

# Church & State

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*A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World*

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## RTE's Dunmanway Mystery

The Burkha

Darwin Debate

1859 Revival

Ulster Scots

Archbishop King & Penal Laws

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## RTE's Dunmanway Mystery

In a previous issue we reported on an exclusive Conference, organised by the Anglican Bishop of Cork on the subject of the oppression of Protestants as a body by the State and society in the 26 Counties, and on the need to persuade Protestants to affirm publicly that they have been oppressed as a body. The persuading of Protestants that they have been oppressed, and that they should make a public issue of this oppression, was described as *pastoral work* by the Bishop in an exchange of letters with Jack Lane of the Aubane Historical Society.

A programme about the killing of a number of Protestants in the Dunmanway region of West Cork in April 1922 was broadcast by RTE on 5th October. Senator Eoghan Harris has said in his *Sunday Independent* column that this programme was the outcome of the Bishop's Conference. In view of Senator Harris's close association with the Bishop in organising the Protestant Conference—where he seemed at times to be the prime mover—we can take this statement to be authoritative.

We give below a full transcript of the programme, which was dominated by Harris. It should be explained that the narration was entirely in Irish with English subtitles. The interviews with Professor John A. Murphy and Senator Harris's statements were also in Irish with English subtitles, except for one sentence which Senator Harris spoke in English. The interviews with local historians were entirely in English. Only two descendants of the victims of April 1922 were interviewed. One of them, who seemed to be English upper-class, spoke in English. The other, who seemed to own a farm in the area, spoke in English sometimes and in Irish at other times.

The programme was not a special feature, but an item in the CSI series about murders. *CSI Fada* seems to be called after the American Crime Scene Investigation series. The transcript is presented in numbered segments for ease of reference:

### *Cork's Bloody Secret*

*Voice* [Donald Woods]: "I suspect that these were local issues, rather than a campaign to kill Protestants. They were on somebody's black list, I would guess."

1. *Senator Harris*: "I don't know any Protestant who is able to say *"My grandfather was shot dead because he was a Protestant and because people also thought his land was worth taking"*." [Italicised words in English.]

2. *Narrator*: "On April 26, 1922, a group of IRA embers visited a house in West Cork. They were led by Acting Commandant Michael O'Neill from the Bandon Battalion of the IRA. They wanted to speak to the owner of the house, local farmer Thomas Hornibrook, but he didn't answer the door. They waited half an hour but got no response. Then they found a half-open window. Soon they had gained entry to the house. Acting Commandant O'Neill made his way upstairs. Suddenly a shot rang out. Acting Commandant O'Neill was dead. The house was put under siege until 8 am when Samuel Hornibrook, his father Thomas, and Captain Herbert Woods surrendered. They were asked who shot O'Neill. Captain Woods admitted that he fired the fatal bullet. The three were driven into the mountains where they were executed. Captain Herbert Woods was killed first. The following day the Hornibrooks were killed: father and son, Thomas and Samuel. The massacre continued for three more days. Protestants were slaughtered in Bandon, Clonakilty, Dunmanway, and the surrounding areas."

3. *White-haired English gentleman*, unnamed: "The people who killed those men in April 1922 were never found, and I'm sure that there were rumours that people thought they knew who they were and that they hadn't been brought to justice for some reason which was expedient.

*Narrator*: "Even though the War of Independence had ended the year before, the Protestant community of West Cork suffered a reign of terror which saw the killing of young and old."

4. *Unnamed Woman*: "I often think how different my life would have been if Uncle Bertie had lived. It would have been totally different, absolutely totally different."

5. *Narrator*: "Tonight some of the descendants of the Protestant victims speak out about the killing of their relatives. For the first time, they break their silence about this aspect of Irish history. The murders were reported in the local and national newspapers. The stories heightened the fears of the Protestant community and soon they began to flee. A Protestant called William Kingston wrote this chilling account: [In English:] *"From the train to Cork I took the precaution of hiding behind an old newspaper at each station. The train to Dublin was packed with Protestants fleeing like myself. All were nervous of their unknown neighbours in the train. Just as the train entered the tunnel at Cork there were several loud explosions and it's believed the train was bombed from the street. At Limerick Junction some shots were fired, and I saw a man on the platform with a revolver in his hand. That trip was a nightmare."*

*Harris*: Those were just poor Protestants, small farmers and shopkeepers. 60,000 of them were driven from this country. People say, [In English:] *"Oh, they were hangers-on of the British Army, or RIC men."* [In Irish:] No. But, when you take away the RIC men and the civil servants, and those who worked for the British Empire, you're left with 60,000. And that's a conservative estimation. So apart from the RIC men, the British Army, etc., another 60,000 Irish Protestants left their homes.

6. *Donald Wood, Starai Aitiúil* [local historian]: "Quite a few Protestants both before and after actually took the decision to leave, partly because of the unsettled times, but partly, some of them obviously felt they'd, for whatever reason, that they'd no future in a free Ireland. I know one relation of mine who was a Schools Inspector and went to the North in fact. But I suspect that was because he didn't know any Irish, and it suddenly became a requirement for his job, so he voted with his feet.

7. *Harris*: What happened was they received a threatening letter or somebody in the community was shot, or someone showed them a revolver, or someone on the street said: *"You'd better get off out of here or we'll get you out of here, will burn you out of here."* And so they left and there were forced sales. There were auctions nationwide."

8. *Narrator*: "Even though Michael Collins' Provisional Government was in place in 1922, Dail Eireann and the IRA were divided over the Treaty. This period of uncertainty created an opportunity for the settling of old scores.

9. *John A. Murphy*: "There certainly was a vacuum. The English were gone. The RIC had been disbanded. But a new system of law and order had yet to be properly established. It would be another six months or a year before that came about. So, it was relatively easy for people to get away with evil deeds. There was nobody to stop them."

10. *Harris*: "I wouldn't call it ethnic cleansing and the IRA didn't have a sectarian ideology. But there was a sectarian tradition in Ireland, among the rural communities, that dated

back to penal times: The Prophecies of Pastorini, you know, "All the Protestants will be killed one bright morning", had held sway since 1800."

*Narrator:* "An unmarried farmer, Bertie Chinnery, was killed on April 28, 1922. His grand-niece, Hazel Baylor tells the story to her daughter, Jennifer."

11. *Hazel Baylor:* [The women in No. 4. In English:] "I'm telling the story as my mother told it to me once, and once only. And I didn't question. There was just something about the way she said it, the way she told it, that I felt I didn't want' to open old wounds. So what she told me was that, on a certain evening, the family were in bed or going to bed. And living in the house at the time were my grandmother, my mother and my two uncles, Uncle George and Uncle Bertie. And Uncle George and Uncle Bertie were going to be in this room here.

[In Irish:] "They heard a knock on the door. The two men decided that Uncle Bertie should go downstairs. He came down and went to the stables. He brought out the horse. They crossed the yard here over to the shed. It was known as the 'car house'. He bent down to lift up the cart in order to hitch the horse to it and then a shot was heard."

*Jennifer O'Flaherty* [her daughter. [In English:]: "And it seems on this beautiful sunny morning. It's hard to believe something so horrible could have happened here in these quiet surroundings."

12. *Narrator:* "David Gray was a chemist in Dunmanway. He was married with three children. He was killed at his home on April 27th. David Gray's grandson, Charles Duff, is on a personal pilgrimage. He's visiting his grandfather's native town for the first time ever.

13. *Charles Duff* [the unnamed gentleman in No. 3]: "The Old Medical Hall it was called. I think that he must have called it the Medical Hall because he sounded better than a Chemist's Shop. That's what I always think. Do you think I can look inside?"

*Person:* "Yes, you can."

*Narrator:* "Charles Duff is searching for information about his grandfather with the help of local historian Tommy Collins."

*Duff:* "The references I'd come across to him, always it seemed he was a kind man and that he was an obliging, which a chemist indeed needs to be, doesn't he? He knows everybody in the community, and serves everybody in the community. It was obviously important to him that he was on the Parish Council, that he was a Church Warden. He was very community-minded, it seems to me."

*Tommy Collins:* "Yes, he was very well regarded in the community, as far as I can make out."

13. *Narrator:* "Some of Dunmanway's Protestants are quite famous, such as Sam Maguire. His statue is not far from the house where David Gray was killed."

*Duff:* "Is this the house?"

*Tommy Collins:* "Yes, this is the house where your grandfather lived."

14. *Duff:* "And this is the doorway where he was shot down. Alice was upstairs with the children when she heard the commotion downstairs and David would have been called to the door here. When he was shot, at the Inquest Alice said that they'd said: "Take that, you Free Stater". He fell half inside the house and half outside the house, which she found when she came downstairs. And it was, you know, it was, it

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completely altered the family: really completely destroyed the family, but yet made them into something else. It is very, very strange to be here in the doorway of the house. I'm glad to be here..."

15. *Narrator*: "The murders of Protestants was widely denounced. Cork County Council and the Protestant and Catholic Clergy condemned the murders. At the same time there were atrocities against Catholics in Belfast. Catholics were being killed and driven from their homes. Was it connected to what happened in the North? Yes."

*Harris*: "Catholics were being rooted out in the North. You had 'anti-Catholic pogroms' in relation to Belfast, but we can't use the term in the South to describe the fate of 60,000 Protestants. Pogroms? Ethnic cleansing? I don't know, but it happened."

16. *Professor Murphy*: "Dail Eireann was divided into anti-Treaty and pro-Treaty camps. But they were all united in their condemnation of what happened here."

17. [Statements read against a background of photographs:]

*Arthur Griffith*: "Dail Eireann will uphold to the fullest extent the protection of life and property of all classes and sections of the community. It does not know, and cannot know, as a National Government, any distinction of class and creed. In its name I express the horror of the Irish nation at the Dunmanway murders."

*Michael Collins*: "I tender to the relatives of the men shot in Dunmanway, Ballireen and Clonakilty my deepest sympathy. I hope every friend of Ireland in South Cork will aid in bringing the guilty party to justice and in protecting their fellow citizens who may be in danger of a similar fate."

*De Valera*: "I ask the Irish people to remember they have a glorious record. A minority amongst them in the South had always been safe. Let us not tarnish that glorious reputation, that was unequalled by any country in the world, by acts against a helpless minority."

18. *Prof. Murphy*: "The biggest condemnation of the murders was by the official Republican newspaper. [Shot of *The Republic Of Ireland*. Editor, Erskine Childers, who a few months earlier had been damned by Arthur Griffith as an Englishman.]

*Erskine Childers*: "Sectarian crime is the foulest crime. We do not find words comprehensive enough to voice our sorrow at what has happened. But we look to very man with decent feeling to turn his face against this

revival, in a diabolical form, of Hibernianism, and save us from the last shame of religious persecution."

*Prof. Murphy*: "That's highly interesting because the great noble tradition of nationalism—republicanism—is condemning and criticising the other tradition: sectarianism."

19. *Donald Wood, Staráí Aitiúil*: "There was an immediate, I think, response from the IRA leadership. They came down to West Cork and more or less issued an edict that they were to stop, and that anyone who did anything after that was going to be shot, in fact."

*Colum Cronin, Staráí Aitiúil*: "Weren't there even IRA Police put on some of the Protestant houses after the event?"

*Donal Wood*: "I believe so. Yes. They guarded some of the local Protestant houses against future attack."

20. *Prof. Murphy*: "The Protestants held no further power or sway. Their only source of protection was the IRA. As testament to that, the leaders admitted after the murders that they ought to have done more to protect the Protestants."

21. *Narrator*: "In West Cork, ordinary Protestants were driven out or killed, shopkeepers and farmers like Bertie Chinnery, sociable individuals with friends on both sides of the community."

*Hazel Bayler*: [In Irish:] "They say he was willing to talk to anyone, even the British soldiers who were garrisoned here. I don't think he adhered to any politics. He was a Christian. As far as he was concerned, every person was a child of God."

*Narrator*: "Hazel Bayler and her daughter visit the grave of Bertie Chinnery. Does Hazel think her grand-uncle was killed because he was a Protestant?"

*Hazel Bayler*: "It's hard to answer that question. I think he was killed because he was a Protestant and because he was willing to talk to British soldiers. It was probably a combination of those things."

*Narrator*: "Did they know who did it?"

*Hazel Bayler*: "I think they did know. But I never heard a name mentioned."

*Narrator*: "So you think that the people who killed Bertie actually knew him?"

*Hazel Bayler*: "I think so." [*Is docha go raibh. Is docha go raibh.*]

22. *Narrator*: "An old graveyard a few miles outside Dunmanway. Two historians walking among the dead. A Catholic who is still living in the area and a Protestant who was raised here. These two men often exchange information. Today they're visiting the grave of John Buttimer: a farmer and another

victim of the massacre."

*Colum Cronin*: "And here we have the grave of John Buttimer of Cahir, who died on the 27th of April, 1922, aged 59 years."

*Donal Wood*: "That's right, he was killed on the second night, when he was visited in his home. His son apparently made an escape through a skylight and ran for it across country and they pursued him for quite some distance, I believe. But he did escape. But unfortunately also killed in the same house was their servant boy, a lad named Jimmy Greenfield, who didn't escape, I'm afraid. And that's the story of John Buttimer."

23. *Narrator*: ""As evening approaches, Charles Duff pays his first visit to the grave of his grandfather: Chemist David Gray."

*Charles Duff*: "And this is it."

*Tommy Collins*: "This is your grandfather's grave, and your grandmother's."

*Duff*: "And grandmother's, yes. [Reads:] "*In fond and ever-loving memory of my dear husband and our devoted father, David Gray, L.P.S.I., who died April 27th 1922, aged 37 years. Worthy of everlasting remembrance*". How charming! The awful thing is, though,

that they weren't really remembered much, I think. I wonder the last time that anybody put flowers on this grave? Not, I guess, for quite some time. Anyway, do. To my grandparents with much love. And so here's that. [Lays wreath.] I suppose I've thought a lot about how that family was once very happy and very united. And it was a family where there on the grave it says "*Worthy of everlasting remembrance*".

And how there hasn't really been everlasting remembrance. Both David and Alice, and the circumstances which led to them both being buried in the Churchyard at Dunmanway, have been forgotten. They're getting that remembrance today, and that I do find moving. I'm so glad I'm here. I'm so glad I came and made this journey, and I'm so glad you were able to show me round, Tommy."

*Tommy Collins*: "I'm delighted to show you around the grave where your parents, or grandparents, are buried."

*Charles Duff*: "Yes."

24. *Narrator*: "Two months after the killing of Cork Protestants, Ireland was plunged into Civil War. Leaders on both sides were killed and the country was torn apart. With this early thorn festering in the country's heart, a silence descended that lasted for generations. Silence about the Civil War and the murder of Protestants. Even today, this ghostly silence is hard to break."

[Two *Staráí Aitiúil* on the lawn of an unidentified big house:]

Wood: "We've been writing to each other on historical matters now for four or five years."

Cronin: "Yes, indeed."

Wood: "And I was——And I scratched my head and wondered why we never discussed these events of 1922."

Cronin: "On my part, I think I might have heard just bits and pieces, but I had no idea of the greater story."

Wood: "I've sort of kept it to myself, and when we've discussed it, I didn't really know how to raise the subject with you, because I felt, I can't hurt your feeling on the subject."

Cronin: "The people of West Cork have remained relatively silent about all this down through the years. The reasons for that being, most of them, were unaware that it ever happened, and those who did, I think, hardly spoke about it. Because the hurt was so deep, they just simply brought down a wall of silence around it. Do you think."

Wood: "But I mean both sides of the community agreed to that, I think, didn't they? So the silence is just as deafening on the Protestant side."

Cronin: "Absolutely."

25. *Sen. Harris*: "Nationalists don't tell their story because, firstly: the story doesn't fit with the image of Wolfe Tone republicanism: uniting of Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters. Secondly, there was land involved in some way in West Cork and no one wants to get into the issue of who has the land now. Thirdly, they're all alright now. *"Their descendants get on well with each other."* [This sentence in English.] And nobody wants to go in and disturb that sense of community."

26. *Hazel Bayler*: "A great silence descended. And that silence is still there now."

*Narrator*: "Hazel Bayler didn't discover until recently that her great-uncle Bertie Chinnery was a part-time RIC officer for a short time in 1910."

*Hazel Bayler*: [In English:] "I wish so much that I had asked. My mother lived with me towards the end of her life, and we had many and many a chat, but the subject never came up. Nor did I even think of it. I'm quite sure if I had thought about it that I probably would have plucked up the courage to ask. But I didn't, unfortunately. And so much was lost. And so much has been lost all over the country. Because people didn't ask, and people weren't prepared to talk."

*Jennifer O'Flaherty*: "Yes. And it's all our history."

*Hazel Bayler*: "Exactly. And it should be told, and it should be remembered. And perhaps we'd be a better community if that happened."

*Prof. Murphy*: "For me, as a historian and as a member of the general public, I'm very much in favour of bringing everything to light, scrutinising it all under the microscope, no matter how sensitive the issue is."

*Charls Duff*: [Laying wreath:] "It is now the time where we can move on, and look at the history perhaps of Ireland in the 20th century with all its sorrows, all the horrors perpetrated by people on both sides, and think that that is over, that is the past, it can be built on, it can be learnt from, but it's gone now."

*Hazel Bayler*: [In Irish:] "I never heard that my mother or my uncle harboured any grudge against the people who came to the house that night. That's not the way they would have thought. Therefore I don't have any ill will towards those people."

*Duff*: "Do I personally feel grievance that——No, of course not. Absolutely none at all. I feel sad because.....It's the sadness that perhaps I've taken on from the sadness of my grandmother, or the sadness of my mother and her sister and brothers. And it's sadness which I can imaginatively inherit, if you like. But, no, I don't feel any grievance at all. None."

*Announcer*: "And CSÍ Fada at the same time of half-seven next Monday, a look at the possibility that the Yorkshire Ripper may have had links to Ireland."

### Commentary

What, in substance, does the programme tell us? That there were thirteen killings in the Dunmanway region on 26th, 27th and 28th April 1922. Tree of the killings are described as "executions", and it is known, by and large, who did them. The others are described as "murders" and, over 80 years later they remain unsolved.

The theme of the programme, determined by Senator Harris, is that the alleged silence of three generations must be broken, and that people must speak out, regardless of the discomfort this might cause to some members of the community. But the striking thing about this *revelatory* programme is that it revealed nothing.

Only one relative of a victim, who is part of the local community was interviewed on the programme, Hazel Bayler, but on the vital issue of *Who done it?*—vital at least for a programme series on murders—she had nothing to say. She had no information. And it seemed that she did not even have gossip. Or, if she had gossip, she kept silent about it, even though everyone who was alive in Dunmanway at the time is now dead.

The murders happened a little over

mid-way between the Treaty and the Civil War, before the Army that had fought the War of Independence was ruptured by Collins in response to a British ultimatum.

The statement attributed to a witness of a murder (No. 14) suggested that it was an incident in the Civil War. But the Civil War was two months in the future. The Republican Army was still holding itself together, and Collins still hoped through to carry through a fudge of the Treaty that would preserve the old Army for the new State he was constructing.

The following month Collins made the Election Pact with De Valera for the purpose of averting an election contest on the Treaty. Under the terms of that Pact, Dail representation would be maintained as it was in the Dail vote of January, and there would be a power-sharing Coalition of Treatyites and anti-Treatyites, with the former in the majority.

In these circumstances, who had a motive for shooting Protestants who played no part in politics, and calling them Free Staters when doing so?

In any murder investigation motive is looked for in the first instance. With regard to a murder committed 80 years ago, where there can be no witnesses to come forward, and there is not even an inheritance of gossip in the community about 'who done it, what else is there to go by, other than motive as a guide to probability? But the suggestion of an anti-Free State motive was left entirely unprobed by the programme.

Land-grabbing was suggested—more than suggested—by Senator Harris. But the programme did not investigate. If those who were killed were landowners, and the land passed to others in the locality, that would supply motive. But we were not told if land passed from Protestant to Catholic ownership as a consequence of the killings.

Senator Harris said that people kept silent on the land issue, for fear of disturbing an existing land settlement. Was he keeping silent about the particulars of the land issue as it related to the killings—or did he have nothing to say. And, if he was keeping silent, what was the point of the programme?

The only land which figured in the programme was the farm on which a relative of one of the victims was interviewed. We were not told that it was not her farm and that she was there

### Propaganda as Anti-History:

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merely as a guest for the purpose of the interview, therefore we assume that she owned the farm.

Regarding No. 26, Bertie Chinnery's RIC record of 1910 was hardly a motive for killing him in 1922, two or three epochs later.

As for No. 13: It would surely have been helpful to the audience to explain who this famous Dunmanway Protestant was. Possibly some viewers understood that the GAA Cup was named after him, but very few would have known that Sam Maguire was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and worked closely with Collins, conducting subversive activity in Britain.

Regarding No.15: If it is suggested that the killings were in response to the anti-Catholic pogroms in the North, this conflicts with the anti-Free State motive. The hardliner on the North at that time was the constructor of the Free State, Michael Collins. He was the organiser of subversive activity against the new Stormont system.

Regarding Loyalists in the Free State—there is a conviction in 26 County journalism that Loyalists and Protestants are exchangeable terms. This seems to be the result of extensive third-level education, which is where revisionism has gripped.

One might list many Protestants who were active and eminent in the Republican movement, and in the Home Rule movement before it, and it will be said that these are just eccentric individuals, and that Protestants *en masse* remained Loyalist—were loyal to Britain in defiance of Irish democracy. But how many eccentrics does it take to make a significant minority?

Protestants active in the Gaelic, Home Rule and Republican movements were, at any rate, very much greater than Catholics active in the Loyalist movement, South or North. And, while Protestant Home Rulers or Republicans were welcome, Catholic Loyalists were an embarrassment. The nationalist movement was predominantly Catholic in composition because the population of the country was predominantly Catholic. But, apart from the 'Hibernian' phase under Redmond, the nationalist movement did its best to be non-sectarian in the face of the fact that the Protestant body on the whole rejected it for reasons inherited from the centuries of religious/ethnic Ascendancy, the ethnicity being an Ascendancy belief scarcely distinguishable from simple racism.

Regarding No. 18: Childers was an upper class Anglo-Irish gentleman who joined the British Army for the Boer

War and wrote a volume of the *Times* History of it. He then became a strong advocate of Home Rule, seeing it as a way of settling the relationship between Britain and Ireland on the lines established with South Africa. In 1914 he rejoined the British army for the war on Germany, which he had helped to instigate with a very popular novel, *The Riddle Of The Sands*. When Home Rule was brought to nothing, he concluded that Irish independence was the only thing and became a Republican.

Hibernianism was the secret Catholic society that was woven into the Home Rule party under Redmond's leadership in the decade before 1914. The Republican movement rejected it, but there was an echo of it in Griffith's denunciation of Childers as an Englishman in the Treaty debate. The programme did not say if there had ever been a police investigation of the killings.

Going by what was presented in the programme, it would seem that the first three killings were done by the IRA company which had been denied access to the house, and whose leader was shot when he entered by a window. There should have been no great difficulty in identifying the members of that company, and establishing why the IRA had gone to the house, but that was not done.

The viewers were then left to understand that the other killings on April 27th and 28th were of a kind with these killings: there were three days of "massacre" of Protestants, young and old. But, if there was a continuum from the shooting of the IRA leader to the killings of the 27th and 28th, how could it be that nothing was known of the killings on the 27th and 28th beyond the fact that they happened?

Leaving aside the killing of the men in the house where the leader of the IRA company was shot, the programme left the whole affair as much of a mystery as it found it.

Supposing the killings were done by Anti-Treatyites, it is a wonder that the Treatyites, who launched the Treaty War two months later and won it, never made an issue of it, and never set their police to investigate!

Supposing they were done by the Treatyites, it would be amazing that they did not appear in the Republican indictment of the Free State.

Senator Harris, who has been falling into disagreement recently with his revisionist colleague, Professor Murphy, conceded that such killings went against the spirit and practice of the entire Republican movement, but said that the Catholic community had been infected with sectarianism since the time the

Penal Law system was imposed on it, and suggests that the killings were done by Catholics inspired by Pastorini's Prophecies from a hundred years earlier, possibly combined with a land grab. The programme investigated neither the Pastorini thesis, nor the land grab thesis.

If the killings were done by apolitical and/or landless Catholics of the locality, it would be remarkable that there was not even a local rumour about those who were responsible.

The one obvious possibility that would leave no deposit of local rumour was not even hinted at—that the killings were the work of outsiders.

The statement (No. 8) that "*the English were gone*" is not quite accurate. England was disengaging militarily, but was not yet disengaged. Two months later Collins had to launch the Treaty War to avert a resumption of British military activity. This was very feasible as its troops remained in Ireland. And the Provisional Government was operating on British authority under close supervision by Whitehall. And there was a rift in British ruling circles. There were those who held that Whitehall had negotiated the Truce with the Republicans when the IRA was on the point of being crushed, and had committed a kind of treason. One of these was Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, who had played a part in organising the Great War in which 10 or 20 million people died, and who in 1922 was organising the paramilitary forces of the Stormont regime. It has been suggested that he organised the random shooting of Protestants in West Cork for a political purpose. The suggestion is neither politically or practically absurd. But the programme did not allow that the killings could have been anything but a local affair. (Wilson himself was assassinated in London within weeks of the Dunmanway killings on the orders of Michael Collins, whose man in London was Dunmanway Protestant Sam Maguire.)

The suggestion in the programme that these killings were not known about till it was broadcast is groundless. They were never in any sense a secret, only a mystery. And they were given sensationalist treatment ten years ago by Peter Hart in his inventive best-seller, *The IRA And Its Enemies*.

Altogether this CSÍ Fada was a very poor effort—not a credit to the CSI format.

The Bishop needs to come up with something better to keep the hare running. ●

## Report

Letters in *Irish Times* on  
Dunmanway

### *Cork's Bloody Secret?*

"Senator Eoghan Harris (October 10th) is right to indicate that precise figures are difficult, if not impossible, to find for the number of Protestant "involuntary emigrants" between the inter-censal periods of 1911 and 1926. I have researched this subject in some detail over many months with the help of Prof David Fitzpatrick of University College, Dublin. He pointed out to me that "These speculations show, above all, how treacherous and insufficient are the available figures". I agree, having looked at all the available sources I can lay my hands on.

At the end of this research, the best estimate I can come up with is about 45,000 Protestants were "involuntary emigrants" between 1911 and 1926, a figure somewhat higher than that of Dr Andy Bielenberg...

Mr Harris is right to say there was a major exodus of Protestants during this period who were intimidated, or made to feel unwanted..." **Robin Bury** (13.10.09)

"Eoghan Harris asserts there was an exodus of 60,000 Protestants with no political ties to the ancien regime fleeing the South around the period 1919 to 1926 (October 10th) and extrapolates from this a theory of sectarianism.

...where is the figure of 60,000 obtained? ...why did so many other Protestants stay on when others left? ...was there a similar exodus of Catholics from the South? I have recently completed a project on my family's history and discovered that my own grandfather, who was both Protestant and an ex-British soldier, left Ireland some time around 1922 or 1923.

