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The cover incorporates the concept of past, present and future, which is depicted, firstly by the use of the Buddhist symbol *Aum*. The idea is secondly represented by three illustrative heads looking in different directions. They symbolise the search for history by past, present and future historians.

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The Value of History

History has an important role to play in the shaping of a nation. For centuries Irish politicians have used history to justify and to explain their actions. Irish nationalists in the late nineteenth century identified themselves with earlier opponents of British rule. In the decades after Irish independence in 1922, history was used to help mould a national consciousness. History plays a vital part in how a nation views itself. Every nation has its own myths, its own way of telling its past, of explaining how certain institutions emerged, and accounting for particular successes and defeats.

Modern Irish history became as PS O'Hegarty, who wrote a history of Ireland published in 1952, 'the story of people coming out of captivity … finding every artery of national life occupied by her enemy, recovering them one by one'. As M Luddy notes, this view sees the nationalist struggle as a simple struggle for independence which played down divisions within the nationalist movement and implied the inevitability of independence. Yet, it is not just nationalists who have their myths so too do unionists.

Recently historians of both hues have been attempting to confront these and other long-held myths. Debates among political historians over 'revisionism' continue apace. But the most radical 'revisionism' within Irish history has been the widening of the focus from political and military themes to include gender, class, religion, economy, culture and society. Viewing the past by using a wider lens will not only provide a deeper understanding of the past but enhance our understanding of the present and the future.

This collection of essays provide a fine example of firstly, the variety of themes which can be examined in historical research and secondly, the diversity of sources which can be located and interrogated. Each fills in another piece of the past while also helping to explain the present.

Finally, I wish to congratulate Declan Jackson and John Maguire, the editors of volume four of *History Studies*, for the time and commitment which they have dedicated to producing this volume. Also I wish to acknowledge the support the editors received from the committee of the University of Limerick History Society and from their sponsors which has resulted in this publication. It is heartening for all interested in the pursuit of history to know that such widespread support exists. I hope you, the reader, will enjoy this volume of essays and learn from them.

Dr Bernadette Whelan
Head, Department of History,
Patron,
University of Limerick History Society

Editorial

It is with great pleasure that the editors present volume four of *History Studies*. It is hoped that the reader finds this volume a worthy successor to the preceding volumes, these provide the foundations upon which we have sought to build. This journal represents a vital and in many respects a unique link between the University of Limerick History Society, Department of History and the broader university communities. The key function of this publication is to act as a gateway, providing an opportunity to young scholars to publish portions of their work. It also contributes to what is an impressive profile of historical publishing within the University of Limerick student community.

As editors we were constantly humbled by the breadth and depth of the subjects tackled by the authors. It was our intention to provide as free a canvass as possible, to allow the contributors to explore their topics as they wished. This approach was pursued with the intention of creating a collection of pieces, that as well as supplying the reader with information, was also lively and entertaining. The greatest joy for us was when assembling the final document, the thematic interrelationships revealed themselves. It is our hope that *History Studies* is a much a joy to read as it was to edit.

Declan Jackson John Maguire

Acknowledgements

Firstly we would like to thank the following, without whom the journal could not have been produced. The University of Limerick Foundation, The Dean of Graduate Studies University of Limerick, The Assistant Dean of Research and the Head of the Department of History.

Also pivotal in guiding this journal to publication were Prof Nick Rees, Prof Dermot Walsh, Dr. B. Whelan and Dr. J. Logan. We would like to thank the Bank of Ireland for their continued support of this publication.

A final and heart felt thanks to President Roger Downer who has over the course of a number of years been the journal's most outspoken and willing supporter.

Foreword

We the University of Limerick History Society aim to promote an awareness and interest in history. The Society wishes this to be the primary aim of *History Studies*.

We recognise the significance of this journal as the only one of its type to be produced by a student body within Ireland. Under the stewardship of Declan Jackson and John Maguire, our editing staff and supported by our Patron Dr. Bernadette Whelan, we have attempted to ensure that we produce a journal of the highest calibre and quality.

The Society hopes you will enjoy the multitude of wide ranging topics which are to be found within the covers of the Journal and hope it will further fan the flames of your fervour for history. The Society also wishes to extend our gratitude to those who assisted in this volumes production.

Alan Higgins (Auditor) Seamus Ryan (Treasurer)

Women and the Rebellion, Wexford 1798.

Catherine O'Connor

The bicentennial publication, *The Women of 1798,* brought together a collection of essays aimed at the redress of the exclusion of women in the historiography of the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland. In the final essay in that collection, Anna Kinsella has written:

> It is inappropriate to use male norms of power as a standard by which to judge the activities of women in 1798. Perhaps a study of the political and economic forces impinging on the interrelationship of men and women's lives would give a better understanding of their experience.[1]

This article contributes to such a study. It sets out to examine the experience of women from both sides of the political divide during and after the 1798 rebellion in Wexford where the enactment of the rebellion was truly a popular rising, affecting all strata of society. [2] The study helps to enrich our understanding of the complex process of rural politicisation in the county, and highlights the seminal social and economic effects of the rebellion on men and women. While women were victims of, and onlookers to, much of the violence in the county in the year 1798, they emerge from re-examination of the evidence available primarily as activists.

