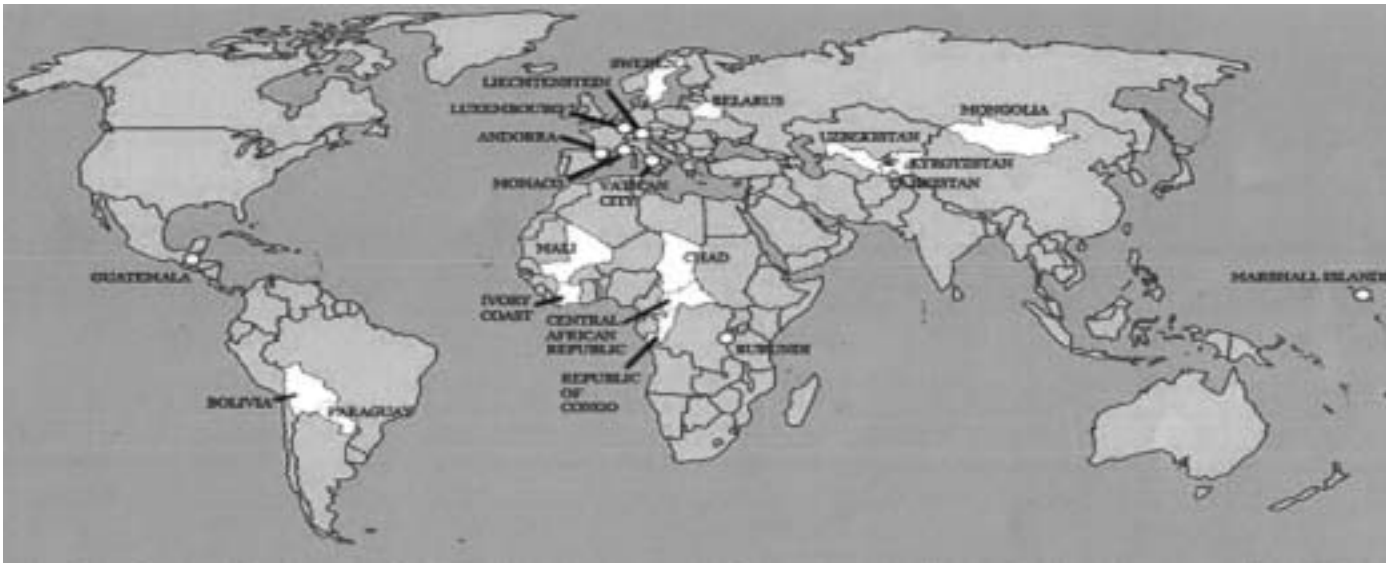
Church & State

An Irish History Magazine

And Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World



Map of every place invaded by Britain, shaded grey.
Only twenty-two countries left out (in white).

Free State Army Mutiny

The Great Eoghan Ruadh

Canon Sheehan

The Working Class Under Vichy

Mixed Marriage

Spanish Colonies Debate

A Carrickfergus Childhood

Scotland

No. 115 **First Quarter, 2014**

Editorial

Irish Realities

*"**Ne Temere** became a principal reason why we do not have a united Ireland"*, according to the Mixed Marriage Association (Irish Times letter, January 6).

Other reasons why we do not have a united Ireland are that there was a nationalist rebellion in 1916, that the country voted overwhelmingly in 1918 to establish an independent Government for itself, and that the Fine Gael/Labour/Clann na Poblachta Coalition took the country—the part of it over which it exercised jurisdiction—entirely out of the British Commonwealth in 1948.

A more credible reason is that Daniel O'Connell founded a mass nationalist movement in 1830. But that reason is never given, because O'Connell is a 'sacred cow' to 'moderate' nation—alists because at Clontarf in 1843 he backed down in he face of Wellington's threat to dragoon his meeting.

But O'Connell had sown the seeds of division long before his submission to the threat of force at Clontarf.

He had not backed down in 1829. He had dared the Government to keep him out of Parliament because he would not take a Protestant Oath to enter it. The Government did not meet his dare. It repealed the requirement that anybody elected to Parliament must take a Protestant Oath before sitting in it. For fear of what O'Connell's movement might do if it was thwarted, it enacted Catholic Emancipation. And that was a profoundly divisive measure.

One might hold the opinion that Catholic Emancipation was morally right, regardless of its consequences. But holding that opinion does not in any way lessen the actual consequences of Emancipation.

The Government did not enact it because it weighed the matter up in some moral scales and saw that it was right. It repealed that particular anti-Catholic provision of the British Constitution—which was supported by an extensive framework of moral opinion—because it feared the consequences of not repealing it at a time when the population of Ireland was half that of England and O'Connell had roused the greater part of it to active support of his demand and had disabled the opposition of most of the rest.

The United Kingdom was a sectarian Protestant State, as the Kingdom of Ireland under the British Crown had been before the Union. The admission of Catholics to Parliament did not secularise the State. But it opened up the prospect of the Irish representation at Westminster being predominantly Catholic, leading to intensified Irish pressure on the sectarian—ism of the State, with further erosion of the privileged position of the Protestant population in Ireland.

That was bad enough—divisive enough. But the following year O'Connell launched his Repeal movement. Repeal would have restored the Irish Parliament of the 18th century, which during its last twenty years had been a sovereign Parliament—the glory of the Protestant Nation.

But the Protestant Nation had shot its bolt. And a restored Irish Parliament in 1830 would have been entirely different in composition to the Parliament that abolished itself under the influence of British bribery in 1800.

The Act of Union deprived the Protestant Nation of the sovereignty (under the Crown, of course) which it had gained in 1782, when it seized the opportunity provided by Britain's difficulty in America. For some years after 1800 there was a Protestant Repeal movement. The Protestant Nation knew that, without its own Irish Parliament, it was vulnerable.

O'Connell in those years of Protestant Repeal was a nominal Catholic with the outlook of an English radical. He returned to Ireland in the 1790s and (the Irish Parliament having opened the practice of law to Catholics under British pressure) slotted himself into the milieu of the Protestant nation. He took part in the Protestant Repeal movement and declared that he would be happy to have things as they were before 1801, Penal Laws and all.

But it is problematical being a very broad-minded liberal if one wants to cut a dash in the public life of a sectarian Protestant State.

After about ten years following the Union, during which conviction leaked out of the Protestant Repeal movement, and a national movement was generated in the Catholic population, O'Connell began to be a Catholic in earnest in Ireland,while in British affairs retaining the outlook of a radical.

After he achieved the admission of Catholics to Parliament, he might have acted he part of a Whig politician in Ireland. Many certainly expected him to do that. And, if he had done it, who can tell what the outcome might have been. Whiggery, with its radical undergrowth, might have become the party of political reform throughout Ireland. But, instead of phasing Ireland into British party politics, O'Connell launched a new Repeal movement. And by doing so he soon came to the point of rupture with the Ulster Protestant reformers.

The Rev. Henry Montgomery's public letter against him was published in 1831, uniting all political tendencies in Protestant Ulster against the post-Emancipation Repeal movement. After that rupture there was no turning back. The future, down to the present day, has been a working out of that rupture within the varying political circumstances of the British state.

The *Ne Temere* Decree of 1908 hardly deserves a mention in this context. It was the belated implementation in Ireland of a Catholic Decree discouraging mixed marriages.

The Mixed Marriage Association says:

> "Dr. Garret Fitzgerald has shown that the net result of this was the reduction of the Protestant population in the Irish Free State/Republic by 80%. In the same period the Roman Catholic population of Northern Ireland increased by 60%."

Dr. FitzGerald was a wizard with statistics. It would be interesting to see how he established that the discouragement by the *Ne Temere* Decree of Protestants who wanted to marry Catholics reduced the Protestant population by 80%—how he isolated the influence of the *Ne Temere* Decree from the other influences tending to reduce the Protestant population and discourage mixed marriages.

The other tendencies reduced the Protestant population in obvious ways.

The Famine/Holocaust system reduced the Catholic population by many millions. It was hoped that this would break the spirit of the Irish. A new landlord Plantation was projected on that assumption. The London *Times* looked forward to a time when Irishmen would be as rare in Ireland as Red Indians in New York. But what followed the Famine/Holocaust in the

greatly-reduced Irish population was a purposeful tenant-right movement which undermined the new landlordism, leading many of them and their retainers to return home. The tenant-right movement grew in strength every decade from then on until it abolished landlordism as the general system of the country in the first decade of the 20th century. Associated with this was the democratisation of Local Government.

The conditions of Protestant existence in the greater part of the country were undermined, under Irish pressure, by British legislation, with a consequent outflow of the Protestant population.

Then the Irish voted themselves independent, and defended their independence by war against the British military. During that War, judging by the *Church Of Ireland Gazette*, there was widespread Protestant expectation that Britain would again bring the Irish to heel. When Britain failed to do that, there was a further outflow of Protestants.

The Land War and the War of Independence caused a reduction of a Protestant population that actually existed by narrowing its economic base. How could the *Ne Temere* Decree have actually reduced an existing Protestant population? It was not backed by any power of State—as Protestant discouragement of mixed marriages had been. Did Protestants who had married Catholics before the Decree was promulgated leave the country after it was promulgated?

Or did Dr. FitzGerald mean that the Decree prevented an increase in the Protestant population by deterring Protestants from marrying Catholics under its terms? But prevention of increase is a very speculative, uncertain thing, not at all synonymous with reduction.

If Dr. FitzGerald made an estimate of the numbers of Protestants who wanted to marry Catholics but refused to do so if the children were to be raised as Catholics, it would be interesting to see how he did it.

The increase in the Catholic population in the North and the reduction of the Protestant population in the South are clearly not results of the same cause. They are substantially unrelated.

Under the undemocratic and sectarian British regime in the Six Counties, Catholics were driven together to live their own lives by a devolved local administration which had the specifically anti-Catholic Orange Order at its core. And the possibility of developing through participation in the political life of the state was not open to them. The Catholics did not refuse to participate in the political life of the state. They were shut out of it. But the community was bulky enough to live a purposeful life of its own—and to avail of British educational and social welfare and other amenities while being shut out of British political life.

The Northern Catholics had freed themselves from centuries of systematic oppression and were in the course of rapid development when they were confined in the Northern Ireland system. The Southern Protestants were a privileged community whose privileges had been seriously undermined and who were in the course of serious decline. They remained the wealthy segment of the population. And the possibility of taking part in the political life of the state was open to them. But on the whole they refused to avail of that opportunity. They preferred to live their own exclusive life in superior mode. It was a narrow constricted life, whose high point was an occasional house-visit from minor Royalty. They were themselves inertly loyal to the state in which they lived, in the

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Church & State

Editor: *Pat Maloney*

All Correspondence should be sent to:

P. Maloney,
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork City.
TEL: 021-4676029

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sense that they were not in rebellion, but it was not *their* state. They were living abroad. And, judging by Elizabeth Bowen, they did not much care for the vulgar turn of events at home after Churchill was ousted by the plebs.

How many of them does Dr. Fitz Gerald reckon wanted to marry Catholics but didn't want Catholic children?

(Dr. FitzGerald was himself the product of a mixed marriage and that personal fact seemed to blind him to social realities on the island.)

There seem to have been quite a few mixed marriages in the North, despite the *Ne Temere* Decree, with a rule of thumb about the children. But, in the North, there were large working class populations of both Protestants and Catholics, with an accompanying laxness of morals. And working class marriages are not quite the same in substance as middle class marriages. And in the South it was not even a question of mixed middle-class marriage, but of mixed upper and lower class marriage. The extent to which the possibility of such marriages occurred, only to be deterred by *Ne Temere*, must be minute, because in this instance class alienation is compounded by colonialism.

There was in Ireland no gradual gradation from the native lower classes to the colonial upper class. A declining residue of the colonial gentry, disproportionately wealthy, continued to live its own life in its own cultural milieu in the independent state. Its life was narrow, exclusive, superior. It kept up standards. It didn't mingle.

There were, of course, Protestants who shrugged off the colonial heritage and mingled, but they were not the element represented by the writings of Hubert Butler, Elizabeth Bowen or Terence de Vere Whyte.

Butler asserted the inherent superiority of the colonial residue over the native democracy and demanded separate political representation for it, as the Catholic community had in the North. He treated the two minorities as being in some way equivalent. This was a debating point. He must have known very well that there was no equivalence. His one venture into electoral politics was based on an assertion of the racial superiority of the Protestants. In Kilkenny he lived the superior life of his ancestors on his little estate, keeping aloof from the upstart natives who were his neighbours, even though they had become his equals in wealth.

The little colonial enclaves dotted around the country did not flourish demographically. The clever thing to do was to blame this on *Ne Temere* instead of their own colonial exclusiveness.

The British region of the world used to be called "*The Empire and Colonies*". The distinction between the two seems to have been lost, but it is real. The colonies were pieces of England hived off to found English-type societies in regions ethnically cleansed of natives. Other regions were held by Imperial power, and administered by officials of the British Government, but populated by natives. In Ireland the two categories overlapped. It was both the first English colony and the first English Imperial possession. And the continuing difference within it, on which Partition was based, is an expression of the difference between the colonial element and the element that was subjected to Imperial possession and freed itself.

The whole island was intended to be colonised. There were Plantations in the Midlands and in Munster as well as Ulster. But it was only in Ulster that the colony flourished and became a rounded society. Elsewhere the colonial stratum became the ruling elite of an Imperial possession.

The Ulster colony did not need subjugated natives in order to exist, but the colonial stratum in the South did. The one became a society, the other an Ascendancy.

In Ulster, natives survived in the outlying regions. And grasping capitalists of the London Society soon began to break the conditions of the Plantation by employing native labour because it could be got cheaper. And the industrial economic development centred o Belfast began using native labour from the further reaches of the Province, and Belfast began to have a Catholic problem.

In the rest of the country the colonial stratum went megalomaniac. In 1780 it was overcome by the delusion that it had made Ireland a Protestant Nation. It freed itself from the guiding influence of its Mother Parliament, over-reached itself, and came to grief. The part of the population that was not colonial but was under Imperial control freed itself and took over. The colony did not then merge with the populace that displaced it in political power—or, rather, the part of it that did not merge and become part of the national development is what is now meant by the Protestant minority.

Religion is not the foundation of the difference in Ireland because in England the Reformation was primarily a political and not a religious event.

England declared itself an Empire at the same time as it separated itself from the Roman religion and its international associations. The declaration of Empire was basic: the religion followed. England did not know what its religion was going to be when it broke with Rome and set about suppressing Catholicism. Because it broke with Rome, it had to suppress the Roman Church. It was found that a wide range of popular institutions and customs were intimately connected with Rome, and they had to be rooted out. The first secular institution which had to be suppressed was the theatre. It was suppressed by Henry VIII's Minister, Thomas Cromwell, revived, and was suppressed again, more thoroughly, by the Rule of the Saints under Oliver Cromwell.

This was done in the name of religion. The ideological justification of the break with Rome was the need to purify Christianity of the pagan idolatry with which Rome had corrupted it Therefore a new religion had to be made up in accordance with this ideology. Pure Christianity was to be restored. But nobody knew what pure Christianity was—supposing that it ever existed in coherent form. It was Rome that had made Christianity a world force. When Constantine established it as the religion of the Empire, what he called Christianity was an eclectic mix of various popular religious cults that were fermenting in the Empire. In the course of a thousand years this mixture was worked on by theologians, philosophers, Bishops, poets and statesmen of genius. In the early 16th century something stirred the Swiss and the Germans to repudiate the rich Roman mixture and spin something simple and systematic out of it, and call it the true Christianity of the pre-Roman Church.

Before breaking with Rome Henry considered waging a crusade against this Protestantism. And he wrote a condemnation of it, for which the Pope gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*.

So, when Henry declared England

an Empire, and was faced with the problem of inventing a religion for it, he didn't have a clue as to what that religion might be. It was to be a religion that served his Empire. The Empire was prior.

The Swish and German varieties were found unsuitable. A kind of English religion was patched together but nothing like a national settlement was ever arrived at. Elements of the English populace which took to religion in earnest gave rise to Puritanism. But Puritanism, for all the argument that went into its elaboration, was not found to be an effective religion of state when it became the power in the state. It failed because the Puritans took it that the function of the State was to serve religion when, in accordance with the origin of the English Reformation, it was the business of religion to serve the State.

There was never a positive national settlement in England—a settlement that embraced the bulk of the populace. After the Restoration there developed an Established Church whose Bishops formed part of the ruling class of gentry, and whose doctrines were drawn up by fundamentalists of an earlier generation and were not intended to be believed. And in the populace there were various kinds of fundamentalist Protestantism, which were excluded from the corridors of political power. The 'religious tolerance' announced after 1688 *coup d'etat* was tolerance between these various kinds of Protestantism based, in its religious dimension, on nothing more definite than anti-Catholicism. The political dominance of the gentry in the name of the Anglican Church, which was never allowed to meet as a Church, was accepted by the more believing forms of Protestantism in the medium of the expanding Empire.

The economic business of the Empire in the eighteenth and early 19th centuries consisted largely of the Slave Trade and the operation of Industrial Slave Labour Camps. A culture of race superiority naturally grew up with this business. This was combined with a conviction generated by fundamentalist Christianism in the populace, in which the Old Testament history was lived again, that the English were the agency of Providence in the world. They were God's chosen people.

The wealth of the Slave business, the discreet scepticism of the gentry, and the sincere religious belief of a very substantial body of believers in the society, somehow combined at home to produce a culture of refinement. The expression of crude anti-Catholicism was softened, but not weakened in this culture.

Fundamentalist Protestantism, whose influence was curbed at home, was given its head in the colonising of Ireland, where it ensured that the Reformationist colonists did not merge with the Irish as pre-Reformationist colonists had done.

The Ulster colony went through a phase of liberal confusion in the 18th century but reasserted its original character in the Revival of 1859. A quarter of a century later, the combination of religious Revivalism and Colonialism was very evident in the response to the first Home Rule Bill. 'Ulster' was a colonial partner in the great Imperial business of dominating and civilising the world, and it was not going to submit in local affairs to the democratic supremacy of the majority on the island, whose destiny was to be subject to the Imperial civilising process. And a century later that was still how things were seen in Ulster Unionist culture.

Religion, as active belief, was much stronger in Ulster Unionist culture than in Southern Protestant culture—and, of course, than in nationalist culture—but religion was far from being the only thing in it.

In the wealthy remnant of the failed colony in the South, which determined to uphold standards despite native rule, exclusive manners—one might say atavistic manners—appeared to be the main thing. But it was not only the Irish natives that were looked down upon. The vulgar colonial natives in the North were also viewed with distaste.

The contention that the *Ne Temere* Decree played a major part in the decline of the exclusive Protestant community in the South which refused to take part in national affairs—a decline which had set in long before *Ne Temere* was promulgated—needs to be argued.

As for the suggestion that it was a cause of Partition, there have been a long string of 'causes' suggested by various commentators for the Ulster Protestant abhorrence of the South, beginning with religion, backwardness, poor social services, and economic lack of development. As Irish society shrugged off clericalism, progressed to be a premier segment of the European Union, with a social security system only second to the Scandinavian countries, all these have lost credibility and fallen away. But Partition remains.

Report

In Octobr 2013 the Church Of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Michae Jackson, referred to sectarian attitudes he had encountered within the Church of Ireland, not just towards Catholics but also towards converts who were dismissively called *"Polyester Protestants"*. This set off a furore in the *Irish Times*, from which the following stands out

Polyester Protestants

Robin Bury (25.10.13)

"Archbishop Jackson's attempt to clarify his address (Opinion, October 22nd) to the Dublin and Glendalough diocesan synods (Home News, October 16th) remains puzzling and vague. If he is concerned about the way his indigenous members relate to newcomers, he is off the mark. He surely must know the Church of Ireland congregations are small and draw strength from getting to know new and existing members through a variety of social activities. Like Archbishop Clarke, I grew up in the Church of Ireland in the 1950s and encountered "apartheid by mutual consent" in rural Co Cork.

I was subjected to the *ne temere* decree when I married a Roman Catholic (which my wife and I chose to ignore). This decree was replaced by the *Matrimonia Mixta* 1970 which requires the Roman Catholic partner "to see to it the children be baptised and brought up" in the Roman Catholic faith. Dr Gladys Ganiel argues that the Church of Ireland displays "a systematic failure to see diversity as a gift". Maybe there is an element of truth in this but the *ne temere* and today's *Matrimonia Mixta* certainly insensitively fail to "see diversity as a gift".

Their effect has been to substantially contribute to the decline in native Church of Ireland numbers from 164,000 in 1926 to 93,000 in 2011. Might not Archbishop Jackson concern himself with addressing this cruel form of sectarianism?"

Séamas de Barra (28.10.13)

"...Before the emergence of "polyester Protestants", an old Church of Ireland lady confided to me that there was a sort of apartheid between Church of Ireland members whose ancestors have been in Ireland since before the Reformation, and those who came in after the Reformation, especially those of Cromwellian origin. Interestingly, the Irish-language poet, Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair (1625-1694), a Catholic, had a deep regard for the former, but couldn't stand the latter...

Philip O'Connor (29.10.13)

"Of all the reactions to Archbishop Jackson's comments on attitudes he had encountered in South Dublin Church of Ireland circles, I would have thought that the intervention by Mr Robin Bury (Letters, 25th October) was the least appropriate.

Mr Bury is spokesman of the 'Reform Society', which advocates that Ireland rejoin the British Commonwealth and which propagated the now discredited theory of "ethnic cleansing" of Irish Protestants during the War of Independence. He is also a leading member of the Dublin-Wicklow chapter of the Orange Order. It will be remembered that when that organisation was invited to share tea with the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mary Freehill, in 2001, Canon Walton Empey of St. Anne's church on Dawson Street, with the unanimous backing of his select vestry, refused the Order permission for the exclusive use of his church, because of the "disgraceful behaviour of the Orange Order at Drumcree".

Perhaps Mr Bury should attend first to sectarian matters closer to his own activities before generalising about inter-faith relations in this state."

Editorial

Northern Ireland And Egypt

Clifford Longley, religious correspondent of the London *Times*, had this to say in his contribution to BBC Radio 4's *Thought For The Day* on 9th July 2013 on the *Today* programme:

> "You don't have to look at the history of these islands for long to see that religion and democracy can make very uncomfortable bedfellows; Northern Ireland is the perfect example; it's a real pity, a tragedy in fact, that no one pointed out that painful lesson to the designers of the Egyptian constitution; they might have avoided some obvious mistakes, which were having serious consequences even before last week's military intervention. Democracy in most Western countries tends to mean *First Past The Post*, winner takes all. For decades Northern Ireland was fully democratic by those standards: every eligible man or woman had a vote, regardless of their religious persuasion. The majority formed the government, but as there were always more Protestant voters than Catholic ones, the Protestants always won, always took all, so the Protestant parties were always in power, the Catholic parties were always excluded. On the *First Past The Post*, the Muslim Brotherhood won the Egyptian presidential election and proceeded to apply their beliefs to the business of government. It's what mainland British political parties do all the time. Their opponents accused the Brotherhood government of incompetence and cronyism and feared they were starting to reshape Egyptian culture along Islamic lines. Whether or not that justifies their action, it had become less and less workable.
>
> "In Northern Ireland the power sharing solution was eventually accepted by both sides including their religious leaderships as absolutely necessary if there was to be any kind of political settlement and peace on the streets. The name of the problem then is not religion *per se*, but our peculiar insistence that true democracy means *First Past The Post*, winner takes all…"

There is no meaningful parallel between the military *coup* against the democratically-elected Egyptian Government and the long War fought by the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland against the British Government, because Egypt is a state and Northern Ireland is not, and has never been, a state.

The trouble in Northern Ireland was not caused by the Majority Rule, *First Past The Post*, principle of British politics. It was caused by the exclusion of Northern Ireland from British politics.

Northern Ireland was part of a well-established democratic state which was excluded from the democracy of the state.

Democracy is a form of government of a state. Its practical meaning in modern times has been the election, by the adult population of the state, of a party to govern the state. But the parties that engage in electoral contention for a mandate to govern the British state do not operate in the Northern Ireland region of it.

The party elected to govern the UK has sovereign authority in Northern Ireland as in every other region of the state, but it never has any constituents in Northern Ireland.

When the subordinate local Assemblies were set up in Scotland and Wales, the Tory, Labour and Liberal Parties did not withdraw from Scotland an Wales. They did withdraw from the six Irish Counties when cutting them off from the rest of Ireland and retaining them as part of the British state.

Longley calls the parties that govern the state, including Northern Ireland, but do not contest elections in Northern Ireland, *"the mainland British political parties"*, as if that explained something. Is it that democracy, like cats, shies at water? That it cannot cross the four miles of water between Stranraer and Larne?

The Six Counties were inherently unsuitable for devolved government outside the democracy of the state. No party there wanted it. Whitehall imposed it for its own reasons, knowing very well what the likely outcome would be.

Undemocratic British government which fostered communal antagonism, not religion, or *First Past The Post*, was the cause of what happened in Northern Ireland.

Let Longley mediate on that if he can, and give us his conclusions in another *Thought For The Day*, if he is allowed.

In Egypt there was no possibility of subjecting the antagonisms between elite minorities and the mass of the people emerging from a kind of Penal Law system to the mediating influence of a much larger and immensely experienced polity.

Lament!

Poem written by Protestant clergyman Patrick Dunkin in the 1640's, lamenting what the Cromwellians were up to:

Truagh mo thurus ó mo thír
Go Crích Mhanannáin mhín mhic Lir,
Idir triúr piúratán meabhail géar -
Gearr mo shaoghal má's buan na fir.
....

{Grievous my exile from my country/ To the Isle of Man/ Between three mad, severe puritans -/ My life will be short if these men persist. ...}

Thanks to **Pat Muldowney** for contributing this item.

A Bhráthair Cumainn

Seamus de Nógla, ó Chill Aitchidh, cct.
chum Eoghain Uí Shúilleabháin
(James Nagle, from Killathy, etc. for Eoghan Ua Súilleabháin)

A bhráthair cumainn's bhile d'Uíbh Shúilleabháin,
'S a fháidh ghlain chliste fuair urraim i gcúirt na ndámh,
Go bráth sin mise is tú briste mun' n-umhlair spás
An tseoid seo cuirfead go fuinneamhail chughat i ndán.

My dear brother and chief of the O'Sullivans / O pure, expert poet who received honour in the court of the authors / You and I are forever broken if you do not grant time / this jewel I send you swiftly in a poem.

Ailm is nuin do reir tuigsint éigeas árd
Is 'na ndiaidh sin cuirim teine is éabha áin,
Roimh ghort bíodh nuin is cuir 'na dhéidh sin A
In ughaim mar thigeann tuig is léigh mo dhán.

Elm (*the letter A*) and Ash (*letter N*) according to the interpretation of superior authors / and after that I put Furze (*letter T*) and Aspen (*diphthong EA*) / Before Field (*letter G*) let there be Ash (*N*), and after this put A / in harness as it comes understand and read my poem.