The principal reason appears to be that with the creation of the Free State his prospective job in the civil service fell through, along with most other jobs connected to the old British administration. Due to the state of unrest and open war that existed at the time, the economy was in tatters and jobs were not easily found.

I never heard any mention of a threat to his life from the IRA. On the contrary, the only time his life was threatened was from a British army officer in early 1921. My grandfather and his friend were returning from a pub in Crosshaven in high spirits and the friend began to sing some "rebel" songs. This friend was also an ex-British soldier, who had been

a PoW and was not particularly political. It may have been he simply liked the tunes. But the result was that they both found themselves promptly arrested by a very angry British officer who wanted summarily to shoot them. A local RIC officer intervened to save their lives, saying he knew them both and they were "okay". They were let go but the shock of realising how serious things were resulted in the friend emigrating soon after. My grandfather stayed on a few years but then he left too, seeing little future here, though he returned in the 1930s.

I hope this shows how much more complex the issue is than Mr Harris's sectarianism thesis would have us believe." **Nick Folley** (13.10.09)

"...I had ancestors who were in the Royal Irish Constabulary. While others were attacked when they were on leave at home, my ancestors apparently didn't do anything to invite retribution (one was supposed to have prevented a major Irish city from being burned by British forces), since they were always able to take leave and return home safely to a heavily Republican area during the conflict.

Nonetheless, they left the Free State for the North to finish their service. They were Catholics, and I'm sure many other people's Catholic ancestors had a similar experience. The area in which they came from (north Roscommon) was also heavily populated by mostly well-to-do Protestants. I heard of only one Protestant family who left from there; it was not out of intimidation but of a man's loyalty to his South Irish Horse regiment. He was also an ancestor of mine.

As an American very familiar with the history of the American revolution, the hundreds of thousands of loyalists who fled the colonies—many out of fear of their lives, others out of loyalty to their king—when British forces departed, makes Ireland's exodus of loyalists pale by comparison." **Paul Brosnahan** (14.10.09)

"...RTÉ on its website describes Cork's bloody secret as occurring during the War of Independence. In fact the murder of the 13 Protestants occurred in April 1922, 10 months after the Truce and the end of the war. It was an action which was perpetrated by anti-Treaty dissidents... It is difficult to understand why this atrocious event in Cork should be put on the same national level as the long-standing sectarianism which prevailed in Northern Ireland." **Risteard Mulcahy** (14.10.09)

"...my own Mayo-born father had a different story which he related to me

shortly before he died. As I'm sure was the case with many of the young men at that time, he was peripherally active with the IRA in the Co Mayo region—he was one of those who applied for an IRA pension but was rejected.

He related how he and several of his pals were told to meet in a field, after Mass, for "instructions" from a senior IRA man. Five of them went to the field where there was a group of up to 30 others already gathered.

None of them knew the identity of the IRA man who spoke. He told the group, in blunt terms, that Protestant families were living off the fat of the land and would have to be "dealt with". He finished by saying "Do it your own way lads—do it for Ireland". While some of those present got cold feet, there were cheers all round from most of the crowd. As my father only told me this story eight months before he died, I strongly suspect that he may have known more than he was willing to tell me. One way or the other, it had obviously weighed on his conscience for most of his life. Under the circumstances, RTÉ's documentary, CSÍ: Cork's Bloody Secret, might only have revealed the tip of the iceberg." **Niall Ginty** (14.10.09)

## AL-MEGRAHI

Abdelbaset Mohmed al-Megrahi plaything of US foreign policy sacrificed by his country Libya to stop sanctions and xenophobia tried in Holland by stern Scottish legals law-tested as a helpless lab beagle Budweiser generation of Bolton glow incandescent as metal molten no lethal injection, hanging, gassed, shot only slow death in a foreign cell to rot? his health destroyed by incarceration a welcome home is a condemnation Labour in Scotland say he must die soon (he was allowed three months to meet his doom) released on compassionate grounds today a pawn once more for nations in the pay but will he die in his allotted time condemned again if he lives to month nine dead, his bones will be picked by those nations who push the world into malformation

**Wilson John Haire.**  
26th August, 2008

NOTE: Al-Megrahi has established a website, containing documentary evidence of his innocence:

**[megrahamystory.net](http://megrahamystory.net)**

John Martin

Review: *Soupers and Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara 1848-1937* by Miriam Moffitt

## Clifden Orphanage And Souperism

This book is a fine piece of scholarship about a phenomenon that has been long forgotten, but may be revisited following an article in the "Times Past" section of *The Irish Times* about the burning of a Protestant Orphanage in Clifden in June 1922. This incident at the early stages of the "civil war" had previously been remarked upon by Tom Wall in his review of the *Aubane Historical Society's* book on *Coolacrease* in the *Dublin Review of Books* and was subsequently used by Eoghan Harris as a stick to beat the AHS with in his column in the *Sunday Independent*.

The key figure in the story of the Protestant Missions in Connemara is Alexander Dallas a British Army Officer who fought in the Napoleonic wars before being ordained into the Anglican Church. This person was assigned to Wonston, a parish in the Winchester Diocese in England. He was a religious zealot who applied himself to his new job in a manner which reflected his military training. He collected detailed data on the number of households who were Anglican, their level of attendance and formulated strategies to increase the religious enthusiasm of his parishioners. After many years he grew disillusioned with his parishioners and the author thinks the feeling may have been mutual.

However, his religious enthusiasm was rekindled when he was invited to attend the Dublin annual meeting of the *Jews' Society* in 1839. The reason for his attendance is not clear and the author does not explain what the *Jews' Society* was. But it appears to have been a Protestant organisation with the object of spreading Christianity among the Jews.

Dallas believed that Anglicanism and British Imperialism was a seamless robe. Regarding Ireland he declared in 1846:

"Not more surely did the British army fight the battle of all Europe on the plains of Waterloo, than do the spiritual clergy and laity of the Church of Ireland fight at this moment against the apostasy of Rome, for the Christians of England as well as for themselves."

For the rest of his life he dedicated himself to the task of converting Ireland to Protestantism.

But how to go about such an enormous task! And where to start!

He began by working for the *Irish Society*, which was a moderate Protestant missionary organisation. However, he preferred to adopt a more aggressive and "controversialist" approach. This involved convincing Irish Catholics of the errors of Romanism, "to disabuse their minds of the false notions of Christian truth" and outlining the errors of Rome in the plainest and most insulting of language. As an example, "controversialist" missionaries ridiculed the doctrine of transubstantiation by asking Catholic priests where Christ's bones were on the Eucharist and where were his hands.

When Dallas's approach was rejected by the *Irish Society*, he set up *The Irish Church Missions* (ICM) in 1849 and Connemara was singled out for particular attention for the following reasons.

Firstly, it was particularly badly affected by the Famine and therefore there were many people dependent on charity.

Secondly, there had already been a tradition of Protestant Missionary activity there.

Finally, it was neglected by the Catholic Church. The Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale, was against the setting up of National Schools there. The author doesn't explain the reason for his objection but it appears he was against any State interference in Catholic education. The author says that the Catholic Synod of Thurles of 1850 supported State education in areas where there was no Catholic alternative. However, it appears that MacHale did not implement this policy and therefore the people of Connemara were left without any education.

Dallas believed that the Famine was the fault of Irish Catholics and that God had sent the potato blight to punish them for stubbornly clinging to their faith. This was not an uncommon view at the time. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was responsible for Irish Famine relief, described it "as a direct stroke of an all wise and all merciful providence". The Home Secretary Sir James Graham wrote to Sir Robert Peel: "the Sword, the Pestilence and the Famine are the instruments of His displeasure... doubtless there is a God who judgeth the Earth".

There is no doubt that Dallas believed that the Famine was a Godsend (liter-

ally). Tens of thousands of people in the area were dependent on charity and Dallas was not the kind of person to waste this opportunity. Food and clothing were given on condition that the recipients renounced their Catholic faith and became Protestants.

Dallas also used the plight of these unfortunates to raise thousands of pounds in England, which in today's terms amounted to millions. This enabled the ICM to build numerous churches, orphanages and schools in Connemara.

The ICM had powerful supporters in the Galway and Mayo areas. The Protestant Bishop of Tuam, Lord Plunkett, had an extensive land holding by the shores of Lough Mask. The local Catholic Priest, Father Peter Ward, complained that in 1854 104 people in 21 families were threatened with eviction by Plunkett if they did not send their children to mission schools.

In the often violent disputes that ICM missionaries had with locals the law tended to side with the missionaries because the magistrates were Protestants.

In the early 1850s, the ICM claimed that ten thousand people in Connemara and the surrounding area had converted to Protestantism and that many thousands more had made enquiries. But very few of these conversions were sincere. As soon as the locality recovered from the Famine and the people became less dependent on charity most of the converts reverted to Catholicism. However, the ICM realised that it could have a more profound influence on children.

It gathered up orphans from the countryside and placed them in the two orphanages which it set up near Clifden: Ballyconree for boys and Glenowen for girls. There was another orphanage in Spiddal which was jointly run by the ICM and Smyly's homes as well as an orphanage in Leenane run by a Protestant clergyman. By any standards this was an impressive infrastructure in a rural area which was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

Some Protestants objected to the activities of the ICM but there were others that used State institutions to facilitate the orphanages. The author describes a case where some children refused to convert to Protestantism and then applied for admission to the State Workhouse. They were turned away by the Protestant Guardians of the workhouse and had to return to the orphanage.

When the orphanages were set up in the early 1850s, some of the inmates were not just orphans in the strict sense. There were children whose parents could not provide for them. It was alleged that there were other children who had been



taken away from their parents. However, the author thinks that from 1859 onwards the "orphans" were genuine orphans.

The literature of the ICM says children in their orphanages were:

"...scripturally educated, and therefore in Protestant principles; while every care is to be taken, that all persons connected with the establishment (as far as possible) shall have given evidence of spiritual religion."

The two orphanages instilled a horror of Catholicism. They considered it a "glorious purpose" to convert Roman Catholics "from the power of Satan to God". The aims of the orphanages included:

"To rescue poor children, not only from starvation and misery, but also from the idolatry of Rome".

The orphanages also instilled loyalty to the British State. One poem that the children learned was:

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

The inmates were also instructed to ask for "the blessing on the Prince and Princess, the Queen, Prince Albert and the Royal Children".

In the early 1850s the orphanages did not have enough space to accommodate all the children and some of them slept in schools run by the ICM.

A key element in the orphanages was the dissemination of English, which would have further alienated the children from the society from which they came.

One of the schools the ICM founded was at Letterfrack in the 1870s where boys received technical training. This institution was sold in 1886 because of lack of finances. It was bought surreptitiously by the Catholic Church where it was used for the same purpose. (It would be interesting to speculate on the effect English Puritanism had on the Irish Catholic Church).

The ICM offered an education as well as food and clothing to Connemara's children. Many parents in Connemara

were prepared to accept an education by the ICM for their children on the basis that any education was better than no education. However, it must have been very disconcerting for such parents to hear their children denouncing the "errors of Rome".

The Catholic Church was not going to take this alien intrusion lying down. It allowed National Schools to be set up which were, in effect, Catholic schools. There were assaults on missionaries by Catholic loyalists, and children were prevented from attending mission schools by physical intimidation. The author says that there were also cases of kidnapping of inmates of the ICM orphanages. But the most effective tactic was social ostracism.

Could you say that these attacks by Catholics were sectarian? The author notes that visiting clergymen from England, even supporters of the ICM, were popularly treated with respect. But the native Catholic population hated the converts. They were treated as people who had betrayed their own community.

It also appears that there was no hostility directed at Protestants living in Connemara who came from England. There was a small number of such people who manned the lighthouses.

At its height the ICM had 12 Churches and 64 Schools in the Connemara area. However, ultimately Dallas's project was a failure in Connemara, never mind in Ireland as a whole. The author quotes a Catholic Landowner and MP, George Moore, who made the following accurate prediction in 1852:

"This fashion will pass... and those who have lost their faith will be left like scuttle boats upon the strand—a despised and derided race—loathed by the Catholics—shunned by the Protestants."

Miriam Moffitt says the ICM saved

thousands of lives during the Famine. It also gave an education to many people. However, it is also true that it left a legacy of bitterness which lasted well into the twentieth century.

Many of the converts emigrated or joined the British military. The few who remained were, as George Moore predicted, isolated from both the Protestant and Catholic communities. In 1922 the inmates of the Ballyconree Orphanage were still marching to the local Protestant Church behind the Union Jack. They were the victims of an English experiment. But while the people responsible for the experiment could return to their bibles, the converts were left alienated from the society.

It seems that for some Republicans the mere existence of the Ballyconree Orphanage was an affront to the struggle for an independent Republic. The building was burned down, but none of the children were harmed. Despite the contemporaneous reports in *The Irish Times* and accusations made in Westminster, there is no evidence that the boys were threatened in any way. There were only 33 boys in the Orphanage which had a capacity of 78. The ICM was in the process of withdrawing from Connemara by 1922. The boys were moved to the nearby Glenowen Orphanage for girls and then sent to London.

An advertisement was placed in the London *Times* seeking accommodation. An Australian charity called Burnside Homes answered the call and the boys ended up in Sydney, which was maybe the best outcome for them. The ICM received compensation from the Irish State through the Irish Distress Committee.

One could debate the rights and wrongs of what happened, but the final outcome was probably the best for all concerned.



**Coolcrease.** The True Story of the Pearson Executions in Co. Offaly, an Incident in the War of Independence

by Paddy Heaney, Pat Muldowney, Philip O'Connor and others.

427 pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-47-0. Aubane Historical Society. 2008.

€20, £18.



## Burkha Mad

So Sarkozy—and others in the UK—cry 'Ban the burkha!'

What do they have against it? I picked up a copy of the *Daily Express* (24th June 2009) which carried the loud headline "*Ban the Burkha here in Britain*" (all in capitals in the original, of course) with my morning coffee, hoping to shed some light on the answer.

What I found was a curious mix of anti-religion and anti-pluralism dressed up as feminism. Sarkozy had demanded that Muslim women "*be freed from being prisoners behind a screen*" as the *Daily Express* quoted him. Islamic experts were quoted on the Koran to debunk the idea that the burkha is a religious necessity. We were presented instead with the idea that conservative and chauvinistic Muslim men had misused religion and dreamed up the burkha as a means of dominating women. There was a token nod to the fact that the burkha originated in a place and time when it was a practical garment, a protection against the sands of the desert, but that was no longer a practical necessity.

It was amusing to read the comments to the few—Western—women who were asked for their views. They found the burkha "*really scary...intimidating...a sign of oppression*". The first interviewee admitted she rarely if ever saw burkhas in her native Germany. That might partially help to explain why she found them 'scary'—lack of familiarity, maybe. An alternative—if rather obvious—solution here would be to help these women understand their own views might in fact be prejudiced by the culture in which they were raised. And if '*scariness*' and '*intimidating*' are criteria to be used in banning items of clothing, where does that leave body-piercings, tattoos, mohicans, skinheads and so on? There are plenty of people who—rightly or wrongly—find all of these things either repulsive or downright scary. Maybe we should all be obliged to wear a simple green, non-threatening boiler suit like Chinese communists of old. Don't laugh... it might not be as far off or impossible as you think!

As for 'oppressive', surely that depends on your perspective too? For women used to wearing what they want and uncovering almost as much of their bodies as they want, the burkha might seem monotonous or excessive. But another way of looking at this is to consider for a moment the oppressiveness of Western fashions that cause eating-disorders and mental health issues in

many Western women trying to live up to its dictates. How often have we heard a female colleague / partner / friend complain about the trend to Size Zero, the dread of 'having to' uncover in the warmer Summer months with all the attendant anxiety of "am I too fat / hairy / cellulite-ridden?" and so on. Those of us who think Western fashion is 'liberating' for women might do well to read John Berger's book *Ways Of Seeing*. Women in burkhas are, at least, liberated from such immediate worries. But is it a price worth paying? We can only know that by asking the burkha-wearers and there was little about this aspect in the pages of the *Daily Express*.

A second consideration is that wearing a mask of some sort might be liberating in itself. If you're used to wearing one, I can think of all kinds of situations when a mask would be highly useful—such as hiding a yawn during a boring business meeting, covering up our sense of irony as an acquaintance brags yet again about their weekend and so on. I remember reading somewhere—I don't have the reference to hand—of one Muslim burkha-wearer making just such a point. She also commented on how wearing a burkha released her from the usual worry of most women of having to fret over make up and not looking their best in the morning while rushing to work.

It is instructive in this context to consider a historical precedent—and a European one at that—where having your face covered was considered quite normal. We are all familiar to some extent with the Venice carnival and the strange masks worn during that period of the year. But there was a time in Venice's history when masks were worn by almost everyone for a greater part of the time. The typical mask was called a *Volto* or *Larva*—a kind of white mask covering half the face leaving the mouth free for speaking and eating. This was topped up by a kind of cloak or hood, the whole being known as the *Bautta*. Venetians found this disguise tremendously liberating, blurring as it did, the class distinctions of the time and allowing everyone a degree of anonymity we can only dream of in this CCTV-riddled era. If I may quote a line from Marion Kaminski's excellent book *Art & Architecture—Venice: "The Venetian fashion of wearing masks brought with it many advantages and freedoms which must have seemed close to paradise for many foreigners"*.

Thirdly, taking another quotation from the *Daily Express* on the 'oppression theme'—"*There is no more prominent sign of female oppression by men than the burkha*" according to one businesswoman interviewed. I beg to differ. Again, there is another way of looking at this. Could it be instead that the Western commercialisation and objectification of the female form is the surest sign of the true oppression of the woman in Western society? Women's bodies are exposed and used to sell just about everything manufacturers and advertisers can dream up. They are more directly exploited in forms such as pornography and lap-dancing. Surely it makes sense that in a society dominated by men and their 'wants' that the tendency is to de-clothe the women and towards nakedness? Is it really a 'freedom' to be able to reduce your body to an object for sale? And further, to be convinced that this is actually what you wish to do yourself? In the *Screwtape Letters*, C.S Lewis argued that the most potent form of social control is to persuade people that what you want them to do is actually what they want to do for themselves. I have always thought the argument that religions were invented by male chauvinists to control women rather odd. Yes, it is true that many of the precepts in some religions seem like a list of 'Dos' and 'Don'ts' for women. But I have long thought that if men were to sit down and invent a religion to subordinate women they would probably include a rule that claimed God (or the Gods) demanded that all women parade around in bikinis, whatever the weather! In fact there were a number of fake-Christian cults centered on a male-guru type figure that sprang up in the late 60s and 1970s that exploited women in this way.

Conspicuously absent were the views of the Muslim women who wear the burkhas. The paper did cleverly attempt to suggest it had tried to portray their viewpoint, but without success and entirely through no fault of its own: "*groups of Muslim women dressed in the restrictive robes refused to comment ...most refused to be seen engaging with a non-Muslim man in public*" (the journalist was a man). One might argue that the newspaper—if genuinely interested in seeking their views—could have displayed more cultural sensitivity and sent a woman, at least to interview the burkha-wearers. Instead, by choosing to send a man—and surely conscious of the unease this would create among the very women whose opinion they wished to obtain—they can cleverly guarantee the exclusion of those voices while simultaneously framing the situation in a way that favours the Western cultural perspective: that these women are

supposedly afraid of their own chauvinistic menfolk and unwilling to speak to strange men on the street.

A more subtle factor is the use of qualifying adjectives such as 'the restrictive robes'. This is of course a very subjective opinion. What is 'restrictive' about these robes? It is possible to argue they restrict movement—it can't be easy to run in them, for example. Apart from saying it limits the kinds of jobs a woman can do, the paper doesn't elaborate so we can let our imaginations run away with us and end up regarding these 'robes' as a synonym for a set of convict's chains. But let us take a much-prized item of western clothing: the business suit. One could easily argue this is 'restrictive clothing'. What could be more restrictive than a dull, conservative three-piece that echoes Henry Ford's dictum "*you can have any colour you like as long as it's black*"? A set of clothes designed to suppresses our individuality, to reduce us to drones in the corporate anthill? There is even symbolism to be found in a shirt and tie—a dog's collar and lead, perhaps? Has anyone ever tried climbing a tree in a business suit, or doing tricks on a skateboard?

But frivolity aside, it wasn't too difficult to discern the real concerns behind the burkha: cultural assimilation. As one woman was quoted: "*whenever I see these women hiding themselves away my blood reaches boiling point and I just want to scream at them*". Then: "Leeds has a fast-growing Muslim population... [with] an increase in the number of women choosing to wear the burkha, much to the anger of many of the city's inhabitants" (!)

In what seems to amount to an admission that the Great Experiment of Pluralism has failed, the emphasis is now again on conformity. I would not be the first person to suggest this of course. In *The Totalitarian Temptation* Jean Francois Revel argued that true pluralism is only ever a temporary state or condition. There always arises at some point in any society a group or paradigm that is able to force itself on all others as the only acceptable paradigm. I see an increasing trend towards this in Western society today, for all its lip-service to liberal pluralism. What is at issue here is not the burkha, or even women's 'freedom' (it's an odd form of 'freedom' that prohibits women from wearing a garment even if they wish to) but the fact that in certain Western countries there are large ethnic groups who do not seem to have 'converted' to the societal model that has been traditional in those countries. They dress differently, they perhaps speak differently, eat different foods, may have different religions and

so on. Above all, they are present in numbers too large to be a novelty or ignore, and so they move to presenting a 'threat'.

I use the word in inverted commas as the 'threat' may be real or imagined. I believe it operates on two levels: the native inhabitants of the country (be it France or the UK) have created an identity for themselves that they are comfortable and familiar with. Thus we have the stereotypes that for example, British people like cricket, bangers and mash, the Queen (generally!), have a certain sense of humour and whose social life mainly revolves around the pub and so on. Obviously this is a stereotype and a very superficial one at that, but it is simply to illustrate the point that a people can hold an idea of what it means to belong to their 'country' or geographic boundaries. A certain degree of tolerance for difference of skin colour or custom is allowed as long as these 'aliens' agree to buy into the main aspects of the local culture and values. Now what we see happening is a challenge to that: here are a very large group of people who DON'T fit neatly into that model and instead seem to keep apart from it.

This has two effects: one one level it can create unease in some people as they begin to wonder (perhaps sub-consciously) if two parallel societies will develop in the same geographic area. Thus their 'country' will effectively shrink. A second effect is the worry that their familiar concepts of what it means to be 'British' or 'French' may be superseded, that they may find themselves effectively strangers in their own land. At best, they may be forced to re-evaluate what being British means, and re-evaluating and updating our cherished assumptions is generally a discomfoting thing. At worst, they may find themselves a minority in the future, living under cultural paradigms and even laws alien to them—especially as it has become fashionable to have smaller families in the West and birthrates have fallen. Thus, faced with these unknowns, there is a defensive tendency to want to force adaptation on the 'alien' aspects of the 'other' culture in their midst.

After centuries of imposing their own cultural norms on civilisations around the world (both France and Britain were once large colonial powers), now every

one will be forced to become a kind of 'standard Briton' if they want to live in the UK, or a 'standard French person' if they want to live in France. Holland has already gone down this route, obliging immigrants to pass exams of sorts on Dutch culture and language. Again, it would not be the first time in history—many European cities in the middle ages imposed all kinds of restrictions on non-

natives to limit their numbers and influence, while mediaeval Spain under Isabella and Ferdinand went as far as expelling all Jews and Muslims for much the same reasons.

But apart from the 'siege mentality' of countries now experiencing a distinct, large and different group in their midst, there is another possible factor discernible here: anti-religionism. Part of the problem seems to stem from the fact that the burkha—along with the niqab (headscarf worn by Muslim women)—announce one's allegiance to a religion, a set of beliefs. It is interesting that the same paper carries a story on page 19 of Nurse Helen Slater who felt compelled to quit her job on account of being forbidden by her employers from wearing a small crucifix on a neckchain. Among the rather spurious reasons given by the NHS bosses were that the crucifix represented a possible hygiene hazard (in which case so would wedding rings, or even more so shoes and clothes in general with their far greater surface area) or as a weapon which could be used by a patient. This last reason beggars belief. What is a patient going to do with a three-quarter inch blunt crucifix that they could not far more easily achieve with readily available hypodermic syringes?

In short, the move to 'ban the burkha' can be seen as a wider drive to ban all reference to religion from the public sphere. The reason for this is often given as an attempt to promote tolerance and respect for 'other religions'. Once again, it's a strange kind of 'respect' that tries to add a dimension of suppression to religious expression. The reason can far more easily be found in the modern secular states desire to have the undivided allegiance of its citizens. Religion presents a challenge—most of the world's principal religions hold allegiance to a higher, non-worldly Power (call it God if you will) whose demands and expectations may—and often do—clash with the 'wants' of the secular state. A simple way to understand this is to consider Penal times in Ireland when Catholics were suspect as their loyalties were believed—rightly or wrongly—to lie with an overseas Pope rather than with the British Crown. A large number of highly restrictive laws came into force to disable Catholics from public life, and these laws were only eased when the loyalty in the main—whether through desire or force—could be assured. (For more on this see Joseph McVeigh *A Wounded Church*.)

Modern parallels can be found in atheistic and communist China where all religions are frowned upon unless explicitly vetted and approved by the Communist Party and authorities for

A crime syndicate in America appears to have been selling organs harvested from Palestinians, and a Jewish American is currently being prosecuted for selling kidneys

## Israeli Body-Snatchers?

*Ha'aretz* of 19th August 2009 carried a story entitled, *Outrage: IDF Accused of "Harvesting Palestinian Organs"*. This concerned a story broken by Donald Bostrom, and carried in *Aftonbladet*—Sweden's largest circulation daily—under the headline *The Plunder The Organs Of Our Sons*. *Ha'aretz* says:

"The report quotes Palestinian claims that young men from the West Bank and Gaza Strip had been seized by the Israel Defense Forces, and their bodies returned to the families with missing organs.

"Our sons are used as involuntary organ donors', relatives of Khaled from Nablus said to me, as did the mother of Raed from Jenin as well as the uncles of Machmod and Nafes from Gaza, who all had disappeared for a few days and returned by night, dead and autopsied," writes author Donald Boström in his report.

"Boström's article makes a link to the recent exposure of an alleged crime syndicate in New Jersey. The syndicate includes several American rabbis, and one Levy Izhak Rosenbaum, who faces charges of conspiring to broker the sale of a human kidney for a transplant ..."

The article was illustrated with a photograph of a dead Palestinian man with a line of surgical stitches running the length of his torso, apparently taken after an autopsy, as well as pictures of stone-throwing youths, and of Levy Izhak Rosenbaum—a New York resident arrested in an FBI sting some weeks earlier and charged with plotting to buy a kidney from an Israeli and sell it to an American patient for \$160,000.

Allegations of organ-stealing have been circulating since the 1990s, but it was news of the New York prosecution that caused Boström to publish them for the first time.

