all time'.

€25 or £18.99 postfree (Europe) from:  
**Athol Books, PO Box 339,  
Belfast, BT12 4GQ**



V  
O  
X

National Flag  
Immigrants  
The Pope  
Education  
Letterkenny Hindoos  
Quakers  
Cork Unitarians  
Nature  
Former Convent  
Waterford Seminary

P  
A  
T

1660/1970, Four Courts Press).

NATIONAL FLAG—"MEP sees no place for tricolour in church" (*Irish Examiner*, 20.9.2007).

MEP Avril Doyle has confirmed that she requested a tricolour be removed from a Wexford Church before her daughter's wedding on August 31st.

The decision to remove both a tricolour and a papal flag from the altar of Crossabeg Church has caused controversy locally, but Ms Doyle defended her decision.

"It was my personal call as I believe there is no place in church for flags of any kind. Having got permission, we removed both the tricolour and the Vatican flag from the altar for the wedding ceremony."

A Crossabeg resident, who did not want to be named, said:

"The flags have been there since 2003, when we celebrated the bicentenary of convict priest Fr. James Dixon's first Mass in Australia. He was a curate in the village at the end of the 1700s, but was arrested and sentenced to death for wearing a medal inscribed Érin Go Breagh. His sentence was later commuted to transportation for life.

"The flags have since been put back up, but they are not hanging in the correct way now. A lot of people down here are very annoyed about the fact that these flags were taken down. You have to ask if our MEP is ashamed of our flag".

She "Comes to national politics with the experience of a head girl in school, with a deeply conservative Fine Gael family background and all the hallmarks of a woman who has 'made it' in a man's world. She has been at pains to stress that her political and social concerns are not specifically those of women. Her grandfather [one of the Dublin Belton clique], father and three uncles have all been active in Fine Gael politics in Dublin. In her first years as a public representative, she seemed to have inherited their generally crude, reactionary politics but she has mellowed somewhat of late." (*Magill book of Irish Politics*, 1983).

She is going to discover that she will have to mellow a lot more if she hopes

to get re-elected to Brussels!

IMMIGRANTS—The strong religious faith of the "new Irish" will help strengthen our own faith, the Bishop of Cork and Ross stated on June 10, 2007

Dr. John Buckley made his comments from the altar as dozens of immigrants from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Asia and Africa—many for the first time—took part in the city's 81st annual Corpus Christi procession from the North Cathedral.

He also prayed for Fr. Ganni, an Iraqi priest who worked at Lough Derg for two years, and who was murdered in Iraq on June 3, 2007.

During his homily, he said while the country's increased prosperity was welcome, he said people are searching for something more.

EDUCATION—In June, 2007, five religious orders handed over the trusteeship of more than 100 second level schools to a Catholic lay organisation in a landmark move in the Irish education system.

The historic step is the culmination of a decade's work by the Daughters of Charity, Presentation Sisters, Sisters of the Christian Retreat, the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy and the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

While the day-to-day running of the 112 Catholic voluntary secondary schools will remain with their individual Boards of Management, their trusteeship is now being exercised by a new charitable company.

Catholic Education—an Irish Schools Trust (CEIST) has legal responsibility for overseeing the founding intentions of the orders.

The schools concerned have more than 54,000 students, or around one-sixth of all those attending second level, the largest numbers being in schools previously under the trusteeship of the Presentation and Mercy orders.

While the school properties are still in the ownership of the religious congregations, CEIST chief executive Anne Kelleher said work is underway to transfer them to the trust company.

Although falling numbers of nuns and brothers is a significant factor, the move is also being taken to allow orders

move their attention to other ministries, such as helping the poor and involvement in healthcare.

Sr. Elizabeth Maxwell, Presentation Sisters, Northern Province, said:

"Our founders, both lay and religious, were driven by their faith and the needs of their time to provide education, based on Gospel values. Today we live in different times and education is available to all. Our faith-based education mission will continue through CEIST with the growing support of our lay colleagues."

A Catholic lay trust has also been set up to take over the trusteeship role of the Christian Brothers in Irish schools, while the Loreto Order is also planning a similar move in conjunction with others.

The trust company will provide professional supports to schools and will eventually have a staff of around 30 people, with main office based in Maynooth, Co Kildare.

THE POPE on July 7, 2007, reasserted the claim that the Roman Catholic Church is the "one true Church of Christ" in a move that looks likely to reignite the debate on the Vatican's relationship with other faiths.

Pope Benedict approved a 16-page document that restates key sections of an older document, *Dominus Iesus*, that sparked strong criticism among Protestant and other Christian denominations in 2000. The document claimed they were not true churches.

The new document, prepared by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, claims other denominations were merely ecclesiastical communities and therefore did not have the "means of salvation".

Regarding Orthodox Churches it states that they suffer from the "wound" of not recognising the primacy of the Pope. Regarding Protestant denominations, it says "the wound is still more profound".

While the document may prove controversial, representatives of other churches refused to be drawn into any criticism of its contents.

A spokesman for the Church of Ireland said it was not commenting on the new document, while Fr. George A Zavershinsky of the Russian Orthodox Church here said: "We do not consider the statement as something that would disturb relations with our churches."

Other theologians and church figures said they would not be commenting as they had not had a chance to assess the document. However, Bishop of Killaloe Willie Walsh said: "I don't think the Pope would be rowing back on the progress made since the Second Vatican Council regarding other churches and

*ecclesiastical communities."*

He added that people were perhaps "*reading too much*" into the terms used.

The Rev Sara MacVane of the Anglican Centre in Rome, said there was nothing new in the document.

"I don't know what motivated it," she said. "But it's important to point out that there's the official position and there's the huge amount of friendship and worshipping together that goes on at all levels, certainly between Anglican and Catholics and all the other groups and Catholics."

LETTERKENNY HINDUS plan to establish a Hindu temple in Letterkenny, the first of its kind in Ireland.

It means that more than 300 Indian families living in the Donegal town will have a place to worship and celebrate national festivals.

The temple is also expected to boost the local economy by luring thousands of Indians from around the country to the north-west.

Several representatives from the Indian community will make a presentation to the Letterkenny Town Council in October. They are appealing to it to subsidise the cost of renting and maintaining a unit in the town centre.

Naidu Ytra, who has been living in Letterkenny for nearly three years, said units have already been examined and he hopes the temple will be ready as early as December.

"We do not have any place to go and worship around here and if we want to, we have to go to Belfast or Birmingham. Basically we need a temple for people who would like to worship the god for any special occasion like a wedding anniversary, a birthday, or a naming ceremony. And there will be a few festivals around the year where there will be special prayers held at the temple."

Mr. Ytra said that at least 100 families have had children since moving to Letterkenny. However, in the absence of a temple, the families haven't been able to give their child the traditional Hindu blessings.

"When my son was born in India, for example, we took him to the temple where we had a naming ceremony. The first time he ate basic food, the first time he read, the first time we taught him about the Hindu religion, it all takes place before the temple. Families who have had their children here have not been able to do these things, it is the one thing they are missing," he said.

According to Mr. Ytra, the temple will be open every day for a few hours in the morning and in the evening. A temporary local priest will be required, however it is likely they will bring over a professional Hindu priest from Britain or India in the

near future.

Three lords will be worshipped at the temple and Mr. Ytra said that at present, they are considering Shrdi Sai, Vinayaka and Balaji as their lords.

The temple will double up as a community centre where the local Indian community can gather to celebrate festivals and do Puja together. Puja is a Hindu practice whereby a person goes into a meditative state and shows respect to a god through prayers, songs, and rituals. Mr. Ytra added the temple will be a major tourist attraction for Indians around Ireland.

"With so many people coming together it's going to make Letterkenny a tourist spot among Indians in Ireland. So far there is no single temple in the Republic of Ireland, so it will bring people to the area for a day and they may want to go explore a bit of Donegal," said Mr Ytra.

QUAKERS—More than 300 delegates representing Quakers (the Religious Society of Friends) in 40 countries held a nine-day conference in Dublin's King's Hospital School during the month of August.

The triennial international conference met in Ireland for just the second time, the last one being in Waterford in 1964.

There are 1,600 Quakers in Ireland, out of a world-wide community of 350,000, which breaks down as 167,765 in the Americas, 155,871 in Africa, 22,723 in Europe and Middle East, 12,564 in Asia and West Pacific.