Recent historians have established the political nature of the 1798 rebellion in Wexford, which arose from a process of political mobilisation in the county. Women, while excluded from the United Irishmen reform programme, would certainly have been consumers of the United Irish material,

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[1] Anna Kinsella, 'Nineteenth – Century perspectives: The women of 1798 in folk memory and ballads' in Daire Keogh and Nicholas Furlong, (eds.), *The Women of 1798*, (Dublin, 1998), p.199.

[2] For the purposes of this study, rebel women are defined as those who supported the rebel cause, who travelled, fought or provided support to the insurgents in the county before, during and after the rebellion. The authors of the seven loyalist narratives examined are deemed loyalist in the sense that they looked to the military for protection and to restore order and crush the rebel army. The crudeness and reductionist simplicity of this classification and the need for more sophisticated analysis is acknowledged.

which had infiltrated the popular culture of the time.[3] In Wexford, there are many examples of kinship connections between the leaders of the United Irishmen, which suggests such relations must have existed among the rank and file of the organisation. These kinship ties enabled women to act as valuable messengers and suppliers of information. Women were the media through which family networks were established, and their homes must have been centers of political discussion and planning.

The open expression by rebel women of republican sympathies provides evidence of female politicisation, Women hung out what scraps of green cloth they could find; 'on every doorway, there hung a green bough', to welcome the rebels after the fall of the garrison in Wexford town and 'gentlewomen tore up their petticoats to make suitable emblems'.[4] The day after the release of her husband from Wexford gaol where he had been imprisoned since the commencement of the rebellion in the county, Mrs. John Coclough 'triumphantly entered Wexford which was in possession of the rebels, in her phaeton, adorned with green emblems'.[5] The colour was an important public declaration of sympathy. When Mary Lett, together with her daughters, was found by her loyalist sister-in-law, Barbara, to be 'decked in green, the rebel uniform', she emphatically rejected her pleas for assistance, when, 'she turned from me with contempt, saying her principles were so publicly known, she was surprised how I could make such a request'.[6]

While women in conflict situations would have been regarded as non-combatants, evidence of more subtle, though no less vital, female engagement in the rebel cause, is found in contemporary narratives, folk memory and

[3] The Rebellion Papers in the National Archives in Dublin contain examples of the swearing in of women in the organization elsewhere in the country, while there are many instances of women giving information prior to the Rebellion e.g. Rebellion Papers, 620/30/23, 620/30/211, 620/37/231, 620/30/135.

[4]Thomas. Pakenham, *The Year of Liberty* (London, 1972), p. 214.

[5] Sir Richard. Musgrave, *Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion of 1798* (Indiana, 1995) p. 365.

[6] B. Lett and J. Ranson (eds.), 'A 1798 Diary by Mrs. Barbara Newton Lett, Killaligan, Enniscorthy' in *The Past*, 5 (1949), p. 129.

ballads.[7] Sir Richard Musgrave recorded 'a gentlewoman' who went to the camp at Vinegar Hill to seek protection, and noted the presence of 'a number of female rebels, more vehement than the men'[8], while Sir Jonah Barrington, K.C. observed also that on Vinegar Hill 'a great many women fought with fury'.[9] It is not unreasonable to assume that as well as seeking protection, the large numbers of women who joined the rebel camps had to include some who shared in the political motivation of the insurgent forces.[10] Some women who, like Miles Byrne's 'beloved' sister and her friends, risked their lives in the carrying of dispatches and intelligence did so not from some faint hearted compliance with their brother's/ husbands/ neighbours wishes. Miles Byrne wrote of his sister that 'she had set her heart and soul on the success of our understanding'.[11]

The one named female combatant recorded in Wexford was Moll Doyle of Castleboro. Thomas Cloney referred to her in his memoirs as 'this warlike woman', and 'an amazon', describing her refusal to move from a cannon until it was taken with the retreating rebel army at the Battle of New Ross. He was effusive in his praise of her bravery, 'if only every tenth man we had that day leaving Corbet Hill, had the courage of the gallant Miss Doyle, the battle would have speedily ended in a complete victory to us'.[12] Moll Doyle was also recorded as cutting off the cross belts of fallen dragoons and handing them to her comrades.[13] Her name became synonymous with subversion in folk memory. Thomas Pakenham describes notices put up around the

[7] The exclusion of rebel women from trial in the aftermath of the rebellion serves to confirm the prevailing perception of rebellion as 'men's work'

[8] Musgrave, *Memoirs,* p. 338.

[9] Kinsella, 'Nineteenth Century Perspectives', p. 192.

[10] The rebellion began in Wexford on the night of 26 May, 1798, when rebel units across central Wexford mobilised and attacked the homes of magistrates and yeomen in pursuit of arms. The following day the first rebel victory was recorded at the battle of Oulart. From this the rebels moved quickly to Carrigrew, where they began to draw hundreds of new recruits to their camp. Many women joined the camps from this point.

[11] Miles Byrne, *Memoirs* (Shannon, 1972), p. 43.

[12]Cloney, *Narrative A Personal of those Transactions in the County of Wexford, in which the author was engaged, during the awful period of 1798* (Dublin, 1832), p. 42.