The writer, Donald Bostrom, based the story on accounts from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza whom he identified only by their first names. He quotes an Israeli military spokesman denying the charges and saying that Palestinians killed by Israeli forces are routinely subjected to autopsies. *Aftonbladet* Editor Jan Helin said, "*The article poses a question—why has this body been autopsied when the cause of death is obvious? There I think Israeli authorities owe us an answer.*" The paper's calls for an Inquiry have been ignored.

Israel reacted to this "*blood libel*" with fury. Its Ambassador to Sweden is asking for an official condemnation of the story. So far the Government has resisted, saying there is a "*free media*" in Sweden.

CNN interviewed Boström who—

"said he has received several death threats about the opinion piece. "What I'm doing in my article is giving a range of examples of very active organ trafficking going on [in Israel]"...

"Boström stressed that he has no proof that Israeli soldiers were stealing organs, and that the purpose of his opinion article was to call for an investigation into numerous claims in the 1990s that such activity was going on. One of those claims is from the family of Bilal Ahmed Ghanem, a 19-year-old Palestinian man who was shot and killed in 1992, allegedly by Israeli forces, in the West Bank village of Imatin.

"I was present that night, I was a witness", Boström said.

"He said Ghanem's body was taken away and returned several days later by the Israeli military with a cut in his midsection that had been stitched up. Ghanem's family said they believed that his organs had been removed.

"After that incident, at least 20 Palestinian families told Boström that they suspected the Israeli military had taken the organs of their sons after they had been killed by Israeli forces, and their bodies taken away—presumably for routine autopsies.

"I was in the West Bank 50 times in the early '90s when I experienced this", Boström said. "I think it should be further investigated."

"In his op-ed, Boström calls on the International Court of Justice—the

their assured loyalty. Thus there is an officially-approved form of Catholicism permitted in China, but Falun Gong is widely described as being akin to terrorism because it does not owe its ultimate obedience to the State. Soviet Russia and Pol Pot's Cambodia both suppressed religion and tried to indoctrinate those not already born into a Church because of the desire that the secular State alone should be the ultimate authority, and have the ultimate claim on the loyalty of its citizens. The ideal for the secular state would be to ban religion completely, and this did indeed happen in Pol Pot's Cambodia and to a lesser extent, the Soviet Union. But where that's not (yet) possible, a satisfactory step is to curtail the public expression of religion and to reduce its influence on public life as far as possible. Thus religion—in an argument I'm sure familiar to many reading this article—becomes something 'for behind closed doors in the privacy of your own home'—and where it can't get in the way of the 'wants' of the secular state. The Daily Express even gives an example—"Turkey, a secular Muslim country, has banned headscarves in schools, universities and public offices". I wonder if 'secular Muslim' is not something of an oxymoron?

I haven't mentioned the so-called 'security aspect' of the burkha, and maybe I should. The *Daily Express* presented the view that wearing a burkha presents a security problem as it could hide terrorist intentions. I believe these 'security reasons' are—as often—suspect if not downright spurious. If I am correct, there is no prohibition on another woman seeing a veiled face—the veil is there to block the unwanted gaze of men—so a female security officer could easily check identities if required. Nor will a veil block the x-rays of scanning machines or we'd all have to go naked at the airport. Dark sunglasses also hide the eyes—and thus, to an extent, the immediate intentions of the wearer, one reason they are favoured by 'security services'. Perhaps they too should be banned.

Finally, I should point out that I am neither for nor against the burkha. I believe it should be a matter of choice. If a woman wants to wear a burkha, that's up to her. If she feels it's a religious obligation, surely she should not be forced to act against her conscience? If it's not—as is argued by the Daily Express—then this is a matter for the religious instructors to sort out. But I am against thinly-veiled attempts to socially engineer us into being obedient citizens, with the secular State as our sole God, especially when it's dressed up and sold to us as 'freedom'.



Newsnight report, 7th September 2009 by Katy Adler

## The Rise Of Israel's Military Rabbis

principal judicial body of the United Nations—to investigate the allegations.

"Bostrom said the families had offered to have the bodies exhumed in order to prove their claims that their relatives' organs had been taken.

"He had arranged to investigate the claims—along with a camera crew and a medical examiner—for a television news piece. But he said the report was later scrapped because of the closure of the West Bank and Gaza, and Bostrom said no human rights groups were interested in investigating the claims."

CNN carries the following report of the case against Rosenbaum:

"Levy Izhak Rosenbaum, who lives in Brooklyn and is not a licensed physician or medical professional, faces charges of acting as a human organ broker. He offered to obtain a kidney for an undercover FBI agent and a confidential witness working for authorities, the criminal complaint says. The price was \$160,000.

"I am what you call a match-maker", Rosenbaum is quoted as saying at a July 13 meeting with the two undercover agents.

"The undercover FBI agent told Rosenbaum one of her uncles needed a kidney because he had been on dialysis for two years and on a transplant list at a Philadelphia hospital, the complaint says. The first meeting took place at Rosenbaum's home on February 18, 2008, three days after the confidential witness contacted Rosenbaum by telephone, the document says.

"At that meeting, the complaint alleges, Rosenbaum said he could obtain a kidney for \$150,000. He later raised the price to \$160,000.

"I'm doing this a long time", the complaint says Rosenbaum told the two agents. He then added: "Let me explain to you one thing. It's illegal to buy or sell organs. ... So you cannot buy it. What you do is, you're giving a compensation for the time."

"At their last meeting, on July 13, Rosenbaum said he had been arranging kidney sales for 10 years, the complaint says. Asked how many transplants he had brokered, Rosenbaum is said to have responded, "Quite a lot. ... Quite a lot."

"Rosenbaum also told the agents he had brokered a transplant two weeks before their meeting, the document says...

"All of the donors "come from Israel", Rosenbaum is alleged to have said.

"The price had gone up to \$160,000, he said, because "it's hard to get people", noting that Israel had passed laws prohibiting the sale of human organs..."

"Israel's army is changing. Once proudly secular, its combat units are now filling with those who believe Israel's wars are "God's wars".

Military rabbis are becoming more powerful. Trained in warfare as well as religion, new army regulations mean they are now part of a military elite.

They graduate from officer's school and operate closely with military commanders. One of their main duties is to boost soldiers' morale and drive, even on the front line.

This has caused quite some controversy in Israel. Should military motivation come from men of God, or from a belief in the state of Israel and keeping it safe?

The military rabbis rose to prominence during Israel's invasion of Gaza earlier this year.

Some of their activities raised troubling questions about political-religious influence in the military.

Gal Einav, a non-religious soldier, said there was wall-to-wall religious rhetoric in the base, the barracks and on the battlefield.

As soon as soldiers signed for their rifles, he said, they were given a book of psalms.

And, as his company headed into Gaza, he told me, they were flanked by a civilian rabbi on one side and a military rabbi on the other.

"It felt like a religious war, like a crusade. It disturbed me. Religion and the army should be completely separate," he said.

### 'Sons of light'

But military rabbis, like Lieutenant Shmuel Kaufman, welcome the changes. In previous wars rabbis had to stay far from the front, he says. In Gaza, they were ordered to accompany the fighters.

"Our job was to boost the fighting spirit of the soldiers. The eternal Jewish spirit from Bible times to the coming of the Messiah"

Before his unit went into Gaza, Rabbi Kaufman said their commander told him to blow the ram's horn: "Like (biblical) Joshua when he conquered the land of Israel. It makes the war holier."

Rabbis handed out hundreds of religious pamphlets during the Gaza war.

When this came to light, it caused huge controversy in Israel. Some leaflets called Israeli soldiers the "sons of light"

and Palestinians the "sons of darkness".

Others compared the Palestinians to the Philistines, the bitter biblical enemy of the Jewish people.

Israel's military has distanced itself from the publications, but they carried the army's official stamp.

Still, army leaders insist their rabbis respect military ethics and put their private convictions aside. They say the same about the new wave of nationalist religious soldiers joining Israel's fighting forces.

### 'Religious duty'

I visited an orthodox Jewish seminary near Hebron in the West Bank. It is one of an increasing number of religious schools that encourage taking the Jewish Bible to the battlefield.

All students at the seminary choose to serve in Israel's combat units while statistics suggest less ideologically driven Israelis are avoiding them. This has made headline news in Israel.

The 19-year-olds I spoke to at the seminary told me religious soldiers like them can make the army behave better and become "more moral".

They believe it is their religious duty to protect the citizens of Israel, the Jewish state. The Lord commands it, they said.

The students' seminary is built in a Jewish settlement in the occupied West Bank.

...for the religious soldiers the West Bank is part of land given to the Jews by God. Gal Einav thinks many soldiers will refuse to close settlements down. The settlement issue could well tear the army apart, he told me, adding that most of his officers were settlers these days...

### Threat of 'Jihad'

...According to Reserve General Nehemia Dagan [former Chief Education Officer of the Army], what is happening in the army is far more dangerous than most Israelis realise: "We (soldiers) used to be able to put aside our own ideas in order to do what we had to do. It didn't matter if we were religious or from a kibbutz. But that's not the case anymore. The morals of the battlefield cannot come from a religious authority. Once it does, it's Jihad. I know people will not like that word but that's what it is, Holy War. And once it's Holy War there are no limits..."



## Hidden History Series: Report

Ireland has a small military force in Afghanistan—but the Irish are no strangers there, as *The Times* (London) recalled on 7th September 2009.

But 130 years ago, the Irish had little choice in the matter

### Sgt. Hoolihan In Afghanistan

"The heat, the disease, the weariness of fighting on the "cursed soil" of a foreign land: the challenges to the troops in Afghanistan are nothing new. British squaddies had the same complaints 130 years ago, and some voiced their anger in verse:

The Afghan hills resound no more  
To trumpet blast or battle's road;  
Backward the red hot march it lies,  
Where many a brave heart pines and dies

A leaflet with a poem denouncing *The Death March of the British from Afghanistan*, AD 1879 has surfaced at Argyll Etkin, a London manuscript dealer, and it details the horrors of the barren landscape, the everyday fear of ambush, the grim spectre of cholera and the longing for home.

The author, a Sergeant J. Hoolihan of the 1-5th Fusiliers, is no Wilfred Owen. His 23 verses of doggerel are as jerky as the campaign which was led by General Sir Frederick Roberts, VC, against Afghan insurgents during the Second Afghan War.

Few of the troops, drawn from regiments in India and including a large number of Irishmen, had much idea of the confused strategy. But they were deeply distrustful of what they saw as a wily and vengeful foe who only 37 years earlier had inflicted one of the most catastrophic defeats ever suffered by the British military—when of the 16,500 troops and camp followers retreating from Kabul in 1842 all but one surviving doctor were massacred.

Hoolihan speaks of the "*glorious stand of thirty-nine*", referring to the start of the First Afghan War, when the British captured Kandahar. He refers to the Treaty of Gandamak, in May 1879, which briefly installed the pro-British Yaqub Khan as Emir and set up a British embassy in Kabul. And passing through Jelallabad, he recalls its earlier bloody history when Sir Robert Sale, trapped and besieged, led the British resistance in 1841—"*Ghilzai hordes and Cabul's crew/ Could ne'er his gallant band subdue*".

Like many foreign armies in Afghanistan, Hoolihan seems to have been misled by false hopes. Only four months after the Treaty of Gandamak, the Emir was deposed, the British Resident in Kabul was murdered, troops were sent back to reoccupy the city and two more years of debilitating warfare followed.

The parallels with the turbulent politics of Afghanistan today are striking.

Hoolihan saw enough to sicken him: "*A Soldier lies through the weary night/ Waging with cholera a grim death-fight,/ Comrades endeavour to soothe his pain,/ But all their efforts are in vain,*" he wrote. He adds, dramatically: "*Cease comrades cease, my race is run,/ Jack*

*will never see another sun,/ My children orphans in a foreign land,/ While their father lies 'neath the Afghan sand."*

Bodies were not brought back for burial in England 130 years ago.

The heat and the cold ravaged the march. "*Onward we press unto Peshawur [now in Pakistan],/ Where chill ague carries all before."* There, at last, they find "*Fair British faces come to welcome and view/ The marching ranks of the bold and true*". British cheers, he writes, "*ring from the ranks*".

Who Hoolihan was and where he came from remain unknown. It is not clear whether he joined in the later fighting—probably not, as he concludes

**RN NEWS** THE IRISH NEWS THURSDAY AUGUST 13 2009 15

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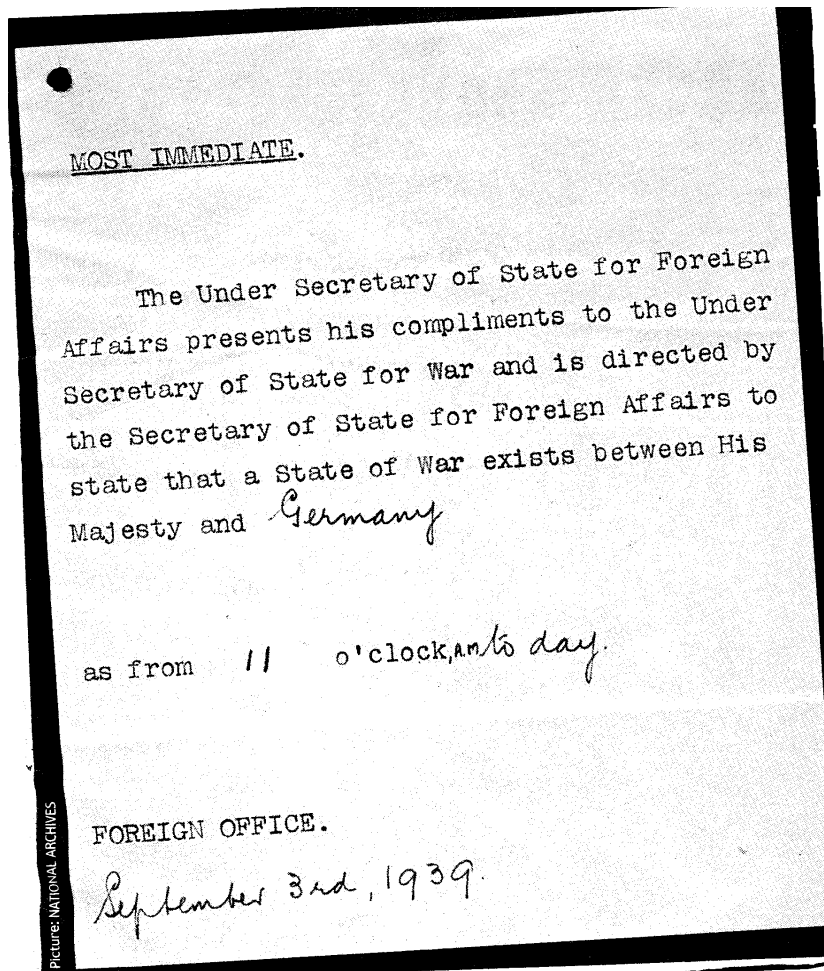
The *Irish News* has started carrying British Army recruiting advertising (13.8.09). This lurid colour advertisement seeks to lure youngsters with a military image which might have come out of *Boys' Own*.

with joy: "Now off to Albion the land of the free,/ Lo! I greet you fair isle of the sea./ Strange lands I wish to see no more,/ But calmly rest on my native shore."

He probably published the poem privately, as it is printed in Lahore. It is hardly conceivable that the British high command would have authorised anything so filled with weary cynicism on the campaign.

The campaign he described was the centrepiece of the famous "Great Game", the long struggle between the British and Russian empires for control of Afghanistan. The Russians were backing rival claimants to the Afghan throne, and made various alliances with local chieftains to try to tilt the balance against the British.

Hoolihan said that the treaty of Gandamak "did the Russian puzzle./ The wily Afghan it did muzzle." Again, he did not see the whole picture. The Russians had built a railway to the edge of their newly won Central Asian empire, and were poised to take full advantage of the British defeats in Afghanistan—cartoons predicted that the British would be "booted out". But they never succeeded in the 19th century in subduing the country, nor did Soviet forces succeed a century later. Little changes in Afghanistan—as successive invaders have found."



British Foreign Office form allowing Ministers to easily declare war, simply by filling in the name of the country and the hour and date war is to start.

(Daily Mail, 4.9.2009)

## John Martin

A reply to articles by Jack Lane and Joe Keenan, which appeared in the last issue of *Church & State*

### The Darwin Debate

#### *Origin Of Species*

My primary motivation for engaging in this debate is my disagreement with Jack Lane regarding the teaching of Creationism in school science classes. It is quite noticeable that Jack does not defend Creationism but suggests that it should be taught as an alternative to Darwin's theory. As far as I can see the only virtue for Jack in Creationism is that it is not Darwinian.

But I remain of the opinion that Creationism has no place in the Science classroom. It is not a scientific theory. It is primarily a religious belief even though some adherents adduce selective scientific evidence in support of this belief while ignoring the overwhelming scientific evidence against it.

My position remains that religious

beliefs should be left outside the science classroom. This stricture should apply to atheist as well as Christian, Muslim and Jewish beliefs. This of course, does not mean that the activities of scientists should be beyond the law or ethical evaluation.

Jack says that there are more distinguished scientists that are Christian than are atheist. It would be surprising if this were not the case. In the general population there have been far more adherents of a religious faith than believers in none. Other things being equal—and I believe other things *are* equal in this case—one would expect this to be reflected in the scientific community.

Like everyone else scientists are motivated by a variety of things. Some believe that science is a means to understand the mind of God. Others believe that it is a worthwhile activity in itself. But belief in a God neither precludes nor is a necessary condition for being a great scientist. In a previous article for this magazine I indicated a past leader of the French Communist Party (George Marchais) was proud of the scientific achievements of Joliot-

Curie who was a member of the party. But Marchais went on to say that the achievements of Pasteur were no less important or valuable because the latter was a Christian, while the former was a communist. The achievements of science belong to us all regardless of the religious beliefs of the scientists.

Although there have been many great scientists who were Christian, I doubt if there has been one in the last 100 years who believed in Creation theory. There has not been one great scientist who has relied on the bible to prove his theories. If he did his theory would cease to be scientific.

I am not quite clear on what aspect of Darwin's theory—as enunciated in *The Origin Of Species*—that Jack is in disagreement with. He says there is no evidence to support it. But that is not true. There is plenty of evidence. It is one of the pleasures of old age to observe family characteristics—both physical and personality traits—being passed on from generation to generation. This is taken for granted in the cultivation of plants and the breeding of animals. One of the contributions of the late great Vincent O'Brien was that he introduced

the Canadian stallion Northern Dancer into the bloodline of European thoroughbred racehorses.

Of course, the idea that man can breed faster animals or animals with more meat by selecting specific types of animals for breeding while excluding other types was known long before Darwin. All Darwin did—along with other scientists such as Alfred Wallace—was to reason that nature might also have criteria for selection. He put forward the hypothesis that, since most species of plants and animals reproduced more than survived, the criteria that nature used for selection was the fitness for the environment.

By this process species evolve. At a certain point a species evolves to such an extent that it becomes a different species. To paraphrase Marx: an accumulation of quantitative changes leads to a qualitative or revolutionary change. Darwin's theory is not incompatible with Christianity. If one wants to bring God into it—and I don't—one could say that the hand of God intervened in the process that led the ape-like creature to evolve into *Homo Sapiens* or that God determined the laws in the first place which allow evolution to occur. Again, my understanding is that geological and archaeological evidence supports Darwin's theory. I don't think any reputable scientist believes that species are immutable and that for example, *Homo Sapiens* was put on this earth and did not evolve from an ape like creature. Indeed my understanding is that the accumulation of scientific evidence since Darwin's time points towards what Darwin only hinted at: the possibility that all life has a common source.

Jack prefers the theory of Lamarck, but nature has its own laws, which are impervious to the preferences of human beings. The real question is which theory better accords with the laws of nature rather than the preferences of man. Lamarck thought that animals adapted to their environment but he was vague as to the mechanism of adaptation. The environment influences the evolution of species but it alone cannot explain their evolution.

Darwin noticed that areas around the world with the same climactic conditions had a wide variety of species. For example, Australia is the only continent that has Kangaroos. But there are a large number of areas, both in the Northern hemisphere and Southern hemisphere which have similar climactic conditions to Australia but do not have anything quite like a Kangaroo.

On the other hand flora and fauna that shared the same land mass have many similarities despite inhabiting different climates. For example the North American wild cat is more similar to wild cats in the southern part of that continent than other parts of the world because they are more closely related to each other than the wild cats in Europe and Africa. He deduced that species sharing the same land mass had evolved through the process of reproduction independently of species in different land masses.

In a previous article I suggested that Darwin's theory was "problematic". What I meant by this was the application of the theory was problematic rather than the theory itself. The theory itself has been proven to be robust. However, it was also incomplete. One criticism of Darwin's theory was that it could not explain variation. At the time it was believed that inherited characteristics were a blend of the male and female. But, if this were the case, there would be a tendency towards the mediocre and the uniform. Strong characteristics of one parent would be mitigated by characteristics of the other parent. And yet, although species evolve, they still have the capacity to produce variation, otherwise evolution would grind to a halt. Darwin had no real answer to this criticism except to revert to some of Lamarck's ideas about the influence of the environment.

Darwin was unaware of the ideas of a contemporary scientist, the Augustinian monk Gregor Mendel. Mendel believed that there were certain "heredity units" or "factors", as he called them, which determined the characteristics of offspring. These "factors" became known as genes. Remarkably, Mendel was even aware that within these "factors" or genes there were dominant and recessive elements. However, the significance of Mendel's work was not appreciated until long after his death.

While there were other scientists such as Alfred Wallace who had arrived at a similar theory to Darwin independently of him, the contribution of Mendel to science was unique. He is known as the father of genetics. If Jack wishes to argue that Mendel's contribution to science was greater than Darwin's, I am happy to agree with him on this point. But Mendel's theory is not incompatible with Darwin's theory.

Jack thinks that people who subscribe to Darwin's theory should be in favour of a nuclear holocaust so that they can observe evolution from scratch. I take this as a rhetorical flourish. I don't see why any human being would want this and scientists don't cease to be human beings because they accept Darwin's theory of evolution.

## Descent Of Man

To some extent Joe Keenan is debating at cross purposes to myself. I wish to defend *The Origin of Species* while Joe wants to attack *The Descent of Man*. *The Origin of Species* hardly mentions human beings nor does it attempt to explain the origins of life although as I've said earlier it does hint—without saying so explicitly—at a common source for all life. It certainly does not discuss differences between the various branches of the human race.

In my opinion *The Origin of Species* is a serious scientific work, while *The Descent of Man* is a political programme. Perhaps Joe thinks that the one cannot be separated from the other because they were written by the same person. I disagree. The scientific theory in *The Origin of Species* as I described in my previous article in *Church & State* either stands or falls on its own merits. Errors in a subsequent work do not invalidate the theory in *The Origin of Species*.

Joe shows convincingly that Darwin was a racist who was prepared to apply the lessons he learned from nature for a political purpose. Many of the radio and television programmes about Darwin admit that racist ideas in the twentieth century originated with Darwin's theory. The impression given is that Darwin is an innocent bystander in all of this, which is clearly not the case.

One can draw moral or political lessons from the laws of nature but that's all they are: moral and political lessons. They are not scientific theories. As Joe Keenan has indicated there have been atheists who have used Darwin's theory in an attempt to disprove the existence of God. In my view such atheists are no less culpable than the creationists for mixing science and religion. A recent BBC television documentary on Darwin noted that the Anglican Church had more difficulty than the Catholic Church in dealing with Darwin's theory. This might be because the Protestant religions place more emphasis on the Old Testament. The BBC presenter summed up the attitude of the Vatican as: science can have the body, but we will retain possession of souls. It appears to me that the only people who fail to recognise this distinction are the atheists whom Joe criticises and the American Protestant fundamentalists who continue to advocate the teaching of Creationism in schools.

Joe seems to imply that I am being naïve, or at least, that insisting on separating science and religion is "the best of all possible worlds". Whether it is naïve or not I think it is worth defending the line between the two. This magazine has based itself on such



distinctions. The very name *Church & State* indicates that the Church and State should be considered separately even though in practice the two were mixed together. Making such distinctions enabled us to campaign successfully for an Education Act, which defined the relationship between the two. Similarly, I believe religion and science should be separated.

If after all this work in making the Church subject to the law in Education the current position of contributors to this magazine is that we should allow the Creationists run amok in our schools because of dislike of Darwin's politics, I can only regard that as a serious regression.

Jack Lane

## The Darwin Debate— Some Questions

I think there is a need to clarify the term Evolution. The improvement and development of a species cannot be disputed and, as John says, it has been going on long before Darwinism appeared. Animals have been improved according to the demands of their environment—man's demands in large part, and man himself has clearly improved himself to meet the needs of his environment. This can be called Evolution but I think it confuses the issue somewhat when the same word is used to describe one species evolving into another. That is a very different kettle of fish.

John says: "*At a certain point a species evolves to such an extent that it becomes a different species. To paraphrase Marx: an accumulation of quantitative changes leads to a qualitative or revolutionary change.*" However good Vincent O'Brien was with training and improving horses, they still remain horses. And, likewise, however good the Martin family is at reproduction they still remain human. According to Darwinism they were both something else and will become something else again and it would argue that the Martins and horses have common origins as all life has a common origin. But how exactly did one become the other is not proven.

This is the problem with Darwinism—these processes are not humanly observable. For me this is the central issue with Darwinism—there can be only speculation about what happened either in the past or will happen in the future. Like any theory, some evidence can be produced that can seem to back it up but a lot more has to be ignored. Darwinian random mutations are particularly useful for riotous speculation. They can explain

everything but nothing necessarily in particular.

There are many immediate problems with the idea of new species evolving from existing ones. If a species evolves, why are some of the species 'left behind' and thrive as the original species? The lower animals are still with us after a long time: are they simply slow runners in the human race—so to speak?

I don't think quantity into quality is a Darwinian law and if it is it is not clear how it gels with the other laws.

John says "*nature has its own laws, which are impervious to the preferences of human beings*". But all such laws are man-made mental constructs based on existing knowledge and, as knowledge increases, they need modification. And, if a number of laws are operating, which there must be, there is a need to establish what exactly is the catalyst and combination that causes an actual event to happen—what exactly makes the 'conjunction' happen.

For example, to take an amazing case that happens every day. It is not clear what laws are operating and how and why they are operating in the transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly. It looks like the transformation of one species into another but nobody claims it as such no doubt because caterpillars continue to exist unchanged. It is not easy to see any Darwinian rationale for it unless there was a law of the survival of the prettiest, perhaps.

This is not a smart arse suggestion. Darwinian laws can also be very eclectic. The chameleon obscures and hides itself to preserve itself from being obvious to predators. The peacock does the exact opposite but this, Darwin explained, was for the sexual attraction of the spots on its tail which ensured its survival. Survival of the sexiest! Imaginative but hardly convincing as both processes seem incongruous in occurring simultaneously in a Darwinian world.