Beith is íodha is T gan bhladar buailte
Is nuin go fíor le a dtaoibh bíodh sealad uatha,
Uir is D's ar a ndruim go gasta uath cuir
Is eatortha suidhte go fíor-cheart ailm uaimse.

Birch (*B*) and Yew (*I*) and T, without a lie, aspirated / and Ash (*N*) truly alongside it, let it be a little apart / Broom-plant (*letter O?*) and D and over them neatly put Whitethorn (*aspirate H*) / and between them, placed correctly, an Elm (*A*) from me.

Sin chíoch ar mo scríbhinn nach blasta fuaimint,
Is nach blasta sníomhadh i laoidhthibh ceart na suadha.
Ní feárr míle líne 'ná stad an uir seo -
Sin an tseoid do mhaoidhim is faghaim freagra uaitse.

This is the end of my letter not elegant in construction / and not pleasingly woven in the correct lays of poets / a thousand lines are not better than a halt at this stage / This is the jewel I propose, and let me have a reply from you.

Freagra - An Teanga Bhith Nuadh
Answer - The Ever-New Tongue

Séamas Ó Domhnaill

Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin
1748—1784
Aspects of his Life and Work
Part 11

Hello Dear Reader. *Dia dhuit agus Athbhliain faoi mhaise*. In this article you will find a few words concerning Eoghan Ruadh's relations with members of the Nagle family. You will also learn about the Irish tradition of associating each letter of the alphabet with a particular tree. You will read about St. Philip the Apostle, speaking in tongues, a Christmas carol, a song of Fionn Mac Cumhaill, a little bit of Chaucer and a bit about how the Irish poets did not see much beauty in the English language as compared to their own.

Eoghan Ruadh was very friendly with several members of the Nagle family. According to Fr. Dinneen, Eoghan Ruadh acted as tutor to several children of the family who lived at Áth na Cise (Annakisha in the barony of Fermoy). One man, who was elderly when Eoghan came of age, was James Nagle of Annakisha, who was a patron of poets. According to Risteárd Ó Foghluadh, the poet Piaras Mac Gearailt wrote a manuscript for a young lady (September 1769), in which he says:

> "… ó bhí sé d'onóir agam tu dfheicsint in Áth na Cise, taobh le Malla, i dtigh mo chomhchumainn ghrádaigh .i. Piaras séimh de Nógla"
>
> (…since I had the honour to see you in Annakisha, close to Mallow, in the house of my dear friend, ie. Pearse Nagle).

It is likely therefore that Mac Gearailt, who was then over 60 years old, met Eoghan Ruadh (21 years) who was staying at Annakisha around that time. Piaras Nagle, the son of old James Nagle, was married to his second cousin, Mary Nagle who was the sister of Nano Nagle.

The James Nagle of Killathy who wrote the song, *A Bhráthair Chumainn*, for Eoghan Ruadh appears to have been a younger man, probably a past pupil of Eoghan's. Killathy is several miles closer to Fermoy than Annakisha along the river Blackwater and is actually located in the barony of Condons & Clan Gibbon (as is the modern town of Fermoy). It does not appear to have been a stronghold of the Nagles.

Eoghan spent a good bit of time in the area along the banks of the River Blackwater from Ballyhooley in the west to where the River Funcheon joins the Blackwater east of the town of Fermoy. One of his songs is dedicated to his many friends there:

Slán agus daithead le ceangal ceart díograis
Chum gach áitreabh is baile ó Chill Aithichidh go Fuinnseann

Farewell and forty with true faithful obligation / to every habitation and townland from Killathy to Funcheon.

If you look up Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary* you will see that each letter is assigned to a tree for poetic purposes. For example: A – Ailm (Elm), B – Beith (Birch), C – Coll (Hazel) etc. The letter S – Sail (Willow) is the queen of all the letters: *"… called Bainríoghan (Regina) na Litreach and Meirdreach (Meretrix) by early grammarians". Eabhadh*: the Aspen tree, which gives its name to the letter E or any diphthong beginning with the letter E. *Gath* (ivy) is the tree which gives its name to the letter G but *Gort* (field) is often used.

It may be that James Nagle got his hands on a manuscript of the mediaeval story *"In Tenga Bithnua"* and sent a copy as a present to Eoghan Ruadh, using *"A Bhráthair Cumainn"* as a sort of cover note. *"In Tenga Bithnua"* consists of a dialogue between St. Philip the Apostle and the wise men of Israel concerning the creation of the Universe, the seven heavens, the seas, wells, rivers, precious stones, trees, the sun, moon, stars, birds, men and beasts. I am very grateful to Fr. Seán Ó Duinn of Glenstal Abbey for referring me to John Carey's recent

translation. Fr. Ó Duinn feels that *"In Tenga Bithnua"* is very important from the point of view of theology and ecology.

The Celtic Scholar, Whitley Stokes was the first to edit the document and translate it into English. Based on the language used, he estimates that the original Irish text (early Middle Irish) was composed around the time of King Brian Boru. Apparently it was widely copied among the Gaelic scribes of the eighteenth century. It is probably based on a lost Latin apocrypha of Philip. Here is an extract from the early part of the document:

> "Friscartatar ecnaidhi n-Ebraide, et dixerunt: Findamar uait do ainm et do thothacht et do dixnugud. Co clos ni: in Tenga Bithnua labrastar o ghuth ainglecda: *"Nathire uimbae o lebiae uaun nimbissee tiron tibia ambiase sau fimblia febe able febia fuan"* .i. Ba la tuatha talman em , ar se, genarsa, et do coimpert fhir et mná cotamaipred. Issed mo ainm, Pilip Apstal. Tomraid in Coimdi co tenga gente do precept doib. Noi fhechtas imruidbed mo tenga as mo chind la geinte, et noi fechtas donarrasar aitherruch do precept; conidh do sin issed mo ainm la muinntir nime, Tenga Bithnua.

[The wise men of the Hebrews answered and said: "Let us learn from you your name, and the reason for your name, and your essential nature". Something was heard, the Ever-new tongue which spoke in an angelic voice:
"*Nathire uimbae o lebiae uaun nimbissee tiron tibia ambiase sau fimblia febe able febia fuan*", that is, "I was born", said he, "among the peoples of the earth, and was conceived from the union of a man and a woman. This is my name: Philip the apostle. The Lord sent me to the tribes of the pagans, to preach to them. Nine times my tongue was cut from my head by the pagans and nine times I continued to preach again. This then is my name in the household of heaven, the Ever-new Tongue" (Tr. John Carey).

Dear Reader, you will have noticed a sentence in a strange language which is reproduced in the original and in the translation. Whitley Stokes describes this as gibberish. It is explained later on in the text.

> "Ro raidsetar ecnaide na nEbraide: Finnamar uait cia *berla* no labraithear frind? Ro raid-seom: Issed labra sút aingil, ar se, et uile gradh nimhe a mbelra-sa no labraimsi dhuibsi. Mad mila mara et biastai et cethrai et eoin et nathraig et demnai atgenatar-side et issed a mbelra-sa labartait inna huile i mbrath."

[The wise men of the Hebrews said "Let us learn from you in what language it is that you speak to us". He said, "The language in which I speak to you is that in which the angels speak, and every rank of heaven. And sea creatures and beasts and cattle and birds and serpents and demons understand it, and all will speak it at the Judgement.]

While Whitley Stokes is no doubt correct that the strange language is made-up, the explanation given for it in the story is an obvious parallel to the *"speaking in tongues"* found in the New Testament. There are many genuine Christians today, in Ireland as well as other countries, who believe that speaking in tongues can be and often is part of the spiritual life. The term *"glossolalia"* is used to describe the use of speech-like syllables that lack any readily comprehended meaning. These are often considered by believers to be part of a sacred language. It is different from *"xenoglossy"*, which refers spontaneously speaking a real language which was previously unknown to the person.

> "Glossolalia consists of strings of syllables, made up of sounds taken from all those that the speaker knows, put together more or less haphazardly but emerging nevertheless as word-like and sentence-like units because of realistic, language-like rhythm and melody" (William J. Samarin,1972, Wikipedia). In Cork we would say that the words used in the angelic speech of "In Tenga Bithnua" were mockiya Latin.

I only found out when I was reading up for this article that there are two St. Philips mentioned in the New Testament. The other Philip is known as the "Evangelist". It was he who had the famous encounter with the Ethiopian in his chariot:

> "And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza, which is desert. And he arose and went: and, behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning, and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet. Then the Spirit said unto Philip, go near, and join thyself to this chariot. And Philip ran thither to him, and heard him read the prophet Esaias, and said, understandest thou what thou readest? And he said, how can I, except some man should guide me? And he desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him … Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, see, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized …?" (Acts 8)

The recent translator of *"In Tenga Bithnua"*, James Carey, believes that the story originally came to Ireland via Spain. Philip has been the name of five Kings of Spain. King Felipe II was married to Queen Mary of England. He also gave his name to the Philippines.

To return to our two Gaelic composers, the translator of Eoghan Ruadh and James Nagle, Pat Muldowney, renders *"an teanga bhith nuadh"* in English as *"the ever young language"*. This is of course correct as *"teanga"* means both *"language"* and "tongue". It is also very interesting because the Irish poets specialised in phrases which had deep, hidden and multiple meanings. Take for example the Christmas carol written by Aodh Mac Aingil (1571-1626). He was a Professor of Theology at Leuven in Belgium and later Archbishop of Armagh. The first line of his carol is *"Dia do bheatha, a Naoidhe anocht*". This can be simply translated as, *"Welcome infant tonight"*.

The greeting, *"dia do bheatha"* (May you have life) has a response*: "Go mairir i bhfaid romham"* (May you live long before me.). Its meaning is explained on the wonderful CD-Rom of Irish proverbs available from http://www.fiosfeasa.com:

> "This is a strong welcome, to someone you haven't seen in a while, or who you're particularly happy to see. The response implies, "May you be here for a long time to welcome me." This common phrase doesn't have a transparent meaning, and has been variously interpreted. The most satisfactory explanation is that it comes from Old Irish "rot-bia do bethu" (or "rot-be do bethu") "that you may have (plenty) of life". This would quite regularly have become "Dia do bheatha" or "Dé do bheatha", both of which are in common use. In some modern dialects, the phrase has been changed to "Sé do bheatha-sa'", as if it meant "It is your life", although this form is ungrammatical. ("It is your life" would be more properly "Sí do bheatha-sa í")."

On a deeper level however Mac Aingil's words *"Dia do bheatha, a Naoidhe anocht"* could read: "Your life is God" (In the beginning was the Word,

and the Word was with God, and the Word was God ... And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.) "Poor naked little thing" (*naoidh nocht*).

There is an *aisling* song, *Cois Abhann i nDé*, which Eoghan dedicates to James Nagle. Here is the last verse:

Dá fhichid geal-bhé, gan faice ar a dtaobh,
A mhascalaigh léigim uaim leat
'S ná dearmaid glaodhach coir abhann chum Séamais,
D'eascair do phréimh-shliocht Nuaglach;
Siollaire seasamhach soineanda searcamhail
Bileamhail blasta bleacht-dhuantach,
Duine do ghlacfas le muirinn so shamhail,
'S tá cliste chum bhaillet do chuardach.

And do not forget to call on James beside the river / who is descended from the root-sock of Nagle / An amorous, pleasant, staunch smiter / heroic, elegant, poem producing / A person who would accept such as you into his household / and who is quick to search his wallet.

This *aisling* is unusual in that it contains no direct Jacobite reference, There is no King Charles, no Spaniards, none of Louis' men coming over the sea. There is however an emphasis on the beauty and wonder of the vision woman consisting chiefly in her use of the Irish language:

Ba bhlasta beacht saor gan bhladar gach téics
Do chanadh a caor-ghob uasal
Ag aithris na n-éacht do bhalbhuigh éigse
I gceachtaibh den Gaedhilge bhuacaigh
Tuitim chum tailimh gan fuinneamh im bhallaibh
Is crithim le hanaithe is uamhan
Ar bhfeiscint a dreacha trér thuigeas gur thaistil
Ó fhinnebhróg fhlaithis an tsuaimhnis

Every verse was elegant, perfect, free, without exaggeration / that her noble red lips uttered / Recounting the exploits that struck poets speechless / in examples of supreme Irish / I fall to the ground without force in my limbs / and I tremble in terror / on sight of her countenance. By which I understood that she came / from the fair mansions of heaven of bliss.

"In Tenga Bithnua" is an interesting mix of languages from Latin to Irish to the language of the angels and it might be of particular interest to a pair of poets who were besotted by the bearer of civilisation: *An Ghaeilge í féin.*

It is worth noting that, while *"In Tenga Bithnua"* is written in early Middle Irish from the days of the Vikings, the phrase *"An Teanga Bhith Nuadh"* is modern Irish spelled out literally with trees. It would be interesting to find out whether a translation of early mediaeval original text was translated into modern Irish in the eighteenth century.

A series of nature poems, from the tenth century, are placed on the lips of the legendary warrior Fionn Mac Cumhaill. Here is a line from his poem concerning Winter, which I present as an example of a composition in Early Irish translated into modern Irish:

Scél lem dúib
Dordaid dam
Snigid gam
Rofáith sam
[Ed. Kuno Meyer]

Scéal liom díobh
Dam hag glao
Sneachta síor
Samhra d'éag
[Tr. Tomás Ó Floinn, 1955]

News I bring
Bells the stag
Winter snow
Summer past
[Tr. James Carney, 1965]

Just for pig iron, as we would say in Cork, I have rooted out a sample from English literature. It is the opening lines of *The Miller's Tale* from *The Canterbury Tales*, both the original and a modern translation:

Whilom ther was dwellynge at oxenford
A riche gnof, that gestes heeld to bord

In Oxford there once lived a rich old lout
Who had some rooms that he rented out

Notwithstanding the beauties of Chaucer and Shakespeare it is fair to say that Irish poets viewed the English language as rather barbaric when compared to their own.

In the extract from the original text of *"In Tenga Bithnua"* above, I highlighted the word *"berla"*. This is related to the Irish word for the English language: *"béarla"*. Originally it meant any kind of speech: *"béal"* (mouth) + *"rá"* (to say). Dinneen's Dictionary gives the following meanings:

Béarla: language, speech, dialect, the English language. *Béarla féine*: dialect of the old Irish law tracts. *Béarla teibidhe*: culled, excised or selected language—an old Irish dialect (of the physicians). *Béarla eadarscartha*: the parted language (an old Irish dialect). *Béarla Chríost:* Latin. *Béarla briste*: broken English or poorly written Irish. *Buidhean an Bhéarla*: the Englishry.

Béarlach: talking English, voluble.
Béarlachas: an Anglicanism.
Béarlagar: a dialect, a jargon.
Béarlagar na saor: mason's jargon.
Béarlamhail: elegant of speech, grandiloquent.
Béarlóir: a speaker of English.
Béarlóireacht: speaking English.
Béal-ráidhteach: talkative, prating, officious, meddling; famous, illustrious.

The names for languages in Irish are usually feminine nouns, e.g. *Spáinnis* (Spanish), *Fraincis* (French), *Rúisis* (Russian), *Breatnais* (Welsh). The Irish word for an English person is *Sasanach* which would indicate that the Gaelic word for the English language would be *"Sasanais"*. But instead the word used in both Ireland and Scotland is the masculine noun *"Béarla"*. ✻

VOX PAT

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Islam

Islam will become Ireland's second religion within the next 30 years because of dramatic population growth and immigration." (*Irish Independent*, 30.12.2013)

The revelation came as construction work is expected to begin next year on Ireland's largest mosque on Dublin's northside. It will be the largest Islamic religious complex in the State and will also boast a major cultural centre.

Population statistics compiled by the Central Statistics Office confirmed that Islam is now Ireland's fastest-growing religion and, at its current rate of expansion, it is set to become the second religion in the State after Catholicism by 2043.

In 1991, Islam accounted for just 0.1% of the Irish population. That soared to 1.1%—a 10-fold increase—by 2011, when a total of 49,204 Muslims were resident in Ireland.

The latest Census figures also revealed that 84% of the Irish population describe themselves as Catholic, down from 91.6% in the 1991 census.

The second fastest growing religion in Ireland is Orthodox Christianity, where numbers have doubled in the space of five years, rising to 45,223 in 2011. This is almost entirely down to immigration from the former Soviet bloc states where Orthodox Christianity is dominant.

The Protestant religions accounted for some 5% of the population, dramatically down on figures from 1900-1920. But the good news for the Church of Ireland is that its overall population in the Republic is increasing by its greatest rate for almost a century with 129,039 Church of Ireland members in April 2011, an increase of 6.4% in just five years.

The number of Irish people with no religion, atheists and agnostics, increased by 400% in Ireland between 1991 and 2011 to a total of 277,237. This group included 14,769 primary school-aged children and 14,478 of secondary school age. There were 4,690 children aged under one year who had no religion.

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Great War

"The War began because Germany wanted to dominate Europe. As far as Ireland was concerned the World War probably stopped a civil war" (Richard Doherty, Military Historian, from a DVD released by Derry City Council, Strabane and Omagh District Councils, and Donegal County Council supported by the European Union's PEACE III programme, 2013)

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Mixed Marriages

"David Jameson (December 19th) seems to be unaware that in 1785, Pius VI confirmed that mixed marriages here were exempt from the general canon law. In the months before *Ne Temere* was implemented in 1908 all opinion inside and outside Ireland was in agreement that it would not apply here. John Harty {Chair of Dogmatic Theology and senior professor of Moral Theology-Maynooth, 1895-1913} was the only one to disagree. Pius X made a personal decision that it would come into force. As often happened in such cases, Harty was promoted a few years later. He became Archbishop of Cashel.

"In 1910, the parish priest of the Falls Road was urging all those married since 1908 to rectify their marriages by repeating the ceremony before a Roman Catholic priest. Mrs. Alexander Mc Cann refused to do so. Her husband then abandoned her and took their two children, one of whom she was breast-feeding. When this became public knowledge there was an explosion of Protestant fury, the extent of which it is hard to appreciate today.

"Before that there was strong support for Home Rule among the Presbyterians but after the McCann case it evaporated almost completely.

"In 2010, the Northern Ireland Mixed Marriage Association (N.I.M.M.A.) held a ceremony of repentance and reconciliation to mark this event. It took place in Townsend Street Presbyterian Church, where Agnes McCann worshipped. Immediately outside the door was the massive iron gate which was the "peace line", still closed on weekends at the time.

"The event was reported on prime news time by B.B.C. N.I. the following morning. The station later broadcast a half hour programme presenting the ceremony. Strangely RTÉ refused to repeat it."

Revd Eoin de Bhaldraithe, Bolton Abbey, Moone, Co Kildare. (Irish Times, 23.12.2013

The writer is a Cistercian monk and a native of Co. Mayo.}

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Willowbrook

"All family histories begin with begetting and it hardly needs saying the begetting business goes back a long way… Despite their conviction that they were descended from a Norman Knight named Pomerai—not quite Pomeroy but near enough—who arrived in England in 1066 with William the Conqueror, my mother, who revered this connection, could not find a paper trail that extended beyond the recorded birth of one Richard Pomeroy, born in 1615" (Jim O'Brien, *Willowbrook, A Flawed Eden, A memoir of growing up in Millstreet, Co. Cork*, Aubane Historical Society, 2013, p.176, ¤15 post free).

"The strongest feature of this book is O'Brien's ability to express himself succinctly and pithily. This is particularly good in his description of society and local people. In one paragraph he neatly describes the stultified and stratified society that was independent Ireland. The old Protestant elite was largely gone but the better-off Catholic farmers such as the Pomeroys slipped neatly on to the empty perch and were scathing about those beneath them" (*Books Ireland*, December, 2013).

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Sinners?

"The Catholic church is a church of sinners in a sense that the Quaker church is a church of saints" (Shirley Williams, *Observer*, 22.3.1981).

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Bishop Cohalan

"Concerning the well-remembered Bishop Cohalan, needless to say his anti-Sinn Fein stands are recalled, but we are reminded of a 1937 “offer” he made to the Protestants of Cork. He was no ecumenist in its modern sense, yet he wrote: “There is a longing in the Christian world for universal Christian union… Now Irish Protestants, and

chief among them Cork Protestants, have it in their power to hasten unity of faith. They have a most worthy and venerated Bishop respected by all (Dr. Hearn). Let him only come to terms for himself and his flock with the Pope and it can easily be arranged that he shall be the Catholic Bishop for his own people in St. Fin Barre's while I continue as Catholic Bishop in St. Mary's" (Walter McGrath, *Cork Examiner*, 19.3.1988).

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Wheeler

Arthur William Edge Wheeler, who has died aged 83, represented one of the last Irish links with the late Imperial British order.

A Dublin-born barrister, and a great grandson of the second Editor of *The Irish Times*, the Rev. George Bomforde Wheeler, he was successively Crown Counsel in Nigeria, acting legal secretary in the (British) Southern Cameroons and a member of the executive council and house of assembly there, and a public crown counsel in the newly created Federation of Nigeria.

In recognition of this service, he was awarded an OBE in 1967, and CBE in 1979, by the British Government.

On returning to the United Kingdom in the early 1980s, Wheeler commenced the challenging task of working for the Foreign Compensation Commission (FCC), an organisation set up by the British Government after the second World War to recompense British citizens, and sometimes others, who had had property expropriated or otherwise lost abroad.

One of his most interesting cases while at the commission was to consider the fate of more than £40 million in gold bullion looted by the Nazis during the war from Russia, which in fact represented the property of peoples of many nationalities, and which had been deposited by the Germans in Swiss bank accounts, from which it was eventually recovered.

Arthur Wheeler was born in Dublin in 1930, the son of Arthur Wheeler snr., an insurance broker, and his wife, Rowena, née Edge. The family was clearly open-minded: at a time when religious affiliation mattered a great deal in Irish society, Wheeler snr., who was a member of the Church of Ireland, and his wife, a Baptist, compromised by raising their six children as Presbyterians.

Wheeler later played hockey for the Nigerian national team (*Irish Time*s obituaries, 14.12.2013).

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Bad Luck?

Superstition about '13' registration plates has been a key factor in new car sales falling below last year's levels, an industry chief has claimed

New figures show registrations rose in October—to push sales to within 6% of 2012.

But fears and superstition about the *"13 reg"* definitely kept many potential buyers away, according to Ford Ireland chief Eddie Murphy.

"Without a doubt, there were people out there who would not buy a car with a 13 reg," he said *(Irish Independent*, 2.11.2013).

"Thirteen, which is both a prime number and a Fibonacci* number, continues to cause trouble throughout the ages. There are thirteen steps up to the gallows, the guillotine falls from 13 feet, and a hangman's noose has thirteen knots, as Judas later found out. Apollo 13 was launched at thirteen minutes past one in the afternoon (13:13) and the oxygen tanks exploded on April the thirteenth.

"We know that the number thirteen doesn't really generate bad luck. Triskaidekaphobia* is merely a case of attribution bias: if an adverse event happens in the presence of number 13, then the superstitious amongst us will attribute blame upon that number, rather than recognise the role of chance and coincidence" (Edward Presswood, *Lecture to the Ethical Society*, London, 21 April, 2013).

No, Anglo-Irish Bank has 14 letters, imagine if it had been 13!

* **Fibonacci** numbers 1,1,2,3,5,8,13,21 etc. are each the sum of the previous two numbers. Leonardo Fibonacci (1170-1250) Italian mathematician known as Fibonacci of Pisa.

* **Triskaidekaphobi**a: an abnormal fear of the number 13.

*********More VOX on back page**********

Wilson John Haire

Book Review:
Eden Halt, An Antrim Memoir
by *Ross Skelton*. Lilliput Press, Dublin.

A Carrickfergus Childhood

The author is an emeritus associate, Professor of Philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin.

He was born in Carrickfergus, County Antrim. in 1941, and comes from an impossibly poor background due to a father, though highly intelligent, is wanton in the economic protection of his family. He gives up a secure job as a civil servant to become a building labourer, and works at a variety of jobs well below his talents. No explanation is given for this behaviour. He then decides to write full-time for various newspapers including the *Belfast Telegraph*. Though there isn't much financial gain he refuses to claim unemployment benefit. There is little food so the shoreline of Belfast Lough is used to catch crabs, fish and lobsters. Sometimes he sells these items to a fishmonger but mostly they have to be eaten by the family. Then, with the help of Louis MacNeice, the poet, who also lives in Carrickfergus, he gets a novel published. MacNeice visits the family home and has tea with them. He doesn't tell us how his father came to know the acclaimed poet.

The father isn't very loving towards his son Ross and seems hell-bent on destroying his sense of self-esteem.

I know Carrickfergus and the areas beyond it including the village of Eden. My family moved from Carryduff, County Down to Carrickfergus in 1950 when I was eighteen. It was, and is even more now, a Protestant area with little tolerance for Catholics. We are living in a social-housing estate called Sunnylands Estate. The Unionist government is trying a little social engineering on these new estates, a third of the estate is Catholic, mixed by putting all of us with an immediate neighbour of the opposite religion (nationality). Most people ignore this arrangement but there are no pogroms, that is to begin with: in the early 1970s this estate will be totally Protestant. At the top of this estate, built on a slope is Sunnylands House—the big house. The owner, short of money has sold half of his estate to the Northern Ireland Housing Trust.

The owner was a poor boy without shoes running around the dustbins of Carrickfergus looking for scraps. Then

he emigrated to America and discovered his talent as a salesman. Now he can sell anything from soap to ships. He makes a fortune. He returns to Carrickfergus with an American wife and buys Sunnylands Estate. He employs servants, gardeners and groundsmen. He is Heathcliffe and like Heathcliffe he is severely flawed. He is an alcoholic who makes deals while drunk and makes wrong decisions and loses small fortunes.. Every now and then he is carted off to the Antrim Psychiatric Hospital while in the middle of an alcoholic fit.

No, the last two paragraphs are not in this book. It comes from my knowledge and the knowledge of the entire population of the Sunnylands Estate. Carrickfergus, being on the shoreline of Belfast Lough, gets a lot of fog in Winter. The foghorns sometimes goes on all night to warn shipping in the Lough. The noise coming from the grounds of Sunnylands House is reminiscent of a foghorn on occasions as our Heathcliffe bays at the moon, or at an empty sky in a drunken episode. Soon there will be the sound of ambulance bells and he'll be taken away for the umpteenth time. Money get so low for the owner that he sacks most of his servants and gardeners and keeps one groundsman. This man is employed chopping down the many trees on the estate to sell, and guarding the timber from people of the estate who will begin carrying it away for their open fires (no central heating back then in new modern homes).

Sorry, this paragraph isn't in the book either.

But this is: The author's grandparents are now the caretakers of Sunnylands House. He doesn't tell us where our Heathcliffe is now. As a boy he explores the old house and one day discovers a hidey-hole containing German rifles imported by the UVF during the Home Rule crisis when *Ulster Will Fight and Ulster Will be Right!* The author is a Protestant, with little or no knowledge of the Catholic community but his father doesn't like the Orange Order and forbids him from joining the junior section. The boy only wants to join for they have the facilities for learning a musical instrument. His father journeys to Dublin a lot in pursuit of his writing career. This is unusual, for most Northern Ireland Protestant folk cross the *shough* to England for various reasons and rarely go south of the border.