[13] Kinsella, 'Nineteenth Century Perspectives', p. 191

Wexford/Wicklow border, in 1799, of 'leases only for 'true sons of Moll Doyle.'[14]

In her *Journal,* the loyalist author Mrs. Brownrigg recorded a woman accompanying rebels searching for arms on board a ship in Wexford harbour as: 'brandishing the sheath of a sword and boasting of her exploits'.[15] Sir Richard Musgrave reserved particular contempt for rebel women who he believed exhorted the male rebels to carry out acts of savagery for example, in the assassination of a Mr. John Boyd, in Wexford,[16] and in the massacre of prisoners on Wexford bridge, by rebels, on Wednesday, 20 June. He wrote, 'The mob, consisting of more women than men, expressed their savage joy on the immolation of each of the victims, by loud huzzas'.[17] The ballads of 1798, many written a century later, as part of the centenary celebrations, concentrate for the most part on this supporting, inspirational role of women in Wexford. Exceptional to this are 'The Heroine of New Ross', William Rooney's ballad of Moll Doyle and 'the Ballad of Ann Flood'. This anonymous ballad celebrated the reaction of Ann Flood of Garrenstackle, to the murder of a Hessian captain in self-defence, shortly after the Battle of New Ross; 'she should have been with us on Vinegar Hill, with a fine pike the foe to kill.'[18]

Miles Byrne confirmed the important sanction of women for rebel activities in his description of husbands taking leave of their wives and being urged into action by them on the eve of the battle of Vinegar Hill.[19] Madge Dixon, the wife of Thomas Dixon, a rebel captain, has been immortalised for her role in the incitement of rebel atrocity. She was described by Musgrave as

[14] Pakenham, *Year of Liberty*, p. 399. In Siobhan Dunne, *The History of Cloughbawn Parish*, unpublished manuscript, contained in Enniscorthy Library, County Wexford, a copy of a note appears, which was found on the gate of John Tector, Clonroche, on 3 March, 1838. It warned the tithe collector, John Blyth, that he would be taken to Vinegar Hill and "jibbeted", if he continued with his occupation, and was signed 'Moll Doyle'.
[15] Mrs. Brownrigg, 'A Three Weeks' Terror: Mrs. Brownrigg's Journal At Wexford, 26 May-21 June' in Wheeler and Broadley, *The War in Wexford: an account of the rebellion in the south of Ireland in 1798, told from original documents* (London, 1910), p. 170.
[16] Musgrave, *Memoirs,* p.421.
[17] Musgrave, *Memoirs*, p.455.
[18] Carrigbyrne Comoradh '98 Committee, *Selected Songs and Ballads of '98* (Wexford, 1997), p. 45.
[19] Miles Byrne, *Memoirs*, (Shannon, 1972), p.170.

'remarkable for the ferocity of her disposition, with an 'insatiable thirst for Protestant blood.'[20] According to Musgrave, she exhorted the rebels not to waste ammunition, but to give the rebels plenty of piking on Wexford Bridge.[21] Women also played a central role in the conveyance of intelligence reports as well as having a vital logistical role in the supply of food and provisions and the nursing of the sick and wounded. When the rebel army entered Wexford town, the doors were 'thrown open everywhere and refreshments of all kinds most freely offered and distributed by the inhabitants, to an army now twenty thousand strong', contributing in Miles Byrne's words, 'in a great measure to keep order.'[22]

The outbreak of rebellion in Wexford, contrary to the aims of the United Irishmen, served to underline pre-existing religious and social differences in the county. In the informal sectarian nature of much of the conduct of the early stages of the rising, house burnings and attacks on the homes of Protestant landlords were endemic. Women played a part in this local informal fighting. Looting was common. Musgrave records that 'the wives of the country rebels often made a fantastic appearance, with the elegant apparel of the Protestant ladies of Wexford put over their own homely dress. Some of them were seen mounted on horseback, with handsome veils, having at the same time pikes in their hands.'[23] Dinah Goffe too described 'many wicked looking women' outside her home at Horetown House, 'evidently looking for plunder.'[24] Evidence provided in the loyalist narratives confirmed the social and economic aspirations of some rebel women, and the perception among upper class Protestant women such as Elizabeth Richards of a palpable threat to the existing social order.

The seven loyalist narratives of county Wexford provide valuable eyewitness accounts of the fighting in the county and rare descriptions of rebel

[20] Musgrave, *Memoirs,* p. 438.
[21] Musgrave, *Memoirs*, p.*457*.
[22] Musgrave, *Memoirs*, p.80
[23] Musgrave, *Memoirs*, p.424.
[24] Dinah Goffe, 'Divine Protection' in J.M.Richardson, *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland* (London, 1895), p. 147.

women. The authors concerned were a diverse grouping.[25] They came from differing social classes, from the landed gentry to the lower middle class. All were educated and wrote articulately of their experiences. Their writings shed light on the social history of the period, particularly their inter-relationship with the wider community in which they lived. Often their sympathies crossed the political divide and they did not discriminate in the provision of food, medical assistance and 'protections'. What is strikingly obvious from their writings is that personal contacts between Protestants and Catholics before the rebellion made an important difference in helping each side cope with subsequent events; 'Old kindnesses were often repaid with new ones, perhaps as often as old grudges were avenged'.[26] Primarily the narratives are stories of courage and fortitude as these women sought to survive and deal with the chaos and terror that the rebellion brought to their situation in the months of May to July 1798.