Were eyes once blind and did they evolve to see more clearly over time and if so why are we wearing glasses at this high stage of evolution? How did animal or human life survive without them?

If life has a common origin, as Darwinism says, and it evolves from the simple to the more complex, there is the enduring problem with the causes of variation in life forms. And this variation issue, and therefore evolution of species, cannot be separated from the very nature and origin of life itself. And if one cannot be known, how is it possible to be sure about the other?

There is a theory that the origin of variations in the various life forms—

vegetable, animal and human—can be explained by the different origins of these forms being caused by different intergalactic spores containing various concoctions of elements that interacted with the primordial soup at various times, places and circumstance in various ways. It makes as much sense as any other theory but seems ruled out of court.

However, an interesting variation of this theory was reported in a Press release from Arizona State University, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, on the 15 February this year which said that:

"Paul Davies, an internationally acclaimed theoretical physicist and cosmologist at Arizona State University challenged the orthodox view that there is only one form of life in a lecture titled "Shadow Life: Life As We Don't Yet Know It" on Feb. 15 at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. His presentation is part of the symposium "Weird Life". Life as we know it appears to have had a single common ancestor, yet, could life on Earth have started many times? "Might it exist on Earth today in extreme environments and remain undetected because our techniques are customized to the biochemistry of known life?" asks Davies, who also is the director of the BEYOND Center for Fundamental Concepts in Science at Arizona State University in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. In the lecture, Davies will present, challenge and extend some of the conclusions from a July 2007 report by the National Research Council. That report looked at whether the search for life should include "weird life"—described by the Council as "life with an alternative biochemistry to that of life on Earth. If a biochemically weird microorganism should be discovered, its status as evidence for a second genesis, as opposed to a new branch on our own tree of life, will depend on how fundamentally it differs from known life", wrote Davies in the Nov. 19, 2007, issue of *Scientific American*. Davies and other pioneers who speculate that life on Earth may have started many times are wondering "why we have overlooked this idea for so long?" The concept of a shadow biosphere, according to Davies, "is still just a theory. If someone discovers shadow life or weird life it will be the biggest sensation in biology since Darwin. We are simply saying, 'Why not let's take a look for it?' It doesn't cost much (compared to looking for weird life on Mars, say), and, it might be right under our noses"..."

The secret of life might well be under or up our noses, for all we know! ❀

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**Karl Marx  
Journalism  
How Low Can You Go?  
Protestant Famies Of West Cork  
Jewish Prisoner  
Muslims Mass-Producing Children  
Protestant Schools**

"**KARL MARX** said religion was the opium of the people; maybe today's version should be that money is the tranquilliser of society.

*Wherever God erects  
a house of prayer,  
The Devil always builds  
a chapel there;  
And 'twill be found,  
upon examination,  
The latter has  
the largest congregation.*

DANIEL DEFOE

(John Arnold, an East Cork farmer, *Evening Echo*, 1.10.2009).

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**Journalism**

"Standards in journalism are 'in decline' in Ireland and some journalists are 'anti, business and anti-enterprise', businessman Denis O'Brien has told a media conference at NUI Galway.

"Speaking at the *Connacht Tribune* centenary conference yesterday, Mr O'Brien said newspapers had not embraced the internet sufficiently, and the Irish newspaper industry would have to 'change and reduce costs and work practices'. Describing himself as a media watcher since he began reading his mother's *Daily Telegraph* at the age of 11, Mr. O'Brien said sports journalists 'loved sport', but he was not sure that 'business journalists love business'.

"A lot of them are not trained... they couldn't read a balance sheet,' he said. 'There is a very real onus on communicators, and indeed educators, to encourage, support and endorse enterprise and innovation,' he said, as an enterprise culture would 'lift this country out of its current difficulties'.

"He said writers were 'the most important part' of the newspaper 'brand'. 'The old principles of having great writers, local news and sport will win out as this creates the grip on the community,' he said. 'Democracy depends on great journalism. Journalism standards are in decline in Ireland, the 'red tops' are racing to the bottom in terms of standards.

"Printing cartoons of our Taoiseach and posing as a family friend of the Taoiseach in a friend's caravan while waiting to doorstep him at his holiday home in Roundstone is a new low," he said.

"Also some of the personal criticism of people in public life has become too vicious. Behind every public figure you have wives, husbands, partners and family. Editors need to temper this trend."

"He added that 'newspapers here have not fully embraced the internet'. Referring to News Corp chairman Rupert Murdoch's belief that media content should be charged for on the internet, he said that 'when Murdoch is finished people will click and pay'. Mr Murdoch was 'the innovator' and nobody should bet against him, he said.

"During questions, Mr O'Brien emphasised the importance of the arts and culture, and said that the McCarthy report's proposed cuts in arts were akin to 'what you've seen with the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia'. (*Irish Times*, 3.10.2009).

Denis O'Brien himself is engaged in a 'titanic' struggle with the O'Reilly family for control of the Independent News and Media Group in Dublin. In the process, he has lost €500m as Independent shares collapsed during the past year. The rivalry between O'Brien and the O'Reilly empire goes back more than a decade, when they clashed over Ireland's second mobile phone licence, which was later sold to British Telecom. Further conflict ensued in 2002 over the cannibalization of Eircom.

O'Brien claims that the Moriarty Tribunal which is investigating the awarding of the State's mobile phone licence to his Esat consortium in 1996 is 'out of control'.

The tribunal was "out of control", he claimed, and was squandering resources. He claims the final bill for the inquiry could be €200 million. "His own legal costs are €12 million so far", he has said.

"Mr O'Brien criticised a number of journalists who had written stories about the Moriarty tribunal and claimed *The Irish Times* "have made a thing that they're going to be the tribunal newspaper".

"He claimed "crazy theories" written by journalists such as Matt Cooper and Sam Smyth were "basically off-the-wall" and had been proven to be "all wrong".

"He said *Irish Times* journalist Colm Keena "listens to stuff that no-one else listens [at tribunal hearings] because he misses everything".

"When I read the transcript the night before, I say, 'Jesus, that's fantastic stuff; we're going to get a headline' and next thing you read the thing from Colm—you may as well be reading the *Beano*." (*Irish Times*-27.7.2009).

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**HOW LOW CAN YOU GO?**

*Vox Pop* wasn't the only one to raise a shocked eyebrow when An Post announced in August, on its website, that its next set of commemorative stamps would "celebrate" the Ulster Plantation.

The GPO mandarins received complaints from Irish people baffled as to why any country would issue stamps celebrating its own occupation.

The Post Office now admits that was an error—it only meant to "mark" the plantation, not celebrate it.

It also revealed that the decision to issue the stamps was not theirs, but that of Bertie Ahern and his Cabinet.

This trend could catch on abroad. India Amritsar celebration stamps, anyone?"

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**PROTESTANT FAMILIES OF WEST CORK**

"It was a small and lonely part of the world out of which they seldom seem to have ventured, and, small as it was, their own exclusiveness made it less. For they were no part of the Catholic Ireland which surrounded them, and hardly recognised its people as having anything to do with them at all, except in the capacity of tenants and servants. So far as they were concerned, the world consisted only in themselves, the Somervilles, the Townshends, the Bechers, and a few other landed proprietors, each holding his own outpost in what he regarded as more or less a jungle of barbarism. It was with these alone that they intermarried; for generations back, nearly all my forebears have come from the scattered Protestant families of West Cork, so that nearly all the present members of them are cousins of some sort. And naturally this led to a certain amount of in-breeding—twice the Flemings have married the Reeveses." —*Head or Harp*, Lionel Fleming, 1965, Barrie and Rockliff, London, p.11).

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"THE JEWISH REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL OF IRELAND will inspect the kitchens of a jail after a prisoner complained to the High Court that his food is not kosher.

"The case, the first of its kind in Ireland, has been brought by a Jewish

## Revival Reflections

I first have to declare an interest here. Brendan Clifford has a theory that the French Revolution was not in the end a helpful influence on the Ulster Presbyterians, because it got them into an ideological bind that led to a state of detachment from what was practically achievable to them. Basically, it disabled them from practical politics. That process was completed by the 1859 Revival. On that analysis the 'Garden Centre' Protestant" is a strange offshoot of the Revival. The characteristic Ulster Protestant distaste for the murkiness of politics which Brendan has identified stems, as he reckons, from the Revival and flows outwards from those caught up in it and their children until it has percolated the whole society, religious and secular. So not only the churches but the Golf Clubs, the Rotary Clubs, and even the multifarious Loyalist organizations, are all in their own ways cities of refuge for people who have lost any political savvy they ever had. We're all therefore in a sense children of the Revival whether we acknowledge it or not.

For my part, I have to own up. My whole *Weltanschauung* has been shaped by the Revival. Brendan can't understand how it can be that a product of the revival culture in North Antrim can have any appreciation of what he has been trying to say as a sort of Tory Jacobite from a durable culture in North Cork that spoke English but thought in Gaelic. The question is akin to that posed by Tertullian: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" Or, as we might say in this context, "What has Slieve Luacra to do with (the County Antrim) Kells?" Possibly the incomprehension is mutual. Brendan has indeed been able, in a good sense, to get under the skin of Ulster Protestants to the extent that I've been tempted to think he knows us better than we know ourselves, but the thought forms of what we might call Ulster Protestant spirituality are, possibly of necessity, *terra incognita* to him.

So, here am I, born a hundred years after 1859, and brought up in the very epicentre of Revival culture, in the townlands of Ferniskey, Kells, and Ballymacvea, a landscape of Gospel Halls, Mission Halls, special series of meetings and preaching that could never have been called nuanced. The characteristic emphasis, where faith comes not just by hearing the Word of God, but by way of an existential crisis is familiar to me. So the events of the Revival were always a kind of living

history to me. My knowledge of it wasn't extensive, it was more in the realm of folk culture. In the same way, maybe, those who live near a huge mountain may not have climbed it or have much knowledge of it, but it still overshadows their lives. If objectivity is a vain pursuit at the best of times, then anything I say on the subject has to be taken as especially coloured by all kinds of subconscious modes of thought.

This is a year of anniversaries: we have the birth of Mendelsohn and Darwin in 1809, the latter's *Origin Of Species* in 1859, Big Ben in 1859, Calvin's birth in 1509 (though you wouldn't know anything about that anniversary if you were dependent on the BBC for your culture), and, not unconnected with that, the Ulster Revival of 1859, which also was connected with the Third Great Awakening in America. The North of Ireland was the launching pad for the Revival to spread to large parts of Lowland and North East Scotland, South Wales, and some areas of England. Even where there was no direct impact, the Revival was a big factor in the general rise in Evangelical and missionary consciousness in the Established Church of England and the Dissenting Churches in the later Victorian era. Spurgeon, for example, wasn't himself a product of the Revival but of an older Nonconformist culture in eastern England, but there can be little doubt but that his ministry was greatly aided by the influences of the Revival from his mid-twenties on.

Within the next fifteen years or so the Chicago evangelist D.L. Moody, accompanied by Ira Sankey the hymn-writer, was to visit the British Isles for a gospel campaign; and there is a direct line through from them to Billy Graham, and from Graham to the tele-Evangelists, some of whom have turned out to be disreputable. As we try to think about the history of these revivals we continually come up against these transatlantic influences, blowing this way and that. We also realize that from the time of the First Great Awakening, starting around 1740 in Northampton, Massachusetts under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, up to now there has been a major shift; and it may be that that shift can be seen in the period from 1859 on. I will say something about this later in connection with the influence of Charles Finney.

I was listening to *Start The Week*

with Andrew Marr on Radio 4 a few weeks ago. One of the guests was a historian who was trying to explain the persistence of the American attachment to God. His theory was that, unbeknown to them, the authors of the Constitution, themselves mainly Deists, put a framework in place that was conducive to the growth of religious energy in the society. His reasoning was that, by enacting a separation between religion and the institutions of the Government, the founding fathers created scope for religion to be privatized as the spiritual wing of American capitalism, with the results that we see and hear today. This may be all very well, but it goes no way to explaining the First Great Awakening, forty years before independence. In fact the contrary position has been argued: that the revolutionary turmoil of the later eighteenth century focussed the minds of the middle classes on the achievable secular millennium which was opening up to them and to that extent exercised a dampening influence on their spiritual fervency. It is similarly noteworthy that, within a few years of the Third Great Awakening of 1857-58, the American Civil War broke out, with the result that much of the potential of that Revival wasn't fulfilled.

Various attempts have been made without much success to recreate the conditions from which biological life might have emerged from the primeval stew, and in the same way historians and sociologists have tried to put together a cocktail of characteristics common to societies where *revival* breaks out. Factors such as rapid industrialization or agricultural crisis are picked out. We have communities which see themselves as being in some way under pressure and so they seek out another mode of existence to give meaning to their shattered lives.

In the second half of the last century there were three areas of the world where the Protestant Churches—Pentecostal, "Fundamentalist" and Reformed Evangelical—have experienced astonishing growth. Since this has been another well-kept media secret I'll name these: mainland China; Latin America, especially Brazil; and South Korea. It was estimated a few years ago that the population of Shanghai was about ten per cent Christian. (The growth has been reflected proportionately among the Chinese diaspora.) The only thing that these places have in common as far as I can see is that the mainstream culture has not historically been evangelical Protestant. I don't think the human spirit can be quantified, least of all by academics; and if we add the Third Person of the Trinity to the equation, well, aren't we told that "*the wind bloweth where it listeth*"? But whether

we're believers or not, we have to accept that there are some things on this planet that simply aren't explicable. Revival Studies can't be totally equated with, for example, Gender Studies.

Among the remarkable features of the 1740 Awakening in New England was the confluence of men and movements that had up to then been disparate. There were the New England Congregationalists, descendants of the English Puritans, what we would now call the blueblooded WASP establishment. They had settled down considerably from the days of the witch trials of Salem in 1692. Edwards was an archetypal if not typical representative: reserved, learned, pious, and probably one of the four or five great American intellectuals, but with no experience of, nor propensity towards, religious excitement.

Then there were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, a rougher tougher lot, who were starting to arrive in the Colonies in great numbers, but were still largely confined to Pennsylvania and the mid-Atlantic seaboard. They may have had some distant genetic memory of religious excitement from South Antrim in the 1620s but their chief interest in the New World was to attain some level of economic viability. Francis Makemie from Ramelton in Donegal had established the first Presbytery back in 1706. The eastern establishment thought of these people with disdain if at all. But the Tennent family, father and two sons, with their roots in County Armagh, developing separately from New England, were influential figures in the events of the Awakening. It was William Tennent who put the log into theology with the foundation in 1727 of the Log College that eventually developed into Princeton University and Princeton Theological Seminary.

Finally there was George Whitefield, son of the Bell Inn Gloucester and product of Pembroke College Oxford, the lifelong Anglican who is known as the founding father of Calvinistic Methodism, and was the preacher par excellence of the 18th century. Whitefield is as much a presence on the American scene as on the English because of his many Atlantic crossings, and the huge distances he travelled on horseback through the American Colonies; and indeed his statue adorns the front of the University of Pennsylvania.

These people weren't natural bedfellows historically or culturally, yet when they came together there was a massive spiritual explosion.

There was another very strange thing about Edwards himself. While he seemed to understand that all was not as it should be in the somnolent respectable congregation of Northampton and was urging

on his listeners an "*experimental acquaintance*" with the God they worshipped, he was taken aback by the intensity of what actually happened. An instance of this intensity that wasn't easy to ignore was the case of his wife Sarah. She was a busy housewife and mother but for about six weeks in the early part of 1742 she was more or less going around in a trance. In her cool 18th century way she says: "*My soul remained in a kind of heavenly Elysium... it was with difficulty that I could pursue my ordinary avocations*".

At the macro-level we have the accounts such as that of Nathan Cole from the early days of the Awakening, repeated by David Reynolds in his radio history of America:

"We went down with the stream, I heard no man speak a word all the way, three miles, but everyone pressing forward in great haste, and when we got down to the old meetinghouse there was a great multitude—it was said to be 3 or 4000 people assembled together. We got off from our horses and shook off the dust, and the ministers were then coming to the meetinghouse. I turned and looked towards the great river and saw ferry boats running swift, forward and backward, bringing over loads of people, the oars rowed nimble and quick. Everything, men, horses and boats, all seemed to be struggling for life, the land and the banks over the river looked black with people and horses. All along the 12 miles I saw no man at work in his field but all seemed to be gone."

At a pastoral level Edwards, with his curious mind, was confronted by all kinds of strange phenomena which led to a series of treatises (*The Religious Affections, Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God, Some Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* etc.) in which he tries to work out a theology of revival, with a cautious but not altogether judgmental eye on the "*excesses*". The point to bear in mind is that these phenomena, such as prostration, sudden dumbness, uncontrollable shouting and weeping and so on were not really seen as validations of the work of God but as problematic accompaniments. They had to be explained, not least because there were those who were quick to point to these things as evidence of the collective delusion endemic in the whole movement.

Now if we fast forward to 1857 we see that there was a massive economic slump in America, and in the middle of it a man called Jeremiah Lamphier rented a hall in New York to hold prayer meetings, presumably for distressed business folk. After minuscule beginnings the numbers were soon flowing out into the streets and the Third Great Awakening

had begun. This becomes relevant to the Irish situation because it has been argued that the Revival, like our own Credit Crunch, "*started in America*". This is true only to an extent as we'll see below.

The other truism that isn't completely true is that the people of pre-Revival Ulster inhabited a land of Stygian gloom, where even the light was as darkness. Certainly if one peruses the Ordnance Survey volumes of 1834 one is amazed by the number of unlicensed drinking dens in largely Protestant townlands, such as Crebilly, and the evidence of general squalor in the lives of the people. In the 1830s also the itinerant English Wesleyan evangelist Carter was travelling round the country and commenting on the prevailing hardness of heart among the Presbyterian farmers, but there was no doubt some *odium theologicum* mixed with this as well, in that their Calvinist theology was for Carter evidence of their hardness.

Beneath the surface things had been fermenting for some decades. Readers of *Church & State* won't need to be reminded of the Arian Controversy of the 1820s which resulted in a clear doctrinal realignment of Presbyterianism with Trinitarian orthodoxy. By the following decade there had been some thawing in relations with the Church of Ireland as both denominations recognized the importance of all Ireland missionary endeavour. And of course Presbyterians were in the habit of going to Church, whether they were poachers or gamekeepers, and so the whole society was exposed to preaching from pulpits from which "*formalism*"—going through the motions—had been to a great extent expelled. The Union of the Synods in 1840 was emblematic of the forward-looking confident spirit of mid-century Irish Presbyterianism. This was not a community in the grip of existential *angst*. Rapid industrialization was certainly happening, but not in mid-Antrim.

Paradoxically the Disruption of 1843 in the Church of Scotland had encouraged the Irish evangelical party. The sight of Thomas Chalmers, the most revered Presbyterian of his generation, leading the minority party out of the General Assembly to a life without buildings or manses was inspirational to the Irish Church.

The mass of the people were still unaffected, but they were becoming more familiar with the doctrine of the New Birth that they were increasingly hearing about. And it was against this background that a four man prayer meeting started up in a school house near Kells in September 1857, encouraged by the Presbyterian Minister of Connor. One of those men was another Jeremiah, funnily enough, Jeremiah

Meneely. Others joined them, and similar meetings started elsewhere in the Parish of Connor. By the Spring of 1858 news was beginning to filter through about what was going on in America and this led to a greater intensity and more converts. But the movement was still confined to a small area and didn't come under much notice till December 1858 when there were a number of spectacular conversions of "hardened sinners" and, through family connections, the Revival spread to Ahoghill, a village west of Ballymena, which still boasts three Presbyterian congregations.

I don't propose to subject the reader to a travelogue of the spread of the Revival from its mid-Antrim beginnings all over the nine Counties and beyond. (The Free Presbyterians have done students of the Revival a big favour by publishing a history, largely made up of first-hand accounts, in six volumes, the last of which is devoted to *Pamphlets And Controversies Of The Revival*. Who says, apart from the Editor of this magazine, that fierce theological debate is inimical to religion?) It should be accepted that this spread did occur, aided by the new railway system. It's a dynamic and chequered story, full of advances and setbacks and enlivened by various charismatic characters. Ahoghill is like a template for what was to come because it was here that the movement developed its identity.

This is what contemporary Professor William Gibson (*Year Of Grace*) has to say about some of the Ahoghill conversions:

"The work in Ahoghill, from the outset, was largely characterized by those physical effects which henceforward to a greater or less extent marked its onward progress. It is not to be wondered at that the sudden, singular and violent conversions which were not so frequent, produced a strange and startling effect upon the community. Such instantaneous seizures, so different in their character from the slow methods to which the church has been accustomed, were naturally regarded with some suspicion and alarm, as introducing a new process in regeneration, and it was not without an internal struggle that many could be made to admit their genuineness."

There's an interesting story from the Coleraine area of a teenage girl who declared that she was going to be struck dumb at 8.00 p.m. that evening, so it was decided to remove all the clocks from the house. Despite that, her prophecy was fulfilled on the dot. This "phenomenon" was certainly looked on askance by the local Minister who was a sympathizer with the Revival.

The chief critic of the Revival within the fold was Rev. Isaac Nelson:

"It must be manifest to... readers, that, had there been no falling down, no convulsion, no fainting, there would have been no revival."

Others wrote in similar vein: what do you expect when you get mill girls and labouring men gathered into overheated rooms while the terrors of a lost eternity are vividly presented to their imaginations? Alfred Russell Scott of Ahorey, County Armagh, the most judicious historian of the Revival, whose account was republished some years ago by Mid-Antrim Historical Group, comments on instances of people falling down as if shot, even though they had previously appeared to be paying little attention to the preaching; an extreme example being a man who fell down in this way while playing a Lambeg drum on the 12th of July. The belief spread that you had to experience a kind of Damascus Road experience if you were going to be saved. Sympathizers with the Revival included the Bishop of Connor, Dr. Knox, who strongly opposed its sensational wing.

The excesses were less common in Scotland, rare in Wales, and almost non-existent in England. They had been associated however with the Red River Revival in Kentucky in 1800 where one of the preachers apparently made a conscious decision to whip up emotionalism. The Ministers in Ahoghill weren't guilty of that but they probably didn't discourage it sufficiently and it was only in the late Summer of 1859 that the Revival leaders realized the importance of quelling the disturbers of the peace who were a distraction to the real message.

Brendan Clifford tells of some evangelical Church of Ireland clergy from the south who happened to be in the north in 1859 and concluded that the whole place had gone crazy. What was going on wasn't only outside their experience but outside their categories of thought. This raises the question of how the Revival affected others, such as the Catholic population of the historic province of Ulster which in 1861 stood at 950,000. The number of Catholic converts was probably well short of the ten thousand of some estimates but progress was significant enough to alarm Catholic clergy on the ground. The Catholic judge, Baron Pigott, on the other hand was favourably impressed with what was going on in terms of moral transformation of society and hoped that the influence would spread.

Here is Rev. Hugh Hanna from a letter of 20th September, 1859:

"I am myself aware of four publicans who abandoned their trade, partly from the fact that their sales had fallen off so greatly that it was not worth their while

to continue the trade, and partly because they considered that such a trade is a sin against society...

"The party feuds of Ireland have been exceedingly mischievous. The anniversary of the battle of the Boyne stirred up all the bad blood of the country, and Protestants and Romanists were disposed to engage in bloody strife. But on the last 12th of July there was not a blow struck all over the country. Perhaps since that important historical transaction itself, there was not a more peaceable anniversary of it in Ireland; a new spirit animates the Protestant mind."

Numerically of course the Presbyterian Church was the chief beneficiary of the Revival, even though many of those converted were already associated with the Church in a more dormant way. The 1864 returns by Ballymena Presbytery contain some astonishing statistics, including Churches with a Sabbath School enrolment of 1200, in days when the Sunday Schools met in day schools all over the country. But numerical is not the whole story as we may have occasion to see.

By 1859 the Calvinist theology that had underpinned the American Awakenings had taken something of a battering, at the hands of Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875) who might be called the father of modern evangelism. Finney was ordained as a Presbyterian Minister in upstate New York in 1824. Once one gets on to Finney it's difficult to know where to stop. The bare bones of the story is that in the later 1820s Finney was conducting evangelistic meetings in western New York State, with considerable effect, but eyebrows were raised among some colleagues about his methods. A major rift ensued when it became apparent that, far from simply being a young man of misguided zeal, Finney was developing a clearly worked-out theory of revival which was to confront the old Calvinistic orthodoxy in terms of both theology and methodology. Finney's Arminianism (see Synod of Dort 1619) verged on Pelagianism (see St. Augustine).

Given his premises, it's therefore not surprising that Finney concluded in his *Lectures On Revivals* that for people to be converted "it is necessary to raise an excitement among them". And "the object of our measures is to gain attention, and you must have something new". So he could take the "excesses" in his stride, even encourage them. Again: "It is only within a few years that ministers have generally supposed revivals were to be promoted, by the use of means designed and adapted specially to that object". Here we have the self-help, can-do philosophy that has become an American instinct in all eras and areas,

as Barack Obama has reminded us: Yes, we can.

Despite the long and lingering Calvinistic heritage of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and the Reformed Churches of the Dutch and German immigrants, the tide of Fundamentalism has swept over the historic landmarks, and the characteristic stance of American Protestantism is pragmatic, non-theological, and obsessed with putative markers of success.

Iain Murray has made a clear demarcation between the different underlying approaches even in the title of his

1994 book, *Revival And Revivalism: The Making And Marring of American Evangelicalism 1750-1858*. The Ulster-American revival of 1858-59 represents something of a watershed, an old-style revival that nevertheless was the springboard to a new and highly pervasive understanding.

If possible next issue I'd like to look at some of the longer term effects of the Revival on Ulster religious life and social and political attitudes as experienced to this day.

Wilson John Haire

## Ulster-Scots, Language Or Dialect?

There are a lot of websites dealing with the dialect Ulster-Scots though some Protestants in the Six Counties see it as a language. It was not thought of as such in an academic work published in 1964 entitled *Ulster Dialects*, and put out by the Ulster Folk Museum under HM Stationery Office in Belfast. This book is much more balanced about how the various dialects in the North of Ireland developed, from the Normans to the Nordic invaders to the Scots settlers, the Elizabethan English: all left words in the English that is still spoken today in the North. Some Scots settlers having to make contact with the Native Irish developed a kind of pidgin Irish—or the Irish might have seen it as pidgin English. Then there were the Scots settlers who spoke Scottish Gaelic and created Irish-Scots Gaelic. Some of them intermarried and integrated with the Irish. (There are many Scots Catholic names still around in the Six Counties.) Calvinist Scots and the Elizabethan English mostly took to the murder trail. Which brings me to Ulster-Scots dialect.

I get the feeling when looking at some of the websites with their splash of tartan kilts, bagpipes, WW1 heroes, monthly supplements of Ulster-Scots News from the *Belfast Newsletter* that the promotion of Ulster-Scots is a reaction against the spread of the Irish language and Irish Nationalist successes. They seem hell-bent on expunging any Irish dialect words from their websites. The acceptable dialect word, over most of Ireland, for queer, is usually *quare*, and spelt as such, but they are spelling it as *kwer*.