Clerk of Ireland Yearly Meeting of Friends, Alan Pim, said it was "a tremendous privilege for us in Ireland to host this gathering of Quakers from around the world . . . . The triennial conference builds solidarity and connections which we can use in spiritual and practical ways."

Attendance at the conference included 38 Irish delegates.

CORK'S UNITARIAN Church has a new woman at the helm.

Reverend Bridget Spain from Dublin, has been appointed Minister in Charge of the Princes Street Unitarian Church.

Rev. Spain is the first woman to get the post in the congregations' 350-year history. She replaces Rev. Brian Cockroft from Belfast. A spokesperson for the congregation said:

"We are grateful to Brian for his contribution to the Cork congregation and hope he will continue to play an active role our community.

"However Bridget is geographically positioned to be more directly involved and we very much look forward to working with her."

Originally from Offaly, Rev. Spain is a trained accountant and qualified as a Unitarian Minister in 2006. On 10th February 2007, she was inducted as Assist-

ant Minister at the Dublin Unitarian Church on St Stephens Green, a role she will continue with in addition to her Cork responsibilities.

Rev. Spain said: "*I am delighted to be appointed as Minister in Charge of Cork and hope to travel to Cork regularly to lead services and contribute to the growth of the liberal religious movement in the city*".

"NATURE has poured forth all things for the common use of all men. And God has ordained that all things should be produced that there might be food in common for all, and that the earth should be the common possession of all. Nature created common rights, but usurpation has transformed them into private rights" (St. Ambrose: On the Duties of Clergy, 1, 132. (4th cent.).

"FORMER CONVENT sites are heaven sent for developers". Two former convent development sites in County Cork are being sold on by property developer Gerry Donovan of Irish & European Properties.

Having acquired grants of planning permission for both, Mr Donovan is selling a site he acquired in the heart of Skibbereen, the former Mercy Convent, plus another in Mitchelstown. Each is loosely valued at about 3.5 million by agents DTZ Sherry FitzGerald.

The Skibbereen site, with existing buildings, has planning for 42 residential units, 150 parking spaces, retail usage, restaurant, offices, community facilities and a two-screen cinema.

In Mitchelstown, the former Presentation convent has permission for a two-screen cinema, office and community facilities, plus 52 residential units with parking.

WATERFORD: Some of the 12.2 million euros that the diocese of Waterford and Lismore has gained through the sale of some of its land is to be set aside for a potential new seminary for trainee priests.

The sale of the nine-acre piece of land that was part of the site of the former St John's College in Waterford city has been confirmed by the diocese—subject to approval by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests.

The diocese has retained a further five acres to house a pastoral centre and community hall.

St. John's College itself was recently bought by the Respond voluntary housing association to be turned into apartments for the elderly in Waterford.

The closure of the seminary was described by the diocese as "*a lengthy and sad process*". But the spokesperson said that, in line with a Vatican stipulation regarding the closure of a seminary, money has to be put aside for the possibility of erecting a new seminary, if and when vocations rise again.



## A Journey Around Tom Dunne

"The history books got it wrong when they said the Normans who invaded Ireland over 800 years ago went on to become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves', according to a group of medieval academics. Generations of Irish schoolchildren were taught that the invaders failed to conquer the Irish people and eventually became submerged into the local society adopting their language and customs. However, a group of scholars who will present their findings at a conference in Trinity College... next week, have instead argued that it was the natives who began to imitate their conquerors from England. 'What we were fed at school was that Gaelic culture was so potent that it rubbed off on anyone who came into contact with it. The opposite was the case', said Sean Duffy, a senior lecturer in history at Trinity" (Irish Indep. 19 Sept.).

My understanding has always been that there was a convergence between the Normans and the Irish which left neither of them as they had been before. I cannot say if I picked up that idea at school (which I did not attend after the age of 12) or got it from the common store of knowledge that everybody knew. But I am certain that nobody thought the Normans who came to Ireland lost their quality as Normans and simply went native, and lost themselves. The very saying "*more Irish than the Irish*" indicates that.

What the Normans brought to the convergence was a political dimension that Gaelic Ireland itself was not generating. They came to Ireland on the authority of the Pope in order to establish the discipline of the Roman Church in Ireland in place of the wayward, unstructured Irish Christianity. And the Roman Church, as the great Whig historian, Macaulay observed, is a political Church. It is a Church, formed in conjunction with a state, which carries the implication of a state with it. The English political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, went as far as describing it as the ghost of the Roman Empire which survived the Empire.

The Normans went to England as the secular arm of the Papacy. England had been part of the Empire, so there was little difficulty about establishing the Roman Church there—at least once the influence of the disorderly Irish Christianity in northern England was curbed. The English Church was Roman before

the Norman Conquest, which in its religious aspect was only a consolidating measure. Ireland had not been part of the Empire. The structures of state which came with the Empire were not present in it. Christianity was a feature in the life of the clans, subordinate to the structure of the clans. Individuals who wanted it to be Christian in a more independent way segregated themselves into monasteries.

The usurpation of Brian Boru was merely disruptive of the Gaelic order. The ghost of the Roman Empire was not present to consolidate and legitimise it. The usurpation set off a century of intense wars between the Gaelic kingdoms or chieftainries. An appeal was made to Rome to do something to protect the Church from the wild disorder of the situation. Rome referred the matter to its secular arm of the time, the Norman kingdom in England. Henry II made the mistake of appointing his drinking and whoring companion, Thomas Beckett, a Saxon, to be his compliant Archbishop of Canterbury. The state, even though it acts as the secular arm of the Papacy, also has its own interests. Thomas, once he became Archbishop, became a conscientious upholder of the prerogatives of the Church. A group of Norman knights understood Henry to indicate that he wanted Thomas disposed of, and they disposed of him. Henry saw that this could put him in very serious trouble. Before the Pope could put his kingdom under interdict he implemented the old Papal mandate for a conquest of Ireland to bring it within the Roman discipline, putting the Pope in his debt.

The Normans did not set about colonising Ireland and exterminating the Irish, as the post-Reformation English did. They set about establishing Norman lordships in Ireland, intermarrying with the Irish, adopting some Irish customs, and becoming bilingual in the course of doing so. It then became a major English concern to prevent the development of an independent Norman kingdom in Ireland.

That is what I have understood as "*becoming more Irish than the Irish*". The sources of that understanding are ideas which I picked up when I was very young, possibly during my few years in school and possibly not, and from a reading of a very old translation of Keating. What I know the Becket affair I got from some histories of Henry

II which I read to get at the origins of the English Common Law.

I am not saying that this is accurate. I am only saying that it is how the Norman/Irish relationship was understood, in my experience, in those backward times around 1950 when we were all ignorant. And the political dimension that the Normans brought to the convergence was much appreciated.

My active interest in Irish history—which was aroused by a need to deal with the Northern situation in 1969—does not go back far beyond 1641, when the Westminster Parliament murdered Lord Strafford, disrupted his statecraft, and precipitated a conflict of the social elements in Ireland. Everything before that is pre-history for me. After that Normans and Irish were all treated as one by the English Puritans and the Scottish Presbyterians. The Normans were obnoxious to the new English if, having come to Ireland to make it Roman Catholic, they remained Roman Catholic. The Irish were obnoxious because they were Irish. The distinction of Norman and Irish ceased to matter, the operative division enforced by the English state being between Protestants and others, with a subordinate division between Anglican Protestants—who monopolised political office—and the Presbyterian colony in the North.

There was a later division between Jacobites (who included Protestants) and Williamites and Hanoverians. William's *coup d'état* of 1688, and the import of a German king in 1714, alienated a section of the Protestants, either because they were scrupulous about Oaths or because they valued the legitimacy of tradition in affairs of state.

I suppose the best known Jacobite Protestant in Ireland was Swift. Because of the way things worked out he is a figure in English literature.

Professor Foster ridiculed the *Catholic Bulletin* for denying that Swift and others were Irish writers. Martin Mansergh forced the same argument on me in a letters exchange in the *Belfast Irish News*, on the ground of national identity. I know nothing about national identity. I could only say in reply to Mansergh that it seemed to me to be a will o' the wisp. His father was a historian in an English University, and in the British Foreign Office body called Chatham House, and he was head of a Department of the Ministry of Information during the World War. As a writer and administrator he worked in the service of the British state. Perhaps in moments of relaxation he was an Irish country gentleman. I know nothing

about that. I have only ever referred to him in his professional capacity, and that was indisputably English.