All seven authors greeted the outbreak of the rebellion in Wexford with trepidation, perceiving the intentions of the United Irish army to be the overthrow and slaughter of all those loyal to the Crown. They had no doubt that their Protestantism accentuated their danger. Conversions to Catholicism was a common response as described by Elizabeth Richards, who herself remained obstinately defiant to the attempts of several Catholic friends, particularly Mary

[25] Only two of the loyalist narratives were recorded at the time of the rebellion in 1798; that of Elizabeth Richards and Mrs. Brownrigg. The others were written later. Dinah Goffe, first dictated her memoir to a friend in 1850. The version used in this study was reprinted in J.M.Richardson's *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland, 1655-1890*, under the title 'Divine Protection' (London, 1895). The narrative of Jane Barber, though not dated, was apparently written in her middle age. The version used here is the typescript version housed in Enniscorthy Library, County Wexford. Two manuscript versions of the 1798 *Diary*, of Barbara Newton Lett, are held in the National Library of Ireland, and Trinity College, respectively. The version used in this study appeared in J. Ransom (ed.), 'A '98 Diary by Mrs. Barbara Newton Lett, Killaligan, Enniscorthy' in *The Past*, 5 (1949), pp. 117-149. Barbara Lett's 'diary' was written in 1859, when the author was eighty-two years of age. Alicia Pounden wrote her account of her experiences as part of a biographical essay for her descendants, many years after the rebellion. The version used here is that which appeared in Simon L. M. de Montfort (ed.), 'Mrs. Pounden's Experiences During The 1798 Rising In Co. Wexford', *Irish Ancestor, 8:1* (1976), pp.4-8. The narrative of Jane Adams first appeared in T.Crofton Croker, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, (London, 1824). While it appears in diary form, references to Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion of 1798*, first published in 1801, suggest that much of the narrative was embellished after this date.

[26] J. Beatty, 'Protestant Women of county Wexford and their narratives of the rebellion of 1798', in D.Keogh and N.Furlong, (eds.), *The Women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998), p.135.

Byrne, to coax her to conversion: 'I told her no force could induce me to change my religion, that I could die, but not become Roman Catholic'.[27] It is apparent from the narratives that some of the authors perceived a threat to their persons on the basis of their gender alone. Mrs. Brownrigg expressed this perception, in explaining her lack of any rest from Monday, 28 May:

> How indeed could I, at the mercy of thousands of ruffians who might at any time they pleased do whatever they pleased without fear of punishment or even censure! The prospect of immediate death is horrible (as I can tell) but that was little to the horrors every *Woman* must have dreaded.[28]

The Rebellion forced all of the women with the exception of Dinah Goffe, to flee their homes and seek refuge in the towns, or in the case of Mrs. Brownrigg and Jane Adams, on board ship in Wexford harbour in the hope of escaping the country. The pressing concern to shelter and provide for their families was common to all the narratives. A significant feature of this assumption of responsibility was the authors' willingness to intercede on behalf of their families with the rebel leaders. The narratives described several examples of women risking their own lives and safety in such intercession. The courage of Dinah Goffe's mother was described by her daughter, in saving the life of her father. In dialogue with raiding rebel parties on more than one occasion, 'my mother, turning to me said, with her sweet placid smile: 'Perhaps my stiff stays may prevent my dying easily'.[29]

While the loyalist women did not engage directly in military activity, their bravery in confrontation with rebel forces was often more effective in the prevention of bloodshed. There is little doubt that the courageous Jane Adams saved the lives of her father and brother. When her offer to take her father's place in prison in Wexford was rejected on the basis that there was no room for women, Jane persevered in dialogue, eventually obtaining her father's release

[27] Orpen copy, National Library of Ireland, Microfilm, 36486, Elizabeth Richards, *Diary*, entry of June 1,1798.

[28] Brownrigg, 'A Three Weeks Terror', pp. 193-194.

[29] Goffe, 'Divine Protection', p.156.

from custody.[30] On her bother Roger's imprisonment, she again braved a hostile crowd, to appeal to William Kearney, the Wexford gaoler, to allow her permission to take her brother into her own custody at Summerseat. Later that day, she refused to surrender him to a rebel party, reading to them Kearney's letter of protection, and warning them: 'at your peril, lay a finger on him.'[31]

The narratives ironically also record several instances where rebel soldiers and sympathisers offered protection, shelter and food to the suffering loyalists and their families. They are far too numerous to detail, but they do present some distinguishing features. Very often old acts of kindness to neighbours and acquaintances by the women or their family members are repaid. Examples of this was the protection offered to Barbara Lett by an individual called Williams, who 'now stood foremost in the ranks', and who had been released from custody prior to the rebellion due to the interference of Stephen Lett, her brother-in-law. Barbara was in no doubt that this man saved her life, in an encounter with an armed and hostile rebel.[32] Williams went on to shelter her and her child in his own home, where they were 'kindly received by his wife who seemed shocked at the part her husband had taken'.[33] Jane Barber consistently praised the efforts of Martin Fenlon, their faithful servant, who brought the family two sacks of barley meal, and a day or two later, tea and sugar; 'I almost wept with joy at receiving it, for my mother was unable to take any nourishment and the infant was perishing for want of her breast. I have often thought their lives were prolonged by this supply'.[34] Laurence Butler, a rebel captain and former coachman of a neighbouring family, offered Jane Adams the protection of his guard because she had once offered him a warm drink on a cold day.[35]

These acts of kindness visited on loyalist women were often reciprocated at the end of the rebellion. Jane Adams did her best to treat a

[30] T. Folley, (ed.), *Eyewitness to 1798*, p.131.
[31] Folley, *Eyewitness*, p.132.
[32] Lett, *A '98 Diary*, p.122.
[33] Lett, *A '98* Diary, p.123.
[34] Barber, *Recollections*, p.19.
[35] Folley, *Eyewitness*, p.130.