*Quare*, as most people know, is to do with many things other than the description *queer*. Meanings in the North can range from *good* to *very*—"that's a quare coat you have on you" or "you're quare and late".

The word *git* also appears on one

website. But this is a today-English word in England for a dislikeable person. The word should be '*get*' though it isn't Lowland Scots but a Belfast dialect word meaning: a girl has a illegitimate child, then the same thing happens to her daughter when she grows up. This second generation child is called a '*get*', a malicious term. Probably from the biblical *beget*.

The Ulster-Scots body has managed to rope-in some Catholic Irish speakers in joint language forums. Catholics will not benefit from this recognition of some aspects of the other tradition. Their position will be more of a feed to the comic. There are very few compromises in Ulster Protestantism. Catholic support for dodgy issues will make you an honorary Protestant for a time until you dare re-assert your own identity.

What is also happening is that some Northern Catholic writers now take the opportunity to write *Ulster's* history through the aegis of a well-known Dublin/London publishing house. This material turns out to favour British designs on the world with all the accoutrements of monarchy with WW1 recognised as a legitimate war. Throw in some expression of human and civil rights for Catholics, don't mention the war that brought them some of these rights, and you have a much better cipher than a Protestant could ever be.

I was born in Belfast and began living in Carryduff, Mid-Down at the age of almost seven.

I wasn't taken on as a pupil at the compulsory age of five owing to the overcrowding of schools in Belfast in 1937. My first school then was Clontonacally Public Elementary in Carryduff, a Protestant school. The area was made up wholly of small farmers with Scottish

names. There were some Lowland Scottish words in the local language but the school taught plain English and these words were thrashed out of the pupils through cane and *tae* or *taw* (a length of broad leather strap ending in a snake-tongue and nailed to a wooden handle). The irony was that the *tae*—a Lowland Scottish instrument of punishment—was being used to knock the Lowland Scots out of the children. You didn't say *ay* for yes or *pasteboard* for cardboard or *wheen* for some, and *ay 'in sowl* (yes, and within my soul) when saying this is the honest truth. The school head felt he was there to educate in plain English and not to promote a backward ignorant splurge of words, Children being the conduit for passing on local customs would speak their Lowland Scots words in the playground or after school. But no one in Carryduff spoke like a Burns poem, as claimed on some of the websites. Both my parents spoke standard English without dialect so at the age of seven I was too far gone to begin speaking any Lowland Scots words. Local language was clear and understandable. My mother, who had some Irish, was amazed at how Carryduff Protestants could pronounce perfectly the few local Irish place names that still existed. She saw them as Irish Protestants and certainly their word-play and jokes, taking in some Lowland Scots, was in line with the dark humour existing in rural Ireland.

That was until the *blood was up* on the 12th of July or around the time of Unionist party canvassing for the so-called elections. You then knew that an official sectarian force was whipping them into a frenzy. It was time for bagpipe practice and the countryside would resound in the evenings for miles around to the *skirl* of the pipes from the doorsteps of farm houses or the beating of a lambege drum in the farmyard. The lambege drum is about 3 feet in diameter by 2 feet broad, weighs about 40 pounds, is made of oak and goatskin and is beaten with Malacca canes (Malaysian rattan). It is held vertically with a neck harness. The claim is that it is the loudest acoustic instrument in the world at 120 decibels. Oddly enough, a number of the drum rhythms are beaten to Irish traditional songs. One popular song beaten to is *The Wee Beggar Man*. Some historians believe it was used as a method of communication if settlers in remote areas were under attack by the Native Irish. It is still used today in triumphalist Orange parades. That's when you became suspicious that your Protestant neighbours are saying, as settlers, this land is mine. After a time they became part of the Irish scenery again.

There is a section of people known as the Ballymena *Scotch*. Not far from Ballymena is Ahoghill. The joke among

the urban Protestants was that 'Ahoghill is where soda farl is called pastry'.

Protestants don't automatically agree among themselves about their Lowland Scots origins. There are many descended from the French Huguenots. There are even some whose ancestors were born in the USA as a result of the exodus there of the Northern Presbyterians in the 18th Century. The Stars and Stripes has been flown on the 12th of July in some areas of the Six Counties. The US Hill Billy held 12th of July Orange parades up until the 1950s.

Belfast has its own dialect and this in turn differs between Catholic and Protestant. You can usually tell what someone is by listening to them speak, as well as by looks.

The Ulster-Scots websites has people talking as if reading that Burns poem again. I travelled extensively throughout the Six Counties in the early 1950s but I never came across anyone I didn't understand. I can't say the same when I visited Newcastle in the North of England once and heard Geordie being spoken, and it's not claimed as a language though many words don't seem to have anything to do with English.

The websites run courses on Ulster-Scots grammar and the Ulster-Scots vocabulary while at the same time appealing for people to send in Ulster-Scots words. People are encouraged to speak what they call Ulster-Scots—but it never existed in the modern world as a language, just a number of words here and there with most of them a variation

on English.

You can interpret many of the words by understanding the accent. *Whore* is still understandable as *whoor*, just as the Afro-American *ho* is still understandable as *whore*. In the North, I suppose as in the South, *whoor* is not specifically aimed at women but to do with general frustration with human being, animals, the weather or a broken-down car. *Cowp* in rural Six Counties is still understandable as *coup* meaning in a personal capacity to knock over some inanimate object or a person. But does this make Ulster-Scots a language? No, but it is colourful and inventive and that should be enough.

Some of the words on the websites aren't Ulster-Scots but Elizabethan English words found in Shakespeare but still spoken in the Six Counties. A few other words are of Nordic origin. For example: *Stour* for dust was spoken in Carryduff. There is nothing wrong with dialect, in many ways it is more expressive than standard English.

Some rural road signs have been changed into dialect in the Six Counties. A few of the Ulster-Scots websites run events and give recreational information. You might want to learn to play in a flute band or an accordion band, a silver band or a brass band but you are not told that these bands will be marching on the 12th of July when they accompany the Orange lodges. No opportunity there for the Catholic maestro. The question has to be: Is Ulster-Scots just another triumphalist issue?

7th May, 2009.

## BETTY WINDSOR'S DAY TRIP

Are youse rightly,  
sez she,  
a quare town Bil-fast, so it tis  
but they toul me,  
sez she,  
that the bou! Gerry—blessid be his name  
won't even see me in concrete,  
but tis worth a try,  
sez she,  
to gie him the tap on the showlder,  
he could call it tactics, so he cud,  
blame it on something he ate,  
or put it down to politics,  
sez she,  
and what about thon two snowdgers beys  
who was rarin' to play the Great Game  
in yon furran land,  
sez she,  
just dents in marble now,  
Martin's bawlin' whoors and traitors  
sez she,  
I'll gie him a wreath and bugle,  
for his dander down the Somme,  
sez she,  
that'll plaze the Prods,  
ay 'in sowl,  
sez she,  
teagues and orangies mixin',  
sez she,  
but will it fix poor oul Norn Iron  
twinned with the Titanic,  
sez she,

**Wilson John Haire.**

3rd May, 2009

*Ay 'in sowl*—yes, and within my soul =  
it's the God's truth  
*Dander*—to stroll.  
*Norn Iron*—Northern Ireland

## Julianne Herlihy

### The Fall of the Irish Catholic Church

Living in a society that has undergone such profound *social change* as here in Ireland, it has taken some time to examine those changes with discernment and intelligence and especially out of the radar of the hysterical media mob. Travelling by road through much of France, Northern Spain, England, and Wales has given me the distance and space that I needed while also allowing me to view the pattern of life that was ongoing elsewhere. I was in France when the Ryan Report came out but kept in touch with a whirring country that seemed to have been struck by a lightning bolt. But such *impressions* can be false, especially when encased in the mix of media uproar and political cant. Once home, I asked for *The Ryan Report* from a bookshop that gets any Government Publications if ordered. When I was told

it was in, off I went to get it only to behold the young manager staggering down the stairs with at least four bags of documents. Appalled, I thought he had ordered multiple copies in mistake and I (while also wondering if my purse was up to paying) started towards him in consternation. But he laid down the bags and upheld his hand saying "*Yes, this is all the Ryan Report*". There were *Five Volumes, 6.25 kilograms*—all retailing for a total of €20. By the time I had staggered home, my fingers were white and almost dead from the strain of carrying such a load—even the paper itself was shiny which meant it was full of limestone—so much for basic environmental concerns.

The *Ryan Report* is not its name. Its title is '*Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Report*' (CICA for short) and I

put before my readers that there is no way, with the best will in the world, that I can really read all the report and do *it and its subjects* justice. I put it to you also that an inquiry of this size, with its terms of reference so delineated that it never could do justice to its subject given that it is framed from the off *in the negative*, was doomed from the start. The *Care of Children* is not judged—only the *Abuse*. No matter how much data was collected, the way it was represented, the legal/historical quasi-narrative that would seem to be impartial: in the end I found the whole process quite disturbing, seeing how the intent was focussed on the appropriation of guilt onto one party only and that was the Catholic Church and its various institutions. I could cherry-pick incidents that were given wide media interest and show the absolute paucity of *reliable evidence*—but what would that achieve now? All our memories are fragile at the best of times but if taken decades after events, how still more fragile are they?

Maybe some day, future scholars will undertake a forensic analysis of this Inquiry with the history of the period under scrutiny more to the fore but I will have to pass. One other feature of this Report I would take issue with—is the consistent use of pseudonyms. Such a blocking disclosure device seems to me to be another use of *power-play* that I found repellent. Either one can stand over names—and their practices—or one can not. The truth can never be partial or else it becomes something else and *that* is no good to anyone. But, as with everything else, there is that final ask—*Qui Bono?* Since the Elizabethan Protestant Plantation, there has never been a bigger *transfer* of assets from the Catholic Church—buildings, land and farms have all been handed over to the Government and its friends. It is not without coincidence I think that, as the numbers dipped in the convents and monasteries, they began to be seen as fair game in the eyes of politicians, speculators and developers. Solicitors and barristers have long been battenning on Tribunals and, with money galore, went on to buy property thus creating in no small way the whole Celtic Tiger property bubble. Houses in Dublin's sought-after addresses went at unbelievable prices and then holiday homes had to be bought and of course you were nothing *socially* if you hadn't a home abroad in the sun as well. "*Greed*" (as the line in the film *Wall Street*) was just not Good, it was King as well.

Newspapers grew in size with infills informing their readers of a consumerist nirvana. Property for the newly rich, fine food and wine for the discerning palate, travel to exotic places, and even designer coats and pampooties for your pet pooches were all on offer for a price. It got harder and harder to believe these same newspapers had one or two columnists who advocated social responsibilities about poverty when they were making hay with their portfolio of advertisers. I think in some ways that exploiting *historical injustices* salved their consciences somewhat, while kicking an old foe—the Catholic Church—was an added inducement. Nuns, priests and bishops were harried relentlessly into *silence* and the society—or that part of it that counts—the media with their co-reigning ruling elite—made new ideas about living not just acceptable but mandatory. It was let known that these "*new ideas*" had a source and that was the Protestant Church hefted as it was with mainly British influences. This was nowhere more apparent than at the Hubert Butler Centenary Celebration on the 20th—22nd October 2000 at Kilkenny. Ms Caroline Walsh as Literary Editor of the *Irish Times* gave what

amounted to the mission statement for her paper. She said:

"that there was no better a celebration that The Irish Times should be associated with because that paper was *inclined even more to resemble the values of Hubert Butler*".

She then went on to outline these values as Reproductive/Abortion—

"all these issues were more prophetically argued by Hubert Butler who was insistent on the *private domain and that of the individual conscience*".

The panel that she then introduced were of the same mind, Professor Terence Browne, TCD, Professor Edna Longley, Queens, Belfast, Fintan O'Toole ("on the Dual Carriageway as we spoke": but he never turned up but John Banville did) and others of similar backgrounds. What most impressed me about those who spoke was their hagiographic hymns in support of Butler—who only recently was exposed as quite a nasty man in a memoir *Wicked Little Joe* by his foster son, Joseph Hone. (See the November issue of *Irish Political Review* for a fuller treatment of this book). And what really holed Butler's saintly aura was the insistence of Hone that Butler was really a good man if unable to express any kind of fatherly love. Where now the "*Cultural Icon*" and "*Secular Saint*" of Roy Foster and *The Irish Times* as he was named in their Weekend Review section of that paper on 5th July, 2003? And the Conference itself—well it was sponsored by *The Irish Times* and their old friends in The British Council.

Of course a certain grandeur and entitlement goes with the territory of being part of the new dispensation. God forbid that the locals should have rights. When the people of the Beara peninsula argued for a new marina after the loss of their fishing rights, the owner of a holiday home—that was nowhere near the preferred site—declared angrily that it would invade his privacy and the whole scheme was shelved. The name of that owner—the very Left-leaning (*mar eadh*) film-maker Neil Jordan. And when the people of a County Clare village, all members of An Taisce, protested at the quadrupling of a lovely old council cottage by Fintan O'Toole—that enforcer of moral rectitude on Fianna Fail—well, they were left hung out to dry while the Dublin head honcho *apologised for their behaviour*. Yet these are the very people who rage about the old traditional Ireland as if it was out of the ordinary in its treatment of all of us children. What is undisputable is that all our memories of childhood are fragile as I have already mentioned. How much more fragile then of those who were

traumatised by being without family care for whatever reason? The lack of a loving home and parents is surely the most appalling aspect that blights a child's life. I have spoken to social workers of today who visit homes where care and nurture are sadly lacking yet the loyalty of children to their parents is all encompassing. They can only be separated under duress. The State provides care today but it is a moot point if the children who fall prey to the scourges of modern life—drugs, prostitution and suicide—consider themselves better off than their predecessors in institutional care.

The themes of that brilliant Paul Andrew Williams film *London to Brighton* is very relevant to that of modern Ireland. But does our commentariat care? Are they involved in solving the problematic life of troubled children? I see the Catholic Church still very much involved. Just beside where we live there is a day-care drop-in centre for the youngsters of the more deprived part of the city and for every Father Peter Mc Verry and Sister Stan of Dublin, they are hundreds doing similar work throughout the country.

Fergus Finlay, Chief Executive of Barnardos talks of Children's Rights. He is well paid to do so. He writes in several newspapers, also being a media star in radio and television. He is one of those with power: sometimes his comments are picked up for the main news bulletin on the 6 o'clock RTE news. But—other than condemning the Catholic Church—exactly what does he do for children in need? In 1943 there was a book published—I hesitate to call it a biography such was the effusion of praise visited on its subject—of a man called 'Dr. Barnardo of Stepney: *The Father of Nobody's Children*'. Written by his first secretary, A.E. Williams, it purports to tell the story of Barnardo's work with children and the founding of his Homes and Charity. Thomas John Barnardo was never a doctor of any kind. A Dubliner of Jewish origin, he was already studying to be a Christian medical missionary in England to go to China and literally had a damascene conversion on reading Psalm 32.8. As he later explained to Mr. Williams, "*God Spoken directly to him*", conveying the direction that the rest of his life would take: missionary work amongst the "*Waif and Stray Children of England*". He was a most crusading convert and out of the blue, as he says, he received £1000 for "*child rescue*" from Samuel Smith, MP, whom he had never hitherto met but "*who afterwards became and continued until his death a warm and generous friend*". I found the book on the whole quite disturbing but think it should be published again so that the Irish people might know the



origins of the very English Protestant Charity that is Barnardos. In one chapter titled *'The Cauldron'* Williams asks what kind of East London the good doctor found. It was "filthy", "a more unsavoury, ignorant and generally repellent rookery it would be hard to find". And then there were the "gin shops" and—

"the lowest depths of all were seen in the precocious depravity of the juvenile population".

"The common lodging-house was an outstanding feature of the slum districts of London in Barnardo's day. These places were the haunts of the most wretched, the most depraved and utterly lost members of the community and because of the numbers of boys and girls which they harboured, Barnardo make them his special study."

The main thing to be got out of this book and others is *the sense of sin* conveyed and we must remember this was at the heart of London, the capital city of the greatest empire in the world. It makes the Ireland of long ago seem to be positively quaint. Our social psychology was fashioned out of conquest, deprivation and Famine. We didn't need to see the physical evidence in the land, the mass graves or the poor house. We felt them; my God we were *haunted* by them. And the only way to keep going was push forward and not look back. We might have silenced our dead but their ghosts hung around for a lot longer. Even I can remember as a small child, walking with my black-clad long clothed gran-aunt, and she stood on a low ditch near her home and she looked at what seemed to be just a rounded hump on the nearby field. She began praying and crying and the hair on the back of my neck stood up—child that I was—and I refused after that to go anywhere with her, telling my knowing parents that she was "funny" (meaning "strange"). As a young woman I later heard it was a little famine burial place. And what happened next? The great and predictably forgotten Cardinal Cullen began his epic church building programme and we became a risen people. The days of the sub-letting tenancies of pre-Famine Ireland were over for ever and after the *Great Catastrophe*, the people didn't need priests to check their biological impulses.

As Barnardo went on his mission to save "the destitute boys and girls, not yet beyond redemption from their haunts of vice and degradation", he chastised their mothers for being "hopeless and slatternly habitués of the lodging-houses" who "took in washing" but alas according to the doctor "drank rum". It never seemed to dawn on him that they were trying their best in a short-straw world. In the same way that it never seems to dawn on the Irish commentariat

of today, that old traditional Ireland was really trying *its* best with very limited resources. Though our land was now ours through the reforming Land Acts (bought about by the great Land League and Michael Davitt—another forgotten name) we still had to pay the land annuities until 1966.

Barnardo eventually became a doctor after Press allegations surfaced about what exactly was going on his Homes. There was a hue and cry but the Court asked that he should establish an independent committee to oversee the Homes. Barnardo was accused of immorality, siphoning off funds for his own use and much worse. The crises deepened when a booklet entitled *Dr. Barnardo's Homes: Startling Revelations'* was published. But the Court of Arbitration found for him and also secured for him a very powerful friend in the course of the proceedings, Earl Cairns, then Lord Chancellor. Barnardos sent children to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa but it was Canada that "could and did absorb thousands of the right kind of children". The boys were given rudimentary English and some industrial pursuit and the girls were schooled for domestic work. Once, when Barnardo himself visited Canada he was met by a fine figure of a man who with a "beaming face", who asked the Doctor if he knew him. As the latter shook his head, the young man said:

"Don't yer remember the trashin yer gave me?" After being thus reminded the Doctor was delighted with the man again saying:

"That was the best day's work yer ever did for me, Sir, that trashin".

Eventually one writer, after investigating the Barnardo migration work, pointed out what a "stirring spectacle it would be afforded, if it was possible that a march of the 28,000 young people planted in the Dominion (Canada) by the Barnardo Homes could be arranged". As Barnardo's Homes opened up across the Commonwealth, "the ethos as the founder was able to declare triumphantly was on a Christian environment which proved to be a far greater power than an evil heredity". And unmarried mothers were very much part of that 'evil' heredity—and the English establishment backed Dr. Barnardo on children of mixed marriages being brought up in the Protestant faith.

In 1941, advertisements appeared in the English press: "Orphanages for the thousands of homeless Chinese children are to be set up at strategic points throughout China ... They will be run on the lines of Dr. Barnardo's Homes". So much for the liberal practices of other countries, which are ignored by our

talking heads who did more to infuse a later generation with an obviously wrong-headed all-consuming hatred for our own way of life. Post-war Europe was emphatically anti-unmarried women: sin and shame were their lot. Ireland was definitely not unique in its treatment of these poor unfortunate women and their children. But we certainly *are unique* in that we are now paying out vast sums of money to those who suffered under the old dispensation. How goes the Barnardos boys and girls across the globe—are they too claiming for being in effect "saved"?

There were other legal cases involving the Barnardo's Homes and Institutions, some very sad and moving cases that involved the Doctor having sent the children out of the country, which mothers vainly tried to stop. The Roman Catholic Church in England, especially Cardinal Manning, objected to Catholic children being quite literally snatched by Barnardo and eventually the English establishment passed the *Custody of Children Act*. The Lord Chief Justice severely criticised Barnardo on the infamous case of a missing child—one Harry Gossage—and had a writ issued for him to be bought to the Court as his heartbroken Catholic mother wanted him back. Barnardo insisted that he couldn't find him and anyway his mother was "a dissolute, worthless woman, cared nothing at all about his religious instruction", who had "allowed herself to be used as a puppet by the Roman Catholic authorities" who were backing her rights. Barnardo ended his tirade by calling her "an unnatural brute". This was too much for the Lord Chief Justice who replied: "You do not engage my sympathies by such a line of argument".

Barnardo went on to appeal the case to the House of Lords who referred it back to the Judges of the High Court upon a technical point. Barnardo's oath was accepted and the boy was not produced. A Bill was introduced by the Upper House and referred to the House of Commons and it was passed into law. It gave Judges power, in any future case, to decide that if a child was held by a Benevolent Society whose *bona fides* could not be questioned to deny the issue of a writ. The Custody of the Children's Act was known in some cases as the 'Barnardo Relief Act'.

Assisting the State in the care of its poor children, Barnardo's have still great purchase on popular goodwill today and, since entry into Ireland, has found ever greater purchase with the powerful regarding the welfare of our children. Fergus Finlay says that, as Chief Executive of Barnardos Ireland, Barnardo's work is more of an advocacy nature. In

fact the aim is to change the Irish Constitution and frame a New Children's Charter of Rights. But the Irish need to be cautious as children's needs are already well enshrined in our constitution. Article 42.5 states:

"In exceptional cases where the parents for physical or moral reasons fail in their duty towards their children, the State as guardian of the common good, by appropriate means shall endeavour to supply the place of the parents, but always with due regard for the natural and imprescriptible rights of the child."

Institutions like Barnardos argue that there is no mention of the "*rights of the child*" in our constitution. This is patently false, though journalists and academics jump on this and it is repeated like a mantra. The recent media frenzy about the *historical* treatment of children in our institutions fed into assumptions that were quite frightening at times. The very *nature* of these assumptions is pronouncedly anti-catholic and sectarian, and again come from the top tier of our opinion makers. Individual stories, heart breaking stories, made the tabloids and broadsheets zing with sales. Celtic Tiger Ireland wanted to be assured that this came from *old traditional Ireland*. So the newly *individualised Irish* could declaim their disgust and consign the past to the bin of history. But there had to be a reckoning. The Salem Witches were newly reconstituted as the elderly nuns, priests and Christian Brothers and bishops. It was not an edifying spectacle but spectacle it was. Courts, Tribunals, Inquiries were set up and the hunt was on. The Statute of Limitations provided that court actions could be initiated not more than 6 years after the occurrence of the alleged offence. The Law of Evidence was that an allegation was unlikely to be successful unless there were at least two witnesses to corroborate the plaintiff's story. All that went by the way and it was open season.

Emotional scenes played out on our news screens, suddenly *gravitas* and dignity were regarded as suspicious. It was not unusual to see important people of government *roared at* by men who said their suffering was *unique*. At the same time a good decent bishop has received death threats. Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland Dr. Diarmuid Martin, President Mary MacAleese, and Father Vincent Twomey were the pivotal people at the top who helped to destroy the Irish Catholic Church. The latter even called the *poor people* charged with looking after the children in their care as "*the dregs*" and "*the scum of the earth*". But these people came from us from little cottages and little farms, inured to the hard life that

was asked of them. They didn't grumble on the whole and certainly now don't deserve the opprobrium that has been heaped upon their heads. Isn't it always the *little people* without power who are strung out by their confreres and the ever-obliging media? Father Twomey later (too late) apologised for his language but the damage had been done and the message was clear. He will be remembered for his cant and lack of Christian forgiveness.

And what about the Church and its money? It also came from us—the quite hard-working faming people of Ireland. How dare the bloody messers in Dublin hand over cash and assets that were sacrificed for by people like mine. They were to be held in trust for the future use in time of all our people. That is a disgrace. And isn't it just amazing that the pictorial archives of the institutions showed for the times that were in it—well-clad and shod children with refectories, beds, desks and even trades being taught—so discordant with the stories told by the few.

I was reading a memoir by the English film star Rupert Everett this Summer called *Red Carpets And Other Banana Skins*. He worked for a time as a male prostitute and he claimed it was his upper-class schooling that prepared him for such a life. What was it about the English upper classes of that era that drove them to procreate and then abandon their children to the tempestuous dangers of boarding school? In the days of Empire, the British ruling class had to make sure that all colonial officials were hard cases. Thus boarding schools were born. A child with a soft vulnerable heart soon had it calcified by abandonment, bullying, beatings and buggery: the rigours of prep and public school. He was soon conditioned, so that, by the time he became a faceless gnome in the 'diplomatic', he was without feelings of the normal sort and could be utterly ruthless in the service of his or her Britannic Majesty. Everett went on to detail the most appalling buggery, beatings—especially from the other boys who bullied him relentlessly for being gay though none of them knew that was what he was. And as most of the masters were "*former army officers who took to the blackboards*", he never really learnt anything.

This story posits other influences on a childhood lived across the water at the same time as our own. Every society has its '*wolf*', we would want to be very careful who we so design for ours. The *paedophile priest*. Or to be more precise—the *paedophile Catholic priest*.

©

To be continued in the next issue of *Church & State*.

prisoner who was extradited to Ireland from the United Kingdom to stand trial for alleged sexual offences.

"The prisoner complained to the High Court that his constitutional rights are being infringed by the failure of the Irish Prison Service to serve him kosher food in Cloverhill Prison.

"I should not be punished or tortured, I have not had a proper meal in months and I am entitled to three kosher meals a day without exception," the prisoner told the High Court. "This is religious discrimination. Muslims get Halal food. I feel abused every day of the week, there is nothing in the Irish Constitution that suggests I can be subjected to such abuse. If my food is not prepared in accordance with Jewish rules, it is not kosher. If you use the same pots and pans (used to prepare other prisoners' foods) it is not kosher."

"The prisoner took the legal action days before Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year festival that commemorates the creation of the world. Rosh Hashanah, which lasts for two days, began last Saturday but the High Court refused the reliefs sought by the prisoner after ruling that it was satisfied that Cloverhill prison had taken every step to ensure that the prisoner's dietary requirements were being met.

"The prison's deputy governor, Ronan Maher, acceded to a recommendation that emerged during the proceedings that the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland—with whom Cloverhill has been liaising to resolve the dispute—visit the prison to inspect the kitchens.

"This would allow the Irish-Jewish authorities to advise the authorities and confirm that the prisoner's dietary requirements are being met.

"Kosher food is produced according to a strict set of standards and is not solely confined to avoiding pork.

"Dairy and meat must not be mixed and care must be taken with the way food is obtained, stored and prepared. Non-kosher and kosher instruments and food must be kept apart.

"Jewish inmates in America have filed numerous lawsuits to force prisons to provide them with kosher meals.