The author writes of the many guns—shotguns and .22 rifles—his neighbours have.

They are licensed and are carried openly at all times of the night and day. He seems unaware that the majority of Catholics can't get a license for a sporting gun. At that time there were 166,000 licensed guns among the Protestant community. The more bigoted, when talking of guns, talked of the-day-to-come (the suppression of a Catholic rebellion).

Up Belfast Lough towards the heart of the city, seen from the leaking, ramshackle, hut-like bungalow of the Skeltons, is the mighty shipyard occupying the large Queen's Island. It was once the biggest shipyard in the world when it employed 36,000, and 53,000 during WW2. Its many gantry cranes of up to two hundred feet high can be seen all the way down the twelve miles to Carrickfergus on a clear day. Yet it is insignificant to both parents: they condemn the shipyard. No reason is given in the book. I know why, for I started work there at the age of fourteen—we were looked down on by the petit bourgeoisie for purely snobbish reasons *"That yellow-faced mob pouring out of the shipyard at night like a cow with diarrhoea"* is how one local writer describes us blatantly in a local newspaper. There is no place like Ireland, North and South, for a class attack on essential workers. Yet this is the industrial complex that provides a thousand skills for apprentices to learn. Neither parent even thinks their young Ross should be there as an apprentice.

The author's father, having given up his comfortable civil service job, works on the foundations of a huge man-made-fibre factory being built on the edge of the town. He digs trenches by hand (this was before the mechanical digger came into being in later years). His son notes how exhausted he is when he comes home at night yet he still gets his fountain pen out and scratches out an article or two on general subjects for the newspapers.

When the factory is finished he doesn't think of getting employment there or think that his son might learn a skill there. Most of the people on the Sunnylands Estate work in the factory. Welsh and English workers come over to work there and are housed on the estate. Chemical smells pervade Carrickfergus and the Sunnylands Estate. The sea fogs turn yellow with the chemicals. There is no protest because it is giving so much work locally.

The chemicals pervade Sunnylands House and seems to make a mockery of the 19th Century style of living there.

The only other work around Carrickfergus had been a small personal fishing industry, working out of rowing boats and small motor-boats, plus the salt mines which produced cooking salt known as Carrick Salt. Most of the salt is exported to England in two small four-man-crew cargo ships. One of which disappears without trace during a storm in the Irish Sea.

Even with the Courtaulds man-made-fibre factory working all out, the Skelton father can only think there is no work around their area and that their son must join the RAF to learn a skill. His father has been in the RAF during WW2. He returns after being demobbed with an English wife and from there they live a life of penury. The family become beachcombers for timber, that floats down from the shipyard those 12 miles away after the launch of a ship. They patch up their home with it or fix an old rowing boat which is used for catching the life of the sea.

The young Ross describes his bleak life on an RAF base in England, which is one of the best parts of the book as it gets to you what life in the British Armed Forces can be like with its stultifying effect on the brain.

There are scarcely any sounds described in the book, except for the constant lapping of water on the rocks. There is no mention of the great horn in the shipyard that blows six times a day—at 7.45 am, 7.50 am and 8 am, then at 12.30 pm, 1.15 pm and finally 5.30 pm.

How can he miss this harsh bass horn that can be heard all the way 12 miles to Carrickfergus and beyond, echoing throughout the Lagan Valley. The workers at the Yard named it HMV—His Master's Voice. Belfast, during this industrial time, had a wonderful cacophony of mill and factory horns and whistles reminding the workers where they worked.

Even Carrickfergus had a few but none are mentioned.

The old Norman castle of Carrickfergus is scarcely mentioned yet it is one of the great historical landmarks of the North.

What he does mention is the huge Lambeg drum which is strapped almost overwhelmingly to the chest of the

drummer by a leather harness and beaten with two rattan sticks. Blood sometimes pours from under his fingernails, so intense is the drumming . It is a competitor for the shipyard horn, for it too can be heard ten miles away. I have listened to it on the 12th of July in Carrickfergus as it heads the Orange parade. Ironically the favourite rhythm played on it is the Northern Irish traditional tune: *The Wee Beggar Man*.

There is some controversy about how the drums originated. A line of thought says they were brought over by the Dutch mercenaries in the army of King William the Third when he invaded Ireland. Other sources say they were around in 1642 and were used by Protestant settlers to call for help when they were about to be attacked by the native Irish.

Carrickfergus is of course where William landed in 1689. His landing is still re-enacted today. Back in 1950 the local milkman's white horse was used to seat your man.

So here we have the short-sighted Skelton family becoming beachcombers and mostly unsuccessful fisher folk when Northern Ireland was at its industrial best for the Protestant community. How did I get into the shipyard? My father's family were a dynasty there. I also had, as a Catholic, a Protestant name. Ross Skelton with his father's war record could have walked in.

But he did do something with his life in the end, and according to his lights, winning his way into Belfast High School, becoming a student at Trinity, then graduating, lecturing in philosophy, becoming a psychoanalyst and publishing a lot of respected works on the subject. He doesn't tell us how he achieved this. Maybe he has ideas for a further memoir. That also should be interesting to read.

26 December 2013

Stephen Richards

A Venturesome Nation

If you are ever in the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland in Queen Street Edinburgh you will be struck, as I was recently, by the terrific mural along the four walls of the *atrium* depicting the leading figures in the turbulent march of the Scots from, I suppose, St. Columba (one of the many Irish who made Scotland what it is) onwards. You might be tempted first to exclaim, like the hero of Shakespeare's Scottish play: *"What! Will the line stretch on to the crack o' doom?"* And, then, as in the Book of Deuteronomy, *"Was there ever a nation like unto this nation?"* Scottish history has a sort of elementary fury about it, in comparison with which the Irish national story, colourful as it is, seems almost to be written in a minor key.

Being part of an ancient Scots diaspora might seem to give people like me some more profound insight into the dynamics of Scottish culture, to enable us to form some sort of interpretative bridge for our fellow-Irish in the south. In my own case it's true that we grew up in a community where Scots of a fairly unrefined nature was spoken, we were made to watch Andy Stewart and Kenneth McKellar on New Year's Eve television when we were young, and on my mother's side there has been a tendency in every generation for relations to drift over to Scotland to live, marry and have their being. Like most of the emigres from the North of Ireland they settled down there with remarkably little trauma. Yet, for all my cultural affinity with Scotland and my obsession with Scottish history, I find certain aspects of the modern nation baffling and even alien.

From Colour To Black And White

Moving back to the mural, once your eyes pass on from the Homeric heroes of the earlier centuries and into the eighteenth century, a change comes over the *tableau*: the colours aren't just quite so fine. Leaving aside a blip around 1745, we're suddenly in a world of knee breeches and drab black suits, the world of Adam Smith, David Hume, James Ramsey, the prudent, calculating philosophers, atheists in all but name. And of course during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we look on a succession of lawyers, architects, soldiers, statesmen, scientists, engineers, industrialists, empire-builders and the like. Great men, every one of them but, with the exception of Scott, Stevenson, Livingstone, and perhaps Thomas Chalmers (the leader of the 1843 Disruption in the Scottish Kirk), not men to stir the soul.

It was just in 1697 that the 20-year-old Thomas Aikenhead had been hanged for his open and contumacious atheism, despite his last-minute recantation; and the Scots were possibly the most enthusiastic witch-hunters in Europe during the seventeenth century and even beyond the Act of Union in 1707. While the distinctiveness of Scottish social life and customs persisted for many decades after 1707 (for evidence of this, albeit rather rose-coloured, see Scott's eighteenth century novels, *Redgauntlet, Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*), there was a definite change in the air after 1707. Professor Donald McLeod of the Free Church College writes in his column in the *West Highland Free Press*, accessible on his blog, that the terrible horlicks the Scots made of it when they last had independence isn't a great advertisement for the present day claims of the Scottish National Party (SNP). Those exciting times weren't actually very enjoyable to have to live through. My general sympathy for this no-nonsense debunking notwithstanding, I would argue that McLeod is insufficiently attentive to the complexity of what was going on in the two centuries before 1707.

Some Unfortunate Confluences

There were several different, if related, sources of tension that then combined to make the seventeenth century in Scotland so chaotic. First there was the ambition of Henry VIII of England to complete the job that Edward I had left undone and incorporate Scotland into England. In the wake of the disastrous Scottish invasion of England under James IV that was terminated at Flodden in 1513, this aim might have been carried through if Henry had not been preoccupied with French quarrels and if he hadn't run out of money. Stemming from James IV too was the unfortunate dynastic entanglement with the Tudors, which, due to Elizabeth's childlessness, meant that the two nations were to become joined at the hip, for better or worse, a century before the Act of Union.

Then there was the Reformation. While the contrast with the English Reformation has been exaggerated (the one popular, the other imposed on a reluctant populace), in Scotland there was a more decisive breach with the Catholic past and the movement was not actually guided by a monarch, indeed proceeded in the teeth of the opposition

of Mary Queen of Scots, and then in the effective absence of a monarch during the minority of James VI.

Had it not been for the Union of the Crowns on the death of Elizabeth of England in 1603, the Reformation issues might have worked themselves out in Scotland. But James, for all his Scottish favourites, had been itching to get out from under the thumb of his crabbed Presbyterian mentors and into the more intellectually expansive world of the learned Anglicans such as Lancelot Andrewes. His own native kingdom was a nuisance and a backwater as far as he was concerned. The English Puritans he perceived to be in the same mould as the tiresome Scots ministers, hence his prickly rejection of their humble addresses at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. The Hong Kong model of one country, two systems didn't appeal to him, nor to his successors, despite the fact that there were clearly two countries involved, over which they supposedly reigned separately, through two different parliaments. So was set in motion the disastrous sequence of Anglo-Scottish actions and reactions that characterise British seventeenth-century history.

The Language Withers Away

For some time I was under the impression that it was the Union of the Crowns that was the first cause of the slow withering away of the Scots language, now known as Lallans. From 1603 the court was at Edinburgh only spasmodically, and the language began to sound uncouth or even ridiculous on the tongues of the ruling class. Most significantly, James hadn't thought it worth his while to commission a Scots translation of the Scriptures at the same time as the King James Bible was commanded. Of course its predecessor the Geneva Bible, Shakespeare's Bible, widely used in Scotland, was a translation in what became standard English. A Scots New Testament has appeared only in the last twenty years or so, translated from the Greek by John Lorimer. The only person in it who uses the Queen's English is Satan in the Temptation narratives. (Another curiosity is the late appearance, in 1767, of the Scots Gaelic Bible, for information on which I'm indebted to John McLeod's marvellous history of Christianity on the isle of Lewis, *Banner in the West*.)

But I'm now much better informed. I have it on the good authority of Ivan Herbison that Scots was already on the wane well before 1603, by virtue of the Scottish Reformation, and the influence of John Knox in particular. Knox had found a home among the English Marian exiles in Geneva, and from then on he had no patience with the idiom of his countrymen. If there had been the will among the Scots reformers for a Scots translation, this would have come about, probably well before 1603. So Knox and James VI were in this respect allies under the skin. For Knox it was more important that there be a Reformation than that it be a specifically Scottish movement. And the concept of Scotland as an independent nation with a distinctive national culture meant nothing to James. Around 1596 he had enlisted the assistance of the so-called Fife Adventurers to invade Lewis, wipe out the local population and establish a farming colony there, paying taxes to the Scottish crown, an attempt which mercifully ended in disaster. If the Plantation of Ulster did not result in the extinction of the natives it was no thanks to James.

The thinking behind the sidelining of Scots was of course to do with more than linguistic preference, even if Knox probably believed his native tongue was not fit for gentlemen. The Scottish population was tiny in the era of Mary Queen of Scots. The latter's Guise relations were very influential and were totally wedded to an extremist Counter-Reformation position with the objective of stamping out heresy by all means possible. England by contrast had recently been delivered from the extirpating regime of Mary Tudor, and, in Elizabeth's early years at least, the reformed voices within the English Church were dominant. It represented a reasonable strategy for the Scottish reformers to be subject to an English protectorate. Elizabeth for her part saw no reason to annex this neighbouring state whose boy king was likely to be her successor.

High, Low , And In Between

Leadership of extraordinary calibre might have enabled the kingdom of Scotland to navigate the coming storms, but that leadership was certainly not in evidence in the seventeenth century. The tenor of the nation may have been Presbyterian and royalist, but it ended up first under the thumb of Cromwell, and then was subjected to the unsympathetic rule of Charles II who made life as uncomfortable as possible for his Presbyterian subjects. From the mid 1640s onwards it had been the combination of Cromwell's New Model Army on the one hand, and on the other the Scottish forces operating under the Solemn League and Covenant that had doomed the Royalists to defeat.

A conservative Presbyterian settlement under a king whose wings had been clipped would have been acceptable to most of the English Parliamentarians at that time. Very pointedly the deliberations of 1646-47, which hammered out the classic Presbyterian articles of faith took place in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, hence the Westminster Confession. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were English, with just a few Scots Commissioners. This was the high point of the Presbyterian cause in these islands. Over the next couple of years the Presbyterians were totally outmanoeuvred by Cromwell, relying on the support of the wilder elements in the military—the "radicals" so beloved of the late Christopher Hill. Serious divisions in the Scottish camp were opened up and exploited by Cromwell. The execution of the Scottish King without any consultation with the Scottish people or parliament was certainly a provocative gesture.

By 1649 the English Parliamentary, Puritan and Presbyterian movement had sustained fatal damage as a force in the state. Throughout the 1650s the Puritans in political terms became increasingly fractured and demoralised. Charles II finished the job Cromwell had begun, and the Great Ejection of 1662 made their marginalisation complete.

The Constant Kirk?

One of the cornerstones of the Union of 1707 was the preservation of the privileges of the Scottish Kirk. Future generations saw the Kirk as a paradigm of Scottish exceptionalism. But this arrangement was really the outcome of what was in theological terms an unintended truce, a sort of ecclesiastical 38th parallel. Custom is a great thing, but there is nothing about Presbyterianism that is intrinsically Scottish, and nothing about the English nation that would make it any less (or more) sympathetic to one form of church government over another. I don't really hold with this idea of a nation of systematic theologians, or systematic thinkers of any kind, on one side of the border, and a nation of sanctified muddlers on the other. There was nothing fuzzy about the Anglican theology as envisaged by men like Hooker, Andrewes and Perkins.

If anything, one could argue that some of the seventeenth century Scottish disasters came about as a result of emo-

tional, not intellectual, excesses, from the famous chair-throwing Jenny Geddes onwards. Later on, the regime of Charles II was certainly not pleasant for the Scots Dissenters, but I'm not at all sure that the murder of Archbishop Sharpe of St. Andrews in 1679 was an appropriate response. The resulting persecution, known as *"the killing times"*, was much more severe than it otherwise would have been. And after all, it would have been possible to attend the services of the licensed Ministers and get by. Some of the unlicensed Ministers were unlicensed, not necessarily on theological grounds but because they were encouraging sedition. The teaching that says Christians are justified in taking up arms against oppressive rulers may have some natural law support, but none whatsoever from the New Testament. It's certainly possible to envisage a situation where people are more or less goaded into rebellion by intolerable tyranny, but Charles II hardly fits that bill.

I sometimes wonder what would have happened if the Scottish covenanters had had access to high explosives. Would they have been the Al Qaeda of their day? This may be an unfair reflection, but it does seem fair to say that the Scottish Calvinist outlook was more severe than its Genevan original, in relation to such things as cultural engagement and Sabbath observance. Ultimately, of course, if the covenanters had been successful in Scotland, they would have turned their attention to England, which had been equally false to the Covenant. To glance at the other side of the coin, Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745 wasn't content to establish a defensible position in Scotland, hence the advance to Derby.

The proximate cause of the Act of Union itself was the huge failure of the Darien Scheme in the 1690s. This was a somewhat inadequately researched mercantile venture to establish a Scottish trading colony on the Isthmus of Panama, which resulted in the deaths of about two thousand settlers and the bankruptcy of the Scottish Treasury: perhaps an early example of the financial hubris that seems at times to overtake this nation of supposedly cautious prudent souls.

The Scottish Reformation, and the Kirk which it established, represented an enthusiastic alignment with the Calvinist theology and ecclesiology which had emerged on the continent of Europe. The Scots and Scotch-Irish exported that movement to North America. In Scotland itself, despite some lively pockets, the mainline Church of Scotland appears to be in a process of possibly terminal decline. Over the course of 2013 there were plans to close some 30 churches in Glasgow alone. The slide towards secularism has perhaps been even more pronounced in Scotland than in England.

And within the Church itself adherence to the Westminster standards has become increasingly a matter of form, while many of the Ministers are not even committed Trinitarians. The Church is not currently prepared to take any line at all with regard to Ministers in committed same sex relationships (to use the jargon), and the General Assembly may be poised to give its full endorsement to actively gay Ministers in compliance with the equality agenda, which seems to trump the Christian agenda in this regard. So much for Christian counter-culture.

Barth's Shadow

While I'm getting into deep waters here, I suspect that, although the Scottish church (including its Free Church offshoot) was heavily infiltrated by classic nineteenth century theological liberalism, part of the reason for the further evaporation of the reformed faith in Scotland in more recent times may be due to the influence of Karl Barth, the Swiss theologian (with his huge *Church Dogmatics*) who dominated the reformed discourse during the middle years of the last century, until his death in 1968. Barth had spent his student years under the influence of German liberal theology, which had become the new orthodoxy in academic circles, but reacted against what he saw as the smallness of the God of the liberals. His own theology was dubbed neo-orthodoxy, and to some extent was a twentieth-century restatement of reformed themes.

From an early date Barthianism was excitedly embraced by Scottish theologians, starting with John Maconnachie. The greatest living Scottish theologian is the very aged Professor T.F. Torrance, whose approach has been thoroughly Barthian. For all its positive qualities for Reformed Christians, the neo-orthodox analysis has some alarming weaknesses, such as a lack of emphasis on the historical Jesus (as opposed to the transcendent God); a reluctance to give unqualified endorsement to the objective authority of Scripture; and a tendency towards universalism, as in the words of the mediaeval female mystic, Julian of Norwich: *"All will be well, and all manner of things will be well"*.

Probably I'm being unfair to the legacy of Barth, but his influence has coincided with a remarkable weakening of the power of the Gospel message as preached from Church of Scotland pulpits. I think we can see once again here an exciting movement coming from continental Europe, from a Europe to which the Scottish Kirk has given its not sufficiently critical allegiance.

Scottish Ideologues

From covenanting times to Scottish Enlightenment, from the comfortable liberal evangelical establishment of the period 1850 to 1950 to the militant secularism of the present-day political elite in Scotland, I would say that this is a restless nation, given to lurching from one tendency to another. I've noted in previous articles the impact of the 1859 Revival in Scotland, less marked than in Ireland or America, but probably responsible for the emergence of more fundamentalist versions of evangelicalism, which perhaps delayed the slide towards secularism, associated with the Brethren and Baptists and the rise of the Mission Halls. To complicate matters further, these movements were often associated with economic immigrants from Ulster.

Moving from specifically Christian issues, I would contend that there has been a national tendency among the Scots towards a type of extremism. One can see this even in the townscapes. As long ago as the 1750s John Wesley commented on the quaint, antiquated aspect of the *"Scotch towns"*. The Old Town/New Town contrast within Edinburgh makes it one of the most striking cities in Europe. And there are many charming and unspoiled smaller towns all over Scotland, supplying some present-day corroboration to Wesley.

But the Industrial Revolution transformed much of the Central Belt into a place designed for the devil and his angels rather than human beings. The present-day bleak post-industrial wasteland isn't much more pleasant. And far too often in the 1970s and 80s an architectural brutalism was allowed to let rip, resulting in abominations such as Kilmarnock, recently voted the ugliest town in the UK. Edinburgh only narrowly escaped the future envisaged for it by the town planners. Glasgow didn't totally escape. To cap it all, the post-war Local Authority housing on the outskirts of most Scottish towns is spectacularly dismal and depressing.

So, to be driving through Scotland is a roller-coaster experience in visual and aesthetic terms, full of shock and awe. To make the experience even more wounding to the spirit, the national love affair with wind turbines is all too evident. Just as the ancient Israelites were castigated by the prophets for putting up shrines to pagan deities *"on every high hill"*, so now we lift our eyes unto the hills and see wave upon wave of these monsters, crowding the view, and doing their best to decimate the local populations of raptors and bats, as well as to line the pockets of the local landowners with money from the vast subsidised receipts of the *"green energy"* companies. Their contribution to national energy needs is minimal.

These things are the visual embodiment of a sort of dogma that is far less amenable to reason than anything in the Westminster Confession. I'm sure this isn't what the American tourists set out to see when they decide to brave the strong pound and visit their ancestral homeland. I shudder to think what the Scottish landscape will look like if the dogmatists of the Scottish National Party (SNP) ever have free rein. They will make the barons of the Industrial Revolution look like Boy Scouts.

A Nation Once Again

If by the Autumn of 2014, seven hundred years after Bannockburn, Scotland is on its way to full independence, this will mean that the UK will be a united kingdom by virtue only of the Act of Union of 1801, an increasingly tenuous piece of legislation. The territorial waters of a foreign state will be just a few miles beyond Rathlin Island. Northern Ireland, or some parts of it, will become a little outpost of a kind of Britishness.

As I understand it, the reasons why large numbers of Scots may wish to leave the United Kingdom are various. An independent Scotland would have the exclusive benefit of most of the North Sea oil and natural gas reserves and could set up a Sovereign Wealth Fund, like Norway. (*"It's Scotland's Oil"* is a slogan I remember from the previous SNP surge in the late 1970s.) It would no longer be bound by the economic and social policies of a right of centre Government in London, and in particular would have its own revenue-raising powers. Even a Labour Government would look somewhat right-wing in comparison with the SNP. Scotland would have its own, if as yet undetermined, relationship with the EU, whose regional funds would no longer be mediated through London.

I may be missing something, but I think that's about it. A stronger case could probably be made for an English declaration of independence. The Barnett Formula ensures that spending per head in Scotland is higher than in England. Every UK Labour Government, with the exception of those of 1945, 1966 and the Blair years, gained power courtesy of Scottish votes. Since 1900 there have been six Scottish Prime Ministers, if we include the Anglo-Scot Tony Blair. Scotland is heavily over-represented in the House of Commons, with 71 constituencies. Most of the fast-depleting oil reserves may be Scotland's, depending on what way the sea-boundary is drawn, but the money and expertise to develop it came from the UK economy as a whole.

Another obsession of the SNP is the EU, which is deemed to be a Good Thing in itself, irrespective of whether its structures are working in the interests of member states, or at all, at any given time. Above all, Scots have to be seen as good Europeans. A number of years ago the SNP was committed to the Euro, but that enthusiasm has strangely cooled. In the negotiations aimed at EU accession which will follow a Yes vote later in 2014, the SNP will seek the same kind of opt-out from the Eurozone presently enjoyed by the UK and a few other states. Whether it will achieve its objective of admission on favourable terms is as yet unclear.

A Scottish opt-out from the Euro would seem to be a prudent aim, but what I can't understand is the SNP insistence on staying with Sterling, with the Bank of England as its Central Bank. Scottish interest rates would therefore be dictated by the Bank of England Monetary Policy Committee. A strange sort of independence, and somewhat different from the parity which existed up to 1979 between the Irish and the British pound. If Scottish banks were to fail, they would have to be bailed out by the UK taxpayer, as the Royal Bank of Scotland, formerly a jewel in Scotland's national crown, was in 2008. A separate Scots currency would not only be extremely romantic, but would be a practical necessity for any independent nation worth the name. And I haven't even begun on the necessity for Scottish defence forces, embassies throughout the world, and so on. Presumably the existing UK military bases at present housed in Scotland would be repatriated.

On the European front an independent Scotland would be bound by every Directive that comes out of Brussels. It's estimated that only about 35% of the legislation enacted in the UK originates in the national parliament. The rest comes before Parliament in the form of Directives which are simply rubber-stamped. So we're not talking rugged independence on the Swiss or Norwegian model. It would just be more of the same.

Underlying the SNP propaganda is the assumption that it as a party will continue to dominate the Scottish domestic scene, world without end. It would be most interesting if in future years Scotland were to swing to the right in social and economic terms, if the Scots were to turn against the prevailing environmental lunacy, or if the EU lost its popularity among Scottish voters. As Parnell said, no one can set a boundary to the march of a nation, not even Alex Salmond. New nations can be volatile constructions, not controllable by their creators.

A Vanity Project

Ultimately Scottish independence is a vanity project, driven by anti-English pique rather than any strong religious or cultural imperative, or any political economic or historical necessity. The Nationalists don't even seem to be interested in protecting Scottish ethnicity. All residents of Scotland will be able to vote in the independence referendum, whether born there or not, whereas ethnic Scots living in England will be denied a vote. The SNP plan is for more open borders, and maybe even to entice more English to migrate there. This may be because the native population is on the decline. If the UK rump state embraces a more rigid policy on immigration, or even were to leave the EU altogether, this will result in very stringent border controls on the English and Northern Irish side.

Compared with the ideological slipperiness of the SNP the Irish national independence movement looks to have been, and still to be, a hard-headed calculated programme. Who would have expected the Republic, which had its own moment of hubris between 2002 and 2006, to have made the tough decisions that everybody else talks about but nobody else seems to make, and to have come near to putting its house in order? It was *Ourselves Alone* in the best sense. ✻

Eamon Dyas

The Free State Army Mutiny of 1924

When Michael Collins was compelled, under British pressure, to launch the attack on the anti-Treaty republicans in the Four Courts on 22nd June 1922, he set in train a sequence of events which has become known as the Civil War. This has commonly been depicted as a war between those who stood for an Irish Republic and those who were prepared to settle for something less. In fact, the National Army (formed by Michael Collins as the army of the Irish Provisional Government in the aftermath of the Dail passing the Treaty) consisted of men who were also committed to an Irish Republic. The republicans on the side of the National Army were those who did not see the Treaty as the end of the matter but, as Collins himself had explained, as a *"stepping stone"* to the bigger prize. Although in these circumstances it is difficult to know for certain, until the Treaty War began there remained the prospect of some kind of compromise between the contending parties.

On the surface, it is difficult to know why Collins ordered his National Army to attack the Four Courts on 22nd June. In terms of numbers of active men, his army was much smaller than the forces of the Army Council (the command body of the anti-Treaty IRA), and in terms of geography they only controlled the area around Dublin and some other smaller areas outside of Dublin. Collins himself, up to that point, had shown that he was eager to avoid the situation degenerating into an outright military conflict. But the problem for Collins was that the British did not want any reconciliation between the two sides, as such a compromise could only have been on the basis of the dilution of the Treaty and the British were determined to show that the Treaty was their line in the sand.