young rebel soldier who was brought to Summerseat with a badly wounded arm, and wrote letters of protection for her Catholic neighbours while Mrs. Brownrigg was 'pleased to be able to reciprocate.' with General Lake's protection to John Ricards, who gave her a gift of eight guineas, during her time in Wexford.[36] The Goffe family, in the tradition of Quaker neutrality and hospitality, offered shelter to a Catholic family among others escaping the violence. The interaction of these loyalist women with the exponents of the rebellion embraced both fear and deep antagonism, and an interrelationship of dependency and human interaction transcending political and military divides. The ambivalence of this relationship serves to highlight the deep insecurity felt by the writers in the perception of their perilous situation. This insecurity went beyond immediate fears for their lives and safety. As already described, an intrinsic feature of the initial success of the rebel army in Wexford was the manifestation at local level of social disturbance and the settling of old scores. For Protestant women this perceived threat to the existing social order was as alarming as the immediate danger to their lives and safety. Close examination of the narratives reveals indications of this alarm.

On 18 May, on her return to Rathaspeck, following it's occupation by rebel forces, Elizabeth Richards worried: 'Futurity seems a frightful wilderness. The past a lovely garden whose gates closed on me for ever.' Other entries in her diary explain the basis for her despair. On Sunday 10 June, her servant Betsey informed her that 'the people are determined no Protestant shall enjoy a fortune such as ours. They exult us our fall.' On the next day, Elizabeth and her family suffered an uncommon affront, when 'coming out of the avenue gate, we met three women who sneered at us and looked exultingly at our shabby equipage.'[37] The stealing of clothes by rebel women points to their perusal of another social agenda in the opportunities provided by the rebellion to escape from the constraints and formalities of the old system. Mrs. Brownrigg wrote 'the common people really thought everything was their

[36] Brownrigg, 'A Three Weeks Terror', p.174.
[37] Richards, *Diary*, 11 June.

own'.[38] The narratives contain other evidence of this threat to the established order. Dinah Goffe describes rebel officers visiting Horetown demanding to eat in the best parlour in the house. More alarming was the attitude of two labourers, who 'sitting down, rudely addressed their mistress, desiring her to prepare some refreshment, as they had now changed places, and she was their servant'.[39] Jane Adams was confronted with a similar challenge when a party of rebels suggested to her servant Ally, that her role with her mistress was now reversed and that 'she had the *right* to command me'.[40]

It is clear that the altered nature of such interpersonal relationships was truly distressing for the loyalist women, and underlay the intensity of their insecurity in the weeks of the rebellion in Wexford. It has been suggested that one of the major consequences of the rebellion in Wexford was the loss of confidence suffered by the Protestant gentry. 'The old moral economy had been irretrievably sundered and reading the gentry women's accounts, it is their sense of this breakdown which is the most striking'.[41] At the same time the story of these Protestant women in Wexford moves beyond that of victim. These women sought to adapt to, and take control of, the altered situations imposed upon them. They were all directly involved in, and affected by the major events of the rebellion in Wexford. They chose to conquer their personal fear and antagonism to rebel captains, prison governors, and hostile militia, in efforts to secure the safety of their families. At all times they remained receptive to discourse with their enemies, and proved capable of exercising independent authority. Their communication with rebel leaders represented an unprecedented encroachment into the public domain, a development which would never have been necessitated prior to the rebellion and the absence of the male heads of household. They survived through resourcefulness and fortitude, to witness the suppression of the uprising.

[38] Brownrigg, *A Three Weeks Terror*, p.181.
[39] Goffe, *Divine Protection*, p.155.
[40] Folley, *eyewitness*, p.133.
[41] K.Whelan, 'The Religious Factor In The 1798 Rebellion', in P. O'Flanagan, P. Ferguson & K.Whelan, (eds.), *Rural Ireland Modernisation and change 1600-1900* (Cork, 1987), p.79.

The 1798 rebellion in Wexford lasted for forty days, yet the brevity of it's progress belied the destruction and devastation wrought upon the county. The Claims List of 1798 affords an insight into the economic effects of rebellion in the county.[42] Claimants sought monetary compensation of up to one thousand pounds for the destruction of property, crops, and material possessions. Noteworthy was the significant numbers of female heads of household such as Alicia Pounden, who made representation for losses incurred.[43] Four hundred and seventeen widows and twenty three spinsters claimed for houses, furniture, farm animals, crops and provisions which was indicative of the pillage and plunder occasioned by the rising, in common with arson and house burning. The high male mortality rate left hundreds of women as sole providers. (Twenty thousand people are estimated to have lost their lives amid violence and bloodshed unparalleled in the history of the county). Those left behind struggled not alone with financial adversity, but also with the continuing threat of danger and physical violence. The revolutionary uprising of the United Irish army was convincingly crushed yet violence occasioned by the rising was to continue in the county for many months afterwards.