"As a result of the litigation, Jewish kosher diet task forces have sprung up throughout America to supervise the preparation of kosher food for inmates there.

"Earlier this year a pan-European Chaplains' conference was held in the Netherlands to discuss the plight of an estimated 3,500 Jewish prisoners in Europe.

"Rabbis, Jewish community leaders, chaplains, justice ministers, prison officials, jurists and lawyers from 62

countries across Europe attended the three-day discussion." (*Irish Independent*, 21.9.2009).

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## MUSLIMS "MASS-PRODUCING" CHILDREN:

"One of the most powerful figures in the Anglican Church believes that Africa is under attack from Islam and that Muslims are "mass-producing" children to take over communities on the continent.

"Archbishop Nicholas Okoh, 56, was elected Primate of Nigeria last week and his elevation could exacerbate tensions at a time when Anglicans are working to build bridges with Muslims. Dr Michael Nazir-Ali resigned as Bishop of Rochester earlier this year to work in countries where Islam is the majority religion.

"Nigeria is split almost half and half between Christianity and Islam. There are about 17 million practising Anglicans in the country, but they face persecution in the north, while the two faiths vie with local religions for supremacy in the rest of the country.

"Archbishop Okoh made his controversial comments about Islam in a sermon in Beckenham, Kent, in July. He said that there was a determined Islamic attack in African countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda.

"They spend a lot of money, even in places where they don't have congregations, they build mosques, they build hospitals, they build anything. They come to Africans and say, 'Christianity is asking you to marry only one wife. We will give you four!'" Archbishop Okoh described this as "evangelism by mass-production".

He said: "That is the type of evangelism they are doing: mass-production, so if you have four wives, four children, sixteen children, very soon you will be a village."

Africa was "surrounded by Islamic domination", he said, and he urged Christians to speak out now or lose the authority to speak. "I am telling you, Islam is spending in Uganda and in other places, it is money from the Arab World". he claimed, accusing Christians of abdicating their responsibilities. "Who is the leader in the Christian world? There is no leader." (*The Times*, London, 21.9.2009).

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## PROTESTANT SCHOOLS:

"The Anglican Archbishop of Dublin has renewed his attack on the Government, claiming that the Budget's education cutbacks have endangered the survival of Protestant schools in the Republic.

"Archbishop John Neill said last night that it was very sad that at a time of growth in Church of Ireland numbers, "there should be a blindness to the

Catherine Dunlop

Review:

*Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise* by Maurice Bardèche  
Published in Paris in 1948 by Editions des Sept Couleurs

## Nuremberg or the Promised Land

### Considerations

"It is hard to justify the hard facts of the destruction brought about by the Second World War on Germany. So it has to be presented as that most moral of wars. The morality of the war has superseded all critical thought about it (except, perhaps by some right-wing thinking historians) and to question the morality of the war sets one beyond the pale" (Pat Walsh in *Irish Foreign Affairs*, No. 4).

Bardèche was one such right-wing writer and he writes from beyond the pale, as a member or founder of various right-wing groups and a friend and defender of collaborators; Jean-Marie Le Pen spoke at his funeral in 1998. Bardèche said of himself: "*I am a fascist writer*". Before the War he had written on literature, art history and film. He was not interested in politics until he was imprisoned from September 1944 to April 1945, without charge: according to one account, he was imprisoned to force his brother-in-law, Robert Brasillach, to surrender himself, which he did. Brasillach was then shot as a collaborator. Bardèche was very close to him, and it seems as if his death, and the part he, Bardèche, unwittingly played in it, had a profound influence in his thinking. In 1948 he wrote *Nuremberg ou la Terre Promise (Nuremberg Or The Promised Land)*. It contains a criticism of the Nuremberg Trials as victors' trials or lynch law, a point which others have also made; but Bardèche goes further than others by describing the far-reaching consequences for the future of making "*the international community*"

needs of Protestant schools, a need which was fully recognised by all previous administrations". He described the cuts as "very discriminatory". He was speaking at the book launch in Kilkenny Castle of 'Where Swift and Berkeley Learnt', a history of Kilkenny College.

"The Archbishop regretted that in spite of every effort by Protestant schools and by Church of Ireland bench of bishops, there was "an unbelievable lack of understanding in the Department of Education and Science of the fact that previous Governments have recognised the specific needs of providing education within their own ethos for a vibrant but scattered Protestant population" (*Irish Indep*, 25.4.2009).

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the foundation of justice: this is the promised land of the title. This article will consider some of the thought-provoking criticisms which he made.

Bardèche has been described as a Holocaust-denier in some places; on the contrary, he does not deny the Holocaust, but refers several times to the extermination of the Jews and the many proofs of it that exist, and once to "*the fatal shower*"; he seems to qualify as a 'denier' because he thinks that the facts should be studied as are other facts in history, away from political pressures.

Since I was brought up in France in admiration of the Resistance and fear and revulsion at the thought of the torturers of the German and French police and collaborators, it was with mixed feelings that I read Bardèche's book. I certainly would not admit to my mother that I had it in the house, never mind that I'd read it. I could not discuss with her, or my other friends and relations, his views on collaboration. Right and Left in France are agreed that the Resistance was good and Collaboration bad, in the abstract. Two examples: on the right, Sarkozy invoked in his speech to Parliament in Versailles (22.6.09) the Charter of the Resistance, and on the Left a new film glorifying the Resistance has just been released (*The Army Of Crime*).

Yet it is clear that a country that declared war on a neighbouring state, signed an armistice with a conquering army, and been occupied by it, has no choice but to have a certain number of its inhabitants collaborating with the occupiers, on pain of having a much worse time of it. Since life has to go on—administration, schools, hospitals, police service etc have to carry on functioning—citizens cannot be totally independent of the occupying force. There had to be a certain number of people going between the surviving French institutions and the enemy. Collaborating was a necessity, not something people did to get at the Resistance fighters. However, being on the losing side at the end of the War, collaborators were considered, not as a necessary evil, but as evil, and people like Bardèche lived in fear and revulsion at the thought of the treatment meted out to his friends and to others, this time by members of the Resistance and others on the winning side.

This is something I knew nothing about; I suppose there was some talk of excesses committed at the end of the War by people associated with the Resistance, but the matter was minimized: we were shown photographs of women having their head shaved, which was spectacular and stood for the whole picture.

### Rights And Wrongs

Bardèche was very aware of the role 'atrocities propaganda' plays in politics, and knew that the same act is judged differently depending on who committed it. Antony Beevor, in his 2009 book on the Normandy landings, described the bombing of Caen by the Allies as a war crime, but there was also wanton destruction of other French towns. Similarly, the controversy over the bombing of German cities dates from the eighties. However, Bardèche was conscious of the nature of the Allied bombings from the start. The man who opened the bomb-bay of his flying fortress above a city full of civilians inspired him with horror. He was equally repulsed by the horrors of war, regardless of who committed them. He was therefore wary of letting description of atrocities be the basis on which to make moral judgments.

His views echo that of the historian Arnold Toynbee writing in the context of the aftermath of the First World War. This is what Toynbee wrote of the malevolent effect of 'atrocities' on the public mind in 1922:

"As people read of them, they have the double luxury of being confirmed in their views (for they seldom read the other side) and of giving way to moral indignation. They write to the Press or petition the Government to take active measures against the offending nation. They rarely reflect that previous measures of the kind for which they appeal may have provoked the very atrocities that have just aroused their feelings. Because they are indulging their feelings, and not using their reason as they would use it in circumstances where they were more directly responsible for what was to be done, they thirst for vengeance and forget to look for remedies. Thus they overlook the obvious and fundamental fact that atrocities are committed in similar exceptional circumstances by people of every nation and civilisation, and that whatever may be the duties of Governments, the mission of philanthropists is not to punish crime but to remove the cause" (*The Western Question in Greece And Turkey*, pp91-2, quoted in Pat Walsh, *Ireland's Great War on Turkey* p419).

The atrocities of the Holocaust were, retrospectively, made to play a political role, that is to justify Allied atrocities, and to exculpate the Allies from the

worst crime of all, that of starting the World War.

Bardèche saw that the attempted extermination of the Jews was made to play the role of a solution to overwhelming general guilt: this was a war against evil, and therefore the War was justified and everything done by the Allies justified: "*They turned their massacre into a crusade*" (p17).

This crusade was not just morally wrong at the time, it has implications today. The notion of the indignant 'international community' was born, a concept which today justifies the destruction of the Iraqi nation and continues to justify the bombing of civilians.

It is hard to quarrel with Bardèche's thesis that the Nuremberg Trials had very far-reaching implications for the future because the process henceforth imposed an American globalist view of the world (*the promised land*) and destroyed the notion of national independence. (Bardèche does not use the term 'globalist'.)

The Nuremberg Trials process imposed a globalist view of the world in two ways: by doing away with the defence of 'obeying orders', and by establishing the 'international community' as the basis for justice.

Bardèche argues that the independence of nations is based on their military capability and that in turn is based on military discipline. Once there is something above the orders given by the State, a supra-national principle which a soldier is compelled to obey on pains of being found guilty by the victors after the battle, then you remove the independence of the state.

The August 1945 Charter of London established the jurisprudence under which the Nuremberg Trials were held: under this, obeying orders was not accepted as defence:

"the statute establishes that those who have committed criminal acts can find no excuse in superior orders" {p221: I have paraphrased the French original in these quotations: only the parts in inverted commas are direct quotations}.

Lord Shawcross, the British prosecutor at Nuremberg, held that

even a simple soldier is not obliged to obey an illegal order. International obligations come before national law {p222}.

Bardèche concludes:

Conscientious objection has become a duty. This destroys the notion of sovereign nation. If the conscience of humanity has decided a country is

wrong, the citizens of that country have a duty to fight their own rulers. We are no longer the soldiers of a nation, but the soldiers of moral law. Now *democracy* is the nation and the nation is nothing if it is not democratic. It is excommunicated and all its inhabitants are evil unless they fight their own country.

There is a universal state which governs consciences; the universal conscience rules everyone, without any written text: there is a line, which all must follow. This line is transmitted most often by the radio.

Under the pretext of attacking an authoritarian regime, the notion of authority is attacked {p232}.

To shackle Germany, we are shackling ourselves. This means we accept a superior anonymous authority.

This could work in a Marxist world, where the internal law of a country is subordinate to the rule of proletarian dictatorship, like the third Internationale.

At the Nuremberg Trials 'the international community' or 'the international conscience', which defends 'human rights', replaced the nation state as supreme. The problem is that the 'international community' is an abstract idea, without content and it does not enjoy unanimity. It is in fact embodied by the United States.

This has economic consequences:

Where national sovereignty stops, world economic dictatorship starts {p101}.

A people can do nothing against the merchants once it has given up the right to say: here, contracts are of such and such a nature, customs are as follows, and you pay a tax to take part in our society. The United States of the World is only in appearance a political conception: in reality it is an economic one. It is the politics of the open door, as happened with China. We are all China now. {It is the weak, pre-revolutionary China which is referred to here.}

The notion of Human Rights, also abstract and not grounded in real people, is hypocritical: it should mean that all men enjoy them, but in reality they are unenforceable, since only a nation state can protect its citizens. Moreover the West applied them selectively, for example, whites refuse them to blacks:

The respect of the person means that non-whites are of the same value as whites, and this is not recognised by the white nations. We are partisans of human rights but we want to do to blacks what we accuse the Nazis of having done to the Jews {p240}.

And not just to the blacks, but to the Indochinese, the Balts, the Volga Germans etc, and also the proletariat of all countries, who do not see their rights defended by the defence of human rights

{p241}.

In other words we defend human rights in a completely abstract manner. It is the defence of an abstract person, without country, only connected to the voice of international conscience.

The Nuremberg Trials were themselves a fraud; the process was summary justice, the winning side punishing the losing side. This would not matter too much; what mattered was that people were being made to believe that this was proper justice on which precedent could be based.

The Nuremberg Trials were fraudulent because they were based on principles of 'law' which were not law when the acts were committed and the accusers were themselves guilty of war crimes:

The law was made retrospective: decided on 8 August 1945, it applied to acts committed before that date.

That meant that after any world war, the victors can decide what will be a crime; it could be decided that blockading a country is inhumane and against the laws of war. Field Marshall Montgomery said: "I want to win the next war, because I don't care to be hanged". He understood the solidity of the new jurisdiction.

Any world war would now be a war of Right against Wrong. International law was the negation and destruction of the notion of law.

Law was written down and was there for all to see; but now there was only the international conscience, which is the same as *volksempfind* {*Volks-empfinden*, public sentiment} which the Germans were criticised for relying on.

Among the notions imposed as a basis for the Trials were:

- obeying orders not being a defence;
- that the Nazi party was not a political party but a criminal organisation and its members common criminals;
- that the Briand-Kellogg pact made war an illegal act and that therefore everything Germany did in the war was illegal;
- that the Geneva Convention on the conduct of war was not sufficient to judge the acts committed.

The Nuremberg Trials added a complement to the Hague Convention for the conduct of modern warfare but that complement cannot be generally accepted; for example it left out blockade and the bombing of cities.

There were four charges brought against Germany:

1. conspiracy; the political action of the Nazi party from its beginnings'
2. crime against peace: having started the war;
3. war crimes;

#### 4. crimes against humanity.

Bardèche asks:

How could you know beforehand whether the organisation you belonged to was not criminal? The French shopkeeper who joined *Croix de Feu* is in the same situation as the German shopkeeper who joined the Nazi party in 1934.

Previously justice was in respect of specified acts; now acts are judged according to what cause they served.

Previously justice also enquired about intentions.

The Nuremberg judges condemn the politics of the Nazi party, and by extension of any party that claims the rights of land, work, tradition and race. This had implications for parties in countries of the rest of the world that have similar principles.

As for the charge against Germany of committing crimes against peace, France and England also bore responsibility in starting the war:

Germany is accused of having started the war (by invading Poland which forced France and UK to declare war) and extending it by invading neutral countries. The proof was contained in the Hossbach note and the Schmund file, which showed that Hitler wanted to have war.

Could not similar documents from the Allies side also show that they prepared for war?

Allied war preparations were not brought to the attention of the tribunal; no allied document was brought to scrutiny. Poland bore some responsibility; before 1939 Poland did not want to have talks or make agreements {p62}.

In fact Great Britain took the initiative of war by declaring herself in a state of war against Germany on 3 September 39 (and then France later the same day.)

Germany wanted negotiations after her invasion of Poland. Hitler thought he was starting a local military operation; England deliberately turned it into a world war {p66}.

There were strategic acts of aggressions committed in the invasion of Poland, but how do they compare with the act of starting a world war? These acts do not belong to the same order of magnitude, they are essentially different acts. Those who started the war are responsible for the acts that were inevitably committed during that war. If England had not declared war, Oslo would never have been occupied.

Churchill etc wanted this attack on Poland.

Nazi Germany did not necessarily want war. Everyone had reasons to want war (USSR to avoid being trapped, Great Britain and France to finish Germany off, Germany to stop a stifling policy against her), no one was innocent.

Germany was not against peace but against the dispositions of the Versailles Treaty, which were impossible for the Allies to keep to, since they made life impossible for Germany. Her expansion into Poland could have been tolerated; the division of Poland had happened before; what happened to Czechoslovakia was not fair, but not worse than what happened after the war with the transfer of millions of Germans [the ethnic cleansing from East Prussia].

Bardèche suggests that the distinction between war crimes and crimes against humanity was never made very clear and that they were often confused. He adds:

The French delegation made a disgraceful contribution by trying to claim that there was a will to exterminate the French people, which was patently false, and by presenting anecdotal and hearsay 'journalism' instead of evidence.

The Nuremberg Tribunal relied on the Hague Convention of 1907. However—

international law according to this convention would not be enough to indict Germany, so the category of crime against humanity had to be invented. It proved difficult in practice to distinguish between the two categories.

The abundant literature on German atrocities {in France} contradicts what we have *seen*: 40 million Frenchmen have seen Germans for three years in their towns, in their farms, in their houses, on their roads, and they have not found that they were monsters. We must distinguish between the way Germans treated French people and the way they treated Russians: there is no comparison and it is dishonest to suggest that the French suffered the same fate. The Russians did not exact revenge on the Germans for what they suffered and so *a fortiori* we should not.

Double standards were being applied:

It is wrong to condemn the Germans alone for atrocities when the Allies are also responsible for atrocities, during this war (bombing of cities, Hamburg, Dresden) after the war (the occupation of Germany, the end of the war in France) and in the colonies (Indochina, Madagascar).

We condemn, like everybody else, including the Germans themselves, the systematic extermination of the Jews; but we put it on a par with the extermination of the Slavs and the bombing of German cities {p193}.

The policy of extermination was conducted by a few (Himmler) and others knew nothing of it. The charge should not be directed at the German people, but at individuals given too much power. Nazism was not necessarily directed to the extermination of

Jews: they wanted them away from the political and economic life of the country, which could have been done by reasonable and moderate methods.

Our conscience only wakes up when our interest speaks. We accept the perversity of our own people, we accept the torture and extermination of our enemies. We don't try to know what is happening in the Soviet Union; we are not looking to investigate the crimes committed during the occupation of Germany at the end of the war. Also we tolerated the bombing of cities: 80 000 in Hamburg in four days, 60 000 in Dresden in 48 hours.

If I had to rank the British Air Marshal who ordered carpet bombing and Himmler, I would not put Himmler first.

We defend civilisation but also calmly entertain the idea of destroying Soviet cities by atom bombs, and even welcome the idea, in the interest of civilisation.

Bardèche indicates that both sides should have been prosecuted for war crimes:

It would have been justified to prosecute individual cases of officers going beyond their orders and committing atrocities, which in any case would have been covered by the Hague Convention. We could have punished on both sides; then say to the Germans: try and forget your sufferings as we try and forget ours; let us rebuild our cities and live in peace.

The Allies were appalled at the consequences of what they had done {Bardèche says "panic stricken"}. The description of the concentration camps served a purpose: to justify the atrocities committed by the Allies in their conduct of the war, and to justify the war in general. What was used was a description of the camps when they were discovered and were at their worst since food supplies had ceased, when the number of prisoner was greatest, because of the general disorder at the start of the German defeat. Yet the picture presented for example of Belsen in 1945 was claimed to be representative of all camps at all times.

Not all camps were extermination camps like Treblinka, Auschwitz and Majdanek.

It is suggested that, because the evidence was used politically, it changed with time; for example the testimony of survivors initially showed a variety of different experiences, but with time witnesses changed their reports to what was wanted, or refused to testify anymore, or witnesses who did not say what was wanted were no longer asked to testify.

The question 'how did you survive' is a question many survivors can not answer without embarrassment. {p150.}

Bardèche objects to the French claim that the Germans had an extermination policy against France. At Nuremberg evidence given by the French delegation, in particular by Communists, attempted to follow the policy of making no difference between Jews and non Jews, which made no sense in the context of deportations:

The Germans pursued a policy of extermination of Jews in Western countries, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The Netherlands said that of 126 000 deported, 110 000 were Jews.

There was no will to exterminate the French but there was a will to exterminate the Jews, there are many proofs of that.

Others knew all this too but were not saying it, for political reasons. They knew that the Nuremberg Trials were not dispensing what had been regarded up to then as justice; that the Allies had committed atrocities (which could not be justified after the event by the discovery of the camps; since the camps had not been the motive for the carpet bombings); that the notion of "*the morally appalled international community*" was not a solid foundation for justice but the basis on which the winning side was going to impose its will on all from then on; that doing away with 'obeying orders' as justifying actions removed the independence of countries; that evidence of the attempted extermination of the Jews was exploited for political ends (to make the War look like a fight of Good versus Evil).

## Standpoints

I have no sympathy with the standpoint that allowed Bardèche to put forward this objective view. Nevertheless he was anti-Globalist, pro-countryside and pro-country. He was against capitalism, which destroys nations and communities, robs ordinary people of their identity and their reason for living. He believed Communism is no better. In 1948 it appeared that Europe was to be ruled either by the United States or the Soviet Union, and both are bad. His alternative seems to be a Europe of closed agricultural societies (that is, closed to immigrants and to Jews). He was very European: the title of his magazine was *Defence Of Occident*—Occident means Europe and certainly not 'the West'.

Bardèche claimed he was not anti-Semitic, on the contrary he wished the Jews could find a homeland and live together there in peace. However he blamed the Jews for the War, holding that their influence turned what could have been a local invasion into a World War; this is the origin of the idea that

'*Jews caused the war*'. Earlier in the book Bardèche explained that France and Britain deliberately chose to involve the world in war but towards the end of the book he added that influential Jewish individuals played a role in the decision-making process of France and Britain:

The Jews played a role in the war: when there was a question of whether to turn the invasion of Czechoslovakia or Poland into a world war, they said yes {p188}.

We are no longer a great nation, perhaps have stopped being an independent nation because their wealth and influence was stronger than that of French people who were attached to the land and wanted peace. They were also the first persecutors of those who wanted to protect their fellow citizens from the worst of the occupation {meaning the Collaborators}. France is a country where we have been settled for longer than they have, where our parents were settled, which the men of our race had made great. This war the Jews had wanted, they have paid the price for it that all wars demand. We have the right not to count their dead with our dead {p190}.

Furthermore, the attitude of Jews during the *épuration* (punishment of collaborationists or people so accused after the war) has hardened French people's attitude towards them.

Bardèche deplored the defeat of Germany in 1945 for a number of reasons. On the one hand, Germany was a defence against Communism, because it offered the workers, not just fair reward for their work, but also moral inspiration, joy and pride.

The antidote to Bolshevism had a name {Nazism}, something which brought the secret of life and greatness. The only revolutionary system that could oppose Marxism has been destroyed.

The only system that could help us escape capitalist enslavement without accepting the Soviet one. German workers were happy. Now only the red Soviet flag protests against injustice. We need social justice as much as steel and coal. We need a Western Europe closed both to American and to Soviet influence, a Europe both anti-Democratic and anti-Communist.

On the other hand, Nazism guaranteed the fundamental rights of people: that of being among themselves, with others of the same nationality, protected by the laws of their own countries as long as they were law-abiding:

Nazism guaranteed national independence, politically and economically. A person {*une personne humaine*} for me is a father with his children round him at table in his farm, giving them soup and bread, or in his suburban

The Penal Laws did not come from nowhere.  
Good people dreamed up the concept for the best of reasons.  
Foremost of those was an Archbishop of Dublin.

## Archbishop King And The Triumph Of The Will

William King was Archbishop of Dublin. But that fact is not enough to identify him. Being Archbishop of Dublin was an occupational hazard for people who entered the world under the name of William King.

This particular King was born in Ireland. That was unusual for the Irish Church. Irish-born Bishops were usually to be found in the Roman Church. The Roman Church was a foreign Church and it therefore had to have penalties imposed on it so that the Irish Church might be secure against foreign subversion.

William was born in Ireland—just. His father was a miller in Scotland, and a Presbyterian, but (according to Robert Dunlop's entry on King in the *Dictionary Of National Biography*), he fled from Scotland in 1839-40 in order to escape the *Solemn League And Covenant*. That was the Covenanting movement that set off the long but inconclusive British Civil War—in which the Monarchy was overthrown but was later restored by those who overthrew it because, when they were left to their own devices, they could think of nothing else to do. The Monarchy did not fight its way back to oppress them. They brought it back themselves, so that it would oppress them, because they felt at a loose end without it.

William says in an autobiographical fragment:

"My father, though a most rigid adherent of the Presbyterian sect, was unwilling to join in their Solemn League, at that time imposed on the northern parts of Ireland on all the followers of the sect, under penalty of a kind of excommunication; consequently I was refused baptism for six months, no one appearing who would administer it, at last, friends being sponsors for me, and my father absent at the war, I was somehow baptized..." (*Quondam Vitae Meae Insigniora*, published in 1906 by Longmans under the title *A Great Archbishop Of Dublin*. That seems to have been its only publication. And, although King was the most effective and powerful Bishop of the Conquest, and he reigned in Derry and Dublin for a third of a century, I have come across no major biography of him. My interest in him arose from a chance reading of *The Origin Of Evil*, which set out the world-view of the Glorious Revolution and Conquest better than anything else I have seen.)

Why his father, a rigid Presbyterian, refused to engage himself with the Solemn League & Covenant in Scotland in 1839-40 is not explained by William, or by Dunlop. The Covenant was a natural development of Presbyterianism.

(The year 1639-40 is what we call 1640. English time-keeping had got out of joint with the Roman system inaugurated under Pope Gregory, and it became the habit for a number of generations to mention both dates, the Protestant and the Papist. With regard to months, this applied to the early months of the year. England fell in with the Papal reckoning in the 18th century. Russia held out until 1917. Its revolutions in that year happened in the month of February/March and October/November.)

William was born in Antrim Town in 1650. (As he was born in May the double-dating is not required):

"In the year 1655, having been to school, I utterly refused to learn, and obstinately resisted the schoolmistress, notwithstanding she strongly urged me to learn with whippings, but in vain, so that through weariness she desisted.

"In the year 1658, the county of Tyrone was beginning to be cultivated after the war, and my father remove there, and another school, also under a mistress, having been established I was sent to it, but with the same want of success, driven indeed by whippings. I learnt to repeat the alphabet by rote, but could not distinguish a letter. Often I wept in solitude, and accounted that it was from an evil mind and hatred towards me that my parents compelled me to learn letters, when I found in them neither sense nor use. I was not dull, as I could make some progress in subjects of which I understood the reasonableness, notwithstanding their difficulty.

"After half a year, indeed, was spent in the endeavour, I learnt the alphabet, and by enumerating the letters pronounced the words, but when the Westminster Catechism was put in my hands I did not understand the words, nor was I capable of understanding what I read, and was disgusted with books. It happened on a certain Lord's day, that I was walking about with a woman in the garden, and we entered the wood and sat down together; she was reading the Holy Scriptures, and whilst reading sleep stole over her. I took the book falling from her hands, and by enumera-

house, or in his third floor flat, talking to his children; we defend the person and all that belong to it, children, house, work, field. We say this person has the right to see his children fed, his house inviolable, his work honoured, his field his own. For his children to have bread means no Black, Asian or Semite will take his place in the city, that he won't be the slave of foreigners; that he will be free to express his opinion and will be protected by the prince if he obeys the law; he will be able to say what his work is worth; the Black, the Asian or the Semite will not determine, from Winnipeg or Pretoria, what his work is worth. Foreign workers won't have a political voice in his country. These are human rights.

### Conclusions

Bardèche was never a very successful fascist leader; the movements he founded were short-lived; he was not a typical far-righter: he rejected the cult of leaders, the idea of a single party, rejected the intellectual poverty and intransigence of fascist groups, and thought that there had never existed a good model of a fascist state. His standpoint allowed him to have insights about the Collaboration, about 'the international community', and human rights in the abstract to which others are blind, because of what has become the received wisdom of Globalism. His ideas about national societies were distorted by racist expressions.

In the decades after the Second World War, it appeared that Communism—or a Socialist variant—was going to establish the just society: to provide the conserving security needed for social development. It was very much an internationalist philosophy. That social system has faltered, its internationalist perspective taken over by globalising capitalism.