Consequently, in the period leading up to the attack on the Four Courts, Collins was put under increasing pressure from Britain to take on the anti-Treaty forces. Then, in the aftermath of the majority vote for pro-Treaty candidates in the Dail Election of 18th June, and the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson in London on 22nd June, the situation reached a critical point, with Britain demanding that Collins use his electoral mandate to purge the country of the anti-Treaty forces once and for all. The British were prepared to supply the logistical and material support to Collins' National Army for the task but if he continued to prevaricate Churchill threatened to use the British Army directly.

And so it was that Collins, whose National Army was smaller than the forces he was confronting, went to war in circumstances that appeared foolhardy. It is difficult to put an accurate figure on the relative strengths of both sides in the period leading up to the War. In terms of the overall IRA, according to Michael Hopkinson (*Green Against Green: the Irish Civil War*, 2004 edn.):

> "By the beginning of November 1921 nominal IRA strength was listed as 72,363, while at the end of the Anglo-Irish War Mulcahy had put the active IRA force at around 3,000 men, most of whom were in Munster" (p.16).

This dramatic increase to over 72,000 members occurred in the aftermath of the Truce (declared in July 1921). While the increase in volunteering was welcomed, it also met with scepticism from many seasoned IRA men who viewed the new intake as peace-time soldiers. To them it seemed that the new recruits were nowhere to be seen when the actual fighting was required but, now that a truce had been declared, they all ran to the colours. Of course this was not a wholly accurate impression but one could see their point.

Aside from the cynical attitude of some of the IRA veterans, this sudden influx of recruits created a real problem for the organisation. Firstly, the increase in numbers was not in itself a benefit to the IRA as the organisation was short of weapons before the influx and didn't have the wherewithal to arm the newcomers. To that extent it did not represent any significant advance in terms of the IRA's ability to put men in the field. And secondly, because the IRA did not have a conventional command structure, there was no consistent machinery for controlling or screening this flood of new recruits. When the army was active during the Anglo-Irish War, it could be more or less taken for granted that the prevailing circumstances would determine that those wanting to join would be serious and for the most part motivated by the right reasons. In time of peace, however, there was no such guarantee particularly when a significant proportion of the new recruits were ex-British army soldiers and officers.

De Valera's attempt to reorganise the IRA later in the year was based on his concern to manage the expectations of its members in the light of possible compromises arising from the talks with Britain, but it was also meant to address the issues raised by the post-Truce influx. For these reasons he tried to get the Irish Cabinet to put some safeguards in place. On 15th September 1921 he proposed to the Cabinet that the army *"be put on a regular basis"* and in late November the Cabinet asserted that:

> "The supreme body directing the Army is the Cabinet. The immediate executive representative of the Government is the Minister of Defence who is, therefore, Administrative Head of the Army. The Minister of Defence is a civilian."

Furthermore, the Cabinet asserted that all army appointments were to be sanctioned by the Minister of Defence, who was to have the power of nomination and veto. New commissions were to be sent to all officers, and the oath to the Dail was to be retaken. These moves were made while Collins was in London during the Treaty negotiations. For his part Collins seems to have been less than enthusiastic at the proposal but, as things turned out, it all became rather academic as the Treaty issue shortly took centre stage.

As stated, by November 1921, a couple of months after de Valera's aborted attempt to impose some structure on the army, the membership of the IRA had grown to a nominal membership of 72,363. But, this was only a nominal figure and provides no insight into the relative fighting strengths of the pro- and anti-Treaty forces. Hopkinson provides the following account of the situation in the period leading up to Collins' decision to attack the republicans in the Four Courts:

> "A Provisional Government source at the time estimated Republican IRA numbers as 12,900, with 6,780 rifles. As men were not attested, and it was extremely difficult to differentiate between active and purely nominal membership, these figures must be treated with extreme caution. The number of

> Provisional Government troops a the beginning of the conflict is also uncertain: while 9,700 were said to have taken the oath to the government at the time of the Four Courts attack, General Sean MacMahon, the Adjutant-General, thought their numbers amounted to approximately 8,000. Provisional Government units were heavily concentrated in Dublin; they were ill-equipped to carry the war to the provinces, and large areas of the country had few, if any, pro-Treaty forces… By contrast, Republican military forces were concentrated in their own areas and thus enjoyed all the potential advantages that followed from knowing both the land and the people" (p.127).

Thus the total number of individuals combining both fighting forces was estimated to be 22,600 at the most. This puts the nominal figure of 72,363 into some kind of perspective. The surge in IRA membership after the Truce made no impact on the core strengths of both sides. What these additional numbers did provide, however, was a pool of individuals which the Free State Army tapped into as the War with the anti-Treaty forces progressed through 1922.

The initial disparity in numbers of fighting men was not the immediate problem for Collins. Although possessing an initial superiority in numbers, the anti-Treaty forces lacked coherence as an organisation and were poorly armed. (This remained the case, despite a number of successful arms raids which meant that they were better armed than at the time of the Truce.) As far as Collins was concerned, this disparity in fighting strength was counter-balanced by the delivery of armaments and war materials from the British. In this regard the British Government was true to its word. Such things as artillery pieces, armoured cars, and machine guns were immediately made available and it was reported in the *Illustrated London News* of 8th July 1922 that on 4th July that *"several fighting aeroplanes with Irish Free State markings and piloted by members of the Free State forces, had left Croydon for Dublin"*. For *"Free State forces"* in this context read *"re-assigned R.A.F. pilots"*. I haven't read any account of these aircraft actually being put to use during the conflict, but it seems that the option was made available by Britain as a possible standby in the event of Free State forces suffering a significant military set-back.

In order to facilitate his attack on the Four Courts the British had supplied Collins with field artillery—a weapon that was crucial in urban fighting. According to Hopkinson besides the initial field artillery:

> "Between 31 January and 26 June 1922 the British Government had supplied 11,900 rifles, 79 Lewis machine-guns, 4,200 revolvers and 3,504 grenades. By the middle of August the British Government had parted with eight eighteen-pounders. On 2 September Cope {Alfred Cope, the British Assistant Under-Secretary in Dublin—ED} reported that 27,400 rifles, 6,606 revolvers, 246 Lewis guns and five Vickers guns had been supplied."

But, while British-supplied arms and equipment could allow the National Army to hold its own against attacks from the anti-Treaty side, such things by themselves would not be sufficient to ensure victory. If he was to take and hold territory during the War he needed men in numbers. Collins needed to increase the size of the National Army and he needed to do so quickly. It is here that the British Army indirectly brought its most important influence to bear on the outcome of the Treaty War.

Because of the general demobilization after 1919 and the disbandment of the Irish Regiments of the British Army, there was already a pool of trained soldiers available in the country and which could very quickly be mobilized. Many of those had flooded into the IRA in the aftermath of the Truce. And so Collins took the logical step of opening the doors of the National Army to significant numbers of these ex-British Army personnel. The extent to which ex-British Army personnel filled the ranks of the National Army is a matter of dispute but what is not in dispute is the fact that, by the time Collins was killed on 22nd August 1922, the numbers in the National Army had grown from the 8,000 in the Spring of 1922 to 38,000 at the time of his death. This programme of National Army expansion continued after Collins' death for the duration of the Treaty War and at the end of the conflict the National Army had expanded to 55,000 men.

The numbers of ex-British Army soldiers in the National Army is difficult to quantify but some estimates have put it as high as 50% of the ordinary soldiers and 20% of the officers at the end of the Treaty War. While this is probably an exaggeration, the figures supplied by the Free State spokesmen are likewise probably an under-estimation. In his submission to the Army Enquiry of 1924, in the aftermath of the mutiny, the National Army Chief of Staff, Sean Mac Mahon *"estimated that ninety per cent of the army's officers had served before the truce. 'Before reorganisation', he declared, 'when we had an army of 55,000 it was made up of roughly 25 per cent post-Truce and 75 per cent pre-Truce'…"* (quoted by Hopkinson, p.226). MacMahon's figures must be taken with a rather large grain of salt, as he was not about to confirm at his Government's own Enquiry the real extent to which the National Army was officered by the post-Truce influx or the extent of ex-British involvement, particularly when that issue was central to the Mutiny that the Enquiry was investigating. If Mac Mahon is correct, this would have meant that 3,150 officers and 41,250 soldiers had been active in the IRA prior to the Truce (i.e. prior to July 1921)—figures that, given the numbers of active men at the time, make absolutely no sense unless by active he meant active in the British Army. But unfortunately the Enquiry did not challenge his figures so there is no way of knowing the basis on which he formed them.

There was a good reason why the revelation or non-revelation of accurate figures for National Army officers joining pre- or post-Truce was important. Garret FirzGerald, in a speech at University College Cork in 2003 (*Reflections On The Foundation Of The Irish State*, available on the internet) stated that over half the 3,500 officers in the National Army were ex-British Army. There was nothing wrong with ex-British Army soldiers fighting in an Irish army. Many of the most successful IRA men who fought against the British during the War of Independence were ex-British Army and did so for sound ideological reasons. However, those who joined the National Army under Collins were not, for the most part, the type of ex-British Army soldier who had been disillusioned by the War and the behaviour of the British in response to the 1918 Election. That type had joined the IRA at the first opportunity and gone on to take up arms against the British Army during the War of Independence. This is the reason why the distinction between pre and post-Truce membership of the IRA was deemed to have been important. While some of these genuine ex-British Army personnel did take the side of the National Army in the Treaty War, they would have been a minority of the overall genuine ex-British soldiers as most of them opposed the Treaty.

Nor, does it seem likely that there was a significant component which, in the aftermath of the pro-Treaty majority of the June 1922 Election, believed that in joining the National Army, they were serving a democratic cause. While there may have been some who joined for that purpose, it is unlikely that they made

any significant contribution to the increase in the National Army. These men had not been conscripted into the British Army (as most men had been in mainland Britain), but had joined voluntarily and in majority of cases had done so at the urging of John Redmond and his Irish Parliamentary Party. They had not believed in the democratic mandate of the 1918 Election and if they now, in 1922, suddenly found their democratic credentials, it was a credential that only appears to have had a very restricted application. Thus it was that the supply of accurate information on the extent to which Collins' National Army was officered and manned by pre or post-Truce personnel was important. It was important because it revealed the fact that the political composition of Collins' National Army had changed during the course of the Treaty War. However, for those who had taken part in both the War of Independence and the Treaty War on the side of the National Army, there was no need for accurate figures. Many of them knew by their actual experience the extent that the National Army was experiencing a dilution of republican influence.

This inevitably built up tensions within the National Army among those who continued to believe in Collins' original *"stepping stone"* position and these tensions began to find serious expression in the period immediately after the end of the Treaty War. Once the Free State Government was convinced that it had achieved its military victory, it set about reducing the size of the National Army as the country just could not sustain an army of that size for any length of time.

It was announced that the Army was to be reduced from the 52,000 (what it was in April 1923) to between 28,000 and 30,000 by the end of the year. This would include a reduction of over 1,700 officers. However, the plan immediately ran into problems. By 15th December only 763 officers had been demobilized, which was 1,000 short of the target. This was the result of a resistance on the part of many of the officers to accept demobilization and that resistance was motivated by several reasons, including a disenchantment with the terms offered. But a more significant reason for the resistance and the only one capable of pushing some officers to extreme measures was the feeling of betrayal of their republican ideals. Hopkinson describes the atmosphere at this time:

> "The danger of mutiny was always present. At the Curragh in mid-November seven officers were court-martialled for refusing to sign demobilisation papers 'and claimed that as old members of the IRA' they 'couldn't lay down their arms until Ireland was 'an independent Republic'. Prominent veterans of the Anglo-Irish War complained that they no longer possessed an influence in the army commensurate with the length and value of their service. Tom Ennis and his Dublin entourage, for example, discovered when they returned to the city from the Cork Command that officers from Northern Ireland had the plum positions. David Neligan and Captain Martin Nolan argued at the Army Enquiry that preference in the demobilisation was given to ex-British officers and some from Northern Ireland. Gearoid O'Sullivan, the Adjutant-General, became particularly unpopular because of his alleged bias in favour of ex-British officers" (p.265).

In November 1923 a total of 60 old IRA officers who had resisted demobilisation were expelled without pay. The sentiments expressed by General Michael Brennan, the old IRA officer in charge of the 1st Western Staff during the Treaty War, were symptomatic of the apprehension among these republican Free State soldiers. He told Mulcahy that his entire command staff in Limerick, with the exception of two individuals would not have—

> "lifted a finger for the Free State if they hadn't felt sure that it was the best means of attaining the end for which they fought the British and for which their comrades died. They asked me to assure you and the CGS that they would support by every means in their power your desire to make our Army one worthy of the past,—Irish in its training, Irish in its associations, Irish in its ideals, and *above all* Irish in *its object*" (quoted by Hopkinson, p.226).

Many, however remained unconvinced that the army of Collins which started the Treaty War was the one which ended it. Aware of the danger to Collins' idea of the National Army that had arisen during the course of the 'Civil War', some of his previous colleagues had formed the Irish Republican Army Organisation (IRAO) within the National Army in December 1922. The organization originsally formed around the belief that the higher command within the National Army *"was not sufficiently patriotic"*. The IRAO was led by Liam Tobin who had fought in 1916. During the War of Independence he had been Collins' Chief Executive in the Intelligence Directorate in Dublin. In October 1921 he had travelled to London with the Irish Delegation as part of Collins' personal staff and later there was some suspicion that he was implicated in the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson under Collins' instructions. Wary of the potential of IRAO to tap into a growing disillusionment among the ex-IRA men in the National Army, General Mulcahy had attempted to counteract it by forming his own organization using the name of the Irish Republican Brotherhood—an organisation which Collins' had kept in existence during the War of Independence as part of his own personal command.

As the programme of demobilization got into full swing, on 7th March 1924, the IRAO presented President Cosgrave with a demanded for its cessation. The demand was signed by Major-General Liam Tobin and Colonel Charles Dawson. The preceeding week there had been raids on the barracks at Gormanstown, Roscommon and Templemore, as well as at Baldonnel Aerdrome at which a significant quantity of arms had been removed. On the morning of the IRAO demand the 36th Infantry Battalion refused to parade. The Government responded by issuing an order for the arrest of Tobin and Dawson on a charge of mutiny. The Leader of the Irish Labour Party, Thomas Johnson, issued a statement supporting the Government. But the Government itself was not unanimous in supporting this action. Joseph McGrath, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, resigned, endorsing the belief of the IRAO that the National Army was treating former British officers better than former IRA officers. Fearing that events could spiral out of control Cosgrave then offered an Inquiry and an Amnesty before deciding to become ill and leave Kevin O'Higgins in charge of the Government.

The final military act of the mutiny took place on 18th March, when 40 armed men, including Tobin and Dalton, met in one of Collins' old safe houses, Devlin's Hotel in Parnell Street. Government agencies got wind of the meeting and Free State troops surrounded the building but both Tobin and Dalton managed to escape.

The following *"strictly confidential"* account of these events was supplied by the author, Philip Percival Graves, then on the staff of *The Times*, to his Editor in 1924. It was found by me some years ago in the Archive of *The Times* (where I had been the Archivist). Although a sanitized version of this was published in the paper on 4th July 1924, this version

was not designed for publication, but no doubt to inform those in need of such an account in the British security establishment and in the Government at the time.

Graves came from an Anglo-Irish family and displays the prejudices of his bckground as regards the native Irish. Prior to his becoming special correspondent of *The Times* in Ireland in 1923, had been the correspondent of that newspaper in Turkey. From 1908 until the start of the First World War he had also been in cahoots with the British Embassy in Constantinople in the supply of Intelligence on growing German influence in that country. (His younger brother, Richard Massie Graves, had been a member of the Embassy staff). During the First World War he was a Captain in Military Intelligence in the Middle East. After the end of the War he resumed his position as correspondent of *The Times* in Constantinople and his greatest claim to fame was his exposure of the so-called *"Protocols of the Elders of Zion"* as an anti-Semitic forgery. By 1923, in the aftermath of the Irish 'Civil War', he had left Constantinople and was employed by *The Times* as special correspondent, chiefly in Ireland and India (but also sometimes in the Middle East and the Balkans). In 1945 he retired and moved to county Cork and died at his home, Ballylickey House, Bantry, Cork in 1953.

Incidentally, as an eight year old child, my father was involved indirectly in one of the events associated with the Army Mutiny. The family had been living in one room at the top of a tenement in 26 Temple Street, North Dublin, and he remembered the Free State forces knocking on the door with the instructions that they were taking over the room as a vantage point. The family were turfed out and they all tramped down to 105 Upper Dorset Street with whatever bedding they could carry to stay with his grandparents. As they also only had the single room, it proved to be a rather uncomfortable period for all concerned. The experience left a strong impression on an eight year old and I realized later that the Free State action may have been associated with the siege of Devlin's Hotel in Parnell Street, as they positioned themselves to cut off possible routes by which assistance to the mutineers might arrive. His father, coincidentally, had also been indirectly involved in an action by the anti-Treaty forces two years earlier, which led to questions in Westminster about the existence of legitimate authority in Ireland. That, however, remains for another time.

"Memorandum from P.P. Graves to the Editor of The Times written (undated) in 1924 and marked *"Strictly Confidential"*.

"Private.

Notes on the Irish Situation.

Military.

The recent mutiny in the Free State Army has caused much of the anxiety and despondency which now prevails. The following is a confidential summary of its causes.

When the Republicans under de Valera decided to oppose the Treaty by force of arms a certain number of the officers of the I.R.A. i.e. of the armed Sinn Fein insurgents went over to them. The remainder though divided in mind and composed of "stepping-stoners" i.e. men who regarded the Free State as merely a stepping stone to an independent republic, and genuine Free Staters, were held together by the personal influence of Michael Collins. He was distinctly a realist and the lineal successor in many respects of Daniel O'Connell. His personality won the day; even after his death it continued to triumph for his killing was furiously resented by his devoted followers and "the big man" as they called this great fierce humorous and shrewd yeoman (he was of small holding stock) became more useful in death to the Free State than he might have been in life. Instead of a war for principles the struggle became a vendetta and thus appealed to the savage streak (Balkan is perhaps a better word) noticeable among so many Irish peasants. This is not to say that the Free State leaders did not desire to keep the Treaty. They did and do. But their followers were actuated in many cases by other motives; desire for the loaves and fishes of place, blood-feud, jealousy and other primitive passions.

Mulcahy for a time kept things together. But he had not the personality of Collins and as soon as the main campaign against the Republicans, who played into the Free Staters' hands by their excesses and devastations, was over, a split became manifest among the commissioned ranks of the Free Staters' Army.

There were two conflicting groups; that led by Mulcahy and the Gen. Staff and that group of which Colonels Tobin and Dalton were eventually the spokesmen. The first group advocated the maintenance of the political status quo of which they saw the advantages; they were also disinclined to make compacts with the anti-Treaty party; they realised that any sort of Republican success would be fatal to their professional prospects and in some cases to their prospects of longevity; they had a good few executions to their debit and Ireland is a country of blood-feuds. Moreover, if not in practice great disciplinarians, they agreed in principle to the necessity of keeping the Army as far as possible out of politics and in a disciplined state. Consequently they agreed to accept the services of a certain number of trained officers and soldiers who had fought in the British Army in the Great War, including many men of the disbanded Irish regiments. These people were in some cases used at "the front", e.g. Maj. General Murphy who had been a Brigadier General in the British Army and rapidly rose from the rank of private in the Free State Army. Others took over Staff jobs—e.g. Gen. Russell an ex-Captain in the R.E. Major Wiggins now in the Italian Fascisti, a remarkable type of the respectable military adventurer. Many more were employed in the training of the troops.

Unhappily the "old I.R.A. element" bitterly resented these appointments. Their resentment was not mollified by the fact that they were only gradually made and that the F. State Gen. Staff in its desire to avoid Republican criticism kept the direction of military affairs as much as possible in the hands of men who had been "out" in the rebellion.

A digression is now necessary: In Ireland since the later days of eighteenth century secret societies have flourished everywhere. Owing to the fact that English Governments seldom made any serious effort to impose legality on their subjects whether "loyal" or "rebellious" in Ireland and owing to the appalling permanence of historic feuds among a people who when untrained for war are more quarrelsome than brave (I generalise of course) the natural tendency grew up for those threatened by some particular political movement to counter it by secret organisation and for the opponents of that organisation to meet it by extra-legal and often conspiratorial methods in their turn. Thus "Whiteboys" were met by "Defenders", United Irishmen by Orange Societies, Constitutional Nationalists from O'Connell onwards found their efforts thwarted by secret societies ranging from mere clubs of agrarian cut-throats to the Fenians and finally the militant wing of Sinn Feiners who constituted the I.R.A. Young men in Ireland when they have imbibed a tincture of education too often abstain from productive work for politics. With the secret society tradition in the air the disgruntled or unsuccessful politician tended to become a conspirator or to tolerate the existence and to rely upon the aid of such societies. As the Belfast Orangemen have shown this tendency infected even the Northern Protestants though in normal times it has been less pronounced among them than among the Irish Catholics. But then times are seldom normal in Ireland.

The Army had by June 1923 fallen, as far as the officers of the field rank were concerned, into three groups. First came the I.R.A. under Colonels Tobin and Dalton. Colonel Tobin had been one of Michael Collins chief intelligence agents in England and Ireland and was a bold adventurous fellow with few scruples, safe enough while Collins kept him in some sort of control but unmanageable after his chief's death. Dalton after being demobilised from the British Army in which he had been a Tempy. Officer joined the I.R.A. keeping his uniform and indulged in various deeds which it would take a tough conscience to defend. However, he was thought a hero and was prudent enough to keep on Collins' side in the split.

The I.R.A., group of course formed a secret association. Their objects were

(1) To keep anti-national elements out of the Army.

(2) To work for complete or more complete independence.

As regards (1) Their pamphlet (already forwarded) shows that they bitterly resented the recruiting of ex-British soldiers and ex-civilians "who had never struck a blow for Ireland… and were and still are hostile to her national ideals" and the appointment of ex-British officers to Commissioned rank in the National Army. The logical implication of their criticism is that they wished the Army top be as far as possible officered and manned by people who had been "out" in 1916 and in 1919-1921.

(2) Their pamphlet speaks of the achievement of the unity and full independence of Ireland (cf. Page 11 on which some amazing arguments are marshalled!) as their goal. The oath of allegiance of course is to them a scrap of paper.

On learning of the existence of this secret society the second party in the Army, that composed of the Gen. Staff, Mulcahy, The McMahons, Gerald O' Sullivan (an able and ambitious young man) and Gen. Hurley who insists on calling himself O'Muirthile, and their followers permitted the formation of a counter association of senior officers called the I.R.B. (Irish Republican Brotherhood). The name comes strangely when one remembers that Gen. Mulcahy has taken the oath of allegiance but one's doubts may be set at rest by the accusations made first by the Republicans and secondly by the mutineers (Pamphlet p.4) that the organisation was "set up <u>not</u> to achieve an Irish Republic but to defer all hopes of one"! Knowing my countrymen's singular psychology I quite believe that the mutineers were right but it is only, I think in Ireland that a Republican brotherhood could be formed to prevent the declaration of a Republic! While Mulcahy seems to have regarded the formation of this organisation as a disagreeable necessity, O'Muirthile took much personal interest in it. He is a fat man with pig's eyes who looks like an intelligent bar-keeper, quite the type of the cynical American Irish ward politician and alleged to be corrupt and to have profited out of Army Contracts. {There is a note in manuscript inserted here: "*But the Committee examining his case has found no proof of this*"–ED. The typescript continues:} The second group (I.R.B.) was pulled both ways (a) by the desire to prevent a split with the I.R.A. (b) by the desire to maintain at all events a minimum of discipline. A third group was composed of what one may call the "disciplinarians". Probably the chief figure in it were Gen. Brennan, Gen. Prout (an American professional soldier) and Gen. Murphy. These people had "no use" for politics and merely wished to make the Army more efficient. The ex-British officers (Gen. Russell for instance) backed them. The middle group (I.R.B.) accepted many of their recommendations but instigated by O'Muirthile who disliked Murphy because he was a gentleman got him transferred to the command of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, and whenever possible, kept the English trained officers in the background. This the officers in did not trouble about; there were disadvantages in publicity when the Republican gunman was active.

The split between the two groups I.R.A. & I.R.B. grew wider. Attempts at a compromise failed. They may be studied in the pages of the pamphlet although this must be read with great caution. Still there is no dispute about the main facts except that the Government deny that any arrangement was arrived at on March 12 such as is narrated on pp.13 and 14 of the pamphlet and I believe that their denial is sufficient. McGrath, remember, is often half-seas over and the idea that Mulcahy could have agreed to paragraph (b) on page 14 or that O'Higgins would have sanctioned it is absurd.

To turn from the military politicians to the civilians, two bodies of opinion made themselves felt last autumn; one group of politicians under McGrath sympathised with the I.R.A. another and a much stronger group took the view of O'Higgins viz:- that the Administration of the Army required overhauling and that the existence of secret associations especially in the Staff was a danger to the State. Last winter O'Higgins in a meeting of the Cumann na nGhaedheal Committee raised the case of a Kerry farmer whose daughter had been stripped and flogged by order of an officer of the Free State Army. General Murphy had been in command in Kerry. When he was translated to Dublin in order to pacify the I.R.A. group a much less efficient but very "National" General, one O'Daly, took his place, quarrelled with everyone and finally let his command get into a very dangerous state of drunkenness, and of confusion. Mulcahy who stands up for his subordinates much better than most of the new Irish political people, defended the officer accused and accepted his defence, an alibi I believe, in perfect good faith. But later on there came more evidence. O'Higgins pressed for an enquiry; the Army authorities objected —choose jugee (?) and O'Higgins wished to resign, indeed, I believe offered his resignation to the Committee of the Govt. Party (Cumann na nGaedheal) but was prevailed to remain in office. There were other scandals, dirty barracks, financial ramps etc. which annoyed O'H. who is a great partisan of law and order and, I fancy inclined him to the belief that between the I.R.A. and I.R.B. there was nothing to choose. Then there was the affair of an officer called Gaffney, a great "hero" in his day who, inspired by a local Delilah with whom he was living in sin, shot a young man on the charge of murdering a civic guard. The civic Guard however said that the victim had nothing to do with this murder. Gaffney was arrested. O'H. crushed any attempt to plead past services on his behalf and hanged him.