With Swift it was a bit more complicated. He was an English politician, born in Ireland, and later exiled in Ireland when the possibility of an English political career was aborted by the Whig *coup d'état* of 1714. In his Irish exile he seems to have developed a kind of pity for the Papist Irish, while detesting the Presbyterians in the North.

The Jacobites of the 1714 vintage were a variegated lot. They included, for example, Swift's colleague, Bolingbroke, who was I suppose the founder of atheist rationalism in England, and William Law (Charlotte Brooke's mentor) who was a very devout Anglican, along with Catholics and nominal Protestants.

Bolingbroke escaped probable execution by escaping to France, from where he conducted an extensive correspondence with Swift, the Anglican clergyman.

Another of Swift's correspondents was Charles Wogan, an Irish Catholic soldier in Continental service, who chose a wife for the King in exile, James III, and helped her to escape across the Alps to marry him. (He wrote an account of the adventure in French, which will be published with an English translation in the new year.)

What was the difference between a Jacobite (a supporter of the Stuart monarchy even after it was overthrown) and a Hanoverian (a supporter of the German dynasty brought in when Queen Anne died in 1714)? Was it a mere difference of personnel which signified nothing more? If so, why should somebody like Swift have staked so much on it?

Very few of the Anglo-Irish were Jacobites. They were a colonial settlement entirely dependent on the English state. When all that Swift stood for had passed away, he was adopted by Anglo-Ireland as one of its literary glories (and by England likewise). It is not surprising, then, that what he did stand for was lost in the process of iconisation.

His main political achievement was the influence he exerted by means of pamphlets in English public opinion which enabled Marlborough's war against France to be stopped. And one of his main reasons for stopping the war was to stop the displacement of traditional social values by mere money values, which was going on at an accelerating pace in conjunction with

the growth of the national debt to pay for the war.

(These remarks were intended to be introductory to a further comment on Tom Dunne, the former Christian

Brother who was reborn as something else in the Cambridge History Department. But they have got out of hand and had better stop here.)

TO BE CONTINUED

Manus O'Riordan

## Tom Barry And Sectarian Degradation

For those like myself who have in recent years defended the reputation of Tom Barry, the West Cork War of Independence leader, against charges of religious sectarianism, there should always be an openness to take on board any new evidence that might come to light. Can it be argued any longer that Barry was supremely indifferent to issues of religious affiliation? This is the question that we must now ask ourselves in the light of a Bureau of Military History Witness Statement that has been brought to light by Annie Ryan in her 2007 book *Comrades—Inside the War of Independence*.

The witness concerned was an IRA veteran who voiced "*extreme disgust*" as he recalled how he had been ordered by Barry to punish two members of a religious congregation in West Cork in a particularly humiliating manner that quite deliberately highlighted their denominational affiliation. The pair had been charged with a crime against the IRA's "*rule of law*" in the locality, and the punishment decreed by Barry was that both of his prisoners were to be tied up early one Sunday morning on the railings of their very own Church, so that what the veteran described as "*a degrading and most inhuman procedure*" might be on full view for all their fellow congregants to witness, including the mother of one of those IRA "*victims*", as they arrived for Sabbath observance some hours later.

Was this a deviation from the denominational indifference that I have hitherto ascribed to Barry? In his 1998 book *The IRA And Its Enemies*, Peter Hart had gratuitously given one of his chapters the title of "*Taking it out on the Protestants*". This was only one of the many of Hart's chapters which, in my view, Meda Ryan had been particularly effective in discrediting in her 2003 biography, *Tom Barry—Irish Freedom Fighter*. Indeed, as I was to argue in a review of her book in the Fall 2004 issue of the Boston College publication, *Irish Literary Supplement* :

"Like a heroine of a historical version of *Crime Scene Investigation*, Ryan's forensic expertise is employed to demolish another hare set running by Hart, namely, that the Boys of

Kilmichael had engaged in a sectarian pogrom against West Cork Protestants during the Truce period of 1922. Following the murder of a Republican by Loyalists whose car he was attempting to 'borrow', there had indeed been a number of Protestants murdered, but not because they were Protestants. Tom Barry had at a very early stage decided that his own history of the War of Independence would not name the British Army's informers of those years, out of consideration for the feelings of their families. Hart, by way of contrast, in shouting from the roof-tops the names of all those Protestants killed in April 1922, and presenting them as religious martyrs whose images might properly adorn a memorial banner, left Ryan with no alternative but to publish the evidence that all but two of them had indeed been Loyalist informers. The two exceptions were the brother of one informer and the son of another. My own Clonakilty Republican mother knew the latter Loyalist family, and forty years ago she told me how disgusted the wider Republican community had been at the despicable murder of the young lad."

"But neither should the informers themselves have been killed at that stage, since the Truce ceasefire required a line to be drawn under the settling of 'old' scores, however recent. Barry, who was based in Dublin at that time, bore no responsibility for such actions. But he did return quickly to West Cork and did indeed drive some people out of the area. His targets were, however, a number of local Catholics attempting to derive sectarian advantage against their Protestant neighbours from the tensions that undoubtedly resulted. And West Cork Protestant farmers went on to warmly thank and praise Barry for the armed IRA protection he provided for them against any such threat of sectarian abuse."

It is, however, now time to reproduce and reflect on the Witness Statement, unearthed by Annie Ryan in respect of an incident ten months previously where, as she puts it, "*Superintendent Philip*

*Chambers's testimony casts a new light on this problem (of discipline), and how Tom Barry dealt with it".* She quotes Chambers as follows:

"In June 1921, two men were found guilty of breaking into the house of the late Canon Haynes, the Protestant Rector of Kenneigh. The punishment decreed was to have them tied to the railings of the local Parish Church on a Sunday morning. It was my job to have this job carried out. I look back on it now with extreme disgust, for I consider that it was a degrading and most inhuman procedure. It happened on that morning that the mother of one of them actually passed by on her way to Mass—one can very easily picture the poor woman's feelings. This was, in my honest opinion, a rotten method of enforcing the law, and I would have much preferred to take these men out and shoot them rather than (carry out) the procedure (that was) adopted."

As can now be quite clearly seen, there is in fact nothing new in this evidence to shake our continuing conviction that Tom Barry had never been guilty of the sectarian crime of *"taking it out on the Protestants"*. Quite the contrary. The charge levelled against Barry by his IRA subordinate Philip Chambers was that he had been guilty of something akin to *"taking it out on the Catholics"*. But should it rather not be seen as a dramatic action taken by Barry in order to stamp out from the word go even a suspicion of sectarianism? The robbery being punished by Barry had more likely than not been a criminal act, pure and simple. Nevertheless, it was the local Protestant Rectory that had been violated. Barry adjudged that punishment of the culprits on the railings of the corresponding Catholic Church would be the most effective way of ensuring that the Church of Ireland in his own area would never again be similarly offended during the course of the War of Independence.

Angela Clifford

## Devolution Of Justice Powers In Northern Ireland

*Sir Brian Will Resist Political Meddling.* the *Irish News* reported of evidence given by Northern Ireland Lord Chief Justice Sir Brian Kerr to the *Executive Review Committee* of the Northern Ireland Assembly, chaired by Jeffrey Donaldson of the DUP (3.10.07).

He is quoted as saying: *"Judges are not troubled by the need to be accountable"*. Sinn Fein has demanded the devolution of Policing and Justice powers to the Assembly and believes it has won an assurance that this will happen by 2008. But, for this to happen, the Assembly has to agree a new model of control.

Northern Ireland has never had a devolved legal jurisdiction under local control.

Stormont had no control of the higher courts, which remained under the British Lord Chancellor.

At the same time Unionist legal ideologists viewed the system as separate from that operating in England and Wales. That was part of the widely-held idea that Stormont virtually had the status of a Dominion. William Craig, a lawyer himself, was a prominent Ministerial proponent of that idea.