Rebel and loyalist women feared the undisciplined excesses of the military suppression of the rising. Jane Barber described this fear:

> and we lived some weeks in dread both of them and of the struggling parties of military sent in pursuit of them - the last either not knowing that we were suffering Loyalists or not caring, often behaved with great insolence.[44]

The rebel defeat led to a rash of reprisals and revenge, in the form of murder, arson and rape. The Irish army, which had identified so completely with the

[42] *The 1798 Claims List*, (1799), Typescript copy housed in Enniscorthy Library, County Wexford which begins: 'Who have given in their Claims on or before the 6th of April 1799, to the Commissioners for enquiring into the losses sustained by such of His Majesty's loyal subjects, as have suffered in their Property by the Rebellion'.
[43] *The 1798 Claims List*, p.17.
[44] Barber, *Recollections*, p.21.

loyalists, led this campaign, or 'white terror'.[45] Attacks on the civilian population, house burning, and summary execution took place throughout the county in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion. Rape was common. The rout of the rebel army at Vinegar Hill was accompanied by the multiple rape of camp followers by the Dumbartonshire regiment.[46] German mercenaries, the Hessians, conducted a campaign of rapine and pillage in the countryside surrounding Wexford town in late June 1798.[47] The fear engendered in the female population after the rising in Wexford was indicated much later in the following century in the recollections of the rebellion of an old woman living near Enniscorthy, 'I was a young girl at the time and remember the terror I felt at the sight of a yeoman's helmet or his black gaitors'.[48]

The violence inflicted on the countryside emerged not just from the soldiery, but also from loyalist gangs such as the 'Black Mob' led by Hunter Gowan, and surviving rebel bands, particularly the infamous 'Babes in the Wood', and the 'Corcoran gang', of Killoughram Woods. Scaremongering and rumours of sectarian massacre heightened the general atmosphere of lawlessness in the latter months of 1798. Entire districts were seized with hysteria, with Catholics and Protestants alike convinced of impending Orange and rebel slaughter. Dinah Goffe described different raids on Horetown House, perpetrated by the 'Babes in the Wood': 'Twice they visited us, and on these occasions our sufferings were greater than on any during the Rebellion'.[49] The group appeared intent on robbery in the Goffe home, yet derived satisfaction in the violent intimidation of Dinah's father. Dinah Goffe was convinced that 'the repeated shocks and trials, which my honoured father

[45] D.Gahan, 'The 'Black Mob' and the 'Babes in the Wood': Wexford in the Wake of Rebellion, 1798-1806' in *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society* 13 (1990-1991), p.93.
[46] K.Whelan, 'Reinterpreting the 1798 Rebellion in County Wexford', in D.Keogh and N. Furlong (eds.), *The Mighty Wave The 1798 Rebellion In Wexford* (Dublin, 1996), p.28.
[47] Gahan, 'The 'Black Mob'', p.93.
[48] P. Kennedy, *Evenings in the Duffry* (London, 1869), p.126.
[49] D.Goffe, 'Divine Protection' in J.M.Richardson, *Six Generations of Friends in Ireland*, 1655-1890 (London, 1895), p.166.

endured during these fearful times, were too great for his strength of body' and lead to his death on 23 December, 1798.[50]

There can be no doubt that the atrocities and bloodshed during and after the rebellion in Wexford bequeathed a long legacy of psychological scarring. Again, while there is scant documentary evidence of this on the part of rebel women, Barbara Lett describes the case of Miss Good, a family acquaintance, who witnessed the journey of her father, William Daniel, to execution on Wexford Bridge.

> poor Matty had suffered such a shock that she never recovered the wound it inflicted. Her intellect became impaired and her mind wandered so wildly that after much suffering on the part of her family from the various caprices of the complaint, they were obliged to remove her to an asylum where she spent her remaining days.[51]

Jane Barber, too, revealed some of the psychological effects of the rising in the traumatisation of her sixteen year old brother William in the aftermath of the rising.[52] She deplored what she described as 'one evil, not generally known that arose from the rebellion', the inability of young farmer's sons called to serve in the yeomanry, to settle to civilian life. Later on she noted:

> These, removed from the eyes of their parents with weapons placed in their hands, raised to the rank of men before they had discretion to behave as such, and exposed to all the temptations of idleness, intoxication and bad companions, when peaceful times returned were totally unable to settle to their farms too often by their father's death left to them alone - but continued the same careless disorderly life, 'till they became quite unable to pay their rents.[53]

Barber continued to describe how many of these young men were subsequently ejected from their farms and forced to emigrate to America. While it is impossible to generalise about the consequences for the loyalist

[50] Goffe, 'Divine Protection', p.175.
[51] B.Lett, 'A '98 Diary by Mrs. Barbara Newton Lett, Killaligan, Enniscorthy' in *The Past* 5 (1949), p.146.
[52] Barber, *Recollections*, p.23.
[53] Barber, Recollections, p.24.

Protestant community in Wexford in the aftermath of 1798, records show, following the eventual lifting of martial law in 1806, the early stages of a significant Protestant emigration to Canada.[54]

The provision of evidence in the courts martial and the intercession of women in Wexford, in the State Prisoners Petitions represented the continued political engagement of women.[55] It is evident from examination of the trial transcripts that women were listened to with great attention and were considered to provide important witness to the major events of the rising.[56] Women of all classes, from servant girls to respected businesswomen came forward to give evidence, often at considerable personal risk, at a time when intimidation and general lawlessness persisted in the county. Over zealous attempts to secure convictions sometimes led to the hiring of female evidence. Thomas Cloney, in his *Personal Narrative*, wrote of the attempted blackmail by a magistrate of a woman called Rigby, in which she was promised the full amount of her claim, if she would give evidence leading to his conviction.[57]