McGrath took a totally different line from that followed by O'Higgins. He attacked Mulcahy on the lines of the pamphlet quoted and attacked O'Higgins for insisting too much on law, order and abstention from politics. When the Government, unwisely I think, suddenly demobilised at top speed getting rid of some 29,000 men in two or three weeks and the mutineers took action which culminated in an ultimatum to Government McGrath went over to them after championing them against the Govt. and especially against the Mulcahy group (I.R.B.). O'Higgins as far as I can make out began by backing Mulcahy and his group on grounds of discipline but later on, whether because of his previous quarrel with Mulcahy over the affair of the Kerry girl or what I do not yet know, turned on them and let it be seen that he held that both parties ought to go and give place to less political soldiers. McGrath resigned his seat in the Cabinet. Although the Mutineers mis-stated the terms offered them on March 12 by McG. it was true that a promise was made by the Executive of the Cumann party that they should not be victimised whereas they were arrested, apparently because the military chiefs having realised that the Colonels

had little backing among the rank and file determined to assert their authority {note in manuscript at this point "*McG was naturally angry and resigned*"—ED. The typescript continues:} Gerald O'Sullivan to do him justice and, I think Mulcahy, had all along demanded strong action and seem to have acted against the views of the Cumann party. Cosgrave's illness, O'Higgins quarrel with Mulcahy, McGrath's haste between them brought about a crisis; the Colonels and their following were thrown out of the army but the demobilisation was brought to an end and a certain number of officers recently demobilised recalled to service. However the {"*efficient*" inserted in manuscript—ED} British ex-service men and officers remain out in the cold and will, {"*apparently*" inserted in manuscript—ED} remain there. The Government now proposes to recruit some 4,000 of the demobilised men to allay discontent. Gen. O'Duffy a stern disciplinarian, for Ireland, has taken Mulcahy's place.

It is impossible to say whether the Cobh (Queenstown) outrage was the work of the mutineers or not. The latter have, I understand, made some overtures to the Republicans but blood shed is not easily forgotten and I doubt an alliance. Meanwhile McGrath after talking of a Republic has now announced that he stands by the Treaty.

Had the country not been so "fed up" with civil strife the Mutiny might have had serious consequences. Considering that the army has no traditions, bad officers of little or no social prestige to impress the snobbish peasants and is full of would be politicians—few of its officers have any professionalism about them, I think the country got off very well. The movement was of a type common in the early history of the Balkan armies but less bloody. One or two murders have been committed by runaway mutineers but there is at present no sign of any rising. In forming an opinion about the whole business one must get English ideals and traditions out of one's head. Ireland is a Balkan country now and will so remain for a time. It never was as civilised as England and has gone back since the outbreak of 1916. Recovery must be slow and traditions are not easily built up in a force the present members of which have only been engaged in petty skirmishes or murders. There is, therefore, no reason to take the affair too tragically. It is, indeed from the Ulster point of view, always a narrow one, a good thing that the F.S, Army is now bereft of its best officers and men and feeling rather depressed. But this does not appeal to the peaceable Free stater. He is perhaps too anxious."

Eamon Dyas

News Report, *Daily News*,
London, 28 October 1920

Whipping (literally) **The Opposition**

"According to the police, organised republicanism—in other words the Sinn Fein machine—has been smashed in Co. Clare, where Sinn Fein first won a seat from the Home Rulers. The police are now smashing it in County Galway. I think they will succeed. But the disquieting thing is that neither in Clare nor Galway has the number of shootings, kidnappings, and other rebel outrages diminished, but rather the reverse. Evidently there must be something wrong with police logic or police methods.

Let me describe how the system which produces this strange result of destroying the machine and increasing the output is being administered. It is a comparatively simple system to work once the preliminaries have been arranged. By the usual methods of beleaguered Governments, whether in Ireland or Russia, a fairly complete and accurate list of active revolutionaries has been secured. With this as a chart the police methodically set to work more than a month ago not, as Sir Hamar Greenwood puts it, to prevent and detect crime and to arrest the criminal but to strike terror with so savage a hand into the heart of the whole community as to force it to evacuate, so to speak, its 'bad men'. They started by discriminate firing and rather more discriminate bombing. They have reached during the past few days the stage of wholesale whipping.

What the next development may be before Galway is as blessed as Clare I shall not try to guess. Part of my time has been occupied with interviewing the young men whom the forces have been whipping, kicking and otherwise instructing in the elements of British citizenship.

Public Whippings.

Fifteen men were at Verden's public house, Cummer, last Sunday evening when the police arrived in three lorries, firing with shotguns and revolvers as they came down the road from Tuam. A pretty country girl named Glynn told me she was hit in the leg by one of the pellets. This sort of thing is nearly an everyday occurrence, and everybody runs away in consequence when a police lorry approaches. At Verden's they ordered a number of the young men—about half of them, I should gather—to take down their breeches and the rest to take off their coats. They then beat them with anything that came handy, a whip, an ash plant or a strap. Michael Dowd, who was flogged with an ash plant, admitted that he was not seriously hurt but his brother was brutally knocked about with the stock of a rifle and his nose smashed, as I was able to see. James MacDonagh got two sharp cuts with a whip on the bare flesh and informed me that the indignity was worse than the pain. Several other young fellows whom I met had been kicked as well as beaten.

A family of four young men named Feeney, living with their widowed mother on a farm at Corbally, had a worse experience the night before. I found them all at home, and their story was obviously truthful. Tom, the eldest, was greeted by the raiders, two of whom had blackened faces, as a 'notorious rebel'. He had a halter put round his neck and his trousers taken down before he was beaten with a rope's end. Willy and Martin were also whipped and otherwise maltreated, the former being so violently struck with a revolver butt that he nearly lost consciousness. One of the raiders said to Tom Feeney, 'You've had your day. We are going to have ours now.' The party are reported to have worn Scotch caps, and presumably belonged, therefore, to the R.I.C. Auxiliary Corps of Ex-Officers.

"Disciplinary Measures."

It seems to have been the same party which an hour or two later carried off Mr. John Raftery, a licensed grocer, from his home in Corofin (where I personally verified the facts), and after similarly assaulting him left him to walk home as best he could at two in the morning. These incidents, it should be noted, have nothing to do with reprisals. They are simply 'disciplinary measures'. Old police, new recruits and auxiliary cadets all appear to be equally involved. There is such a mass of evidence on the whole system that no possible doubt about its deliberate application can exist in the mind of any visitor to Galway. As I have already said, it will probably succeed up to a point and for a time. So also did the Russian knout."

Eamon Dyas comments:

This *Daily News* report was subsequently republished in the *Connacht Tribune* on 30th October 1920. It was written by Hugh Martin, the DN special correspondent in Ireland covering the troubles. He was one of the more honest English journalists at the time and went on to write a book on his experiences entitled *"Ireland in Insurrection: an Englishman's record of fact"* , which was published in 1921.

The whippings were used as a conscious method of humiliation and terror.

Some of this brutal culture came over into the mercenary army set up by the Free State to fight the republicans with the carry-over of British soldiers. The P.P. Graves memorandum on the Free State Officers Mutiny carried in this issue of the magazine referred to an incident of a woman being flogged.

In fact, there were two girls involved in the Free State flogging incident described by Graves. In his own published account he acknowledges as much.

This is what he says in the report published in *The Times*:

> "After the close of the civil war there were some complaints of misbehaving on the part of {National Army—ED} officers. In one instance, reported from Kerry, some officers were accused of having entered a house, pulled two young women out of bed and of having inflicted a humiliating correction upon them. It was averred that the girls had shown Republican sympathies during the last election campaign; also that this was a case where the 'spretae injuria formae' {injury of scorn—ED}—'the young ladies wouldn't be seen speaking to the likes of them'—had rankled" (The Times, 4 July 1924, p.15).

The published description of what the two girls had been subjected to differed from what Graves was prepared to admit privately to his Editor in the memorandum. While the memorandum openly admitted that this involved a forced stripping and flogging, the published version described it as *"a humiliating correction"* —something that *Times* readers could understand without having their sensibilities offended.

John Minahane

The Spanish Polemic on Colonisation
Part 3:

Bartolomé de Las Casas & Revolutionary Theocracy

The Land-Appropriation of a New World is a chapter title in Carl Schmitt's most ambitious book on international law. It sums up the contacts between European and non-European peoples in the centuries after Columbus's voyage. They were not always genocidal, and in some cases, for some length of time, they were non-violent. But mostly they were neither consensual nor peaceful, not to mention fraternal. However, it would be untrue to say that no one thought of an alternative and that no determined attempt was ever made to make this alternative happen.

Bartolomé de Las Casas justified a peaceful alternative in countless writings. Much of what he wrote consisted of practical proposals addressed to official persons. He also produced very ambitious works on history, topography and social description, and theology (this was a field which a Spaniard with serious arguments about law and right had no choice but to master). Some of these works were published in his lifetime; most were not, but they had some circulation in manuscript. Apart from that, he himself attempted to pioneer the practice of his theories. As mentioned in Part 2 of this series, in his early days as a campaigner he became a colonial undertaker, attempting to establish a model colonisation of a type which he thought would be non-destructive to the original inhabitants. And in the 1530s he attempted to practise the theory which he argued at length in a book: that the only way to bring the non-Christian peoples to Christianity was the way of peaceful persuasion.

About 1533 Las Casas successfully engaged in a peace process with a rebel Indian Lord known as Enriquillo ("Little Henry"), who had held out for a long time in the hills of Hispaniola. Eventually an honourable agreement was made between the Indian and the Governor, and Enriquillo in some fashion entered Christian society. Encouraged by this, Las Casas was ready for more ambitious ventures. In 1535 he was one of a group of Dominicans who set sail for Peru with the intention of preaching Christianity in the newly-conquered territory. When problems with the weather became too much, they landed in Nicaragua and attempted to set to work there instead. However, Las Casas soon came into conflict with the Governor, who would not accept his demands that no violence be used against Indians. Las Casas tried the effects of moral force, denouncing the Governor publicly. When his opponent would not back down, he left the territory and went on to Guatemala.

There he found a more amenable Governor, and he set out to preach Christianity in a region which the Spaniards had never been able to conquer and which they called Tierra de Guerra, *"The Land of War"*. The missionaries went to work systematically to learn the local language, make contact with the Lords and win local support. Above all, the Indians had to be convinced that these newcomers weren't like the other Spaniards.

> "We sent some of the recent converts who not only loved us but respected us. Those men explained to the others that we were coming to them inspired by the zeal of the House of God. We wanted to awaken them from the ignorance in which they had been immersed for so many centuries—not to rob them of their properties and liberty, as the other Spaniards had been doing."

The experiment was a relative success over fifteen years or so, so much so that the Land of War was officially renamed Vera Paz, "true peace".

Vera Paz has been seen as a model for the more famous experiments of later times.

> "Las Casas aimed to have free Indian communities under the leadership of monks. Here the Indians would learn the most important trades and a rational mode of agriculture. We can well see Las Casas as the father of the *reducciones* founded by the Jesuits (in Paraguay) in the 17th century."

The reasons for the problems and ultimate failure in Guatemala all boiled down to one. As Bernard Lavallé puts it, *"peaceful preaching was opposed to colonial practice; it was actually its absolute contrary in all respects"*. This was the problem which Las Casas kept tackling in theory and practice, in various parts of America and in Spain, with an energy that is beyond belief. In quite recent times ten years have, apparently, been lopped off his life (born in 1484 instead of 1474), which makes him a bit more humanly credible.

Enforcing the Laws

In Guatemala he came to feel that there simply weren't enough hands for the job, and in 1540 he returned to Spain to recruit more. The Colombian historian Juan Friede argued that around this time there was a visible change in Las Casas. For a long time he had campaigned for laws to protect the Indians, or for the laws that already existed to be clarified or tightened up. The problem was, however, that these laws came up against active and passive resistance from Spanish colonial society in America. Laws were being passed all the time and remaining a dead letter. The prime example concerned the *encomienda*, the institution by which Indians were assigned to Spanish colonists for compulsory labour. According to Friede, in 1520, 1523, 1525, 1526, 1528, 1529, 1533 and 1536 there were laws and official reports which attempted either to abolish or to restrict the *encomienda*, without success. (During much of this period Las Casas had withdrawn from campaigning and was studying theology in his monastery on Hispianiola, which shows that the campaign for colonial reform was not dependent on him completely.)

It was therefore not enough to pass good laws. There would have to be strategic planning and determined, ruthless action to see that they were enforced. The scale of the problem which Las Casas was attempting to tackle is described as follows by Friede:

> "The only way the colonist could survive amid such inhospitable climate and conditions was by appropriating for himself the Indian's property, and by forcing him to work—overcoming his "idle nature"—for the colonist's profit. For if utilization of the Indian's labour had depended only on his voluntary consent, another kind of difficulty would have arisen. The primitive Indian economy did not, as a rule, require production beyond what was necessary for local consumption and a simple form of commerce with neighbouring tribes, and the intensive labour and production surpluses of a commercial economy were alien to the American Indian's temper. His pre-Columbian social organisation and values did not stimulate him sufficiently to make him greedy in the European sense of the word. Nor did the Conquest raise his living standards or allow him a distinguished position in the new society, which might have overcome his atavisms...
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> "The interests of the Indian, on the other hand, were inextricably linked with his personal freedom; otherwise, he could protect himself against abuse only if he fled to the impenetrable jungle, where he generally perished from hunger. His fate and his survival as a cultural and racial unit depended on such liberty and an end to the intrusions and arbitrary power of the Spanish colonist. The recovery of his liberty and his protection by the crown were the only means of securing him against a pernicious, destructive dependence. The triumph of the Indianist movement {i.e. the colonial reform movement spearheaded by Las Casas, JM} would have transformed the Indian from a *de facto* serf into a free vassal of the crown who had no special obligations to the American Spaniards. It would have produced a radical change in the structure of colonial society, a true social revolution, by freeing a large social class from subjection to a very small but economically and politically powerful class."

Las Casas became convinced that it was necessary to separate the two races. There was no question of giving up the preaching of Christianity, but the Christian missionaries in America would have to do it the way Saint Patrick did it in Ireland (Las Casas did not know this very relevant example, much better than some of the examples he gives in his book on *The One and Only Method of Attracting All Peoples to the True Religion*). And, compared with the progress of Christianity, nothing else really mattered. *"The economic welfare of the Spanish colonist ceased to concern him because he believed the settlers should live by their labour, as they had done in Spain."*

Campaigning in Spain in the early 1540s, Las Casas found that to a certain extent he was pushing an open door. Charles V had one of the greatest empires in the history of the world, but he was an un-Machiavellian monarch. His conscience bothered him. He wanted to ensure that all of his American subjects would be treated rightly and justly. Las Casas, who emphasised his own personal experience and gave him horrific accounts of what was actually happening, made a big impression on him and on some of his key advisors and Ministers. In 1542 the reform campaign bore fruit with the proclamation of the dramatic New Laws for the colonies. The New Laws *"all but abolished (the* encomienda*) and envisaged a plan that would make all* encomienda *Indians direct vassals of the crown".*

But how were these laws going to be enforced?

Las Casas thought it would be necessary to decapitate the rebellious element in Peru and Mexico, where he foresaw colonist uprisings. He advised that 20 of the most powerful Mexican *encomenderos* (beneficiaries of forced labour) should be summoned to Spain. When they arrived, they should be detained and their estates should be confiscated. In Peru a reformed Royal Council should ascertain which Spaniards were the most rebellious and deport them to Spain under a pretext. All this should be kept strictly secret. For the longer term, royal garrisons should be installed to keep order in Mexico and Peru, and there should be a ruthless policy of confiscating the estates of rebels.

Las Casas proposed to back this up with a policy of spiritual terror. The major punishments of the Church (excommunication, interdict, denial of absolution) were to be used systematically against uncooperative colonists. He produced a booklet of model procedures for priests to follow when hearing the *encomenderos*' confessions. In effect, as Friede says, he aimed at a theocracy. There would be Church activism officially supported by the Crown and demanding the support of all civil authorities, on pain of religious persecution.

However, the key proposal of preemptive deportation was not put into practice.

> "If Las Casas's advice had been followed—advice of a strictly political character with no notions of abstract justice—it seems more than likely that the Pizarro rebellion could have been averted and the New Laws enforced."

In actual fact, the Peruvian rebellion led by Gonzalo Pizarro defeated the Viceroy and, if the boldest rebel strategists had had their way, it would have resulted in a separatist Spanish-Peruvian monarchy. The same thing would probably have happened in Mexico if the Viceroy had not himself joined the revolt, suspended the operation of the New Laws and associated himself with the colonists' protest to Spain.

At that time Las Casas was offered the position of Bishop of Cuzco, the richest diocese in America. He turned it down, but afterwards he accepted the much less wealthy Mexican bishopric of Chipas (which in recent decades was the centre of the "Zapatista" rebellion of Indian communities against the Government of Mexico). In March 1545 he arrived in Ciudad Real, his cathedral town, and immediately set to work to do his part towards enforcing the New Laws. A few days before Holy Week he published an Edict of Public Faults, where he demanded that anyone who had information about certain misdeeds should reveal this in confession without delay.

One of the public faults mentioned was the practice of pagan rites and ceremonies, and Jean Dumont (a resourceful

defender of Christian conquest and opponent of Las Casas) suggests that this shows *"the protector of the Indians"* in a different light: he was not quite so protective when he got power in his own hands! In reality, any Mexican bishop asking for information on public faults could hardly have avoided saying something about paganism, but this wasn't the central issue. And it wasn't the Indians who were feeling threatened, it was the colonists. *"Among the faults he specified all injustices of which the indigenous people had been victims, 'contrary... to the new laws which His Majesty has now made'."*

As Holy Week went by, the tension mounted unbearably. Las Casas was enforcing the policy of refusing communion to non-cooperating colonists. A number of them went to the local courts to try to force him to stop doing so. Some Spaniards refused to show him the usual marks of deference towards a bishop during the ceremonies, while others actually threatened him. On Easter Sunday there was an outright mutiny, and a mob of townsmen, led by the Mayor, invaded the Bishop's residence.

The mob demanded a period of grace of several months, before landowners would be obliged (in accordance with the New Laws) to free their Indian slaves. Las Casas refused, demanding it be done immediately. In the confrontation he lost the support of his Dean of the Cathedral, who gave confession to some of the persons proscribed. Promptly excommunicated by Las Casas, the Dean went off to appeal to the regional authorities. The stand-off ended with no compromise between the colonists and Las Casas: neither side was giving an inch.

Unable to see any prospects of progress with the Spaniards, Las Casas soon went off to visit the Guatemalan Land of War, which he had managed to have included in his diocese. Returning after three months, he found he was being ostracised by the municipality, with bishops' dues being withheld. Some people had been threatening to kill him if he appeared in Ciudad Real again. Nonetheless he did, and he attempted to continue his uncompromising policy of refusing confession to slaveholders and other such delinquents. But he suffered a savage blow when the news came that the Emperor had responded to the colonists and signed an edict on 20th October 1545 which backtracked on the proposed winding down of the *encomiendas*.

Las Casas removed himself from an impossible situation by going to Mexico to attend a conference of prelates. It seems (judging by the evidence assembled by Jean Dumont) that many of the American-based bishops and monks disagreed with him on the *encomiendas*. In their opinion, if the Indians were to be effectively Christianised they needed to have structured contact with the Spanish colonists. These bishops and monks therefore supported the appeals against the New Laws. In any case, Las Casas never returned to his diocese. At the beginning of 1547 he set out for Spain.

It is impossible to know whether Juan Friede was right: whether the maximal policy of making the Indians separate and equal vassals of the Spanish Crown could have been enforced, given sufficient foresight and ruthlessness. The story of the Bishop of Chiapas may raise doubts, though after all he was facing forewarned enemies. But it was only this maximal policy that might have made possible an Irish type of Christianisation, without the destructive subjugation of local populations and cultures.

Sepúlveda Enters the Picture

The Emperor's concession on the New Laws did not mean that official Spain was no longer open to arguments for colonial reform. Las Casas, back in Spain, remained active and had powerful influence. He soon discovered that Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (encouraged by the conquistador Cortés, among others) had submitted a book to be approved for publication, where the military subjection of Indian communities was justified. Sepúlveda also claimed that the Indians were drastically inferior to the Spaniards culturally. They were not unimprovable: they could be instructed in Christianity, and over time their cultural level could be raised, though to what extent is never really made clear. But currently they were so degraded culturally (*"almost more like monkeys than men"*, it is said in one draft) that they ought to be seen as examples of those naturally subject peoples Aristotle refers to, who need higher peoples to rule them. They would need Spanish rule for a very long time to come.

Las Casas conducted *"a well-orchestrated campaign"*, as one of his editors puts it, to prevent this book being published. And again, at least since the late 19th century those who find Las Casas obnoxious or disturbing have been pointing to this as an example of his intolerance. (*Las Casas the Censor* is a section-heading of Dumont's.) To be sure, he was no Voltaire. He was not prepared to defend the right to free expression of someone who was saying what he himself thought was false and harmful. In the context, such a principle would have been plainly absurd. The way to defend the Indians from destruction was certainly not to promote free expression for writers who justified colonial violence and oppression.

Sepúlveda, finding that publication was effectively barred, produced a Spanish version of his book and put that in circulation. He also produced a short *Apologia* giving his main arguments in more theological form, which he managed to have published in Rome. The Spanish authorities promptly banned this book from circulation in Spanish territories and ordered any copies in Spain to be seized. However, Charles V, disturbed by the conflict between his court chronicler Sepúlveda and the famous reformer Las Casas, eventually ordered the matter to be formally debated. And this is how the controversy of Valladolid, one of the most fascinating disputes in the intellectual history of Europe, came into being.

A recent editor of this controversy, Nestor Capdevila, has this to say:

> "The controversy between Sepúlveda and Las Casas is an introduction to the ambivalence of European expansion, not only because it is quasi-original but because the tension between the common ideological principles and the opposed politics is at a maximum. Sepúlveda justifies wars and economic exploitation by the contradiction in the Indians' "being". They are barbarous men: by full right they belong to the human race, but they cannot fulfil their humanity except by submitting themselves to the Spaniards, who are Christians and more rational. Now for Las Casas, this humanitarian justification of imperialism is the negation of the humanity which the Indians' self-proclaimed benefactors pretend to recognise in them. Humanitarianism contains a dehumanisation which makes all violence possible. What Sepúlveda presents as an expansion of Christianity and of reason, is for Las Casas an invitation to engage in the genocide which is "the destruction of the Indies". Within the controversy, dispossession, servitude and depopulation appear (for Sepúlveda) as the regrettable consequences or deplorable abuses of the legitimate imperialist application of universal principles, and (for Las Casas) as the immediate negation of those principles. Quite clearly, these are two individuals who defend their positions with reason and passion. But the controversy is the unity of two points of view where Europe appears contradictorily to itself.
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> "It is scarcely anachronistic to see in Sepúlveda the first systematic theorist of the right to civilise and in Las Casas the inventor of the thematics of genocide."

Francisco de Vitoria

In the next article in this series I hope to review the controversy. For now it is enough to say that this dispute itself takes place in the shadow of a work of intellectual wizardry performed eleven or twelve years previously. I am thinking of *On The Indians Lately Discovered*, a course of *relectiones* ("master lectures")

by Francisco de Vitoria, the foremost professor at the University of Salamanca and Spain's outstanding jurist.

Vitoria is often said to be the founder, or one of the founders, of modern international law, but this is disputed. Less controversially, he was the last great master of the theory of Just War. Roughly since the time of World War I, there has been a trend of thought in the United States which is interested in reviving Just War theory, and this has produced a cult of Vitoria and scholastic legal thinking. (Some time ago it was in the newspapers that President Obama had been reading St. Thomas Aquinas for guidance on best practice in conducting drone bombings. One would not be surprised to find him going on to Vitoria for further inspiration.)

On the Indians is about the right (if any) of the Spanish to take possession of lands and remove local rulers, establishing their own sovereignty, in America. To judge from his lectures (surviving only as transcripts by students, not revised by the author), Vitoria was a master of precise formulation and expression. He was one of the most articulate men on earth. And yet, for more than four and a half centuries, people have been arguing over what he actually said in these lectures and how much else he implied.

Vitoria begins by asking whether the American Indians had ownership of their lands and properties before the arrival of the Spaniards. He shows unambiguously that the answer is yes. It is irrelevant that they were unbelievers, or that they seemed to the Spaniards to be stupid: they were true human beings and in both private and public matters they had "true dominion". They were authentic owners of their lands and their princes had real ruling authority.

He then examines the titles by which the Indians (or barbarians, as he calls them) came under the rule of the Spaniards. There are, first of all, seven unjust rights or titles, which have to be rejected.

1. The Holy Roman Emperor (currently also king of Spain) is lord of the world.
2. The Pope is lord of the world and he donated America to the kings of Spain.
3. The right of discovery.
4. The Indians' refusal to accept Christianity.
5. The need to punish the Indians for their crimes against nature (cannibalism, human sacrifice, sodomy).
6. Voluntary choice by the Indians of the king of Spain as their lord.
7. America as God's gift to the Spaniards.

Vitoria demolishes these seven titles with merciless finality. Then, much more guardedly, using conditional language, he presents seven legitimate titles by which the Indians *"could have come under"* the Spaniards.

1. The Spaniards' right freely to travel and to dwell and to trade in the Indians' territories: if this right is denied it may be enforced by just war, leading (if absolutely necessary) to confiscation of lands and transfer of sovereignty.
2. The right to preach Christianity: ditto.
3. Protection of Christian converts.
4. The possibility that, when a reasonable number of the Indians had become Christians, the Pope might decide in their spiritual interests that their pagan masters (even if they are not oppressive) should be removed and replaced by a Christian prince.
5. Humanitarian intervention: to prevent, for example, human sacrifice practised on innocent people or the killing of condemned criminals to be used in cannibal rites.
6. Voluntary choice by the Indians of the king of Spain as their lord (which might happen in the course of time).
7. The fruits of alliances with the local Dermot McMurroughs. It is legitimate to support rulers who are justly waging war against major local powers, and afterwards to enjoy the usual fruits of just war. In this instance Vitoria, who normally steers clear of specific examples, mentions the case of Mexico, where Cortés allied himself with the Tlaxcaltecs against the Aztecs.

Last but not least, with uncharacteristic bashfulness, Vitoria presents an eighth title which, he says, he cannot positively affirm but he also cannot flatly reject. It is the possibility that the Indians, even though they are not entirely incapable of structuring their lives, on account of their extreme cultural backwardness do it so badly that it would be better, in their own interests, if somebody else did it for them. He mentions Aristotle's claim that certain peoples are naturally slaves: in this context, he says, it could be relevant, and the Indians, who appear to fit in this category, could be governed *"partly as slaves"*.—That was going to be the central argument of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, and it is remarkable how this formidable jurist finds that he cannot say he is for it or against it. But he seems to be somewhat more for it than against it, at least at that moment of his survey.

And yet previously he has demolished the two main arguments that were commonly used to justify the Spanish Empire! One was the right of discovery. *"No other title was originally set up"*, Vitoria says, *"and it was in virtue of this title alone that Columbus the Genoan first set sail"*. And the right of discovery would be perfectly valid if the lands that Columbus discovered had been uninhabited. When something has no owner, the rule applies that the first finder can have it. But, as previously shown, the Indians were real owners and rulers in their territories. And therefore discovery, *"in and by itself, gives no support to a seizure of the aborigines, any more than if it had been they who had discovered us"*.

On the Papal donation, which the Spanish monarchs had always thought of as the principal justification of their American Empire, Vitoria has a devastating chain of reasoning which I will try to give in summary.