In the late sixties/early seventies Lord Chief Justice McDermott tried to promote the development of a separate legal system in Northern Ireland, which he called *"this small country"*. In fact, just as the whole devolved structures were beginning to crumble, McDermott was leading a campaign to obtain devolution of legal powers from Britain to local administration. If that had happened, the British Cabinet, in the shape of the Lord Chancellor, would no longer have had control over the appointment of the senior Judges—a 'reserved' power under the Government of Ireland Act 1920.

Now the whole issue raises its head again, with Sir Brian apparently continuing where LCJ MacDermott left off. The one thing that is not spelt out in the reports of his speech is who will appoint the Judges when justice powers are devolved. There is an implication in his reported remarks that the Lord Chief Justice would run the whole shebang, chairing a Board to run the Courts' Service, *"at arm's length"* from the devolved Government.

It has long been the ambition of so-called legal reformers to take this prerogative of judicial appointments away from the politicians. At present it is the Lord Chancellor in England who appoints judges (and the Taoiseach in Ireland (selecting from a short-list produced by a judicial committee)). In America it is the President who appoints Supreme Court judges, though there additional democratic input is provided by the vetting of candidates by elected representatives. Such a system seems

advisable when judges are active in making law.

In Northern Ireland judges resisted McDermott's attempts to promote judicial activism on the basis of its 'constitution'—the Government of Ireland Act 1920. His idea was that law, rather than politics, would bring reform of civil rights transgressions. Harry Calvert was a Queen's lecturer who promoted this idea. That suggestion never took: right up to the present, the judiciary looks to the British, rather than the Irish and American, model. The MacDermott/Calvert strategy misconceived the situation. The civil rights problem was not caused by individual miscreants or defective laws, but by social arrangements sent in place to maintain a particular political set-up. Only political change could remedy what was a political, not a legal, problem.

At the same time the idea was prevalent that the Northern Ireland jurisdiction was quite different to that prevailing in England and Wales.

The way that devolution of justice powers is arranged will be important to the future constitutional development of the island.

The idea of a distinct Northern Ireland jurisdiction was always a nonsense. The general system in operation remains British, with some hang-overs of British-made Irish law and some ancient Anglo-Irish legal procedures remaining. Moreover, while the British system was modernised and streamlined, the NI system modernised very slowly.

It is possible that the judiciary see the devolution of justice powers from the Lord Chancellor as an occasion to continue where Justice MacDermott left off—and perhaps even to go further. With a divided Executive, there is an opportunity to build a free-standing legal empire. But such a development could cause difficulties at some future date when the constitutional position of Northern Ireland changes.

The principle that seems best suited to the present situation would be to make as little change to existing structures as possible. That could be arranged by simply transferring the judicial powers currently held by the British Cabinet to the elected Executive. Senior legal appointments should be in the gift of the First and Deputy First Ministers. And if a Board is established to run the Courts service, surely it would make sense to have it chaired by an elected Minister?



There is renewed interest in Edward Carson, with Rev. Ian Paisley inaugurating in October 2007 an annual Memorial Lecture in his honour at the Historical Society of Trinity College Dublin, where Carson studied between 1874 and 1877. A reader has sent us the following typescript of a lecture, broadcast on Radio Eireann broadcast last year ago (30th October, as part of a series entitled *Speaking Ill Of The Dead*). *Church & State* considers that **Martin Mansergh's** important talk deserves not to sink into obscurity

### Edward Carson And The Last-Ditch Stand Of The Ascendancy

The title is taken from a much-respected historian, A.T.Q. Stewart, *The Ulster Crisis, Resistance To Home Rule 1912-14*, first published in 1967. The exact quotation is: "The Ascendancy had undeniably chosen Ulster as the ditch they would make their last stand in". He goes on to make the very valid point that a religion was the dynamic in Ulster and not merely a cloak for other motives. Historians have sometimes underestimated this, the politicians never. Indeed it is not entirely without significance that, 90 years on, the principal leader of the Unionist community is the Rev. Ian Paisley, who made his reputation as a radical religious firebrand in the tradition of the Rev. Henry Cooke, but equally seeing himself as the successor of Carson. Much of the religious factor may have been perception. Stewart wrote, and he was writing in 1967,

"The Protestants' fears about a Dublin Parliament may have been exaggerated, and the history of Ireland since independence has on the whole tended to suggest they were. But they did not think so at the time and it was upon that belief that they acted."

There were of course class interests, economic interests, and among Ulster Unionists at least, the sense of a sharply differing national identity and ethnic origin. Despite the title of this series, only a few historical characters are unequivocally and unremittingly bad. I do not claim that Carson belongs to their number.

I propose to adopt for the structure for this Address an extraordinary editorial that appeared in the *Irish Times* on the 23rd of October 1935, with the title *Carson Of Duncairn*, the day after his death, which has value as a contemporary witness. *The Irish Times* at that time was still primarily the newspaper of the small Protestant and Southern Unionist minority. It had just come under one of its most famous Editors, R.M. Smyllie. I will provide further commentary and try to make it clear where I agree, and indeed where I fundamentally disagree, with what I presume was his assessment. The Editorial was written from the point view

of the community from which Carson had sprung but had left behind, though he returned to it in spirit in his post-1921 political retirement.

Events in which Carson had played a large part had left that community out on a limb, and consequently its principal newspaper voice could not share the valedictory enthusiasm of the Church of Ireland Primate in Armagh, P.F. Darcy, who in his funeral oration could laud Carson's role in the greater struggle for Ulster, the fire of patriotism, the thrilling tone of his voice, and praise what the great Leader did for the land he loved so well. Which land, one might ask, did the Primate mean? Ulster or Ireland?

The *Irish Times* editorial began on a starkly different note. I quote: "Edward Carson's career was one of the tragedies of Irish history".

The next, and extraordinarily shocking sentence, which all of us would strongly disagree with today, can only be understood in the context of its time, 1935. It read: "If he had been 40 years younger, Lord Carson might have been a British Hitler or even a Mussolini". In 1935 there was a section of right-wing opinion in these islands—newspaper proprietor Lord Rothermere, who was incidentally the uncle of my aunt, to the fore—who admired strong leaders on the Continent, even though they engaged in histrionics and had no compunction about illegality. And, although Sir Oswald Mosley, like Eoin O'Duffy, had a certain following, and doubts about the efficacy or viability of democracy in both islands were quite widespread, there is no evidence that Britain at this period would have been susceptible to dictatorship from Carson or anyone else.

The second half of the sentence claimed, "as it is, he has died at the age of 81 after a life crowned with great achievements and yet strangely barren of great results".

Carson himself might have largely shared that sentiment. He died feeling strongly unfulfilled and a disappointed and disillusioned man. Without, I sense anyway, a sense of paternal pride in Northern Ireland that one might have expected, especially given the homage he received there in the form of the

magnificent statue outside the Parliament Building at Stormont, unveiled in his presence in 1933.

The Editorial went on to claim Carson for the South, and I quote:

"He was a Southern Irishman in every fibre of his being. To the end of his days he preserved a rich Dublin brogue and in many ways was typical of the South, yet he is being buried in Belfast and his whole political career was identified with the province of Ulster."

His father was an architect and civil engineer involved in building many elegant houses in South Dublin and its suburbs that nowadays sell for large sums of money. He was briefly a member of Dublin Corporation, from 1877, sitting as a Liberal Conservative. While he built a sewer along Marlborough Road at his own expense, the indictment made against Conservatives, whether Unionist or Nationalist, on the Corporation by Professor Mary Daly in her study, *Dublin, The Deposed Capital*, was their resistance to attempts to relieve gross overcrowding and to fund the most basic and sanitary facilities which gave Dublin pre-1914 the second highest infant mortality in Europe. Because their priority was to keep down the tax burden on ratepayers. Those who nowadays talk up Ireland under the Union tend to forget the appalling social conditions. Not to mention the decimation of the population of the island as a result, not just of Famine, but a *laissez-faire* British policy with more than a touch or moral vindictiveness, Ireland to this day being unique in Europe in having less population than 160 years ago, though that may at last be about to correct itself; de-industrialisation everywhere except the North-East; and finally the scandalous fact that until about 1900 the Irish periphery was subsidising the metropolitan centre rather than the other way around.