As well as providing evidence for the prosecution of rebel suspects, women performed an important role as character witnesses in the defence of rebels such as Cloney, in testifying that they had helped loyalists during the rebellion. Significant documentary evidence exists of similar intercession by women in the State Prisoners' Petitions. These contain numerous examples of wives and mothers pleading the innocence of their husbands and sons, and seeking their liberation from jail. Very often they included certificates of character, such as that of Elizabeth Mirna, on behalf of her husband, George, of Clonhenry, County Wexford, signed on 15 September 1798,[58] or the mother of Pierce Aspel of Tomspar, who petitioned his liberation and enclosed a

[54] Gahan, 'The 'Black Mob'', p.106.
[55] It has been estimated that between the years 1798 to 1801, approximately eight hundred trials at court martial took place throughout Ireland. While there is evidence of only one woman being brought before a court martial, in roughly twenty five per cent of cases a significant contribution was made by women in the provision of evidence for both prosecution and defence.
[56] See T. Bartlett, 'Bearing Witness: female evidences in courts martial convened to suppress the 1798 rebellion', in D.Keogh and N. Furlong, (eds.), *The Women of 1798* (Dublin, 1998).
[57] Cloney, *A Personal Narrative*, p.114.
[58] State Prisoners Petitions, SPP 220, National Archives, Dublin.

certificate of his good character, on 17 April 1799. Elizabeth Grady told of her husband William's arrest on his way to Dublin to take the Oath of Allegiance in her petition in August 1798, while Mary Moore pleaded for the release of her husband James on the grounds of illness on 16 July 1798. [59]

A salient feature of this study is the interdependence of men and women in the extraordinary period, May to July 1798. The public participation of men in insurrection or defence of the county in the yeomanry and militia, necessitated the maintenance of their homes and farms and the protection of their families by women in the 'private' sphere. At the same time the rebellion in Wexford occasioned unprecedented female involvement in the political domain. The activity of rebel women at the camps and on the battlefield, and the engagement of women of both sides in intercession and the provision of testimony on behalf of family members and others, negates the notion of the non-political involvement of women. The involvement of rebel women was motivated also by concern to effect social and economic change in their situation as their activity in plunder and their interrelationship with authority demonstrates. The devastating material and emotional effects of the rebellion on the lives of women did not deter their continued effecting of events. Women secured the prosecutions and acquittals of prisoners and they were resourceful in the protection of, and provision for, their families. Their actions in the aftermath of the rebellion in Wexford paint a more complex picture than that of their role as solely victim.

Women have been seen to act autonomously and assertively in new ways in this engagement with civil and military authority. While this activity does not subscribe to the traditional male norm of power, alluded to by Anna Kinsella in the introduction, it demonstrates the exercise of authority, in the contribution made, for example, to the release or conviction of male prisoners. The dependence of men in the rebel cause on the contribution of women and their role in intercession, indicates a significant shift in the traditional premise of the dependency of women. While singular women have often defied

[59] State Prisoners Petitions, 427, 151, 221, respectively.

traditional roles, this study indicates that many ordinary women in Wexford stepped beyond their culturally conditioned sphere of activity. The rebellion has been shown in this way to have impinged radically on the interrelationship of men and women's lives.

Study of the female experience of rebellion in Wexford communicates the occasional transcendence of human values during that conflict, and contributes in this way to a deeper historical understanding of the period. Importantly we are afforded a glimpse into the psychological effects of the rebellion on persons of both genders. In spite of the deep antagonism expressed in the loyalist narratives, they often evidence on occasion of the ability of people to cross political and sectarian divides in reciprocal acts of kindness. The Rebellion of 1798 was a time of great misfortune and family tragedy. Those who were left widowed, homeless and in financial difficulty continued to suffer long after the suppression of the rebel forces. This suffering was shared by their male counterparts who survived the horror of the bloodshed occasioned by the rebellion in the county. The extraordinary fatality rate and devastation wrought, in only six weeks of fighting, must not be overlooked. It would appear, however, that it was in the altered nature of daily interpersonal relationships and in the breakdown of the moral economy that the most enduring legacy of the rebellion of 1798 in Wexford is to be found. In conclusion, the work undertaken in this study points to avenues of exploration of the story of Irish women and men, as yet unexplored. It is to be hoped that this limited attempt to document some of the experience of women who lived through a 'people's rising' in county Wexford, in the months of May to July 1798, illuminates the essential inclusive nature of such exploration.

A Study of Priest's Wills in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Limerick (1878-1917).

Matthew Tobin

This paper is based on a study of the wills and charitable bequests of the secular priests of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Limerick between the years 1878 and 1917. Little research has been undertaken on any aspect of the clergy of the diocese of Limerick and Begley's three volume general history of the diocese, published between 1906 and 1938, is still the only published work. This study attempts to test the general impression that secular priests were comfortably off, even wealthy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By looking at the wills and charitable bequests that are available from the National Archives of Ireland, the Diocese of Limerick Archives and local newspapers of the time, it is possible to gain some insight into the financial affairs of the clergy. It can also sometimes be clearly seen how they had acquired their legacies, usually land and/or property, shares, mass offerings or bequests. Another issue examined is the difference between the resources of parish priests in comparison with curates. A final insight from these documents is the beneficiaries and the various conditions attached to these legacies.