"**First proposition**: The Pope is not civil or temporal lord of the whole world, in the proper sense of the words “lordship” and “civil power”… {Those who say differently} attribute to the Pope that which he has never claimed for himself … No lordship can come to him save either by natural law or by divine law or by human law. Now, it is certain that none comes to him by natural or by human law, and none is shown to come to him by divine law. Therefore the assertion is ungrounded and arbitrary…

"The Pope has no spiritual jurisdiction over unbelievers, as even our opponents admit… Therefore he also does not have any in temporal matters.

"**Second proposition**: Even assuming that the Supreme Pontiff had this secular power over the whole world, he could not give it to secular princes. This is obvious, because it would be annexed to the Papacy. Nor can any Pope sever it from the office of Supreme Pontiff or deprive his successor of that power, for the succeeding Supreme Pontiff cannot be less than his predecessor; and, if some one Pontiff had made a gift of this power, either the grant would be null or the succeeding Pontiff could cancel it.

"**Third proposition**: The Pope has temporal power only so far as it is in subservience to matters spiritual, that is, as far as is necessary for the administration of spiritual affairs…

"**Fourth conclusion**: The Pope has no temporal power over the Indian aborigines or over other unbelievers. This is dear from propositions I and III. For he has no temporal power save such as subserves spiritual matters. But he has no spiritual power over unbelievers (I Corinth., ch. 5, v. 12). Therefore he has no temporal power either.

"**The corollary** follows, that even if the barbarians refuse to recognize any lordship of the Pope, that furnishes no ground for making war on them and seizing their property. This is dear, because he has no such lordship. And it receives manifest confirmation from the fact (as will be asserted below and as our opponents admit) that, even if the barbarians refuse to accept Christ as their lord, this does not justify making war on them or doing them any hurt. Now, it is utterly absurd for our opponents to say that, while the barbarians go scatheless for rejecting Christ, they should be bound

to accept His vicar under penalty of war and confiscation of their property…

"This shows that the title under discussion cannot be set up against the barbarians and that Christians have no just cause of war against them, either on the ground that the Pope has made a gift of their lands on the footing of absolute lord or that they do not recognize the lordship of the Pope… What has been said demonstrates, then, that at the time of the Spaniards' first voyages to America they took with them no right to occupy the lands of the indigenous population."

What is one to say about this perplexing performance?

"Vitoria had not quite argued his emperor out of the larger portion of his empire; but he had come perilously close to it", according to Pagden and Lawrence. Not so, according to Jean Dumont: in important respects Vitoria was now making concessions and acknowledging the validity of the empire, which earlier he had more or less condemned. Dumont refers to a section of the lectures *On Dietary Laws*, where Vitoria allegedly said or implied that America should be given back to the natives. But, assuming that Pagden and Lawrence have not completely mistranslated this section of the lectures, I think no such thing is implied there. The lectures on dietary laws do not seem to have disconcerted Charles V. In contrast, there are clear indications that he was alarmed when Vitoria demolished the Papal donation. One can fairly assume that this would always have been the Emperor's first answer if asked by what right he had supplanted Montezuama and Atahualpa.

Theoretically, theologically, Christianly, the Emperor might have been wrong. But it isn't at all clear that he was wrong politically and historically. What Pope Alexander VI thought the Pope could do was not necessarily the same as what Professor Vitoria thought the Pope could do. Some light is shed upon this in an interesting commentary by Carl Schmitt.

"The first impression that the present-day reader gets from {Vitoria's} lectures is of a quite extraordinary impartiality, objectivity and neutrality. The argumentation accordingly seems no longer medieval but “modern”."

Nevertheless, it is important to note that this is theological reasoning, abstract and not directly applicable to practical politics.

"The theses touch only the argumentation in dispute and their conclusions do not go directly to the concrete historical case... {Vitoria's structure of thought} concerns only the rightness of the argumentation, but not the concrete state of affairs and practical conclusions involving that."

Schmitt has to emphasise this point for a very good reason, which is this: *"The Papal entrustment of a mission was in fact the legal basis of the conquest"*. The monarchs of Spain, no less than the Popes, had always acknowledged this. Such entrustment was nothing new. The Pope had always had the right to call for crusades and to entrust missions in heathen lands to Christian monarchs.

"The seizure of America through the crown of Castile corresponds in its first stage, the stage which lies at the basis of Vitoria's argumentation, entirely to this law of nations, involving the ordering of space, of the Christian Middle Ages. It is even its high point, though equally its end... The Spanish conquest is a continuation of the spatial ordering concepts of the *Respublica Christiana* of the Christian Middle Ages."

In saying this, Schmitt—like Pope Alexander VI—obliterates the important distinctions that Vitoria was at pains to make. Nonetheless, his assessment of Vitoria is worth considering. *"It would be a gross misinterpretation of Vitoria to think that he had declared the great Spanish conquest to be an injustice. It is admittedly a widely-diffused error."* As he sees it, Vitoria's judgment is ultimately *"thoroughly positive"* for the Spanish conquest. *"Above all, for him the* fait accompli *of the already extensively realised Christianisation is by no means to be left out of account."*

(And just as the American conquest is the last great event in the Christian-mediaeval ordering of space, for Schmitt Vitoria is the last great mediaeval jurist. He is not really modern, despite appearances. True, he influenced the founders of modern international law—or more precisely, in the case of Hugo Grotius, he gave them rich materials which they ruthlessly exploited and abused. But he himself remains mediaeval in two key respects. He still thinks about law as a theologian; and he still holds onto the notion of a *justa causa*, "just cause" of war, rather than, like Gentile and Grotius, building upon the modern idea of *justi hostes*, "legitimate enemies".)

Finally, I think it is worth citing a robust contemporary assessment of Vitoria, written by Bartolomé de Las Casas in 1550 or shortly thereafter.

"In support of his impious opinion, Sepúlveda says that the most learned Father Francisco de Vitoria expressed approval of war against the Indians. So as not to be deprived of his personal glory, Sepúlveda adds that the most learned Father did not formulate the principal arguments which he himself adduces. Now then, everyone who reads the two parts of this most learned man's *First Relectio* will easily see that in the first part Vitoria sets out, and in a Catholic manner refutes, the seven titles by which war against the Indians may seem just. Nonetheless, in the second part he introduces eight titles, by virtue of which (or some of which) the Indians could be subjected to the jurisdiction of the Spaniards. In these titles he presumes certain things that are, for the most part, thoroughly false, which had been related to him by those plunderers who, without the slightest compunction, sow destruction throughout the world. Nevertheless, Vitoria showed signs of a certain unease in relation to some of those titles, even while wishing to moderate what he had expressed, as it seemed to the Emperor's men, with a certain harshness. Even though for lovers of truth there is no harshness in all that he expounds in the first part; that is to say, it was not just real and truthful in the past, but today also it is Catholic thinking and profoundly true. Vitoria himself lets us sense this when he speaks in the conditional form (in the second part), for fear of supposing or stating falsehoods in the guise of truths. Now then, since the circumstances which this most learned Father supposes are false, and given that he says some things with a certain timidity, Sepúlveda should by no means have adduced against me the opinion of Vitoria based on false reports."

Las Casas arguably had reason for thinking that Vitoria was trying to reduce the shock of his own harsh logic. Of the seven legitimate or possibly legitimate titles that he presents, two (Nos. 4 and 6) are pure sophistry, unrelated to anything that has ever happened or is in the least likely to happen. It is hard not to feel that, having demolished seven false titles, Vitoria thought he had better find as many possibly true ones, so as not to show negative disposition towards the secular power of Spain. As for the eighth title, *"not affirmed or completely rejected"*, it is indeed put forward rather timidly, and this might reflect Vitoria's doubts about the information he had been given. And yet, while Las Casas ably highlights and affirms *"his own side"* of Victoria, he cannot deny that Sepúlveda's side is there also. The two sides of Vitoria, as Capdevila says, faced each other in the dispute at Valladolid.

(To be continued)

NOTES

Translations are mine except where otherwise specified.

"The Land-Appropriation of a New World":*Die Landnahme einer neuen Welt*. In: Carl Schmitt, *Der Nomos der Erde im Völkerrecht des Ius Publicum Europaeum* (Köln 1950).

Las Casas in Hispaniola/Nicaragua/Guatemala:Bernard Lavallé, *Bartolomé de Las Casas. Entre la Espada y la Cruz* (Barcelona 2009), Chapters 5 and 6.

"We sent some of the recent...": Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Obras Completas 9* (Apologia) ed. Angel Losada (Madrid 1988) p. 349.

"Las Casas aimed to have...":Christiane Reinhardt, *Die Kolonisations und Missionsprojekte des Bartolomé de las Casas*. Doct. Thesis, University of Vienna 1964, p. 164.

"Peaceful preaching was opposed...":Lavallé op. cit. p. 131.

Laws/reports on *encomienda*:Juan Friede, "Las Casas and Indigenism in the Sixteenth Century", pp. 143-146. In: Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen, *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History* (De Kalb, Illinois 1971).
"The only way the colonist...":ibid. pp. 137-139.
"The economic welfare of the Spanish...":ibid. p. 174.
"...all but abolished the encomienda...":ibid. p. 169.
"If Las Casas's advice...":ibid. p. 170.
Las Casas in Chiapas:Lavallé op. cit. Chap. 8.
Practising pagan rites and ceremonies:Jean Dumont, *El amanecer de los derechos del hombre. La Controversia de Valladolid* (Madrid 2009) p. 147.
"Among the faults he specified...":Lavallé op. cit. p. 165.
Bishops and monks disagreed on encomiendas:Dumont op. cit. pp. 114-116.
"More like monkeys than men":Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, *Democrates Segundo* ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, t. 21 (1892) p. 305.
"A well-orchestrated campaign": Angel Losada, (intro.) Las Casas, *Obras Completas 9* p. 18.
"Las Casas the Censor":Dumont op. cit. p. 156.
"The controversy between Sepúlveda...": *La controverse entre Las Casas et Sepúlveda: Précedé de Imperialisme, empire et destruction par N. Capdevila* (Paris 2007) p. 73.
On the Indians Lately Discovered:*De indis et de ivre belli*ed. Ernest Nys, tr. John Pawley Bate (New York 1917). This translation can be found online and I use it here. There is little difference in the more recent translation, *Vitoria: Political Writings*, tr. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrence (Cambridge 1991).
Just and unjust titles:Sections quoted will be found in Bate's translation of De Indis Relectio Prior. In Pagden and Lawrence whether the Indians have true dominion is discussed pp. 233-251, the unjust titles pp. 251-277, the possibly just titles 277-291.
"Vitoria had not quite argued...":Pagden and Lawrence op. cit. p. xxviii.
Dumont on Vitoria/Dietary Laws: Dumont op. cit. pp. 87-89.
Section of *Dietary Laws* regarding empire:Pagden and Lawrence op. cit. pp. 225-228. These lectures are not included in Bate's translation.
Charles V alarmed by Victoria on Papal donation:Dumont op. cit. p. 99.
"The first impression that the present-day reader ...":Carl Schmitt, *Der Nomos der Erde* (Köln 1950) p. 71. There is an English translation of this book, but I have not seen it.
"The theses touch only...":ibid. p. 79, p. 83.
"The Papal entrustment...":ibid. p. 80.
"The seizure of America...":ibid. pp. 81-82.
"It would be a gross misinterpretation...":ibid. p. 77.
"Above all, for him the fait accompli...":ibid. p. 78.
Vitoria not modern:ibid. p. 92.
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Daniel Corkery

Irish Independent, 30th May 1924

The Neglect Of Canon Sheehan

The Value Of His Works

Perhaps it is rather a good sign of Canon Sheehan and the books he wrote that one seldom comes on any reference either to himself or to them of late.

His books, as we know, were translated into half the languages of Europe, and met with success everywhere. Their sale and influence in America have been no less. Yet for all that one never finds either them or himself, as a writer, referred to when "authoritative" lists of Irish writers are being made out and hung up in public places.

Hidden Value?

As a story teller he had his faults. His faults were those that attach to the solitary student; even in telling a tale of simple lives he could not forget the many books he himself had browsed upon.

A Lost Opportunity

What a pity his lot was not cast in Cork city while alive. There he might have founded a school of Irish writers that might better have expressed what is in the heart of this race than any school of Irish writers now at hand.

Himself being no longer available to do this, his books properly used might take his place. They need frank criticism.

A Drawback

The over-literary quality in them is a serious drawback. It needs someone to take them one by one and point out how good they are when some earnest emotion arising out of the heart of the tale, causes the author to lay aside for the moment his scraps of learning, his quotations in many languages.

Learning is necessary—even to a novelist. Literary culture is necessary. Wide reading in fields far from pure literature is necessary; but more necessary than all this is such sympathy of soul with the subject of the story as will forbid the entrance of the least elements into the tale likely to destroy its mood.

When He Shone

Another fact needs stressing when one speaks of Canon Sheehan. How good he was when he wrote of those he knew and loved; how poor and shallow when he chose the same sort of stuff as English novelists made their own. "My New Curate" is a thoroughly good yarn.

It has intimacy in it. It deepens, and makes vivid for us the life that is around us. But has "Lisheen" any such value? It may pass a day for us, just as any other cheap-grained story, but as a story of Irish life or indeed as a story of life sans phrase it has no value. The writer was plucking at his invention rather than purifying the impressions that he had already garnered from life—which is what the true novelist does.

Depths Of Irish Nature

Those two points stressed—his over-literary quality, his fondness for such strata of life as he did not know, there is still very much in Canon Sheehan worth dwelling upon. That he and his works should be laid aside just at this moment may prove rather than disprove this.

Most things, dreams, aspirations, values that concern the depths and not just the surface of the Irish nature have been just as surely also laid quietly aside.

It seems to me that there must be more value in the works of this good priest than any of us dreamt; more of the depths of Irish native qualities in them than we were aware.

D.C.

Brendan Clifford

Corkery And Sheehan

Canon Sheehan was a priest, a story-telling novelist, and an intellectual of European range, with New England America thrown in. Corkery was an intellectual within the constricted Home Rule horizon with an inability to write long stories that moved. Sheehan wrote in rural freedom for an international readership, and a provincial readership at home, but not for a national readership at a time when the nationalist movement was confined with the Home Rule Party, which was hegemonised by a Catholic secret society. Corkery was a city intellectual of the Home Rule era, and later a University Professor in a city which had existential problems deriving from its alien origins and the corporate structure in which it lived under British rule.

Sheehan played a part in launching a political assault on the Redmondite Home Rule Party in which the Catholic secret society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, had been made the dominant organisational force. The All-For-Ireland League, for which he wrote the Manifesto, broke the back of the Home Rule Party in Cork county in the 1910 elections and also took the city seats. In North Cork the ousting of the Home Rule Party was final. After its defeat in the first of the 1910 Elections it never contested another election there. In Cork City the AFIL victory was not so decisive. The Redmondite base there did not collapse. The conflict was ongoing. But Corkery appears to have been uninfluenced by it.

The Ireland in which Sheehan found himself was the world of Young Ireland and the Fenians, which was bound up with Europe. The European frame of reference which came naturally to him seemed to Corkery to be a pretentious display of learning. I read Sheehan's novels when I was an irreligious teenager and I had no problem with his Continental references, though I was anything but learned, because, in the remote recesses of North West Cork, where Kerry Dioceses intrudes into Cork, the culture of Young Ireland still survived around me. That is how backward we were. I read Gavan Duffy along with Mitchel because he was there, and therefore I was never carried away by Mitchel, and I read Goethe because he was there. And this was not in libraries but in the houses of small farmers in townlands west of Boherbue village where a vigorous political assault had been launched on the Redmondite party in the 1910 elections.

Corkery, in Cork City, had clearly not been subject to these influences, therefore he is not at ease with Sheehan. He felt that Sheehan has been unduly neglected, but he cannot say why. Sheehan is a vague Olympian figure beyond his range, who can neither be dismissed nor absorbed.

Literary School

Corkery founded a literary school in Cork City and he wrote one novel in accordance with his literary theory. The motto of the novel is from Thoreau, the American intellectual who retreated from the bustle of civilisation to a cultured wilderness—*"The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation"*. The novel, *The Threshold Of Quiet*, is a long contemplation of constricted lives in Cork City. I suppose it accords with Corkery's view that *"purifying the impressions he had already garnered from life is what the true novelist does"*. It might be perfect in its way, but it has the liveliness of an iceberg—a quality it shares with *Ulysses*. It is also, in my experience, as widely unread as *Ulysses*, but not as widely published because it was never made the centre of an English literary cult.

Corkery also founded a literary school. It had two students who became well known: Sean O Faolain and Frank O'Connor. Both parted company with him in search of literary fame. O Faolain placed himself in the hands of a London publisher and became a writer of regional British literature set in Ireland. For a generation his short stories and attempted novels were part of the regular stock of English public libraries. O'Connor wrote entertaining short stories, and in one of them showed a unique urban understanding of the relationship of priests and people in rural Ireland. (I think it is called *Peasants*.)

Sheehan had no literary theory that I know of. He just had the ability to write long stories. And his novels, though not hyped by any literary school, were widely read, and were reprinted many times because there was an unliterary demand for them.

Because he was a priest who wrote novels he has, as far as he has been noticed at all by literary critics, been grouped with two other priests who wrote novels—Joseph Guinan, who wrote in the style of a gentleman commenting approvingly on the simple piety, spiced with innocent cunning, of his peasants; and Gerald O'Donovan, who resigned from the priesthood when he was passed over for a Bishoprick and wrote anti-Catholic novels which naturally found favour in Britain.

Though Sheehan was a priest who wrote novels, he never struck me as a Catholic novelist. In his novels he was neither an apologist for the Church nor a critic. He just wrote stories set amongst a people that was Catholic. The Catholicism was taken for granted, as was Protestantism by English novelists. He also wrote sermons and religious tracts, but his novels were neither.

My mother, who couldn't sing, used to sing a little song: *"I won't be a nun,/ And I shan't be a nun./ There's an officer on guard and 'tis with him I will run,/ For my heart is full of pleasure and I won't be a nun"*. I don't suppose Sheehan wrote it, but it appears in one of his novels.

When a girl becomes a nun in Corkery's novel it is in relief from a desperate life. In one of Sheehan's novels it is a high-spirited girl who becomes a nun. I suppose girls become nuns for both reasons, but in my experience the latter was the case, and I understood that Reverend Mothers were not enthusiastic about timid girls in flight from life.

A first cousin of mine became a nun. She was a wilful girl with bright secular prospects before her, and she absolutely insisted on becoming a nun in defiance of her parents.

I suppose such a thing has become incomprehensible because of the social amnesia and false memory cultivated by the increasingly West British media and academia during the past generation.

Background

Sheehan was not the product of a literary school and he did not found a literary school. Before he wrote novels he wrote a good deal of literary criticism which showed that he was completely at ease with English literature as well as French and German.

Joseph Guinan had the smattering of literary culture that a gentleman ought to have. Priests in those times were a kind of gentry. They performed in Irish life part of the social function which the gentry performed in English life, but which the imposed British gentry did not perform at all in Irish life.

When Sheehan became a Parish Priest he performed that function too, and did it very competently. But he was much more than a mere gentleman.

He became a Paris Priest almost as a matter of course. He was orphaned when a child. His guardian was the Parish Priest of Mallow who went on to become the Bishop of Cloyne. He grew up in a privileged circle of priests and people—his closest friend being the agrarian agitator and political radical, William O'Brien, for whom he wrote the Manifesto of the anti-Redmond movement.

If he is to be described in terms of British society—and how else should he be described in these times of resurgent West Britishism?—then he had the mentality of the free-ranging English aristocrats of the early 19th century, one of whom, the atheistic Shelley, was his favourite English poet. And so, when he came to write novels, he did not write under instruction, or according to rules, and the writing is not the laborious effort of a petty bourgeois trying to break into the literary market.

("Mr. Gladstone used to say that, in his schooldays at Eton, a boy might learn much, or learn nothing, but he would not learn superficially… What they professed to know, that you can be sure they knew. The affectation of culture was despised, and ignorance, where it existed, was avowed. For example, everyone knew Italian, but no one professed to know German. I remember men who had never been at a University, but had passed from a Public School to a Cavalry Regiment, or the House of Commons, and who could quote Horace as easily as the present generation quotes Kipling" (G.W. Russell, *Chapters Of Autobiography*.)

Sheehan was processed through Maynooth, yet it was as if he had educated himself at an English Public School or a German University.)

Cut Out Of The Picture

The Jesuits decided in 1917, when the forces that made Ireland a state were being drawn together, that Sheehan's novels should not be central to the national culture. A dismissive article was published in *Studies*, written by John D. Colclough, an Inspector of Schools, whose only published work I could find was on Washington Irving.

Studies decreed that, while Sheehan's name would survive, it would be only as a name. His novels would be forgotten. In fact the novels continued to be printed for another two generations. They were printed because they were sold. And, if

they were sold, it can be assumed that they were read. The effect of the *Studies* decree seems to have been that 'Sheehan Studies' were not cultivated in the Literary Departments of the Universities.

Donncadh O Dualaing said that, when he went to Cork University and had to think of a subject for a Thesis for a Degree, he suggested Canon Sheehan. The suggestion was shot down by the big-wig in the Department—the name B.G. McCarthy comes to mind, but I can't vouch for it. It was put to him that he should take for his subject the great North Cork novelist, Elizabeth Bowen, a product of the hot-house culture of Bloomsbury, who was unknown in North Cork outside the flimsy residue of the Big House gentry.

Sheehan's novels were eventually removed from the market. But the name survives. Therefore there was a centenary commemoration of his death in Cork City last year (2013). But what was thee to say about him in the absence of his novels? Nothing. It was a commemoration of nothingness.

Inner Ireland

A book about Sheehan was published by a member of the Anglo-German Fleischmann family in Cork City. I suppose I should say Hiberno-German, but, judging by Ruth Fleischmann's *Catholic Nationalism And The Irish Revival: a study of Canon Sheehan*, the Hiberno- is substantially Anglo-**.**

Sheehan was much appreciated in Germany. But it seems that, when Germany comes to Cork, it thinks it's come to a British city. And it may be right.

Sheehan was a Catholic who was a nationalist but he was not a Catholic-nationalist. The AFIL denounced the Redmondite reduction of nationalism to Catholicism. It has therefore been written out of history. The generation that constructed a State on the basis of the 1918 Election bore the imprint of the AFIL, but their presence in academia was slight. One could say that in the post-Independence generation the League was marginalised by neglect. The revisionist crop of historians have excluded it with malice aforethought. They have been set the project of presenting all that happened after 1916 as a mistake, and presenting Redmond's Imperialising of nationalist Ireland as being in the true line of Irish historical development. If they are dismissive of the notion of national destiny which they attribute to Republicans, it is not because they repudiate the idea of destiny. It is because they are committed to a destiny which somehow failed to realise itself—the destiny which Redmond almost realised in 1914-16. A mistake happened in 1916 and was compounded in 1918. The thing that must be done to bring the actuality of Irish life back into line with the destiny from which it deviated is, by manipulation of memory, to return to August 1914 and in the series of centenary events give priority to what ought to have happened over what did happen.

There is no place in that project for Sheehan and the AFIL. But it seems to have been judged that Corkery is harmless to it. A volume of his *Selected Writings* was published by Cork University in 2012 under the title *Cultural Criticism*. It includes an article on *The Peasant In Literature* (1915). He says that—

> "many people have been writing about peasants who haven't it in them to create literature… These people know the peasant, they have lived with him; they could report him truly—no, they could report him literally… Their stories are very real in non-essentials and very untrue in essentials" (p106).

To write literature about peasants, he says, *"must always be difficult"*. You have to put yourself within the mental horizons of farmers and labourers and—

> "remark how stripped of pageantry are the few ceremonies that break in upon the daily toil—to do all this is to reckon up the difficulty of putting the little human colony of the Irish hillside into literature. Surely whoever would undertake to do that must have the fairy gift."

Sheehan didn't try to do that—except in *Lisheen*, about which I would agree with Corkery. Corkery did try. It's a long time since I read his short stories. I only recall that the life in which I lived wasn't in them, and that they were not much appreciated in my area. Sheehan was read by us peasants. Corkery wasn't. Maybe we didn't want a literature about ourselves because we found it very interesting being ourselves. And, in the course of being ourselves, we took in the wide world outside ourselves.

Rural Life

The Cork City intellectual—not to mention the Dublin one—has a fixed idea about peasants: the idea of the peasant as a standardised product of Feudalism. But we didn't have Feudalism. We didn't even know how to make cheese. We got it from the cheese factory in triangles wrapped in silver paper and packed into a circular carton, and we didn't have a taste for anything else. Whatever the Penal Law system was, it was not Feudalism. It did not standardise us into something particular and orderly. I suppose that made us unknowable to the city intellectual. But we were not at all upset about not being known. Indeed it was our business to know, rather than be known. And I think the history of Ireland from the 1920s to the 1950s is only comprehensible if that is borne in mind.

The state was then, in very great part, a rural property-owning democracy, in which *"active citizenship"*, which has declined into an ideal, was actual. The Economic War, which achieved the substance of Independence in 1938, was the work of the rural, property-owning democracy. And it led to the stubborn neutrality in the War, against which Nicholas Mansergh schemed in vain in the Whitehall Department of Information /Propaganda.

My particular family did not own property, but my grandfathers were a small farmer on one side and a blacksmith on the other. I was the offspring of a younger son and a younger daughter, and the only world I knew from experience until I was in my twenties was the townlands west of Boherbue village. The village itself I hardly knew at all. I worked for a few years as a labourer in the Creamery at the western edge of it, but the village itself held no interest for me, and, small though it was, I did not know most of the people in it. (And, judging by a history of the village published recently, it knew little of the life of the townlands. There were only about seventy houses in the village, but that seems to have been enough for the characteristics of urbanisation to take root.)

As a product of that peasant society, I can understand why the urban Corkery found it difficult to know it.

{I will have to return to Sheehan later because at this point I found myself in a diversion, which seemed relevant at the time, about—}

Dances And Fascism

I was puzzled by what Stephen Richards wrote about the suppression of dances in the last issue: about house dances being banned by law in the 1930s, and the people therefore being oppressed by their own State, except for Slieve Luacra where the law was ignored.

House dances were rare in Slieve Luacra, where there was a craze for dancing. If a law against them was brought in around the time I was being born, but was defied in Slieve Luacra, then, supposing that they had been in existence, their decline must have been due to something other than policing of the law.

And, if the law had been defied, I'm sure I would have heard of it from my mother, from whom I got a pretty good idea of life in the generation before me. She told me about how the attempt by a priest to interfere with courting in the vicinity of dances had been seen off. The only police interference with dances I ever heard of was in the context of the

suppression of the Fine Gael fascist movement of the mid-1930s, when dances were used as a means of evading laws directed against it.

House dances were not unknown, but were held for particular occasions. I remember being present at two. One was at Jack Thade's in Doireleigh and the other in Julia O'Connor's in Lamanagh, both being in Labourers' Cottages. The occasion of one was a wedding. I forget the occasion of the other.