The Editorial went on to praise Carson's forensic prowess at the Bar, and the fact that he figured in nearly every *cause celebre*. He first came to prominence as a prosecuting ally of the Chief Secretary, Arthur Balfour, at a time of vigorous reassertion of the Conservative landlord interest in response to the Plan of Campaign. Carson was in Mitchelstown in 1887 when the police fired into the crowd, though not directly a witness of what was dubbed the Mitchelstown Massacre. He became a fearless champion of the Ascendancy to which he was connected through his mother, a Lambert, descended from one of Cromwell's Generals. His Court duel with his Trinity contemporary Oscar Wilde in 1895 proved the ruin of the genius, when in the words of Wilde's



biographer, Richard Ellman, Carson "marched mercilessly through his liaisons". It is not easy however to blame Carson for Wilde's imprudence. His defence of Dr. Jameson was less successful, though it is interesting to note that the Raid, and indeed the Boer War afterwards, was all about trying to assert the superior rights of British citizens, regardless of where they were in a minority.

The *Irish Times* went on to speak of Carson's wholehearted identification with the Unionist Party, and credited him with marshalling opinion in North-East Ulster into an organised campaign. He certainly provided the inspiration. Others may in the strict sense of the word be better organisers. The paper continued: "Edward Carson was the man who almost singlehanded brought all the well-laid schemes of Asquith and Redmond to nought". Great efforts are made nowadays to obscure the truth of that judgment. A whole school of commentators, uniting neo-Unionists and neo-Redmondites, would try to persuade us that it was P. Pearse and the calamity of the 1916 Rising that tragically frustrated the life-work of John Redmond, rather than Unionist resistance to Home Rule. James Craig's remark that he would rather live under the Kaiser than John Redmond has been conveniently forgotten. And what we never hear from such commentators is the logical follow-through which even George V conceded in the early 1930s, that Unionist resistance to Home Rule in the era of John Redmond was totally over the top and tragically misguided.

Let us examine the phenomenon, by no means confined to Ireland, of trying to maintain the hegemony of an Imperially-backed minority faced with the forces of nationalism and democracy. The Ascendancy was always a minority, even within Protestantism. For the best part of three centuries, let us say from 1529 to 1829, though those are not necessarily the exact dates, Anglican conformity was made as far as possible the basis for distributing what became post-1690 a near-monopoly of power, wealth and land. In the late 18th century Protestant Ireland was even tempted to follow the rebellious example of America, but this foundered on the re-emergence of Catholic power vividly highlighted by the 1798 Rebellion. The Act of Union was a *fait en avant*, a pact oiled by corruption between ruling elites that, had it been fully revealed, would have caused a scandal even by the standards of the late reign of George III.

The Union in no way involved the mass of the people of Ireland, and on the contrary was designed to pre-empt them from ever being able to assert majority rights in an island context. The

Anglo-Irish elite, in contrast, were deeply attached to and greatly benefitted from the British connection. Most members of the Church of Ireland, and especially its clerical, political and social leaders, had deep reservations about democracy, if it meant conceding Home Rule or subjecting in many cases propertied Protestants to Catholic and Nationalist majority rule. As Patrick Buckland concedes at the end of his book on Irish Unionism outside of Ulster, regarding its negotiations with the new emerging order in 1922, its spokespersons were not democrats.

William Plunkett, Archbishop of Dublin, said at the time of the 2nd Home Rule Bill in April 1893, that the minority opposed to it—

"represents the intelligence, the education and the standing of the people much more than the majority. The mere fact that some of the Irish people wish for it ought not surely to be sufficient reason for this concession. Very few even among those who have voted for it really care for Home Rule."

Bishop of Down and future Primate C.F. Darcy wrote in 1912 of there never being in the minds of "Irish Protestants so deep a dread of Roman aggression".

Though only a quarter of the population, the Bishop claimed they were "by far the most energetic portion of the inhabitants, a fact which politicians may well lay to heart.

Erskine Childers, then a moderate Liberal Home Ruler, was deeply shocked by the virulence of many Protestant clergy, and the forbearance of the Catholic population of the North in the face of that onslaught.

C Connolly was indignant at the proposal to leave the Home Rule minority "at the mercy of an ignorant majority with the evil record of the Orange party".

Little of the role of the Churches has been properly explored by historians. Nowadays in some quarters the Home Rule Party is extolled as the essence of democracy, in contrast to the Republicanism that emerged from 1916. The modern word for Home Rule is of course Devolution, now working well in Scotland and Wales and waiting to be restored in Northern Ireland. Arguably it could and should have represented an historic compromise between Unionism and Nationalism. Home Rule taking place within the context of the Union, the Act of which would not even have needed to be repealed. Some explaining has to be done as to why that course, or rather stopping it, justified Civil War if necessary.

Hysteria was whipped up in North-East Ulster. Carson denounced Home Rule on a platform as "the most nefarious conspiracy that has ever been hatched

against a free people". Privately he wrote to Lady Londonderry,

"how I long to see Home Rule defeated. It is I think a passion with me. I cannot bear the hypocrisy of so-called political toleration".

The Asquith Government was ludicrously described by Carson as "a revolutionary Committee which has seized upon despotic power by fraud", an allusion among other things to the removal of the absolute Veto power of the House of Lords. And, although he wasn't a member, he was certainly a Last Ditcher to the end.

The Ulster Covenant of 1912 is an absolute anti-democratic document which compares very poorly as a foundation document with the 1916 Proclamation. It does not concede so much as an inch of legitimacy to the democratically-backed demand for self-government in any other part of Ireland going back to the time of O'Connell. It simply states: "Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as of the whole of Ireland", and speaks boldly of using "all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland".

Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon, too, regarded democracy as a subversive conspiracy. Many commentators today try to focus on what they regard as the reprehensible militarism of the Republicanism that between 1916 and 1921 created this state. Yet prior to 1916 it was the Ulstermen who were proved to be the fighters—the Prussians of Ireland—*Ulster Will Fight And Ulster Will Be Right*—in contrast to the ineffectual romantic Ireland, dead and gone, and presumed to be with John O'Leary at the grave. Protestant Churchmen waxed lyrical about making the ultimate sacrifice. Archbishop Bernard of Dublin, preaching at Christmas 1915—and note the date—referred to Home Rule and said "The way of peace may be through war even to the followers of the Prince of Peace".

In the *Irish Church Quarterly* of April 1916, printed just before the Rising, W.S. Kerr wrote of Ulster:

"We who know her and are thrilled by the spectacle of a law-abiding, industrious people preparing through fidelity to principle to make the ultimate sacrifice and committing their cause to the God of their fathers".

Not too much wrong then with Unionist sacrificing lives to prevent Home Rule.

Nor much sign of the war having brought Unionists and Nationalists together as fondly imagined by neo-Redmondites today.

The *Irish Times* of 1935, in contrast, took a thoroughly jaundiced view of the

effects of Carson's pre-War actions, and I quote:

"In the light of subsequent events however, there can be little doubt that Lord Carson's campaign against Home Rule proved to have been a disservice to the cause to which he was so passionately loyal. When he decided to arm the Ulster Volunteers, and when his lieutenants ran their guns in such a spectacular manner on the Antrim coast, he hardly could have anticipated that his example would be followed very shortly by the political extremists in the South. He had hoped to keep Ireland in the British Empire. Indeed, within the United Kingdom, and to use force if necessary in the pursuit of his ideals. The men who took their cue from him in the South were equally determined to remove Ireland from the Empire and to use their guns against the British authorities. In the event, a wretched compromise was achieved. Ireland ran red with blood for two or three years. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed, and Partition became an accomplished fact. We do not believe that Edward Carson ever desired Partition, yet he remains as its supreme architect. He defied the law in the North in order to strengthen the Imperial bond. Similar methods were employed in the South with precisely opposite aims and the results are all too apparent today."

As Eoin MacNeill entitled a fine famous pamphlet, *The North Began*. It was E. Carson, not P. Pearse, who first mooted establishing a Provisional Government, and making absolutely no bones about its illegality. If he had ever established it and occupied key buildings in Belfast, what British General would have been ordered to suppress the Rising? What gunships would have shelled the city and gutted the public buildings? And what firing squad would Carson, Craig, Crawford and other ringleaders have faced? As Roger Casement said at his trial to F.E. Smith, comparing treason:

"The difference between us was that the Unionist champions chose a part they felt would lead to the Woolsack, while I went a road which I knew must lead to the Dock".