Bardèche opposed both Communism and Capitalism from a fascist perspective. He could see the thinking behind the Nuremberg Trial process aspired to over-ride the national state and self-sufficient societies. Those monopolising tendencies were held in check during the Cold War period, when the ideological clash of systems to an extent allowed national societies some freedom to make their own destinies. With the ending of that Cold War, the globalising Nuremberg ideology has taken on a new lease of life. While Bardèche poses some of the right questions, and provides some answers, his thinking is useful partly in indicating what directions not to go in. But in this era where societies are faced with an international race to the bottom with Hollywood culture as its medium, an alternative perspective is badly needed.

ting the letters, according to my habit, I pronounced the words in its beginning, and immediately perceived it to contain some sense, which I had never before observed; much captivated with the novelty I earnestly aspired to read, and I ran through the first three chapters, while she was sleeping, sticking fast in very few places. As soon as possible, when settled at home, I procured books, and made unexpected progress in reading, and having passed by all my equals, I gave hope that I was capable of learning.

"Through the twelve years' war [1641-1653] public affairs were disturbed, buildings destroyed by fire, and the cultivation of the land neglected, everything was shaken with the agitation, all learning and convenient means for teaching the young had ceased; therefore, when the opportunity offered, all the young people hastened to school, seventy or eighty pupils of both sexes congregated to the woman who was schoolmistress, and many of them adolescents even meditated love affairs, and with youthful precipitation called themselves spouses in sport, and entered into playful marriages. Though but a boy, as a priest, I united them, and I know not by what fate they designated me as minister, but many of those united in jest, after they left school, were in reality united in marriage...

"In the year 1660, the royal family having been restored, another aspect of things began; but slowly was change introduced in the northern parts. The state of affairs was truly so uncertain and fluctuating, that neither were improved schools erected, nor did they remain settled enough in the state in which they were; they were now looked after, then neglected, little progress therefore was made; I sometimes attended and was sometimes absent...

"In the year 1662, having met with a master knowing Latin, I gave myself to him as a scholar, and began to learn the accidence, May 18, and had learnt all the English rules with the declensions and conjugations, before the month of August was ended, and the master boasted, that he would warrant I should be fit to enter the College within a year. I took in sufficiently the reasons of the rules, and the genius of the tongue, and was trying to join words by the rules that the Syntax might make, when the master betook himself to another place, and now being idle, I quickly lost time and what I had suddenly learnt; but about the month of November the school was established at Dungannon; thither I betook myself, and by ill fate the master, a Scot, and an admirer of his own [children], did not let me make progress, but gave into my hands *Desauterius'* Latin Grammar, and indeed compelled me to repeat it by rote, while I understood nothing in it. At this useless, and to me very laborious work, I consumed a whole year...

Afterwards I laboured with Corder, then with the Psalms of David and the Epistles of Ovid, all which I committed promptly enough to memory, without understanding many words in them, and the master was not less ignorant. At length I applied myself to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and to Virgil, and afterwards to Horace and Persius; few words in them I understood, but they were committed to memory with the exception of Horace, whose Odes I could not retain in my memory; being offended by verses which I disliked as harsh and not running as . . . [sic] hexametres and pentameters are wont.

"In the year 1665, I worked at translations, and from them I gradually learned something of the Latin tongue...

"In the year 1667, I entered the College of the Holy Trinity..., my tutor being Charles Cromac, Senior Fellow, who, being now about to leave college, took very little care of his pupils.

"I made scarcely any progress before the following winter, but, since no scholars had been elected the preceding year, they were obliged to fill up the number prescribed by statute, about twenty-six, as I remember. I, almost the junior, was elected amongst the scholars, and the November following amongst the natives also, which I owed to my tutor... [I have no idea what "*natives*" means. Was there special provision for members of the Irish Church who were born in Ireland? BC]

"Meanwhile, I was contending with straitened means and almost overwhelmed, relatives and friends neglecting me, as they themselves were struggling with poverty; so that I had scarcely twenty pounds, through the whole space of six years in which I stayed at college, from any other source than from the college itself...

"...Born in troublous times I heard scarcely anything concerning religion which I understood before my tenth year; then schools being established I made a commencement in letters, but learned little concerning religion, neither had I known nor heard any one praying to God in secret, nor anything concerning the public or private worship of God, nor of the Catechism, Sacraments, Creed, Ten Commandments, nor of worship on the Lord's Day... I entered school in 1659 with many school fellows, but there was not one out of all, as far as I remember, who once offered private prayer to God, nor could it well happen that they should do so, for when all forms of prayer were abolished, it could scarcely happen that rude and illiterate youths should conceive prayers of their own...

"The whole subject of religion had therefore to be thoroughly examined by me, and to be traced out again from its first principles..."

The autobiography was written in Latin. The translator is sparing in the

use of full stops. I cannot say if there is something about the Archbishop's Latin that makes this necessary as it is a language that I have kept away from. The Editor of King's *Prison Diary*, published by Trinity College in 1903, fills in a blank in the Diary with a paragraph from the autobiography, saying: *We may leave the reader to translate his curious Latin*". The translation of the autobiography was published three years later, and the English is certainly curious in places.

King left Trinity College in 1670 and entered the world as a man of affairs in the Irish Church. The Irish Church was an apparatus of the state. For many of the apparatuses the most important thing about the Irish Church was its "*livings*", but King also took the religious side of the religion in earnest. He engaged in disputes with the aliens of the Roman Church, as well as with internal dissenters from the order of the Irish Church. By the time of the Revolution he had become Dean of St. Patrick's. For his conduct in the early phase of the Revolution, he was made Bishop of Derry by the King, who was the Pope of the Irish Church. And, while the Revolution was still engaged in the work of conquest in the West, he published a famous pamphlet which served as a manifesto for the Protestant crusade.

Ireland had been made governable by Britain, or as part of Britain, with the establishment of the Stuart monarchy in 1603. It was not that the Stuart monarchs were kind to the Irish, but that the Irish accepted them as legitimate for reasons which may now be difficult to understand. The Plantation of Ulster was the work of the Stuart monarchy, as was also a Plantation in Cork. What Plantation meant was the settling of Protestant colonies. But, along with these Plantations, there was a serious attempt to establish a system of government in which the Irish had a degree of representation. The high point of this policy was the 1630s, when Ireland was governed as a distinct Constitutional unit by the Viceroy of Charles 1, Thomas Wentworth, who became Lord Strafford. Strafford had been a leader of the Parliamentary movement in England in the late 1620s. He went into the service of the King when he concluded that Parliament had acquired unrealistic ideas about government and had become intent on doing what it was incapable of doing. As Viceroy in Ireland he governed by means of an Irish Parliament during a decade when no Parliaments were called in England.

The Parliamentary movement resumed in England in 1640 in connection with a war with Scotland on the issue of



religion. In 1641 the English Parliament went into rebellion against the Government. It summoned Strafford back from Ireland and executed him for the crime of having made the Government effective in Ireland by combining the segments of society into a kind of national body supportive of the monarchy, and thereby strengthened the overall position of the monarchy.

An English Parliament was called in 1640 for the purpose of subsidising the war with the Scots. The war miscarried and another Parliament was called in 1641. The fundamentalist Biblical Protestant element in English society was well organised for the 1641 Election. It dominated the Parliament, set about taking over the function of government from the Crown, and made clear its intention of dealing with the Irish. The Irish did not wait to be dealt with. Strafford's combination fell apart. The Irish took direct action against the Ulster Plantation. And the Catholics, both Irish and Old English, established a new Irish Parliament, the *Confederation*, which sat at Kilkenny and declared allegiance to the King.

England was engaged in Civil War until 1648. The Civil War was ended by the execution of the King by Parliament in January 1649. Later in 1649 a military force under Cromwell was sent to conquer Ireland and subordinate it to Parliament. That conquest took three years.

The English Parliament, having got rid of the royal Government, did not know how to govern. It had been evident to Wentworth in 1629 that Parliament could not govern. This became evident again in the early 1640s to another Parliamentary leader, Edward Hyde, later Lord Clarendon, who went into the service of the Crown. After the execution of Charles 1, Clarendon went into exile with Charles 2 and acted as his Prime Minister.

During the 1650s the impossibility of government by Parliament (at least in England) was demonstrated in practice. Parliaments were called and dissolved at the whim of Cromwell. It was put to him that he should make a Constitutional settlement by making himself King. (As Protector he had executive power far exceeding that of the King he had executed.) He toyed with the idea, but decided against, possibly because it was indicated to him that he would be assassinated very quickly if he became King. He died in 1658, leaving the State a Constitutional shambles, and his Secretary of State John Milton in a condition of bewilderment, asking *where did it all go wrong*.

Parliamentary England was put out of its misery in 1660, when General

Monk asked Charles 2 to come home and govern. Republican England was not defeated by monarchical England. It just collapsed in a heap. And the King was not even required to agree to a general amnesty for those who had killed his father.

Although the Irish had been loyal to the Stuart monarchy throughout the twenty years of that farcical English Revolution, the restored monarchy did not undo the land settlement of Cromwell's conquest—or only undid it in very small part. Cromwellian Ireland was in that respect incorporated into the Restoration system.

But, with the Stuarts back on the throne, the Irish again did their best to make a loyal accommodation with a Crown that by this time had become essentially English. And Charles 2, who would have liked to be a Catholic, did his best not to enforce the existing Penal Laws against Catholicism. When he died his brother, James, came to the throne. James was a Catholic. He was also a man of principle. He introduced freedom of religion. That was seen as a deadly threat to Protestantism—not unreasonably so, as English Protestantism, unlike German or Swiss, was not a coherent system which could function on its own. It had coherence only as anti-Catholicism.

William King writes in his Memoir:

"In the year 1674... in the cathedral Church of Tuam, I assumed the holy order of Presbyter... When I was preparing myself to take these orders, it happened that James, Duke of York, afterwards King of England &c., declared himself a Roman Catholic. To almost all this was a cause of grief, everywhere threatening dangers and disturbances to the Church and State, evils issuing thence I foresaw and anticipated to the clergy specially, and I had torture before my eyes, and meanwhile asked myself, whether I could endure martyrdom for the sake of religion."

King was a power in the Protestant state when he wrote this. The Catholic King, when he came to the throne, introduced no Penal Laws on Protestantism. But to anybody acquainted with the course of events since 1640 freedom of religion would be understood to be a greater danger to Protestantism than any Penal Laws.

In the event, William King suffered two brief periods of imprisonment in 1690-91. He complains that he was imprisoned without charge. He was a strong-minded and resourceful Protestant, at the heart of the Protestant body in Dublin during that awkward period when the Protestant revolution against freedom

had been set in motion in England, but its military power had not yet reached Dublin. He was released after the Battle of the Boyne and insisted that he was innocent—that nothing could be pinned on him:

"The Protestants were extremely cautious not to give the least offence, they walked so warily and prudently, that it was hardly possible to find any occasion against them; and they were so true to one another, and conversed so little with any of King James's Party, that it was difficult to fix any thing on them, or get any Information against them" (*The State Of The Protestants*, p179).

The Dublin Protestants were in an exposed position during the accomplishment of a Revolution which they supported. They were loyal to the King to whom they had sworn allegiance in the sense that they were biding their time while the situation developed in which they could declare their new allegiance. A Revolution is a breach of law, and even Edmund Burke had to concede that the 1688 Revolution was a breach of law, though he said it was a very small one. And it is a bit finicky on the part of a supporter of a Revolution in the state to make a great noise about his brief internment during the course of it.

King's complaint was ridiculed in *An Answer*, issued anonymously in London in 1692 (the author, according to the British Museum catalogue being Charles Leslie):

"Was he not accused of holding Correspondence and giving Intelligence to the *Rebels* (as they were then called)...? He knows this would have been called *Treason* in those days, and a bloody minded Tyrant would have found another Remedy for it than a short Imprisonment..."

"One would reasonably ask upon this, How it came to pass that so very few *Protestants* lost their Lives in Ireland under K. J. being so universally involved in *Treason* against him. Our Author in answer to this... among other Reasons, gives this for one, *that they* (the Protestants\_ *were so true to one another*. Which the Author repeated, and further explained soon after the Revolution... in a Letter to an Irish Protestant Bishop then in London; wherein he said, that tho' it was in almost every Protestant's Power to hang the rest, yet, they *were so true to one another* they did not discover it. This

**Derry And The Boyne** by Nicholas Plunket. Introduced by B. Clifford. A contemporary account of the Siege of Derry, the Battle of the Boyne, and the general condition of Ireland in the Jacobite War. 132pp. ISBN 1 872078 01 X. BHES, 1991. €10, £7.50.

shows how generally guilty they were of *Treason* against K.J." (p105-6).

Charles Leslie was a Protestant, born in Ireland, who, having sworn allegiance to James, refused to break his oath and swear allegiance to William. He was a "*Non-juror*". He refused to swear conflicting Oaths and was therefore removed from an office which he held in the Church of Ireland.

King was a more politic figure. He was appointed Bishop of Derry by William after the Boyne, and in that capacity he wrote a pamphlet with the substantial title: *The State Of The Protestants Of Ireland Under The Late King James's Government: in which their Carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute Necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his Government, and of submitting to present Majesties is demonstrated.*

This is the gist of his justification, as set out in the *Heads Of Discourse*:

"That it is lawful for one Prince to interpose between another Prince and his Subjects when he uses them cruelly...

1. Argument. One Prince may have an Interest in the People and Government of another Prince.

2. Argument. That the Destruction of a People by their Prince may be a step to the Destruction of his Neighbours.

3. Argument. Charity and Humanity oblige every one, who is able, to succour the oppressed.

4. God seems for this Reason to have divided the World into several Principalities.

5. From the Authority of Christian Casuists.

7. From the Practice of Christian Princes, Constantine the Great, Constantine his Son, King Pepin, the Holy War &c."

This scheme of things has a very modern ring to it. It might have been set out by Tony Blair, Ireland's choice for the Presidency of Europe, in defence of any of his many wars. Particularly modern is the reference to the Holy War, which is of course the war against Islam, which in Bishop King's time was represented by the Turks.

If King's purpose in the first instance was to justify invasion, treason and conquest, the conquest was soon fully accomplished, after which the "*none dare call it treason*" principle applied, but the pamphlet continued to be reprinted for another purpose. When the danger of freedom of religion was warded off, the comprehensive suppression of Catholicism was set in motion. A comprehensive system of Penal Laws was enacted in the course of the next generation, and was tenaciously enforced. This development was anticipated by King.

From the *Heads Of Discourse*:

"Reasonable to exclude Persons from Government of whom the Commonwealth can have no Security.

"The Irish so excluded by several Laws. King James employed them in Defiance of these Laws. Because they would be against the Laws and give boundless Submission to him."

The Irish were indicted of not observing the Laws which disabled them, and of giving "*boundless Submission*" to James by acting in the medium of freedom of religion which he introduced. Because of that they must now make a boundless Submission to an intensified Penal system against themselves, bowing to a monarchy with which they felt no sense of affinity, and to the many agents of that monarchy settled amongst them at their expense. But:

"Men may live very comfortably in a Nation and yet be excluded from Power or Government of it; therefore it is no injustice to exclude a certain Rank of Men that want such Qualification as may give the Commonwealth confidence in them from intermeddling in the Government... Of this Nature are our Laws that disable Papists from all Employments Civil and Military by an Act of Parliament made in the Reign of Henry VIII... By an Act made in the time of Henry VII it is *Treason to stir up the Irish Country to War against the English*: and by several other Laws made both in *England* and *Ireland*, the Papists, especially the *Irish*, are disabled to hold Places of Power or Trust..." (p30-9).

"...it must be considered that *Ireland* is a Kingdom dependent on the Crown of *England*, ...and therefore must follow its fate, which it cannot decline without the most apparent ruin to the English interest" (p106).

There was a Kingdom of Ireland. The great majority of its inhabitants were Irish. But the Commonwealth in Ireland was the small English colony.

As Archbishop of Dublin King was very much against the appointment of clergymen from England to Bishopricks in Ireland, as was done frequently. This had nothing to do with him becoming Irish. What he recognised as the Commonwealth, the body politic, in Ireland was English. His object was not to make official Ireland under the recent English conquest conform to what the great bulk of the population in Ireland was. It was to make Ireland more English. And the way to do this was to make English Ireland grow out of itself. The sending of younger sons of the gentry in England to be Bishops in Ireland, where conditions were utterly different, weakened the English position in Ireland.

King was a resourceful man of affairs who had considerable experience of a

world which he had had to figure out for himself from first principles. His book on *The Origin Of Evil* is about the way of this world which he knew well. The mystical, or transcendental, notion of Evil does not appear at all in it:

"Man is not only a sensible Creature, not only capable of Pleasure and Pain, but capable also of foreseeing this Pleasure and Pain in the future consequences of Things and Actions; and as he is capable of knowing, so also of governing or directing the Causes of them, and thereby in a great measure enabled to avoid the one and procure the other: whence the Principle of all Action. And therefore, as Pleasure and Pain are not indifferent to him, nor out of his Power, he pursues the former and avoids the latter... That which he pursues for its own sake, which is only Pleasure, is called an *End*; that which he apprehends to be apt to produce Pleasure, he calls *Good*, and approves of,... and therefore looks upon it as an Object of choice; and that which is pregnant with misery he disapproves of and stiles Evil. And these Good and Evil are... implanted in our Nature *originally*, like the Power of receiving Pleasure and Pain."

That is from an introductory summary in the 1732 edition by the translator from the Latin.

If Evil is the result of not doing what makes you happy, why is there so much of it about? That is the problem that King pursues over many hundreds of pages. The reason is that the world is a very complicated thing, with a maze of interconnections that is beyond the comprehension of the understanding. If Good was an objective quality which the understanding had to discover in order to act, it would be extremely difficult to avoid Evil and be Good. But man is made in God's image, and for God goodness is not something beyond himself which must determine his actions so that they might be good. God lives with himself in his own world and what he decides to do is what is good. For him goodness is the exercise of will. What he wills is what is good.

And so it is with men, the creatures made in God's image. If they had to understand what was good in order to do it, they would be in a bad way. But fortunately what makes them most happy is exercising their will. But the will acting freely causes happiness by doing what it chooses (or elects) to do. And how fortunate that is.

And that, I would say, is the key to the understanding of English morality ever since it set out to dominate the world after its Glorious Revolution 320 years ago:

"X. ...Is it not better for us to have our Happiness in our own Power, than to be obliged to seek it elsewhere...?"

Which Happiness is only to be found in a Free Choice. From whence it appears, I hope, sufficiently why God created Free Agents notwithstanding the abuse which they are liable to...

"XII. If the Will were naturally restrained to choose God only, it must have this restraint either from the *Object* or the *Understanding*: But neither could be done. If some things were in themselves always Good, and others Evil, it might be possible indeed that the Will should no more admit of Evil than the Sight does of Savours: But Moral God and Evil are very frequently not absolute things, but merely relative: for there is almost no Action which proceeds from Choice, but what may be Good or Evil upon a change of Circumstances... Free-Will then must needs be indifferent to all external Objects, and those things which are now agreeable, become shortly disagreeable, according to the infinite variety of Circumstances and the Exigence of Affairs. The Will therefore cannot be determined to Good by Objects. Nay, to confess the Truth, we generally do not choose Objects because they are Good, but they become Good because we choose them. The Goodness of them therefore is for the most part determined by the Election, and not by the Goodness. For... this is the Nature of an Elective Faculty, and such it ought to be, otherwise we could not have the least possibility of attaining Happiness in so great a variety and uncertainty of outward things...

"XIII. Understanding sees Good proceeding from Objects, but the Will is free...

"XVI. ...If the Will was confined to the Choice of those things only which the Understanding declares to be good, or was restrained from choosing till the Goodness of the Objects were apparent, we must of necessity hesitate in many things and be anxious and solicitous in all. For since things are connected together by a long chain of Consequences, it is impossible for us to form a right Judgment of the absolute Goodness of them, without a foreknowledge of these Consequences, we must therefore have been obliged to use all possible Disquisitions before every Election, and suspend the Choices where any Suspicion of Error or Ground of Doubt should appear: but such a Disquisition and continual Solitude would be a greater Bar to Happiness than any Errors... For, if the Will can produce Good to itself by choosing, the Errors and Inconveniencies to which it is exposed by a bad Choice, may be compensated by the Pleasure which arises from the Sense of Liberty. But if we were obliged to all possible Enquiry, more inconvenience would be felt from that Obligation, than from some Errors in Elections; nor would all of them be

by this means avoided; for after all possible Examination, a finite Understanding may be deceived...

"XVII. Such is the Nature of our Will that it can please itself in Election, and by its own Power make the things chosen agreeable, though in itself disagreeable to the Appetites. And though this cannot be done at all times, and in every Object, yet it is better to run the hazard, than to be deprived of

so useful a Faculty... It is therefore convenient for us to derive our peculiar and chief Happiness from the Will itself; for if it depended on the Understanding it would come with Difficulty, Pains and Anxiety... 'Tis better therefore for us to be able to please ourselves without a long Speculation of Antecedents and Consequences, though with the danger of Sinning, than to cease from Election..."

## Report

This 1913 article from *The Times* offers insights into how the British establishment viewed the Irish part of the United Kingdom just before the Great War. It is a racially-based view which sees the "Celtic" element as useful enough, good to bulk out Imperial military ranks but not Empire-builders like the Anglo-Irish and the Scots-Irish

## Ireland And The Empire

### "The Share of Irishmen in Empire Building.

We raised him from his low estate;  
We plucked his pagan soul from hell;  
And led him pure to heaven's gate,  
Till he, for gold, like Judas fell.

And when in one long, soulless night  
He lay, unknown to wealth or fame,  
We gave him Empire, riches, light,  
And taught him how to spell his name.

But now, ungenerous and unjust,  
Forgetful of our old renown,  
He bows us to the very dust;  
But wears our jewels in his Crown.

These verses were inspired by *The Times*. Once, in the fierce days long ago, it referred to the Celtic peoples as "*the Irish wolf*", and James McCarroll, one of the Young Ireland poets, was moved to this retort. It is an extreme Nationalist view of Ireland's part in making the Empire. Perhaps the poet's shade (his body lies in New York) will accept the present article in reparation of the ancient slight. In these calmer days no Englishman denies the extent, variety, and value of Ireland's contribution to the Empire. England's improving relations with Ireland, and still more the growth of the Imperial spirit, have done much to dissipate small national jealousies. Today most Irishmen, whatever their native politics, are as proud to claim as Englishmen are to acknowledge Ireland's part in the building of the greatest Empire that the world has yet known. One can hardly hope to do justice to that share in a short article. A bare catalogue of the names of Irish makers of Empire would fill this allotted space and still be incomplete.

At the outset an answer must be attempted to a familiar question. Why have Irishmen succeeded as Empire-makers everywhere except in Ireland? They have made laws and Constitutions for a hundred countries, and spared the submissive and warred down the proud

in all other parts of the world. Why is their own little problem still unsolved? Here are some of the usual answers to this question:-

Because the great Irish qualities are only effective under English discipline; because they need a larger stimulus and a wider field of action than they can find at home;

because the spirit of adventure drives them forward and outward, and it is their nature to be-

Fighters in every clime—  
Every cause but our own.

None of these answers is wholly satisfactory, though all have a measure of truth. A more definite solution seems to be possible. The Irish Empire-maker is a product of historical causes.

### The Creative Strains in Ireland.

Except in the Western counties, which Cromwell offered to the Irishry as an alternative to hell, the pure Celt no longer survives. A succession of English wars and English and Scottish "plantations" has produced a varied breed. It is most mixed in that large majority of the population which may be called the Nationalist democracy. Every English invasion, from Henry the Second's to Cromwell's, brought new elements into the originally Celtic blood of the towns and the villages. The pure Irish Celt is not, and never was, an Empire-maker. The highly adulterated Celt is equally a failure at the business. His triumphs—as in New York and Chicago—are municipal, and very dubious at that. The Empire-making strain in Ireland springs from the two stocks in the country which are least mixed—the Anglo-Irish breed, descended from the leaders of the Norman and Elizabethan conquests, and the Scots-Irish breed, descended from the founders of the Ulster Plantation. In these two stocks the Celtic strain seems to blend in just the right proportion with

the steadfast Saxon and Lowland qualities for the making of great men.

These then are the two creative breeds in Ireland, and the facts of Irish history help to answer the question why their genius for Empire has been lavished everywhere save in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry were always a small minority in their own country. The hostile majority gave them no scope for the exercise of their abilities at home. Generation after generation of them has sought and found fame and fortune abroad. The one Irish institution which they controlled has been described, with some truth, as England's one successful institution in Ireland. "Trinity College," says Dr. Mahaffy, in his "Epoch in Irish History," "has been from the beginning the college of the Anglo-Irish breed, and that is the reason why it has flourished and produced great results in the face of great obstacles, in spite of many rebellions and revolutions." Of the Scots-Irish breed it may be said that it has, in fact, made Empire in Ireland. It has created the industrial marvel of Belfast. Outside Ireland its contribution to the Empire has been—with some great exceptions—solid rather than brilliant. The trade of Ulster has followed the flag, but as often as nor the hand that carried the flag was Anglo-Irish.

#### Wherein They Excel.

The Anglo-Irish intellect is practical and constructive—these qualities derive from the English strain. The Celtic strain gives a dash of audacity and imagination. The result is a nature at once calm and fiery, sensible and adventurous; provident, yet exalted at times by a recklessness which takes tremendous risks for the mere love of the game. This is the true temperament of the Empire-builders. The Anglo-Irish type seems to be specially favourable to the production of the soldier administrator—the man who can build civilizations on a foundation of conquest. The type is fertile also in statesmen, lawyers, and traders. It does not run greatly towards idealism or pure imagination. It has produced only one metaphysician, Bishop Berkeley, and not many poets. It is not conspicuous in music or painting, or indeed in any of the arts—except the drama, where the constructive element has high importance. Most of the Irish poets and musicians have a definitely Celtic origin; Moore and Mangan are types of these. The Anglo-Irish breed has given famous journalists to the Empire. Queen's County claims Delane, and *The Times* owed Russell, the greatest of all war correspondents, to Dublin. But there is one curious gap in the Anglo-Irish record. Ireland is an island, and part of a great naval Empire, yet she has given few great sailors to the world. Her poverty in this respect is, perhaps, one

of the reasons (though only one) why she is so proud of Lord Charles Beresford. No convincing explanation of this deficiency has been made. One assumes an essential similarity between great military and great naval qualities.