I never heard of a house-dance being held in any of the bigger houses, which I assume were built by minor gentry who once had a toe-hold in the area but were entirely forgotten. These houses had become the farm houses of what were large farms by Slieve Luacra standards but would have been medium at best twenty miles to the east.

The Treatyite Fascist movement that arose in response to the consolidation of Fianna Fail power in 1933 was not entirely a class movement of the bigger farmers, but there was that element in it. (The Blueshirts had cavalry.) And I understand that one way in which it was attempted to escape the curbs which Fianna Fail placed on the movement was fund-raising by means of house-dances. Those dances were presumably held in the big houses where such things were feasible. I cannot imagine house-dances ever being a regular thing with an admission fee in Labourers' Cottages.

The only Blueshirt I knew was Gerald Cronin of Doireleigh. I only got to know he was a Blueshirt a generation later. I experienced the last flicker of Blueshirt activity in Boherbue village, possibly in 1939. It was an attempt to hold a Blueshirt meeting by a force coming from elsewhere. It was warded off. And I would guess that Blueshirt activity had simmered down in Boherbue Parish by then.

Gerald Cronin's Big House was not a vacated gentry house but a vacated Presbytery. A dispute arose between the members of the Parish and the Bishop which resulted in the Parish being placed under Interdict and another Presbytery being built.

In the early 1940s Gerald Cronin was a regular card-player, along with Jack Thade from his Labourer's Cottage, at our house, which was what was known as a Rambling House. It was not a big house. Rambling Houses didn't tend to be. It was not a farm house. The card games were Jacobite games, conducive to conversation. There might be up to ten people there of an evening, labourers as well as farmers.

I reckon that when the Blueshirt movement receded a deliberate effort was made to cover it over. My parents were Fianna Fail, but only moderately so, and were very sociable, and possibility their sociability and rather lukewarm politics performed a social function in that generation.

I have never seen a study of Rambling Houses, but going by my own experience I would guess that they played a part, along with the GAA, in blunting political antagonisms.

Gerald Cronin was a source of traditional songs and airs. But music was for pubs. And dancing was for dance halls. It was in pubs that Padraig O Keeffe (who has become famous) flourished. I haven't read any of the books quoted by Stephen Richards, but I can's see what sense there would have been, from the viewpoint of enforcing strict sexual morals, in banning house-dances, where strict controls would tend to be enforced as a matter of course, and driving people into dance-halls.

Slieve Luacra had a craze for dancing and it was rich in dance-halls. People were free in dance-halls. Only the dancers were present. The most popular dance-hall was at the heart of Slieve Luacra, in Gneevaguilla, where one would have expected traditional practices to be strongest.

There were two dance-halls in Boherbue village. But there were also dance-halls in the countryside, far from towns and villages—and therefore far from priests and nosey-parkers. And 'all-night' dances, which were restricted in village dance-halls were, as far as I recall, more frequent in those isolated dance-halls.

But, whether in the village or the country, the dance-hall was freedom. And the dances were either ceilidhe or ballroom-dances for couples. Formation dancing was practised sparingly—perhaps more at pattern-dances at crossroads than in dance halls. There was a regular dance on Sunday afternoon, between Second Mass and milking time, on a wooden platform set at the centre of Lamanagh Cross, blocking all four roads. (Another event which had priority over traffic on the roads on Sunday afternoons was road bowling.)

PS

The foregoing was written over Christmas. I have since been able to look at two of the books quoted by Stephen. One of them, *Blooming Meadow* is by Fintan Vallely of Armagh. It consists of short biographies of traditional musicians. Here is a further extract from the one on Lucy Farr from Co. Galway:

> "By the time Lucy Fair left for England at the age of 24, house-dance was being undermined by new, enforced social practices and legislation. The *Furrow*, a Catholic magazine, raged about dances being occasions of sin, sectarian violence coloured Belfast and the political authorities feared funds being raised for the IRA. Lucy was bitter about the transfer of recreation from home to parochial hall in the same period. 'The Church took over. We weren't allowed to hold house-dances anymore, and that was the most awful crime against the Irish music that anyone could do. The priests, you know, were vicious then. Oh yes, they'd condemn the late nights as stopping people coming to mass on Sunday because they were 'up all night the night before' playing this awful music. But it never stopped any of us coming to mass a Sunday. In fact they wanted to open a parochial hall beside the local church and have everybody come there instead on a Saturday night and pay half a crown to come in.' But Lucy and others felt too that 'the music wasn't the same there as in the kitchen'. The moral policing annoyed them as young adults. 'When the dances were over, they had this awful habit—the priest had a stick and he would wonder around trying to find courting couples! We used to make a joke out of it, but that's how it was then'. Between one thing and another they killed the house-dances, they killed the music" (p72-3).

Vallely then explains that Parish Halls created a need for bands, and that the curate in Lucy Farr's parish organised a Ceili Band. But Lucy left, never to return. In 1936 she became a nurse in England, married an Englishman, and had sons in the RAF. She produced an English family which had no interest in her Irish dimension. After the war she contributed to the pub music scene created by Irish building workers. But she was *"sceptical about the folk scene's popular idols. Like a lot of musicians at the time she found them egotistical and unsympathetic"*.

She retreated into a solitary life in her own flat and *"immerses herself in a great collection of memories"*.

The book was published in 1998, more than sixty years after she left Galway at the age of 24 and settled down in England. I don't think it says when she was interviewed.

I was familiar with Slieve Luachra fiddle music when I lived there. But it was the slow music that caught my attention particularly, while it was the dance music that was most popular. Then my ear was caught by Bach's abrasive fiddle music the moment I heard it and I was switched over to German music. So I am no judge of traditional music—except that Sean O'Riada's arrangement of *Roisin Dubh* seems very German to me.

I would say about Parish Halls that they are not necessarily Church Halls.

A Parish Hall was built by voluntary labour in Boherbue in the early 1950s. (I mixed concrete for it.) It was not in any way attached to the church and it was not for dancing.

Lucy Farr, sixty years out of Galway, resented developments that were happening as she left and describes them as she remembers them. But the other book quoted by Stephen is by a historian: *The Story Of Irish Dance* by Helen Brennan.

The author tells us: *"In Jimmy's snug kitchen I listened fascinated as a whole world unfolded"*. The paragraph, quoted by Stephen, tells how *"the 'detectives'—members of the police force based in the area"* raised a house-dance and roughed up the dancers. And people put up with it.

Why was it done? Obviously to curb immorality at the behest of the priests.

Why did the people put up with it? Obviously because they lived in terror of the priests.

(An authoritative book published a coupe of years ago, *Southern Ireland And The Liberation Of France*, tells us that Ireland, when Britain abandoned it, quickly turned itself into a concentration camp. It lived under *"draconian laws"* that were appropriate to a Gulag. Yvone McEwan, a military history at Edinburgh University, lists them all. And, if people enjoying themselves at a harmless house-dance, could be beaten up by detectives, and then be prosecuted for having provoked the beating up, it must be true, surely!)

But why*"the 'detectives'—members of the police force based in the area'…"*?

I assume because they were <u>not</u> *"the police force based in the area"*. I assume Jimmy Ward just said *"the detectives"* and the author supplied the explanation. But if it was *"the police force based in the area"*, why didn't Jimmy say *"the Guards"*? (I never heard them called anything else.)

He didn't call them the Guards because they were the detectives. And what of the *"fund-raising dance"*? A profit-making dance? If the funds were not profit, what were they for?

The author is very uncurious about Jimmy Ward's curious account of this dance.

I suppose the Catholics priests would have stopped dancing if they could. They were sufficiently Christian for that.

In the literature of the 19th century Protestant Crusade, Catholics were presented as being three-quarters Pagan, and their pilgrimages to Holy Wells and such things as occasions of sin—occasions for orgies. The propaganda had little effect in making them Protestants, but I think it had an effect in encouraging the reform movement launched by Cardinal Cullen. Catholicism in Ireland became more Protestant. And, since the society did not crumble under the impact of the Famine/Holocaust (which was seen by its Protestant overseers as a Providential event), the survivalist culture which it stimulated involved a tightening up of conduct—one might say a bourgeoisification of it, in those times when the middle-class Protestantism that dominated the moral world stood squarely for the thrifty nuclear family within which sensuality was tightly confined, and modestly conducted even within those confines.

The Catholic Irish became an example for the Catholic world, knowing all its doctrines and making an earnest attempt to live by them. The Catholic world did not follow this example, of course. It did not need to. It was only in Ireland that a nominally Catholic people, brought to the verge of extinction by Protestant Imperial power, rescued itself by making itself more like the Power that was intent on destroying it. And it did this by living more strictly in accordance with Catholic doctrines than it had ever done in the past.

When did the British colonisation project in Ireland come to an end—the project of displacing the Irish population with a British? It began under Elizabeth and was implemented sporadically during the following centuries. A French academic in Dublin during the War of Independence interviewed Lord French, the Viceroy, and found him still hopeful that the Irish could be eased out of Ireland by economic processes.

In their conflict with the Protestant Empire, the Irish toughened themselves up by making themselves more Roman and more *"priest-ridden"*—knowing that the Papish Priest was the figure that made good Protestant Imperial stomachs turn.

But Whitehall, which had often allied itself with Rome in its Balance-of-Power wars to keep Europe divided, tried to do the same thing in Ireland. England's 'progress' is for itself—as Burke explained and advocated. It allied itself with reaction in order to stifle the progress of others. And so it tried to use the Cullenised Hierarchy to curb the national development that had begun in Ireland following the abolition of the Protestant Parliament.

Rome in that period was paranoid about Republican conspiracies, because it was under pressure from Italian nationalism. Britain was very much supportive of Italian nationalism, and it gave a safe haven to the propagandist of nationalist terrorism, Mazzini. But it was able to get Rome to use its influence against the Irish nationalists. And it seems to have persuaded Mazzini not to support them.

Britain in its Irish policy allied itself with the force which in general terms it saw as reactionary, against the force which in general terms it saw as progressive, because the progress of that force did not suit its interests.

This was the kind of thing it had done a number of times on the Continent. By doing it in Ireland under the Act of Union it effectively negated the Union and treated Ireland as a foreign country.

Getting Rome, which it hated, to try to curb Irish nationalism for it was a remarkable exercise of diplomatic skill. But it was too clever by half.

Imperial England could never be anything but Protestant. It as the Empire of Protestantism. It could never regard a Catholic population as being part of itself, as it did the enthusiastic sects of Protestantism. When it found it necessary to tolerate Catholicism, or to ally with Rome, it did so disdainfully. And, when it enhanced the institutional power of the Roman Church in Ireland in the hope of curbing Republicanism, it strengthened the body through which Irish society, on the verge of extinction, had regenerated itself.

And it was from that society regenerated by reforming (i.e. Romanising) Catholicism that the tenacious national movement of the 19th century grew. It mattered little that Rome issued political Decrees at the behest of Britain, and that some Bishops took them in earnest. The incompatibility of Irish society with the Union was enhanced by Cullen's Romanising reforms no less than by Republican conspiracies.

The last British Imperial success in Ireland was the so-called Civil War. And that greatly enhanced the status of the Church in the State which was constructed in place of the Republic by the Provisional Government established by the Imperial Power under the terms of the Treaty.

The Catholic Hierarchy as a body had not recognised the 1918 Election as a democratic mandate for the establishment of an independent state. It did not recognise the 1919 Republic as the legitimate Government. And some Bishops echoed the Imperial propaganda that armed defence of the Republic against the British forces was murder. If Britain had in the end recognised the independence of the Irish state established by democratic mandate, the church Hierarchy would not have been well placed to hegemonise life in the independent state.

By splitting Sinn Fein, establishing part of it in power as a Provisional Government under threat of wholesale reconquest if it failed to do its bidding, equipping the Provisional Government with a new and regular (i.e., not Volunteer) Army, and ordering the Provisional

Government to make war on the IRA before a new Parliament elected in June 1922 could meet, Britain made this new Government heavily dependent on the Hierarchy. In the confused election of June 1922 it could claim a victory—though that election could hardly pass muster by the standards applied to Russia these days—but it lost the support of most of the energetic section of the population that had forced Britain to negotiate. And it relied on the Bishops to work up the relatively inert part of the society—the part that was most susceptible to its influence—in support of the new regime, and excommunicate the disobedient element.

Hierarchical influence, combined with the British threat which was never removed from the agenda, procured a clear Treatyite victory in the 1923 Election, but it was far from a crushing victory. Independent political energy lay with the minority, but the inert majority, made militarily dominant by the Imperial Power, held the legislative and administrative powers of state for the next nine years.

The Treatyite Government came within a whisker of being ousted by a Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition in 1927. It would have been better for all concerned if that had happened. But the Treatyite regime survived because an Independent TD committed to the change of Government was nobbled, with the help of the Editor of the *Irish Times* it is said. The Treatyites then spent the next five years indulging in an orgy of *"law and order"* legislation, with Hierarchical support.

A Fianna Fail Government supported by Labour took Office in 1932. Fianna Fail consolidated its grip on power with another election in 1933, which it won outright. The Treatyite party was committed by its conduct after its 1927 scare to the view that Fianna Fail was the catspaw of the IRA and that the IRA was Communist. De Valera was depicted as an Irish Kerensky—the leader of the capitalist/democratic Government which replaced Tsarism in February 1917 and was ousted by Lenin's Bolshevism in October.

In order to defend the Treaty and ward off Communism, the Treatyites reorganised themselves as a Fascist movement, and changed their name to Fine Gael.

Fascism was the recognised method of disabling the Communist threat. Churchill, while a member of the British Cabinet, went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1927 to pay homage to Mussolini for having found the way to save Western Christian civilisation from Communism. And in the early 1930s he said he hoped that, if Britain was ever subjected to the humiliating conditions imposed on Germany in 1919, somebody like Hitler would arise to save it.

Fascism was respectable in responsible bourgeois democratic circles in the 1930s. The enemy was Bolshevik Russia. It was only through the bungled foreign policy of the British Empire as the world Superpower of the era that the movement that was recognised as having saved Europe from Communism was transformed into an enemy on whom the Western democracies made war with Communist Russia as an Ally—in fact as the dominant Ally in the Anti-Fascist Alliance. And the moment the Communist forces defeated Nazi Germany, the Western Allies would have made war on it but for the initial reluctance of the USA and the fact that Russia made nuclear bombs before the US was ready to act.

Revisionist historians like to tell us that there was nothing unique about the Irish situation in 1919 or in the Northern Ireland situation in 1970. In fact Ireland in 1919 was unique as the first test of the principles for which Britain declared it fought the Great War, and the undemocratic mode of British government of the Six County region of the British state was without parallel anywhere in the world. What was not unique—what was normal for its time—was that Ireland should have a respectable middle class Fascist movement in the 1930s, and that it was the pro-British party that was fascist. But that normality is something that Fine Gael was incapable of coping with after it submitted to the system of Parliamentary democracy which Fianna Fail had consolidated by a series of election victories, combined with a willingness to use whatever force was necessary to curb Fascist developments.

(The submission was made discreetly under cover of the Emergency measures required by neutrality when the Crown launched another World War in 1939. Fianna Fail made it easy for Fine Gael to slip back into Parliamentary mode—unlike the Treatyites who had tried to keep Republicans out of the Dail in the 1920s by imposing humiliating conditions on entry. And of course Fine Gael support for neutrality when the Crown had launched a major war was its final break with the Treaty. It had been hustled along the Stepping Stones, across which it had never taken a step while in power.)

The period during which the main Opposition Party in the Dail was either formally or substantially Fascist in orientation—say 1933 to 1939—is little known. Fine Gael still tends to be called Blueshirt, but the actual Blueshirt movement is little remembered and the scale of it is not appreciated. And the Irish Christian Front, a widespread movement supportive of Franco, is hardly ever mentioned. It was convenient that the Spanish Civil War ended with the triumph of Franco shortly before Britain declared World War, and that Franco adopted a policy of strict neutrality in the Anglo-German phase of that War, though actively supporting Germany in its war on Russia. (He denied that what we now call the 2nd World War was an integral event. He treated it as three distinct wars and took up a different position on each of them.)

Academic circles have been predominantly Fine Gael, and Fine Gael in the 1930s is something they have swept under the carpet.

Professor Girvin, an ardent Treatyite who holds that the imposition of the Treaty was the foundation of democracy, denies that the Fascists were those who said they were Fascists, and says it was the active anti-Fascist Republicans who were the real Fascists. And I have seen it said that Fine Gael Fascism could not have been real Fascism because it failed. The latter accords with a widespread assumption that Fascism is a force of evil, and that Evil has a source of energy peculiar to itself, inaccessible to the forces of Good, which guarantees it success, at least in the short term.

When I was an irreligious teenager in Slieve Luacra I was puzzled by the idea of Evil. When I came across a reference to a book called *Beyond Good And Evil* I asked a Cork bookshop, from which I used to get books by post, to get it for me. The bookshop refuse to have anything to do with a book with such a title. Half a century later I came across the best explanation of Evil I have ever seen. It was written by the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin at the time of the Williamite conquest, William King. King, reasoning the thing out on the basis of something like the philosophy of John Locke (the ideologist of the Glorious Revolution which subjugated Ireland to the Penal Laws) concluded that Evil was what obstructed the will.

The English will-to-power had got itself together at that moment for the attempt at world dominance that was sustained for over two centuries, and throughout that period whatever was obstructing its will at any particular moment was depicted as Evil. In other words, Evil appears in a one-sided view of a conflict of interests.

The ruling class which conducted the State during the two and a quarter centuries of positive Imperial construc-

tion handled conflicts of interest as conflicts of interest. But much of the energy of Imperialism was supplied by the middle-class which was saturated with fundamentalist Protestant millenarianism—the fundamentalism that had come to power as a theocracy under Cromwell but failed to maintain itself as a State. The sceptical ruling class of the 18th century manipulated the fundamentalist Protestant impulse in the service of the state while remaining apart form it. But, with the increasing influence of the middle class in the 19th century, the fundamentalist language of transcendent morality—the language of Good and Evil—began to erode the sceptical calculation of advantage in the handling of conflicts of interest.

Conflicts of interest can be resolved by compromise after a trial of strength, but if they are conceived of as conflicts of Good and Evil they cannot.

The swamping of secular calculation of advantage in conflicts of interest by the fundamentalist language of Good and Evil as transcendental absolutes was warded off by the ruling class for two centuries. It happened in 1914, in what declared itself to be the first middle class war fought by the British Empire. And so it has continued. The enemy must be Evil in order for a war against him to be Good. To go to war with him over a conflict of interests—as used to be done in the days before total war—would itself by Evil.

In 2003, when Tony Blair was contemplating war on Iraq, he summoned an academic expert on the Middle East to Downing St. for a discussion. The academic set out the complications of the Middle Eastern situation. Blair tolerated the explanation, but concluded the discussion by saying: *But Saddam is an Evil Tyrant, isn't he?* And so murderous moral clarity was asserted.

Fascism arose in Europe to deal with the destructive consequences of the Great War of Good and Evil and the morally punitive peace imposed by the victors. States were destroyed for no good reason, only moral ones, and states were thrown together from discordant elements to take their place. The evolving civilisation of Europe was disrupted. The Tsarist Empire, a European civilising force in Asia, had been lured into European War with the bait of Constantinople and couldn't bear the stress, and the dictatorship of the proletarian took its place and exerted a strong influence on the working classes of disrupted central and western Europe.

States cannot function in the medium of a total antagonism of classes. Fascism arose as a means of combining classes in a functional arrangement which enabled the state to survive. It was founded by a radical socialist who, in alliance with Britain, had helped to bring Italy into the Great War in 1915, against the opposition of the Vatican. It was a functional compromise between Socialism and Capitalism. It was a working out of the national socialism forged by Mussolini in 1914-15. It curbed Parliamentary democracy on the ground that the adversarial conflict of parties aggravated the antagonism of classes. And it preserved capitalism by limiting its freedom and enhancing the role of the State in the economy.

Churchill, the hero of the 'Anti-Fascist War', welcomed it. The bungled conduct of the Empire as major World Power in the 1920s and 1930s led it to make war on the German State, which had been revived by Fascism, and on Italy, which allied itself with Germany when the Anglo-French war on Germany collapsed. The possibility of British victory—or the appearance of it—then came to depend on the triumph of Communism in the Nazi/Communist War.

The morality of that in the ideology of Good and Evil is baffling.

There is no serious doubt that in its origin Fascism was a defence of Western capitalist civilisation in a Europe in which a bad War and a worse Peace had set loose elemental forces which liberal ideology in a medium of adversarial party politics was unable to cope with. Churchill had it right when he went to pay homage to Mussolini, before he became the hero of a supposed Anti-Fascist War. The Anti-Fascist War was the Soviet defence against Nazi invasion. That War completely overshadowed the Anglo-German War. When Britain became dependent on world Communism in order to appear to have won, Churchill had to play along with Russia as a by-product of that turn of events. Fascism lost its pre-War meaning in bourgeois society—even though in Spain it ran through its full course during the generation after the War, and delivered a viable democratic bourgeois nation state.

Treatyite Fascism in Ireland happened in the era before the Anti-Fascist War. It failed because the Irish situation did not require it—and it did not require it because the liberal Parliamentary democracy of the Anti-Treaty Party dominated the situation.

It is an embarrassment—a scandal—that it was the Treaty Party that Britain put in power in Ireland that went Fascist, and that it was the Anti-Treatyites—who are now often depicted as suffering from the disease of Anglophobia—who maintained Parliamentary government. It is too much for academia, which is heavily Treatyite in origin, to cope with. And, since the Anti-Treaty side is hardly represented at all in academia, the history of Irish Fascism in the 1930s has hardly been touched upon.

Fianna Fail did not suppress Treatyite Fascism by passing a law against it. It curbed it by other means, and stifled it in the end. It seems that the Fascist movement sought to escape restrictions by organising fund-raising events under cover of house-dances. And, if Fianna Fail, though it was the liberal party, joined forces with the Church to carry an Act against such dancing, as a means to the end of suppressing Fascism—well, that was the kind of thing it was capable of doing in those days. And, until I see evidence to the contrary, I will assume that was the meaning of the Dancing Act.

It also needs to be said that the anti-pleasure tendency in religion was far from being a Catholic preoccupation. Reading through the *Church f Ireland Gazette* in the early 1920s, I got the impression that this aspect of Free State activity was very much approved of by the Protestant community.

Much has been made of Irish Censorship. But films, for example, came to Ireland after being heavily censored in Britain. The first thing one saw on the screen was a Certificate by the British Film Censor—I think his name was Trevelyan—saying he allowed you to watch this film. And there was very strict censorship of plays in England, under which a British equivalent of *The Plough And The Stars* would not have been allowed on the stage.

It has been demonstrated in recent times that films about Irish historical events, which Hollywood wanted to make and the Irish Censor would have approved, were prevented from being made by the British Film Censor, who kept in close touch with Hollywood producers and told them which films would be excluded from the British market, which was then a very large part of the Hollywood market.

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Cathy Winch

The Working Class Under Vichy

The Vichy regime instituted rationing to cope with shortages of food. Rations were insufficient to feed people as they were accustomed: in 1941 the official ration was 1500 daily calories; the recommended ration for working men is 2500 calories. Workers in heavy industry were assigned larger rations, but never got them, as the food was not available. People could supplement their rations if they had time to queue, or relations in the countryside or extra money for the black market. Workers had neither time (conditions had worsened in the factories, the working day was extended) nor relations in the countryside, nor extra money. The working class in 1940 had nothing but their labour power, and lived a precarious existence, without State-organised social security, Unemployment Benefit or Retirement Pensions. This is the ancient Roman definition of proletariat: those who have nothing but their children, translated in the modern age as those who have nothing but their labour power.

That this was a scandalous situation was clear to people on the Right and on the Left. Right-wing writers thought there should be not such category as the proletariat: labour and capital should work together, not against each other. The Left, at least in the shape of the Communist Party, thought that the proletariat should become the ruling class. The Popular Front of 1936 had given a taste of a solution to the proletarian question: a Government of Socialists, Communists and Radicals had passed laws limiting the working day (to 8 hours), paid holidays (one week per year) and better wages. The Right were horrified.

What happened during the War? Did Vichy do anything, either short term or long term, to improve the condition of the working class? If reforms were made, what became of them after the War, since everything connected with Vichy was abhorred and rejected wholesale after the Liberation?

Occupation Industrial Life

Not that much has been written until recently about the industrial working class under German occupation, because the question was a painful reminder of the situation France found itself in when it was occupied. Defeated France did not turn into a vast prison where food is doled out everyday. Food was obtained in the normal way, in exchange for money you earned, through your labour if you were a member of the working class. Workers in factories carried on with production; you only continue producing if someone buys the goods, and in many cases, Germany ordered and bought the goods. So French production helped the German war effort.

This explains why women who went to work in First World War factories are glorified as patriotic and modern whereas women who did the same in the Second World War are passed over in silence.

It explains also why men and women returning at the end of the War from forced labour in Germany were caught up in the anti-collaborator purge: many were held on suspicion of helping the enemy, although few were actually prosecuted.

So French workers supported the German war effort. This was most obvious in the three armament factories; one of them, in Tulles, now the regional stronghold of François Hollande, was the site of an uprising at the end of the War; the uprising was put down and followed by mass executions. That is a reminder of what happened if you attacked the enemy.

Employers have been denounced for keeping the factories going, even though that prevented starvation. But did employers make a profit under the Occupation? According to historians gathered in 2006 in a Conference on the subject of Firms Under the Occupation, this question has still to be studied. Production at any rate did not continue as before the War, by a long way: setting production at 100 in 1938, it was 54 in 1941, 45 in 1943 and 33 in 1944.

The German administration had offices and courts of law in each of the occupied *Départements.* A complex network of sometimes competing sets of administrators went about organising many elements of French life, including industrial production. From 1942, when the invasion of Russia overstretched German manpower capabilities, the population of occupied Europe was put to work for German industry, either in Germany itself or in the workers' own country. In the case of France, rival occupation administrators fought—one to force French workers to go to work in Germany, the other to keep French workers working in France for the benefit of Germany. The result was a mixture of both systems.

The Germans in 1940 had forbidden wage increases. Shortages of food and resources affected supplies to shops and firms. Britain had put in place a blockade, so that France could not receive food and other goods from overseas. The internal border (demarcation line) that divided France in two zones was a barrier to trade; the North and Alsace-Lorraine were annexed. The Occupiers requisitioned a certain amount of food and other goods.

Under Vichy

The Vichy administration instituted a regime of rations in order to cope with the shortages among the population, and a regime of distribution of resources to cope with the shortages in industry.

The Government had long-term plans to take workers out of the proletarian condition; it also, together with employers, put in place short-term measures.

Employers sometimes gave their workers days off to enable them to queue or go to the country to barter when they had been paid in kind; for example Dunlop gave part of the pay in the form of bicycle tyres and coal miners received coal. A Vichy regulation of 16th August 1940 encouraged employers to open non-profit making factory canteens. The law had up to then forbidden factories to have canteens on their premises.

Employers were also encouraged to open cooperative-type shops in the factories, and this, as well as canteens, was effective after a while, when the question of how to stock these shops and supply the canteens was solved.