In the Irish Convention of 1917-18 Carson resisted strong pressure from Southern Unionists for compromise and acceptance of Home Rule for the island, being at most prepared to concede as a fig-leaf a Council of Ireland to run some residual joint services, an idea later converted by Unionists into a Nationalist conspiracy.

In an article in the *Sunday Independent* a couple of weeks ago the next speaker, Ruth Dudley Edwards, made

out that Carson wanted a United Ireland. Yes, that is true—a United Ireland as part of the United Kingdom with no Home Rule. Needless to say one need not subscribe to the *Irish Times's* 1935 negative view of the struggle for independence, and by implication of the Irish Free State, which incidentally was also the title of my father's first book in 1934 at the age of 24, much more positive in tone than the *Irish Times* editorial, but written by a young person from the same tradition with a respect and enthusiasm for the pioneering efforts of building a new state.

A similar view was expressed by Dorothy Macardle, author of an immensely valuable source book with a Foreword by Eamon De Valera, *The Irish Republic*. She was a teacher at Alexandra College, which, although a Unionist educational establishment, kept her job open when she was imprisoned in Mountjoy in 1922. Towards the end of her life—she died in 1958, the Rector of Raheny presiding at her funeral—she along with others, including my father, contributed to a series of Thomas Davis lectures. In her case it was a retrospective piece on Pearse and Connolly, published in a volume entitled *The Shaping Of Modern Ireland*, edited by Conor Cruise O'Brien. She referred to problems in intervening decades as "passing ills", and concluded, and I quote:

"Perhaps the existence of the Sovereign Independent Republic of Ireland might seem a sufficient—indeed a superb, reward for all the toil and anxiety and sacrifice, despite its flaws. Defects we have in plenty—and we are not without being told about them. And are we not free? And is not a free-born generation preparing to take the future of the Republic into able and fruitful hands?" [Macardle's text says "faithful hands".]

It is argued that Ireland should have waited a generation and it would all have happened naturally. Which is perhaps, to my way of thinking anyway, another way of saying that some other unfortunate country should have been left to do the independence fighting. Stanley Baldwin's dictum that there must not be another Ireland in India shows that those who fought in the independence struggle did a significant service to humanity.

In 1920 Carson made an unforgivable incendiary speech which led to Catholic workers being driven out of the shipyards, and he often expressed the view that loyal Protestants should not have to work alongside disloyal Sinn Feiners, i.e. Catholics. He bitterly opposed the Treaty and the whole notion of negotiating with terrorists, and claimed in the House of Lords Treaty

Debate with false naivete that he had been betrayed by a purely power-seeking Tory Party, rightly attracting the scorn of Lord Chancellor Lord Birkenhead, F.E. Smith.

One can, of course, also find many calmer, more constructive statements by Carson, but they did little to repair the damage done by the more incendiary ones.

In later life, apart from a helpful intervention in the dispute over the Hugh Lane pictures, he acted as a postbox for disillusioned and unhappy erstwhile loyalist followers in the South, for whom he, perhaps rightly, felt some responsibility. Expressing the view in the late 1920s that a Republic would be more honest did not stop him bitterly complaining in his last speech in the House of Lords on the 7th of December 1933 to the Government, as De Valera was dismantling the Treaty: "Every single promise you have made to the Loyalists has been broken, and every pledge as to law and order has been destroyed, everything that makes life and property safe, has gone, and now the last remnant has been torn away". Maybe he was referring among other things to the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which was being done away with.

In the light of that it is amazing that, little more than a decade later, post-war, wealthy people emigrated from England to Ireland seeking a safe haven from the 1945 Labour Government and a Socialist England: what my father used to call the retreat from Moscow.

As Garret Fitzgerald has pointed out, even Churchill at this period began to warm to Ireland. And all this would be very surprising if independent Ireland was as coldly inhospitable to Protestants as is sometimes made out.

The main lines of the *Irish Times* 1935 Editorial stand: that Carson's career was one of the tragedies of Irish history, that his histrionics were destructive, not least of community relations, that he destroyed both Redmond and Home Rule, and that, while not desiring Partition, he was the principal architect of it. The gamble of using North East Ulster to defeat or nullify Home Rule for the rest of Ireland failed. As I say, it is not clear how far he reciprocated the pride in Northern Ireland that Unionist Northern Ireland clearly expressed in him.

Unionists in the North and nearly everyone in the South are today strongly attached to the state to which they respectively belong without always caring too much about the pros and cons of how they arrived at their present Constitutional position. If one wishes to be critical, the Ulster resistance to Home Rule is every bit as debatable as

1916 and the War of Independence. But, whatever view one takes of any of these, it's not likely to alter very much what we have in both parts of the island today. Political accommodation has to proceed from where we are post-Good Friday Agreement, rather than where any of us might wish to be if we could alter the outcomes of 80 to 90 years ago. Each section of the community must make its own analysis and future choices freely and without coercion.

In my view Carsonism was a failed attempt—conspiracy even—by reactionary interests exploiting popular sentiment in North East Ulster to block even a limited form of self-government in Ireland, let alone a national democracy, with a separate Northern Ireland under its own version of Home Rule becoming the fall-back position. In the short to medium term post-1922 Ulster Unionists were insulated from the rest of Ireland and had only quite a large but seemingly impotent minority to contain. Cross-border challenges, political or paramilitary, were easily brushed off. A terrible retribution, to use a Gladstonian phrase, came with the Civil Rights movement, the collapse of stable majoritarian rule, and a bloody and deeply wrong attempt by an armed minority of a minority to achieve at one remove the physical coercion of a million people, little caring whether they stayed or went, which simply compounded the wrongs. Even today walls are needed to protect communities from each other and the legacy and persistence of division, which at this stage has a proliferation of causes, is not an uplifting sight.

My own view, and I am speaking of the island as a whole, is that the Protestant tradition, including where applicable the Ulster British community, belongs with Ireland, that it should not be afraid of minority status, which should matter less and less in a modern pluralist and multicultural society, and should not be afraid of being unable to hold its own in a more accommodating and less *farouche* way. Within wide legal limits people's choice of identity is their own.

I do not believe in the permanence or even the full coherence of a two nation dichotomy.

Ireland with or without Northern Ireland's participation now has an exciting future as an advanced European country with every prospect of enjoying a very high degree of prosperity and excellent quality of life. If a majority in Northern Ireland does not wish to participate, as they are free to do, the loss may be theirs as much as anyone else's, though their choices have unnecessarily penalised Nationalists over two generations who would mostly much prefer, if their votes mean anything, to

be an integral part of an independent Ireland. But the Peace Process, which has largely removed the physical and political threat, together with the very balanced Good Friday Agreement, opens up many half-way houses. Accepting it may be much too soon to contemplate taking any fuller step with so much bridge-building in all directions needing

to be undertaken. Whatever limited role I may have in public life I would like to use in part working with others to encourage the sense of honour in the island-wide tradition to which my forefathers belonged. And to contribute to undoing some of the nefarious legacy of history left behind by Sir Edward Carson who came from the South.

James Connolly

A reader has forwarded the following 1915 article for inclusion in the magazine:

### Wee Joe Devlin

That great, that heroic figure, Wee Joe Devlin, at the recent Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin), told how his society had rallied to the Empire in its day of difficulty—that difficulty for which all good Irish Nationalists were wont to pray:

"All the funds of the society were invested in Irish securities so that the money was retained in Ireland for the benefit of the Irish people, with the exception of £12,000 which had been invested in the new War Loan at 4 1/2 per cent, a fact which, taken with the numbers of those who had joined the colours, ought to demonstrate beyond question or doubt that in regard to the war the society, as a whole, recognised, in sympathy with the overwhelming majority of the Irish people, the obligation of supporting the cause of justice and freedom as represented by the Allies, as against the brute force, materialism and tyranny for which Germany stands in the present world conflict (applause)."

When you read a speech like that you at once realise that if Germany has discovered poisonous gas, we in Ireland have suffered from it for years. As I think of the hundreds of good men I have known, fathers of families, husbands, sons with aged parents, etc., who have been enticed to leave their homes and dear ones and march out to battle for an Empire that never kept faith with the Irish race, and think that it was Wee Joe's influence that led them to their folly, I think things that the Defence of the Realm Acts will not permit me to print.