#### Burke and the Wellesleys.

This is the general character of Ireland's contribution to the Empire. It can be best illustrated by reference to the work of some of the most famous contributors. Any such list must begin with the name of Edmund Burke—perhaps the greatest statesman, philosopher, and orator who ever served an English King and Parliament. The Empire, as we know it now, was just beginning to take shape when Burke's gigantic intellect was in its prime. It might have taken another, and even more splendid, shape that it has since assumed if the country had listened to his warnings. The American Colonies might have been saved to it. They were lost, but the disaster taught its lesson. The development of our modern Empire has run on the lines which Burke's genius laid down; he, in greater measure perhaps than any other man, secured the application of the principles of freedom, equality, and progress to the government of all British possessions. Lord Morley has said that Burke's terrific and sustained indictment, during 14 years, of the Indian enormities "laid the foundations, once and for all, of a moral, just, philanthropic, and responsible public opinion in England with reference to India, and in doing so performed, perhaps, the most magnificent service that any statesman has ever had it in his power to render to humanity."â

The first Earl of Mornington, an Irish peer, had two great sons. The elder, Richard Wellesley, helped to found the Empire which so many generations of Irishmen have since helped to maintain. With Pitt, he conceived and carried out the design of substituting a great possession in India for the lost Colonies in America. During his period as Governor-General he fought a series of wars and made a series of treaties that extinguished French influence in India and added 40 millions of population and ten millions of revenue to the British Dominions. Afterwards he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he was an ardent advocate of Catholic emancipation. That particular service to the Empire, however, just failed to be linked with his name. It was accomplished a year after his resignation of the Viceroyalty.

The yet greater brother of this great man, also made his name in India. The Duke of Wellington, like Dean Swift, said many harsh things about the country of his birth, but they have been forgotten in the blaze of glory which he shed upon it. Before he was 35 his brief course in India, culminating in the battle of

Assaye, had established Wellington's fame as a soldier and statesman. What he did for the Empire in the Peninsula and at Waterloo need not be repeated here. It may be said, perhaps, that Burke's share in making the Empire was equalled by Wellington's share in saving it.

#### Irishmen and India.

It was Wellington who first exhibited the splendid fighting qualities of the Irish private soldier in the service of the Empire. Any sketch of Ireland's contribution which followed the Homeric fashion of praising only chiefs and captains would do scant justice to the fighting island. For more than a century the slum-dwellers of Dublin, the hard-bitten men of Ulster, and the peasants of Munster and Connemara have fought in the van of England's battles. Their soldierly qualities are among the finest in the world. Scott described them as "moving to death with military glee." Mr. Kipling has immortalized the same Irish joy in conflict. It was as keen and irresistible in the last South African war as in Spain and Belgium. Irishmen of the lower class do not make leaders. Under British discipline, and led by the gentlemen of their own country, they have made history on a hundred battlefields in both hemispheres.

Indian history from the Mutiny days onward is starred with the names of famous Irishmen; for two generations that great Empire has been administered with an Irish accent. John, the greatest of the three Lawrences, went to India at 17 from Foyle College, Londonderry. He became Viceroy and Governor-General. In the Punjab he carried out "the most successful experiment in the art of civilizing turbulent millions which history presents." His work during the Mutiny gained him the title of "Saviour of India." Among the men whom John Lawrence sent to the siege of Delhi was John Nicholson, the son of a Dublin doctor. The deeds of that typical Irish soldier are among his country's proudest memories. No Irishman, perhaps, has made a more brilliant or dramatic contribution to the Empire. The sixth Lord Mayo was one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys. Another was Lord Dufferin; it was in the Viceroyalty of the great-grandson of the Champion of the Begums of Oude that Burma was added to our possessions. The victor of Kandahar is still with us. Today the Irish tradition in India is maintained by many able soldiers and Civil servants. The Indian Civil Service is now the chief goal of the best brains of the Anglo-Irish stock. The problems of Indian administration have changed in character, but not, perhaps, in difficulty. If another great crisis should ever come, Irish genius and the strength of the Irish arm will be ready to meet it as of old.

## In Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Turning to other continents, we find the Empire much indebted to Irish statesmanship and enterprise. Today the tide of Irish emigration is tending more towards Canada and less towards the United States. The Irish emigrant has some title to a welcome in Canada. Kildare, Clare and Limerick all lay claim to the ancestry of the hero of Quebec. The line of Irish Governors and administrators, which includes Acheson, Carleton, and Dufferin, is continued today by the Royal holder of an Irish title. In whatever fighting had to be done in Canada Irishmen took their full share. Sir Garnet Wolseley, having shown the first taste of his quality in India, put down the Riel rebellion on the Red River in 1870. Since that time Canada has enjoyed unbroken peace, and Irish brains have contributed largely to the great economic development of the last 40 years.

Ireland paid her full tribute to the dubious beginnings of Australian society. She sent both good and bad, and among the good were many of the political exiles of the Fenian and pre-Fenian times. Here again Protestant immigrants from Ulster have formed one of the most valuable elements in a great agricultural community. Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen exercise a large influence in Australian politics, and for many years the high places of the Roman Catholic Church in that continent have been filled from Maynooth. The list of Australian Viceroys and Governors includes many Irish names. Among the foremost stands that of Sir Richard Bourke, who was Governor of Sydney in the country's most critical and most formative period—from 1831 to 1837. His record is carved upon his statue:—"He voluntarily divested himself of the prodigious influence arising from the assignment of penal labour. He was the first Governor who published satisfactory accounts of public receipts and expenditure. He established religious equality and sought to provide for all, without distinction of sect, a sound and adequate system of national education."

The newest chapter in Imperial history has just been written in South Africa. Is there any need to say how much of it was written by Irishmen? There Lord Roberts achieved his penultimate service to the Empire. The Red Hand of Ulster held Ladysmith. The defects of his Celtic qualities cannot obscure the nobility of the late Sir William Butler's character and the value of his work. In that campaign the Irish private soldier was worthy of his Irish leaders, and when Queen Victoria rendered thanks to "My Irish soldiers" she spoke for a grateful Empire.

## Some Irish Men of Intellect.

So much for the domain of action. In the domain of intellect the Anglo-Irish character has won its own triumphs. Ireland has given at least two Lord Chancellors to England—Hugh McCalmont Cairnes and Lord Russell of Killowen. The highest Court of Appeal in the Empire has been adorned by many great Judges from Ireland; by common consent Lord Macnaghton, who has just left us, was one of the greatest. The fame of Irish oratory has not been conspicuously upheld in recent years, but the country which boasts Burke, Sheridan, Grattan, Curran, Bushe, and Plunket can afford to rest upon its laurels. It was said above that the Anglo-Irish temperament is not idealistic or poetical, but is capable of great prose. Swift and Goldsmith did as much as any other two men to clarify and dignify the language which links the Empire. In more recent times Lecky and Bury have made notable contributions to our historical literature. The Golden Age of the British drama belongs to England, but the Silver Age is Ireland's. From Congreve, Irish by education, if not by birth, and Farquhar, through Goldsmith and Sheridan, nearly all the important dramatists of the 18th century were Irishmen,

## The Present and the Future.

This record has dealt with the past, but Ireland's contribution to the Empire is not finished. At the present time the country is full of intellectual life and ambition. The land question, all but settled, no longer swamps the minds and hearts of men in one primal passion. The nation is recovering something of its splendid youth. In literature and the arts there is a forward movement which already has produced conspicuous results. It is probable that much of Ireland's future contribution to the Empire will take shape as a spiritual and intellectual stimulus. Much of it—perhaps the greater and more important part—will be a contribution of economic ideas. It seems that Great Britain is going to settle her own land question on the lines of the Irish settlement. She will then be confronted with problems already familiar to Ireland, and it may be that in the solution of these problems Ireland will always be at least one stage ahead. The co-operative ideas of Sir Horace Plunkett, brilliantly expounded and advocated by his colleague Mr. George Russell, supply a policy to which all that is best in the country's agricultural and industrial life is turning with eager enthusiasm. The Irish microcosm is ceasing to be an exact reproduction of the English microcosm. "We see our way," Mr. Russell has just written, "to create co-operative communities in Ireland fulfilling in many respects the old

Greek ideal of a true social organism, and to fit them into the larger national life, which the ancient Greeks were unable to do with their city States." Ireland, with her old tribal instincts and her new economic needs, seems to be a chosen field for this high adventure. The greatest of all Ireland's contributions to the Empire may yet be a triumphant object lesson in the building of a rural civilization.

Whatever the future may bring, Ireland has no cause to be ashamed of her record of service to the Empire. The story invokes irresistibly two ancient "tags" (one of them recently refreshed by Mr. Asquith): *Tantoe molis erat Romanam condere gentem* and *Quae regio nostri non plena laboris?*

Two pictures are in the writer's mind as he lays down the pen. One is of Thomas Andrews, the young Irish shipbuilder, calculating in decimals as the Titanic sank to her grave. The other is of an old Irish soldier raising his failing voice in an appeal to the careless manhood of England."

*The Times*, 17 March 1913.

**Editorial Note:** This article was part of a special Irish Number of the paper: a 32 page supplement. The British ruling class must have felt very confident of its Irish possession to mark St. Patrick's Day with such a disparaging view of the Irish majority.

One consequence of Irish Independence was that Ireland stopped generating the Anglo-Irish "breed" so useful to the British Empire, a considerable loss. As outposts of the British Empire, the Anglo-Irish combined a streak of adventurism with more solid Imperial qualities. The Anglicising Irish who have replaced them are not nearly so useful to Britain.

This article was provided to *Church & State* by Eamon Dyas, who writes that there was a further Irish Number of *The Times* for 4th November 1919 but it is interesting for its energetic desire to avoid politics at all costs. The editorial states at the outset that:

"One branch of national activity only has been ignored. It is politics. To the misfortune of both Great Britain and of Ireland, it is the political aspect of Irish affairs which has for many years obtruded itself with greatest force upon public attention. Nevertheless we believe that by deliberately abstaining from any attempt to treat of matters of great and bitter controversy, and by focusing the mind of our readers on indisputable facts rather than on debatable theories, we are rendering both to them and to Ireland a truer service than if we had sought to add to the already formidable mass of literature on the Irish political question. For this reason the Irish Number gives support to no political theory, nor is it designed to be

in detriment of any political cause. Here and there allusions may occur to matters which are in dispute, but, where they do, there are purely incidental. The names which appear at the head of certain articles are in themselves evidence that the Number is the work of men—in almost every instance, of Irishmen—of widely varying schools of thought. This is perhaps not the least of its claims upon the reader."

Nonetheless it does contain articles by Field Marshall Viscount French of Ypres and by three Irish Generals (Brigadier-General A. Ricardo, Lieutenant-General Sir Bryan Mahon,

and Major-General Sir W.B. Hickie), but these restrict themselves to commentaries on the performance of various Irish regiments during the Great War.

There are also articles by Rev. Peter Finlay, SJ on the Roman Catholic Church; a James Stephens wrote on Dublin; Lennox Robinson commented on The Abbey Theatre; while Stephen Gwynn wrote on Fishing and Douglas Hyde on Irish Fairies and Heroes.

Overall, it would seem that the 1919 Irish Number is politically interesting if nothing else but because it is determined to be non-political.

## Seán McGouran

Part 4 of a biography of Joseph Devlin

### President Devlin

After he became National President of the Board of Erin section of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, in 1905, Joe Devlin claimed that he had been a member since the early 1890s. It was assumed to be a polite fiction. But as a young man he had joined any even vaguely 'National' organisation. The AOH had a vestigial existence in Belfast at that time. It was an 'Ulster' phenomenon, centred on Tyrone. The Belfast Hibernians may have been migrants of Tyrone / west Ulster origins.

The Hibernians gave themselves a history dating from Rory O'More's part in the rebellion of 1641. The history included those who defended priests while saying Mass during the days of persecution. This is set out in J.J. Bergin's 1910 *History Of The Ancient Order Of Hibernians*. Bergin's book could be dismissed as an exercise in hiding rather than revealing facts—but there may be an element of truth in the 'folk memory'.

It is probable that some New York-based former members of a Ribbon Society in the late 1830s wanted to reconstitute such a society in the USA. The upshot was the 'Ancient Order of Hibernians'. 'Hibernian' was fairly widely used during the nineteenth century in the English-speaking world. Presumably because it sounded grander than 'Irish'. There might have been an element of paranoia in this, but the Irish and Catholics were the objects of suspicion in North America and Australia until well into the twentieth century.

There was a suspicion on the part of some of the Dublin Castle authorities that the Ribbonmen had an all-Ireland centre or Directory. There was not—even after the 'Ancient Order' started functioning in Ireland some decades after its foundation. That did not stop glazed-eyed Ascendancy and British Conservative publicists from implying that it was the all-pervasive evil spirit of Irish nation-

alism. *Irish Facts* (a serial publication produced by British and Southern Irish Unionists) of June 1909 carried *Fostering Disloyalty in Ireland*, with the sub-heading *The Irish-American "Alliance"*. This was about the visit of the National President, Matthew Cummings, of the American AOH to Ireland. Devlin is described as the "grand panjandrum" of the Order in Ireland.

This article refers to a specific date—1894—for no obvious reason. It may be an allusion to the start of the rapprochement between the 'respectable' and 'revolutionary' wings of the US organisation. (See *The Third Force? C&S No. 84*). The facts of Irish life were relatively well presented in this unsigned article (e. g. the opposition of Cardinal Logue to the Order, and the approval of Bishop O'Donnell—later Logue's successor as Cardinal-Primate—and a fair number of parochial priests). The grip on American facts is less sure. Cummings had no intention of allying with Devlin's group. Even though at that point it was booming in terms of numbers. He 'recognised' a small group led by the Donegal writer Séumas MacManus (which then called itself the Irish-American Alliance—*C&S, No. 84*).

Devlin's interest in the AOH was probably a result of his 1902-03 visits to the USA and Canada. He, like the Redmond brothers before him, had been impressed by what had been done in Australia. By the 1910s it was essentially an independent state, with its own—rather imperialistic—foreign policy, a great part was played in this matter by Irish Nationalists, even formerly revolutionary Nationalists like Young Ireland. (They, Devlin and the Redmond brothers, appear not to have noticed that, even in the 1910s, Australia and Canada were physically very far away from the 'Mother Country'. And Ireland wasn't—and isn't).

Devlin was impressed by the sheer

scale, political muscle, and wealth of the AOH in America. It had scores, probably hundreds, of thousands of members. It was represented in every State of the Union. Members were involved in politics from local to State Governor and US Senate level, and while largely Democrats, they were involved in most major political tendencies—the Republicans, the Progressives, and the Labour Unions. The AOH was probably the largest single 'ethnic' group in the US. It was possibly the biggest single 'special interest' group in a political culture where such things were already very important.

This must have seemed a serviceable template for politics in Ireland. Quite apart from the fact that the newly united Irish Party (the United Irish League) wanted all that power, influence, and money, on its side. Despite a great deal of diplomatic activity by Devlin and other leaders of the UIL up until 1916, the American Order was dominated by persons and factions that were either hostile to, or neutral about, 'Constitutional' nationalism. The hostility was mostly ideological—the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood / Clan na Gael) was an organised faction in the Order. Most members at the turn of the last century were American-born (one element in the 1880s split was on whether members should be Irish-born) anti-Britishness was almost bred in the American bone in those days. They probably did not understand why the Irish Party did not want to emulate the Americans and fight their way out of the British Empire.

Devlin attempted to argue with this mindset, but he felt unable to point out the brutal reality that London would simply batter the Irish into the ground if they attempted to do what the Boers had failed in the attempt to do only a matter of months before his visit. The Second South African ('Boer') War was a very sobering experience for most people engaged in Nationalist politics in Ireland.

Devlin was the invited speaker at the Board of Erin's biennial Convention in Belfast in September 1904. He had been asked to chair the conference. He probably decided not to because of a major contentious item. This was about registering as a 'benefit society' under various Acts of Parliament. There was something of a 'town / country' divide on this matter. The Belfast 'Hibs', many of them already members of trade unions saw many benefits—to themselves and the organisation—in registering. The rest did not like the idea of the Government knowing anything about their business.

Devlin suggested studying the matter for a year. His eventual solution to this problem was that individual 'Divisions' of the Order and County boards should be allowed to decide the matter. The national Board [of Erin] would be neutral. This was the decision taken on July 21, 1905,

in Dublin. Devlin also became National President. John D Nugent of Dublin became and remained of a long time National Secretary. At the Belfast Convention the Board of Erin AOH decided to back the UIL.

By 1909 the membership of the BoE AOH numbered about 60,000 (from about 10,000 in 1905, the number may have been inflated). The dispute with the Republican-oriented Irish-American Alliance AOH became intensified. But the BoE increased in size and influence until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The first growth came in Ulster and north Connacht. Essentially Belfast's hinterland (see *Labour in the West of Ireland*, John Cunningham Athol Books; trade unionists in Connacht tended to look to Belfast for support). The AOH provided, in Ulster especially, a source of personnel for the UIL / Parliamentary Party in canvassing, and providing bodies for big occasions (like the 1909 'Baton' Convention).

It provided a Catholic equivalent of the Orange Lodges as centres of social life in the countryside. This was less important in Belfast where there already were facilities supplied by bodies like the INF (Irish National Foresters—an unambiguously Nationalist group—but a studied 'non-party' one) and Devlin's own National Club in the city centre. It was established as a rival to Bishop Henry's Central Catholic Club. The building of these premises provided work for the construction industry, dominated as it was, by Catholics as workers and owners.

A more ambiguous matter was that in Belfast, and to an extent Derry and Newry, it provided an alternative to the Labour movement. Devlin had a reputation as a Labourite. Larkin described him, in 1907, during the dock workers strike in Belfast as a 'working class' MP. Devlin was involved in the strike and, early on (8th and 25th July), asked parliament to arbitrate in the disputes. They at first had involved the carters, then the 'cross-channel' dockers (who were largely Protestant) but later involved the Catholic deep-sea dockers and mill workers—largely in west Belfast. The latter were deemed, by the Unionist press, to be largely Catholic, though there is no way of telling what the majority of such workers were. Plenty of women from the Shankill worked in premises, which, at least partly, fronted the Falls Road.

Devlin was concerned about the fact that the RIC in Belfast were in incipient revolt and that the Army was being used in a Labour dispute. Devlin addressed Larkin's mass meeting, at the Customs House steps (which he had asked parliament to rail-in some years before, after an affray between Tom Sloan's followers and those of Arthur Trew the Dublin-born anti-Catholic agitator. Sloan was

the Independent (Independent Orange Order-aligned) MP for South Belfast. The IOO was a tenant right and, in Belfast, somewhat pro-Labour, breakaway from the Order proper. He stayed away from Larkin's meeting probably because it was held at a problematical time—just before the Catholic riposte to the Orange 'Twelfth' (of July)—the August 15th celebrations. Larkin, being a Liverpoolian may not have had an instinct for such matters. Devlin did have such an instinct. His presence indicates how strongly he felt about the matter.

Riots broke out on the Falls area the next day and by the 12th two people had been killed and some others wounded. The Unionist establishment claimed that the whole thing had been a Nationalist plot, from the beginning. Devlin's idea of arbitration was taken up by parliament and a Board of Trade arbitrator was sent to the city. The carters, the original strikers, got quite a large rise in pay. But the dockers were, if anything, worse off. Their employers kept them split on sectarian lines and they were 'casual' employees (meaning they had to line up to be picked for work every day). The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and the Great War put them in a position of some strength. But decasualisation only occurred in the 1960s—due to action by the Westminster government of Harold Wilson.

Devlin at this point was regarded as virtually a Labour MP and an advanced Nationalist. These perceptions fell away as time went on. He insisted that the parliamentary party was the place for Labour-sympathetic politicians. He was opposed to any non-Parliamentary approach to resolving the Irish Question. He was never particularly popular with Sinn Féin or the IRB element in Nationalist politics. But they were of very little significance until the 1913 to 1916 period.

Devlin at this point was living in Dublin and London. A major connection with Belfast was with the trade unionist and UIL City Councillor Michael Mc Keown. He was an IT&G organiser in Belfast as well as a 'Devlinite'. He had the odd experience in 1913 of collecting funds for the people locked out in Dublin, while the BoE Hibernians were launching attacks on the strikers. The major point of contention was the offer by some Suffragettes—led by Dora Montefiore—to take the children of those locked-out to sympathetic families in England. John D Nugent helped co-ordinate this opposition—which often involved violence—and the Dublin Hibernians provided he muscle behind the protests.

Devlin did not make any comment—but he did not take part in any of the public manifestations of this campaign. He knew that the AOH involved all sorts

and conditions of people. It was an all-class alliance, just like the Orange Order. It already had to contend with nuisance of the 'American Alliance'. The latter was a benefit society as a body, and the BoE could have lost members to it. He was probably also aware of the fact that his reputation as a Bishop-baiter, even 'anti-cleric' would not go away. Cardinal Logue was deeply suspicious of the Board Hibernians—possibly even more than of the Alliance—which was attached to the American Order, which had been accepted by the US Catholic hierarchy.

The UIL was opposed to Lloyd-George's 'people's budget' of 1909—mostly at the prompting of the Licensed Vintners' Association—and Redmond threatened that he would tell the Irish in Great Britain to vote against the Liberal Party. This was on the matter of Home Rule on which the Liberals were dragging their heels. (It was an empty threat as, in the 1880s, the Irish had not done what Parnell suggested. And the Irish even those who were members of the UILGB, were drifting towards the Labour Party.) The Liberals seemed to assume there was some substance in the threat. They prioritised Home Rule. There was an election in 1910, which put the Irish in the position of making the government. The Liberals and Conservatives were drawn and the Irish had 83 seats. The UIL had 75 seats and William O'Brien's AfIL (all for Ireland League) had eight.

An upshot of this was that part of Lloyd-George's budget was enacted in the Insurance Act of 1911. Lloyd-George had hoped this would be the start of a national (state-run) insurance scheme. But he used the framework set up in former Insurance Acts and used already existing 'friendly societies' to administer the scheme. These ranged from trade unions to organisations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians (and the strangely-named, largely working class organisations in Great Britain — Manchester Oddfellows, and the like).

The Board of Erin AOH experienced a large growth in membership—figures like 170,000 are quoted. It expanded into areas where there had been no Hibernians before (though possibly there had been Ribbon societies). Officers of the BoE already had experience of handling the administration of the previous insurance schemes. (The American Alliance diminished to a very small group—losing whole 'Divisions' (the name for local groups) to the Board.)

Devlin—assuming he actually aspired to be a 'panjandrum'—headed an organisation as widespread in Ireland as the AOH was in the USA. It was effectively an auxiliary (though vastly larger and more vigorous) organisation to the UIL. And the UIL was about to win Home Rule for Ireland. The next article will recount the collapse of this enterprise in the period between 1913 and 1922. And how the Order responded to changed conditions. ●

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Pat Maloney

Review: *The Burnings 1920* by  
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## Origin Of Stormont Discrimination

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On 8th September 1920, British Prime Minister, Lloyd George ratified the appointment of an Irish Under-Secretary in Belfast.

By setting up this new Department in Belfast and by securing the appointment of an official who met with his approval, Sir James Craig, the Unionist leader reduced Dublin Castle's scope to interfere in the North.

"Although the department would report to Dublin Castle, he ensured it was granted a great degree of autonomy.

"Known as the Chief Secretary's Belfast branch, this new secretariat was headed by Sir Ernest Clark, CBE. Clarke had entered the Whitehall civil service in 1882 and made steady progress through the ranks. In 1904, he was seconded to the Cape Government and spent a year in South Africa. On his return he was placed in charge of the first district (City of London) of the inland revenue income tax service. He was employed by inland revenue for the next thirty-five years, rising to the rank of Deputy Chief Inspector and Assistant Secretary to the Board of Inland Revenue. In 1919 he was appointed Secretary to the Royal Commission on Income Tax and the following year he was knighted on the recommendation of the commission's Lord Colwyn.

"Clarke had previously worked alongside Sir John Anderson, who had been a former chairman of the board of inland revenue before being posted to Dublin Castle. Anderson had recognised Clarke's skills in administration and his ability to deal effectively with complex legal matters. In 1920, Anderson offered Clarke a promotion and a complete change of career by asking him to head up the chief secretary's office in Belfast. Along with other civil

servants Clarke, with the rank of Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland, set up office on 16 September, 1920, in the prestigious Scottish Provident Building across from Belfast city hall on Donegall Square West. (This group later formed the nucleus of the Northern Ireland Civil Service.)

One of his first tasks was to attempt to get the thousands of Catholic workers who had been forced from their places of employment by fellow workers back to work. He met with some initial success in persuading Protestant employers to abandon the requirement that Catholic workers sign a document stating that they did not support Sinn Fein before they could resume work. However, an upsurge in IRA activity in Belfast at that time, with attacks on the RIC, resulted in a hardening of attitudes and religious discrimination in employment continued. It was ironic that Clarke himself would become involved in religious discrimination whilst holding this office.

"The change from inland revenue to the chief secretary's office was not without its difficulties for Sir Ernest. From a department with a long tradition and well-established procedures he found himself, in many respects, starting from scratch. One of his early administrative duties was to recruit staff for his new office, a procedure on which he had been briefed and one which was to introduce him to the endemic sectarianism of Belfast.

"Religious discrimination in employment had been a feature of life in this part of Ireland for many years and received an official seal of approval by Sir Ernest when he chaired the panel to recruit staff. An article relating to the selection panel conducted by Sir Ernest appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* on 1 October, 1920.

"He had conducted interviews

with two males and two females and found the two males suitable and offered them a position. As they were leaving he called them back and said, '*Pardon me, I omitted to ask what religion you were?*' *The individuals replied that they were Catholics and later reported that Sir Ernest had replied, 'I am sorry but my instructions are not to appoint officials of your creed. As a civil servant who has worked with all creeds in different parts of the Empire I personally regret this. My instructions however are clear and explicit.'* It would appear that his new local political masters were laying the ground rules. He would, of course, have been aware that government departments including Dublin Castle had been infiltrated by Sinn Fein sympathisers, mainly from the Catholic population, and did not wish to see this repeated in his Belfast office.

"On the day the article appeared, he wrote to Sir John Anderson in Dublin Castle, disputing the version of events printed in the newspaper. He confirmed that he had asked a man about his religion, but added that in any case he would not have engaged him. He continued, '*as far as possible, I am trying to fill my office with Englishmen and Scotchmen [sic] but where I am necessarily compelled to take people from the locality (or men with technical knowledge from Dublin). Broadly speaking I must take Protestants or I cannot succeed here.'*' (*The Burnings 1920*, p224).

It thus appears that the foundations of discrimination against Catholics in the Stormont civil service were laid by a British civil servant acting under the authority of Lloyd George.

In 1920, the towns of Banbridge, Dromore and Lisburn erupted into anti-Catholic violence following the deaths of District Inspector Swanzy, who ordered the killing of Lord Mayor of Cork, Tomas MacCurtain; and, Banbridge man, Lt. Colonel Smyth—who advocated a policy of shooting any Irishman found carrying a gun who refused to surrender immediately, during an address to RIC men in Listowel in 1920, often referred to as the "*Listowel Mutiny*".

In Lisburn alone, after three days and nights of one-sided violence, in which at least one life was lost, over 1,000 Catholics had to flee after their homes were torched and leaving behind their businesses and livelihoods.

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