Company social committees were created, and one of the first tasks they took on was running factory canteens and shops.

These Company social committees were the product of long-term Vichy policy. The fate of the workers was very prominent in the minds of Vichy policy makers.

The tremendous shock of the defeat and occupation produced a desire for a new society: stronger, better organised, of the sort that would not be beaten by an enemy like Germany, or be subservient to British foreign policy. The 'National Revolution' that was to bring

forth this new society would give the workers the place they deserved; workers would no longer be the helpless and unrecognised half of the productive process, but they would be rewarded properly and given a voice in the running of the factories; this representation would be supported by compulsory Trade Unions within professional corporations. This would defuse the class antagonism that had weakened France. Vichy had an ideology of celebrating labour, its motto: *'Travail, Famille, Patrie'* (Labour, Family, Homeland) put Labour first.

A Labour Charter was accordingly written.

Worker Conditions

There were supporters of the National Revolution, and in particular for the Labour Charter, among French commentators who were not in based in Vichy. To take an example, the Political Editor of the influential illustrated Paris weekly *L'Illustration*, Jacques de Lesdain, wrote long articles about a new regime, still capitalist, but where all employees, from the managers to the technicians to the shop-floor workers worked together to run the factory. Capitalists provided capital but did not have a say in the running of the firm, simply receiving a share of the profits. Lesdain soon despaired of the Revolution happening. According to him, Vichy, which welcomed an American envoy (until he was recalled in 1942) and was infiltrated by English interests, was not serious in its proclaimed endeavour of giving the working class its proper place.

The reality was that Pétain could not impose a Labour Charter: he had taken on the responsibility of Head of State as an individual; he was not supported by a party, or even a coherent group. The men around Pétain, tasked with writing the Labour Charter had little in common with each other and could not reach agreement on what it should contain. When the Labour Charter finally saw the light of day on 4th October 1941, it was already too late, and the 'modernisers' had replaced the traditionalists at Vichy and the worsening war situation made its implementation impossible.

Eight thousand Company Social Committees (*comité social d'entreprise*) were nevertheless created. It was a new form of worker representation, and it did happen in many firms, not just in firms of over 100 employees where it was compulsory, even if not all Committees managed to be active, though existing on paper.

Around France

The situation of workers varied throughout France and over time. Round-ups of workers for the Compulsory Labour Draft did take place, but there was not necessarily strict enforcement. For example, in the Peugeot factory men called up for the draft went on strike and the Germans suspended the departures.

Trade Unions were only banned at the top level; on the shop floor, trade unionists continued to have a presence. There were strikes and 'go slows', for example, there were strikes in the mining regions in Spring and Summer 1941, to protest against food shortages.

Larger firms were able to help workers get food more easily than small firms: Michelin in Clermont-Ferrand acquired large stocks of food for its 25 000 workers and families, paid for in tyres. The St Etienne mining firms illegally sent lorries over the demarcation line to Brittany to collect food, paid for in coal.

The works canteens functioned in regions of concentrated industry that were situated near agricultural land (Paris, Lille, Lyon), and also where there existed a tradition of firms offering workers services such as transport and housing.

The actions by management to improve the workers' lot were significant enough however to provoke the BCRA (*Bureau Central de Renseignement et d'Action*, part of the Resistance) to produce leaflets to warn workers off this paternalism.

Vichy and the occupying authorities worked in parallel; both wanted French industrial production to continue. Vichy had an immediate objective, the survival of the workers, and a long-term one: to enable France to regain her rank in the world, and even gain a more prominent rank than before. Pétain had talked about the spirit of facility that had made the French flabby and helpless, and looked back to a more vigorous old rural France; others in the ministries analysed the weakness of pre-War French industry and set about making plans to modernise it. This modernising aspect of the Vichy regime is described in the article *"The Vichy origins of modern France. — How the Vichy Government superseded traditionalism and promoted modernity"* in *Church and State* Summer 2011. That article quotes the American expert on Vichy, Robert Paxton, as follows:

> "In agriculture, as in industry, the evolution at Vichy was away from nostalgia toward modernization and toward power for the well-organised and efficient."

Three issues, the closures of non-essential firms, the question of training and the Labour Draft provide examples of how the parallel policies of France and Germany worked out in practice.

The German administration and Vichy each had their own lists of priority firms.

The occupying authorities did not have an entirely free hand in their dealing with French firms; for example, noting a non-essential firm whose manpower they wished to transfer to another firm, they did not close it, but encouraged it to close. But the local branch of the French Ministry for Industrial Production (MIN) would tell the firm not to close, and it did not close. There was some leeway: for example the MIN could reclassify a firm, so that it might not be closed.

It was necessary to continue training. Vichy passed a decree on 15th February 1943, obliging firms over a certain size to create a training school. The Occupiers tried to take that as an opportunity to create a training school in France themselves. This did not prove feasible, so instead they encouraged firms to establish their own training workshops. Again here, it was larger firms that were able to provide a service to the workers. Alsthom opened a training school in 1941. The SNCF (national railways) kept their training schools open.

The policy of STO (Obligatory Labour Service) was very unpopular, men went underground, for example by joining the Resistance, rather than go to work in Germany. But such was the need for manpower, both from a German and a Vichy point of view, that an agreement was reached in September 1943 enabling men who had evaded the Draft and gone underground to have their situation regularised and be given work in France. In one French *département* 60% of men in that situation came forward to resume work.

Planning Ahead

The Resistance was also making plans for a strong post-War France. Richard F. Kuisel in his book, *"Capitalism and the State in Modern France, Renovation and Economic Management in the Twentieth Century*", has pointed out the similarities between the Vichy and Resistance economic planning, and the number of government departments created by Vichy and taken on, with practically the same personnel, by the new post-War Government.

Both Vichy and the Resistance were anxious that France might not regain

her rank after the War; both saw that France had lagged behind Germany and Britain in industrial development. Both wanted France to be able to compete on world markets, by modernising agriculture and investing in technology. They saw, as reported by Kuisel, that *"Simple rural, artisanal peoples were "the prey" of industrial nations"*. Both wanted state intervention and planning and modern technology deployed on a large scale.

The continuity in industrial policy between the Occupation years and the years that followed is being examined today. For example the report of the 2006 Conference on Firms under the Occupation mentioned above said in its introduction:

> "The issue of firms under the occupation used to be considered as not worth studying from the point of view of trade unions, the economy and society, as it was so exceptional. But now lots of young researchers are studying the question. The CNRS {French National Centre for Scientific Research, the largest governmental research centre} has a study group 'Firms under the Occupation'. The period can be studied as part of French growth (*la croissance française*). One should not overestimate the weight of circumstance or of Vichy ideology. The period can only be understood by studying the years before and the years after, which were years of reconstruction and intensive growth."

Vichy elaborated a 10-year plan and an immediate two-year reconstruction plan. These plans were got hold of, printed and distributed by De Gaulle's Government and used by the post-War Provisional Government. Vichy had established a new "Ministry of Industrial Production" and a new National Statistics Service which were retained after the War; the information gathered by the Statistics Service was obtained and used by the Resistance during the War to formulate their own long-term plans.

Retirement pensions by *repartition*, or "pay as you go" pensions were created on 14th March 1941. They were kept on, and are the basis of today's system, as was recalled with embarrassment when Sarkozy was trying to replace them with individual savings.

There were differences: for example the Vichy regime did not call for nationalisations, and aimed at self-sufficiency, whereas the post-War Government called for nationalisations and looked to the United States for economic help.

Like Vichy the Resistance was a coalition of diverse political strands. De Gaulle took on the task of harnessing all strands on a common programme. His view of himself as leader allowed him to do this: he was 'above parties', strove to put forward ideas that could be accepted by all—the grandeur of France above all. He put the realisation of his project of a strong France before ideological considerations. For example, when nationalisations looked inevitable, he said that *"Such a policy as nationalisation does not exist because it is inherently just or desirable, but because through nationalisation economic change can be promoted"*.

This quotation comes from an article by Douglas Johnson, published in October 1965 by Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs). In this article Johnson pointed out that *"the historian of ideas might well find that the difference in terms of ideas between, say, Gaullism, Vichyism and Giraudism is disconcertingly slight"*. (Giraud was a onetime rival of de Gaulle in the Algiers Government.)

De Gaulle, according to Johnson

> "realised that in our time technology dominated the universe, and the great debate of the century was whether the working classes would be the victims or the beneficiaries of this technical progress. Hence the need for profound and rapid social change. Hence the need for technicians and administrators who would answer the aspirations and fears of the masses and, by implication, remove the need for the various political banners (Liberal, Marxist, Hitlerian) which floated over the battlefields."

De Gaulle's speech to his hometown of Lille in October 1945 could have been spoken by some Vichyists:

> "What we want is to harness in common all that we possess on this earth and, to do this, there is no other way than what is called the planned economy. We want the State to plan the economic effort of the entire nation. To the benefit of all and to do so in such a way as to improve the life of every Frenchman and Frenchwoman. At the point at which we find ourselves it is no longer possible to accept those concentrations of interest that are called in the world, trusts. The collectivity, that is to say the State, must take direction of the great sources of the common wealth and supervise certain other activities without, of course, excluding those great levers in human activity, initiative and fair profit."

The hostility to 'trusts'—large industrial and financial concerns—is a point in common between de Gaulle and Vichy, as was a desire to lift the working class out of a proletarian existence, a hostility to the Anglo-Saxon world, and a hostility to the parliamentary system. Both wanted to bring an end to the class struggle through giving the working class a proper position in society, both moral and material.

There was however a complete break between the Liberation Government and Vichy. There could be no acknowledgment that anything Vichy had done could be of value and worth keeping. In practice, as we have seen, a lot was kept. What happened in the case of worker participation, and the Company social committees Vichy had created?

Post-War

The long and short term plans of the Resistance were embodied in the Charter of the National Council of the Resistance (15 March 1944), which did call for worker participation.

In May 1945 an Ordinance created Works Committees for firms of over 100, extended to firms of over 50 employees in May 1946. It would be interesting to find out what happened when the new Works Committees were instituted. Did they merge with the Company Social Committees already set up by Vichy? Or were new personnel found to make up the new committees?

'Commissaires de la République' (Commissars of the Republic) were created in 1944 *"to restore law and order, and republican legality"* (they lasted until May 1946). The *Commissaires*, together with Labour Inspectors and *Préfets*, in many instances supported attempts by workers and their organisations to involve themselves in the management of the work-place. Between 1945 and 1947, Labour Inspectors, under the Ministry of Labour, called meetings between workers and employers to settle disputes, and fined employers who tried to dismiss Union activists.

The *Commissaires* and the Labour Inspectors were hampered in their efforts to encourage worker participation by the State structure, by the employers and by the CGT (the main Union organisation). The employers were hostile to worker participation. According to Adam Steinhouse in *'Workers' Participation in Post-Liberation France'* (2001) *"French bosses liked to have complete control; they were often family firms, small and middles sized; they provided their workers with housing, transport schools and hospitals"*.

The CGT was allied to the Communist Party, which was in government and behaving as having State power: the

nation needed to get back on its feet economically. So the CGT conducted a 'productivity drive', which did not have time for worker participation.

In 1947 came the Cold War, the Marshall Plan and the expulsion of the Communists from Government. The CGT then encouraged workers to strike, in strikes that according to Steinhouse were so political in character as to justify, on the Government's part, the deployment of riot police to put them down. By the end of 1948, Steinhouse says, the French labour movement was weaker than before the War, unlike labour movements in other parts of Europe.

Past And Present

The Vichy regime started State planning and large scale modern industry, helped by the fact that 'technocrats' and higher civil servants could work quickly and efficiently without being hampered by parliamentary fights between divergent interests. It is not that State Pensions for workers had not been thought of before 1941, on the contrary they had been discussed in parliament on numerous occasions. The issue divided elected representatives and was never resolved. It is not that no one had seen before the War that a united transport system in Paris would work better that a piecemeal system, but agreement could not be reached. In 1942 civil servants created the system that still works today, the *Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens* (RATP). Before the War, the automobile industry built excellent cars but in a great variety of models and small numbers; under direction it reformed itself during the War, to favour less variety and greater output, i.e. modern mass production. To achieve mass production, some of the production methods introduced by the occupiers were kept after the War, for example, in one of the armaments factories, the Germans imposed the three 8 hour shift system, instead of the French 2x12; the 3x8 system was kept on after the War.

The Vichy regime instituted new laws which improved the workers' lot, such as State Pay-As-You-Go Retirement Pensions. During the War it helped to keep industry going and preserved employment. It encouraged employers to provide factory canteens and shops. The traditionalists and corporatists of the early Vichy period had plans to create intermediate bodies like corporations and compulsory mass Trade Unions with the intention of doing away with the proletarian condition. Corporations and compulsory mass Trade Unions did not happen, but a start was made with firm committees. The 'modernisers', technocrats and higher civil servants did not share the early Vichy ideology, and they are the ones who made a start on the modernisation of France; this gave the workers a better standard of living in the long run, but left them with only strikes and political representation in parliament as a means of influencing the course of events in industry.

David Morrison

The Real Mandela

The following statements by Nelson Mandela have been largely absent from mainstream accounts of his life.

Praise for Cuba

Speech on the anniversary of the Moncada Barracks attack (26.7.1991) [1]

"It is a great pleasure and honor to be present here today, especially on such an important day in the revolutionary history of the Cuban people. Today Cuba commemorates the 38th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada. …

From its earliest days, the Cuban Revolution has also been a source of inspiration to all freedom-loving people. We admire the sacrifices of the Cuban people in maintaining their independence and sovereignty in the face of the vicious imperialist-orchestrated campaign to destroy the impressive gain made in the Cuban Revolution. We too want to control our own destiny. …

We are humbled and full of emotion to be here. We have come here today recognizing our great debt to the Cuban people. What other country has such a history of selfless behavior as Cuba has shown for the people of Africa? How many countries benefit from Cuban health care professionals and educators? How many of these volunteers are now in Africa? What country has ever needed help from Cuba and has not received it? …

In Africa we are used to being victims of countries that want to take from us our territory or overthrow our sovereignty. In African history there is not another instance where another people has stood up for one of ours. … Your presence there and the reinforcements sent for the battle of Cuito Cuanavale has a historical meaning. The decisive defeat of the racist army in Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for all Africa. This victory in Cuito Cuanavale is what made it possible for Angola to enjoy peace and establish its own sovereignty. The defeat of the racist army made it possible for the people of Namibia to achieve their independence. …

Long live the Cuban Revolution. Long live comrade Fidel Castro."

Praise for Muammar Gaddafi

At a press conference with President Clinton (March 1998) **[2]:**

"I have also invited Brother Leader Gaddafi to this country {South Africa}. And I do that because our moral authority dictates that we should not abandon those who helped us in the darkest hour in the history of this country. Not only did they {Libya} support us in return, they gave us the resources for us to conduct the struggle, and to win. And those South Africans who have berated me, for being loyal to our friends, literally they can go and throw themselves into a pool."

Support for Palestine

Address on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People (4.12.1997) [3]

"When in 1977, the United Nations passed the resolution inaugurating the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people, it was asserting the recognition that injustice and gross human rights violations were being perpetrated in Palestine. In the same period, the UN took a strong stand against apartheid; and over the years, an international consensus was built, which helped to bring an end to this iniquitous system.

But we know too well that our freedom is incomplete without the freedom of the Palestinians."

On visit to Israel (22.10 1999) [4]

"Israel should withdraw from all the areas which it won from the Arabs in 1967, and in particular Israel should withdraw completely from the Golan Heights, from south Lebanon and from the West Bank."

Tribute to Yasser Arafat (11.11.2004)

"He was an icon in the proper sense of the word. He was not only concerned with the liberation of the Arab people, but of all the oppressed people throughout the world, Arabs and non-Arabs.

And to lose a man of that stature is a great blow to all those who are fighting against oppression. We regret that. And we give out condolences to his family and to the Arab people to which he belongs." **[5]**

Yasser Arafat was one of the outstanding freedom fighters of this generation, one who gave his entire life to the cause of the Palestinian people.

We honor his memory today. We express our sincerest condolences to his wife, family and the Palestinian people. It is with great sadness that one notes that his and his people's dream of a Palestinian state had not yet been realized." **[6]**

Support for IRA retaining its arms

"My position, my position... my position is that you don't hand over your weapons until you get what you want ..." (April 2000 **[9])**

Criticism of the US

Interview with Newsweek

(September 2002) [7]

"We must understand the seriousness of this situation. The United States has made serious mistakes in the conduct of its foreign affairs, which have had unfortunate repercussions long after the decisions were taken.

Unqualified support of the Shah of Iran led directly to the Islamic revolution of 1979. Then the United States chose to arm and finance the [Islamic] mujahedin in Afghanistan instead of supporting and encouraging the moderate wing of the government of Afghanistan. That is what led to the Taliban in Afghanistan. …

If you look at those matters, you will come to the conclusion that the attitude of the United States of America is a threat to world peace."

Speech to the International Women's Forum (30 January 2003) [8]

In the lead up to the US/UK invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Mandela urged the American people to join protests against their president and called on world leaders, especially those with vetoes in the UN Security Council, to unite to oppose him.

"One power with a president who has no foresight and cannot think properly is now wanting to plunge the world into a holocaust. …

Why is the US behaving so arrogantly? … All that {Bush} wants is Iraqi oil.

If there is a country that has committed unspeakable atrocities in the world, it is the United States of America. They don't care for human beings."

Of Tony Blair he said:

"He is the foreign minister of the United States. He is no longer prime minister of Britain."

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See *Irish Political Review*, January 2014, for *Mandela Owed Gerry Adams—And Nelson Repaid The Debt!* by Manus O'Riordan

Seán McGouran

Review:

The Graves At Kilmorna by Canon Sheehan
Aubane Historical Society

Birth Certificate Of Easter Rising?

This is one of Sheehan's novels that I missed—my mother was very fond of Sheehan—and I condescended to read the stuff I got out of the library for her. This, his last novel is possibly his greatest achievement. (It was published after his death and according to Catherine Candy in her *Priestly Fictions*, sold 18,000 copies in its first year—1913). Sheehan's sub title is *A story of '67*, that being the year of the allegedly abortive Fenian Rising.

Sheehan's interpretation of '67 (at a time when the lacklustre John Redmond headed Irish Nationalism) was that it was a moral victory. The fact that a blow, no matter how apparently feeble, had been struck, meant that the hopes put forward by the Republican Brotherhood (the 'Fenians') that Ireland free and republican was still on the national agenda. Or, at least, in the people's consciousness.

Sheehan pictures the Fenian Rising as something worthwhile, even though his description of the event at 'Sliabh Ruadh' consists of one man firing at massed soldiers and Constabulary, while urging his companions, including especially, the central character Myles Cogan, to escape to fight another day. The person who kept the RIC and British soldiers at bay was James Halpin, a schoolteacher. He recruited Myles into the Fenians, and dutifully obeyed orders when Myles was promoted above him. Halpin says to two minor characters that an insurrection would fail—but was necessary.

Myles is taken by the RIC and spends some years in English prisons (mainly the unnamed but obvious Dartmoor. Sheehan was a chaplain there and his descriptions of the place and prison conditions ring true. One of his characters, a chaplain, has somewhat problematic conversations with Myles. The major problem being that Myles does not accept that he had done anything immoral (or even, in his eyes) illegal in taking part in an insurrection. Myles is disturbed by the apparent discrepancy between his religious and political convictions, but remains loyal to the latter. Sheehan here mentions a *"one armed man"* with whom the chaplain was not allowed to talk—the prisoner would have had to ask to speak to the priest. It is clearly Michael Davitt. It must have been interesting to see him and other Fenian prisoners rise to the leadership of aspects of Irish society. In Davitt's case, spearheading the successful Land War, which ended in the 1903 'Wyndham' Land Act, which entailed in the passing of the land into the hands of those who worked it.

Myles (whose sentence was commuted from execution) is eventually amnestied. He takes charge of the family flour mill—making it a going concern. He brings the business into the commercial world of the 1870s. He remained in the commercial world of the 1870s—pictured here as essentially straightforward. By the early 1900s (Sheehan is not specific about dates after '67 but it is fairly obvious where we are), Irish 'business' had become grubby, selling sub-standard product for the maximum profit was the order of the day. A minor character assumes (and broadcasts the notion loudly) that Myles's rectitude is just for show. This is the time of the All-for-Ireland League, of which Sheehan was a noted publicist and thinker.

And it was the time of the payment of Members of Parliament. The Hibernian influence is not named but the election in which Myles gets himself involved is clearly a 'rough house'—implicitly because there was money involved. Payment of MPs was introduced in 1907. That meant that a wedge was driven between Irish representatives and their electorate—demonstrated by the result of the 1918 General Election when Sinn Féin swept the them aside in the three southern Provinces, and west Ulster.

Prior to the introduction of salaries Irish MPs were dependent on their own incomes, the generosity of the Irish electorate, or Irish-America. There were sometimes fund-raising trips to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But America was the main centre of funds, and support. 'Irish America' was wealthy, organised and political. Some in Britain noticed this—some of them sneered that it was only at local level that the Irish were strong. But there were members of the US House of Representatives and Senate, sent there with, at the least Irish votes. President Woodrow Wilson was aware of the fact that he depended on 'the Irish vote', even though he was deeply prejudiced against the Irish for class, religious and 'race' reasons. The point of the above being that republican Americans (i.e. all but a tiny eccentric minority) thought a republican Ireland was a quite legitimate ambition.

Myles is killed in the course of an election campaign—he supports an 'Independent'—though a veteran of '67 might well have supported William O'Brien's All for Ireland League (the 'all' meaning inclusiveness of the Ascendancy rump, and the Ulster Protestants). This matter (of an election) makes the plot of the novel somewhat circular, as Myles first fell out of love with Parliamentary politicking in the course of an election where a 'Serjeant' (a lawyer) is elected by the expedient of handing out quantities of alcohol. It is a rather ambiguous ending—one could draw the inference that elections and electioneering are futile, if not squalid. Sheehan certainly would not have objected to the Easter Rising. *

VOX

Fr. Iggy
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PAT

Fr. Iggy

"A priest has hit out at what he called "the murkiness of the devious world of ecclesiastical politics" at his final Mass before he begins a 'sabbatical'.

"Close to 1,500 people—including members of the Muslim and Baha'i faiths—attended Fr Iggy O'Donovan's final Mass at the Augustinian Church in Drogheda yesterday and heard the mayor of the town, Richie Culhane, claim that "ultra conservative" elements have forced the Augustinians to "push" Fr Iggy out of Drogheda"

(*Irish Independent*, 16.9.2013).

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Communist Pope?

Pope Francis has rejected accusations from rightwing Americans that his teaching is Marxist, defending his criticisms of the capitalist system and urging more attention be given to the poor in a wide-ranging interview.

In remarks to the Italian daily*La Stampa*, (14 December 2013), the Argentinian pontiff said the views he had espoused in his first apostolic exhortation last month—which the rightwing US radio host Rush Limbaugh attacked as 'dramatically, embarrassingly, puzzlingly wrong'—were simply those of the church's social doctrine. Limbaugh described the pope's economics as 'pure Marxism'.

"The ideology of Marxism is wrong. But I have met many Marxists in my life who are good people, so I don't feel offended", Francis was quoted as saying. Defending his criticism of the 'trickle-down' theory of economics, he added:

"There was the promise that once the glass had become full it would overflow and the poor would benefit. But what happens is that when it's full to the brim, the glass magically grows, and thus nothing ever comes out for the poor… I repeat: I did not talk as a specialist but according to the social doctrine of the church. And this does not mean being a Marxist."

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Mauritius

Michaela McAreavey nee Harte, was found strangled in her hotel room on the island of Mauritius on 10th January 2011. A veritable *tsunami* of publicity followed the crime. Talk of boycott of the island's tourism was in the air. However, the eager, investigative doyens of Irish journalism missed a major social connection with Ireland. Below is a reprint of an article from *Church & State*, No. 100, 2010.

"It appears there is something of an exodus taking place from Mauritius these days as locals flee the paradise island for the sheeting rain, dark skies and general gloom that is the island of Ireland.

"The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Dermot Ahern has confirmed that one in 250 of the Republic of Mauritius's inhabitants have opted for life on these altogether greyer shores.

"A total of 5,000 of the island's 1.25 million Mauritian nationals are registered with the Garda National Immigration Bureau" (*Irish Examiner*, 9.12.2009)

"So great is the lure of Ireland that Mr. Ahern has been forced to clamp down on Mauritians' visa requirements.

"At present, nationals of Mauritius are not visa required as set out in Statutory Instrument No 239 of 2009. However, with effect from January 1, 2010, this position will change and nationals of Mauritius will require an entry visa.

"Visa and pre-entry clearance systems are at the core of immigration controls and the inclusion of nationalities on lists of persons who require visas is usually the result of experience regarding the nationalities concerned. There are currently over 5,000 Mauritian nationals registered with the Garda National Immigration Bureau, mostly as students. Taking the population of Mauritius as being approximately 1.25 million this means that one in every 250 Mauritian nationals is in Ireland" (*ibid.*)

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Chesterton

"Man is an exception, whatever else he is. If it is not true that a divine being fell, then we can only say that one of the animals went entirely off its head"

(G.K. Chesterton, *All Things Considered*).

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Woman Bishop

"The first woman bishop in the UK and Ireland has been consecrated by the Church of Ireland. Right Rev Pat Storey (53), former rector of St Augustine's in Derry, made history when she was chosen by the Church of Ireland as the new Bishop of Meath and Kildare last September"

(*Irish Time*s, 30.11.2013).

The married mother of two was consecrated at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin in a two-hour service led by the Archbishop of Dublin, The Most Rev Dr Michael Jackson.

Bishop Storey is married to the Rev Earl Storey—who gave the first reading during the service—and they have two adult children Luke (22), and Carolyn (25), and son-in-law Peter.

She grew up in Belfast and studied French and English at Trinity College, Dublin, before training at the Church of Ireland Theological College.

She was ordained a deacon in 1997 and a priest the following year. Bishop Storey was rector of St Augustine's in Derry since 2004 until her appointment was passed by the House of Bishops in September, four months after the Episcopal Electoral College had failed to elect a successor.

Representing the Catholic Church were Bishop of Meath and Kildare Denis Nulty, while Msgr Dermot Farrell represented the Bishop of Meath Michael Smith. There too was the President of St Patrick's College Maynooth Msgr Hugh Connolly, the parish priest of Maynooth Fr Liam Rigney , and Fr Kieran McDermot Episcopal Vicar for Evangelisation & Ecumenism in the Dublin Archdiocese.

Politicians present included Kildare South Fianna Fáil TD Seán Ó Fearghail and TCD Senator Seán Barrett.

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Going to Mass

"Mass: A survey last week found that there were more than 5,000 searches for the phrase: 'Mass Times' on Google in Ireland last December. And how often was it searched for in January? That'd be none" (Irish Times, *Don't let Christmas get on top of you: an A to Z guide*, 2.12.2013).

*********More VOX on page 10***********