Belfast opponents of Joe Devlin usually refer to him sarcastically as the 'Wee Bottlewasher,' alluding to his position before he climbed into power. The sarcasm is pointless. A bottlewasher was an honest occupation, but a recruiting sergeant luring to their death the men who trusted him and voted him into power is—ah well, let us remember the Defence of the Realm Act.

The present writer cannot ride up the Falls Road in his own motor car, the penny tram has to do him. But thank God, there are no fresh made graves in Flanders or the Dardanelles filled by the mangled corpses of men whom he coaxed or bullied into leaving their homes and families.

And that consolation counts more to the peace of his soul than would the possession of a motor car, or the companionship of grossly overfed boon companions of the bottlewasher—or of the bottle.

There are widows in Belfast today whose husbands would still be with them if they had taken my advice; there are orphans in Belfast today whose fathers would still be able to work for them and love them if they had taken my advice; there are stricken mothers and fathers in Belfast today whose sons would still be smiling and happy at the family hearth today if my advice had been listened to. And I am confident that it will not be long before these widows, orphans and bereaved parents with every sob and sigh will breathe a curse upon the conscienceless politician to whose advice they did listen.

You can fool all the people some of the time, you can fool some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

What is true of my attitude in Belfast is true of our attitude in Dublin and all over Ireland wherever our voice and influence could reach.

We saved the lives of thousands, held together thousands of homes, and amid all the welter and turmoil of a gigantic and unparalleled national betrayal we presented to the world the spectacle of the organised Irish working class standing steadfastly by the highest ideals of freedom, so that the flag of Labour became one with the standard of national liberty.

From **Workers' Republic**, 28 August 1915.  
Transcribed by *The James Connolly Society* in 1997.

## Pat Maloney

Thoughts On The 2006 Census

### *Quo Vadis?*

**Ireland is a nation of sales staff, builders and care workers, figures show—not quite surpassing Mrs. Thatcher's 'nation of shopkeepers' but consuming our way towards it, speedily!**

On 20th September 2007, the Government released the latest batch of figures from last year's Census, focusing on the kinds of jobs undertaken by the country's 2.1 million labour force.

The most common job for men was in the construction industry, while women were the dominant sex in the office and clerical world.

The headcount found a huge rise in the number of men and women employed in the "*personal services and childcare*" sector, which covers restaurants, pubs, hotels care homes, hair salons and funeral directors.

Since the previous census in 2002, the number of people employed in the sector has risen by 53,885 or 35.6% to 205,197, making the group of occupations Ireland's most popular.

At the bottom of the scale were clergymen and clergywomen, who numbered 3,902 (down 75 or 1.9% on the 2002 census), making the group Ireland's smallest occupational sector.

But the second most popular occupation was in the field of sales jobs and allied trades, which employed 205,102, or around one in 10 of every person in Ireland's workforce.

Among the occupations with the biggest influxes of workers was the construction trade, which employs 183,429, up 46,731, or 34.2% on the 2002 figure.

"The number of road workers almost trebled from 2,980 to 8,802 in four years," said the Central Statistics Office, which compiled the Census.

"The numbers of pipelayers, bricklayers, crane drivers, roofers and plasterers all increased by over 70% over the period."

Expansions were also seen in the computer software industry, which, in four years, has seen worker numbers rise by 7,818, or 20.7%, to 45,588.

In the four years between the two headcounts, the numbers working in the field of law, insurance, accountancy and related fields leapt by 16,410, or 26.2%, to 79,062.

The numbers of people in light industry, including skilled crafts workers, rose 20.8% to 74,714.

Among the occupational groups suffering severe cull of workers was textile, clothing and leather industry, which has seen numbers shrink by 21.2% from 9,409 to 7,416 in the space of four years.

Likewise, the numbers in the Army fell by 5.2% or 407 personnel to 7,442, making the armed force the country's third smallest occupational group.

## D.D. Sheehan

The following election ballad was popular in Cork in the 1910-1914 years, when the All-For-Ireland League was ousting the Irish Parliamentary Party of John Redmond, Joe Devlin and John Dillon

### Mid-Cork Election Ballad

Men of Mid-Cork prepare yourself before it is too late  
And prove to Josie Devlin that you will not tolerate  
To be represented by a henchman of his choice  
But send him back from where he came in no uncertain voice.

Say who is Billy Fallon or who heard of him before  
From the village of Kilmichael to the cross at Donoghmore  
Or from far famed Ballingearry all over dell and glen  
By the River Lee to Inniscarra where brave Mackey drilled his men

When the sheriff and his agent and the burly peelers came  
To hunt you from your homesteads in the King of England's name  
Who was foremost in the struggle to stop that hellish work  
But the gallant D.D. Sheehan ever member for mid-Cork.

Who negotiated purchase and secured you in your land  
Free forever from the bailiff or the cruel eviction band  
And brought joy and consolation to your children and your wives  
Which they ever will remember to the finish of their lives.

Who obtained commodious dwellings for the hardy sons of toil  
Not alone in this division but throughout the Holy Isle  
For that very Act of Parliament would never see the loom  
But for Mr. D.D. Sheehan and O'Brien at Macroom.

And will you now abandon him and let yourself be fooled  
By that milk and water turncoat whose known as Dr. Goold  
Or that sanctimonious auctioneer, that hypocritical jackeen  
The likes of which our county Cork had better never seen.

Shout it back to Josie Devlin and his standing committee  
To the laity and the clergy of every degree  
That no power can damp your gratitude that burns in your souls  
When you boldly vote for Sheehan and elect him at the polls.

#### Post election epilogue

Mid-Cork sent its answer right back to the mob  
To poor Billy Fallon who failed in his job  
They wanted no Mollie to be their M.P.  
They got what they wanted and that was D.D..

The workforce in the country's chemical, plastics and printing industries fell by 15.6% to 19,268.

Analysing the figures also reveals a subtle shift in the make-up of Ireland's workforce.

In 2002, the five most common occupation in descending order were in sales, followed by clerical staff, service and childcare workers, builders and then managers. Religious occupations were bottom.

Last year, service and childcare workers topped the list followed by sales staff, builders, clerical workers and then bosses.

The number of people in the labour force — those able to work whether employed or not — came to 2.1 million in the 2006 Census, up 17.1% on the 2002 figure of 1.8m.

The most common occupation in Leinster was in the clerical, managerial or government sector; in Munster and Connacht it was in

the professions; while in the border counties manufacturing was the biggest employer

THAT GREEK worker — if you're Greek and working in Ireland's farming, fishery and forestry sector then you're unique, according to new figures from last year's Census.

For the headcount revealed just one Greek-born national was living in Ireland and working in the sector when the Census took place in April last year.

Of the 87,698 men and women living here who work on farms, in forests or on the seas, 82,071 are Irish-born, while seven are Nigerian, one Slovenian and four Danish.

Of all the countries in Europe or the western world, Luxembourg had the fewest workers in Ireland at 13.

Of these, two worked in manufacturing; a pair were in the clerical, managerial or government sector; one was in communication or transport; and three apiece were in sales and the professions. Two were employed in other jobs.

The biggest number of non-nationals in the Irish labour force were from Britain and the North (totalling 61,366) followed by Poland (55,076).

Gwydion M. Williams

## Extra-Terrestrials?

A couple of decades back, I was an avowed atheist. These days I am less certain of the underlying nature of the universe, which is clearly more complex than what I believed I saw in my 20s and 30s. But to find a sensible alternative is rather harder. Astrology is junk, as are most 'New Age' beliefs. Ex-Communist Doris Lessing produced a gripping highbrow drama in *Shikasta*, a 1979 vision of past and future that was absurdly inaccurate about both. She wrote it as part of a series she called *Canopus in Argos*: Argos is an ancient Greek city. Canopus was traditionally placed with some unrelated stars in the constellation *Argo Navis*, split into four separate constellations in modern times. Canopus is also a relatively young star, wildly unsuitable as the home of an ancient civilisation.

Even saying *Canopus in Argo Navis*

would have been ignorant: planets do appear to pass through the constellations of the zodiac, actually moving along the ecliptic, the flatness of the solar system, just appearing to be close to unrelated stars that are enormously further away. Babylonians organised these stars as a zodiac, a system that the Greeks took over, using the unique Babylonia base-60 arithmetic as part of the cultural package. The zodiac as such means nothing, and modern definitions of the constellation put part of the ecliptic within the old but non-Zodiac constellation of Ophiuchus.

The apparent movements of actual stars are vastly more slow. The whole sky-pattern would have utterly changed before distant Canopus moved from its line-of-sight constellation, as defined from Earth. Being big and bright, it will also be short-lived by stellar standards—a few tens of millions of years, whereas the sun has maybe five thousand million more years of existence. Astrophysics is a weird world, equivalent to elephants being born and dying in a single day while mayflies last for centuries. The really small stars age so slowly that none have yet exhausted their hydrogen cores and it is not certain that they will end their days as red-giant stars, which will definitely be the final stage for our own sun.

There is a lot of nonsense talked about 'powers in the sky': there are also some real mysteries. No one has found a sensible explanation as to why we happen to be living in an era when the moon *exactly* eclipses the sun, as seen from Earth. In the past—maybe 100 million years ago, long in the history of life but about a 45th of the Earth's long history—the moon would have been closer, would have seemed larger and would have simply blotted out the sun like a cloud passing in front of it. In another 100 million years or so, the moon will be more distant and will seem smaller, too small ever to wholly blot out the sun's light. As things are, the moon can exactly blot out the sun's bright surface and lets the remarkable solar atmosphere be briefly seen.

There are several other oddities that I've not seen anyone draw attention to. The 'zodiac' is an unrelated band of stars that are in line with Earth's orbit round the sun, so that both the sun and the planets seem to pass through the zodiac, actually the plane of the ecliptic. The apparent movement of planets through

the 'zodiac' is no more significant than a child looking out of a window and seeing a bus appear to transit a distant mountain. It has no inherent connection with the solar system's own gigantic 250-million-year orbit round the galaxy. But the unseen centre of the galaxy is in the direction of the ancient constellation of Sagittarius, the archer.

Another ancient constellation crossed by the ecliptic is Virgo, and that too is a significant direction for the entire galaxy. Our galaxy and neighbours like Andromeda and the Magellanic Clouds are part of a minor Local Group that is outlying component of a gigantic 'local supercluster' which is centred around the huge Virgo cluster, an assembly of more than a thousand galaxies. From our current line-of-sight, this assembly is largely within Virgo, including the three biggest galaxies: M87, M86, and M49. Part of the extended cluster spills over the modern constellation of Coma Berenices, which used to be viewed as part of Leo. Coma Berenices also contains the North Galactic Pole.

This could all be coincidence. But if it isn't coincidence, what else might it be?

When people think of extraterrestrial intelligences, they mostly think of a jacked-up version of European colonialism, explorers arriving in ships and ill-treating the natives. What about something vastly older, more powerful and more alien? Creatures able to watch us comfortably from light-years away—our own technology has since the 1990s been able to detect planets round other stars and is now edging towards getting actual images of them. A really advanced civilisation might need perhaps one observatory every 100 cubic light-years to know everything major that is happening in the galaxy. They might have fine-tuned the solar system as a place suitable for an intelligent species to develop, for reasons as enigmatic to us as electronics would be to all humans before the 19th century. The material resources of a single planet might be of no interest to such beings, *information* might be much more valuable. Even in modern-day human culture, information is becoming at least as valuable as physical goods. The more advanced the culture, the more information is likely to matter and the greater the incentive to watch rather than try to dominate.





V  
O  
X

St. Patrick's Day  
Six Catholic Nuns  
Clare Crematorium  
Old Glenties Catholic

P  
A  
T

ST. PATRICK'S DAY—Worldwide celebrations for St Patrick's Day could face disruption after the Catholic Church decided to move the Irish patron saint's feast day.

Bishops were left with sore heads after they discovered the March 17th festivities will clash next year with the second day of Holy Week.

Under the Church's rules, the saint's feast day does not rank as high as the Monday before Easter and has to be moved.

After much deliberation, Rome gave Irish authorities the green light to shift the official religious celebrations two days back to Saturday, March 15. Fr. Peter Jones of the Liturgy Commission insisted the move was necessary under the laws that govern the Church diary.

"It's about the religious aspect of the feast and mass on the day. It's not about whether it's a public holiday or not, it's not about whether sports events and parades take place," he said.

"It's about the Holy Day which can't be observed on the Monday of Holy Week and therefore has to be transferred in accordance with the usual rules."

In strict accordance with the rules, next year's St. Patrick's Day should have been moved to the next available day in the Church's calendar, April 1st (All-Fools Day).

But senior Irish clerics were anxious to keep the date as close as possible to the international civic celebrations, which are often planned years in advance.

The last time St Patrick's Day had to be moved was 1940 when it was changed to April 3rd because it coincided with Palm Sunday, the first day of Holy Week.

The next time the feast day will have to be changed is the year 2160.

Tourism chiefs do not expect the change to impact on the tens of thousands of visitors that flock to Ireland for the annual celebrations. Sinéad Grace of Tourism Ireland said: "I wouldn't imagine too many people are aware of

*the religious aspect.* I can't see that it will make any difference to the bookings of hotels and B&Bs."

SIX CATHOLIC nuns have been excommunicated for heresy after refusing to leave a sect whose founder claims to be possessed by the Virgin Mary, a U.S. diocese announced.

Reverend Gaston Hebert, of Little Rock diocese in Arkansas, said he notified the nuns of the decision after they refused to recant the teachings of the Community of the Lady of All Nations, also known as the Army of Mary.

The Vatican has declared all members of the Canadian-based Army of Mary excommunicated.

At a news conference, Hebert said the nuns "*became entranced and deluded with a doctrine that is heretical*". He said the sect's members believe that its founder, 86-year-old Marie Paule Giguere, is the reincarnation of the Virgin Mary and that God speaks directly through her.

Sr. Mary Theresa Dionne, 82, one of the nuns excommunicated, said: "*We are at peace and we know that for us we are doing the right thing.*"

Father Eric Roy, a spokesman for the Army of Mary, called the excommunications an injustice. He said Giguere did not claim reincarnation. However he said she received "*special graces*" from God and the Virgin Mary "*took possession of her soul*".

CLARE CREMATORIUM:

"There is nothing intrinsically wrong in burning the bodies of the dead. The Practice might become necessary at times of excessive mortality or of danger to the living, e.g. after a battle or during a plague. But in ordinary times cremation disturbs the pious sentiments of the faithful; it is not in keeping with the beautiful rites of Christian burial; and it has been introduced by enemies of the Church for the purpose of shutting her out from one of her most touching functions." (*A Catholic Dictionary*, Virtue & Co. London, 1952)

The promoters of plans to establish the first crematorium in the west of Ireland have been told by Clare County Council that the proposal materially contravenes the South Clare Area Plan.

The plan is proposed by Illaumanagh Ltd, steered by two former members of Clare County Council, Seán Hillery and Tony McMahon.

Plans were first lodged for the proposal in 2005 and last November, Illaumanagh Ltd. withdrew their plans to allow the company revise the scheme.

The proposal was re-lodged last month. However, the council has told the two that as the proposed site for development is zoned for open space and amenity purposes, the plan would materially contravene a development objective in the South Clare Area Plan 2003.

As a result, councillors will now be required at a vote at a Council meeting to grant the scheme planning permission. The company will require 75% of the 32 members to vote in favour of the proposal.

The Council has also requested a brief description of the process outlining all waste products to be generated from the process including details of emissions produced.

The Council said it is concerned no chimney stack has been proposed in conjunction with the proposed crematorium.

One councillor who will not be voting in favour of the plan is Gerry Flynn, who has lodged an objection against the proposal.

Mr. Flynn claims the proposal is on land owned by the public adjacent to the local graveyard of Illaumanagh, and that expansion of the graveyard would be "*curtailed if the proposal is granted permission*".

OLD GLENTIES CATHOLIC—

"I heard tell of an old fellow who went to the bishop to be confirmed way back. The bishop asked him how many gods there were. 'I think', says the old fellow, 'that there are three'. 'Bah!' says the bishop, 'and what make you say that?' 'I am that old', says the old fellow, 'that I can remember three parish priests here and there wasn't one of them that didn't have his own law so I thought there must be a different god following each one of them'. The bishop simply gave him a tick. 'Here', says he, 'now get away'. He could tell that the old fellow knew his catechism." (Anna John Chiot Nic a'Luain (1884-1954), Glenties area, Co. Donegal from "*Radical Irish Priests*,