The Diocese of Limerick is not coterminous with the civil county of Limerick, as most of the eastern area of the county is part of the Diocese of Cashel & Emly while the two most northerly parishes of the diocese, Parteen/Meelick and Cratloe, are part of the civil county of Clare. Of the forty-eight parishes in the diocese during this period, five were in the city while the remaining forty-three are classed as rural parishes. To date one hundred and ten secular priests have been studied during this period (that figure which can be broken down is summarised in table one).[1] It has been possible to trace wills for sixty-five of these priests. A Notice of Charitable Bequest for five

[1] See Appendix 1, Table 1.

other priests was published in the *Munster News* newspaper between the mentioned years. These seventy are classified in table two.[2] Of the remaining forty clergy, twenty-five made no will while fifteen made a will but no copy exists or can be found at present. A number of criteria have been employed in the examination of the wills, namely; land and property/investments/parochial houses and legatees. During the course of this study various conditions and legal stipulations that occasionally appeared also received attention. In 1898, the parish priest of Bruff Rev. Charles McNamara, told his parishioners, after he was insulted while collecting dues on Easter Sunday, that he had 'money enough to keep me until I die. Nobody ever heard of a priest dying in the Workhouse'.[3] In the will of the Rev. Michael Donor parish priest of Shanagolden who died in 1909 there is the simple phrase 'I have no money'.[4] The purpose of this paper is to try to establish which of these statements is most applicable to the clergy of the Diocese of Limerick in this period.

Twenty-three members of the clergy either owned or rented land. Some of this land was purchased for the building of a new church or parochial house for the parish priest. Rev Timothy Ryan Shanahan, the parish priest of St Munchin's, held two plots of land for 'the object of providing a suitable site for a new church for said parish'.[5] Rev. Thomas Downes parish priest of Kilmallock was another parish priest who held land with the intention of building a new church, which was built in 1879. Downes also owned houses in Doneraile, County Cork which he left in trust for his grand niece to his nephew the Rev. William Downes the then parish priest of Athea.[6] Of the twenty-three members of the clergy who had land, only one was a curate. Rev. John Connolly had retired from the priesthood due to illness in 1907. Connolly rented one hundred and seven acres, three roods and nineteen perches for £110 annually less £20, which he paid to Hannah Connolly. This was according to

[2] See Appendix 1, Table 2.
[3] Pius J. Browne, *A History of Bruff & District – MA Thesis Vol. II* (Cork, 1978), p.473.
[4] National Archives of Ireland (N.A.I.), Will of Rev Michael Donor, listed 15 January 1910.
[5] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Timothy Ryan Shanahan, listed 9 July 1915.
[6] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Thomas Downes, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, Microfilm code 4 218 47, p.226.

the terms of the will of Edmond J. Connolly who died in 1908. This was obviously a family arrangement but it has not been established if Edmond was his father or brother. Connolly owned twenty five cows, twenty five calves, a bull, four farm horses, fifty tons of hay and farming implements, which were, valued at £440 10s from information found with his will.[7] Rev. Michael McCormack, parish priest of Ardagh, owned two small farms that, he instructed, were to be sold separately at a public auction and were not to be subdivided.[8] Rev. Cornelius McCarthy PP of Knockaderry owned thirty-two acres of land at Gurteencurragh and twenty-seven acres of land on the other side of the parish at Cloncagh.[9]

The vast majority of landed priests were rural based but urban priests also owned property. Rev. Joseph Bourke, parish priest of St Patrick's, owned property in the city including some houses in Cecil Street and he obtained £50 annually from the rents on these properties.[10] Rev. Andrew Murphy, the parish priest of St Munchin's, and the former diocesan secretary to Bishop O'Dwyer had leasehold properties or tenancies that were valued at £99 at the time of his death in 1914.[11] Rev. William Casey, the parish priest of Abbeyfeale was noted for his involvement in the land struggle in the area, always siding with the tenants and the labourers throughout the 1880s until his death on 29 December 1907. Interestingly he was himself a 'landlord' but admittedly on a small scale. He bequeathed a field of four acres that William P. Broderick rented from him, to Broderick in his will. Another local farmer, Daniel McCarthy was to receive Casey's field at Gortnaskehy of one acre and two roods if he pays £30 within one month of Fr. Casey's death to his executors. If

[7] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Stephen Connolly, listed 30 April 1913.
[8] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael McCormack, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, Microfilm code 100946-947, p.303.
[9] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Cornelius McCarthy, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.374.
[10] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Joseph Bourke, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.396.
[11] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Andrew Murphy, listed 31 August 1914.

McCarthy did not pay the money, the field was to be sold and if the value exceeded £30, the balance went to McCarthy.[12]

Parish priests rather than curates had the best chance of acquiring land. In January 1881, at a meeting of the Land League in Adare, the Rev. Kennedy a curate in Feenagh/Kilmeedy told the crowd, 'I am not a very practical man. I do not at present hold that much of land I will soon be a parish priest and I will have it'.[13] Rev. Kennedy did not in the event become a parish priest until 1893 in Fedamore, twenty years after he was ordained and a position he held until his death in 1925. His comment however reveals what was apparently a widely held expectation of diocesan priests.

The possession of land and property was not the sole manifestation of priest's wealth; the wills also contain evidence of a diverse range of assets. Emmet Larkin identified this trend when he quoted a statement by Bishop Butler and his clergy from 1871 that states the clergy were 'sprung for the most part from the great farming class of the county'.[14] These rural priests not surprisingly then kept cattle and horses. According to the *Munster News* on 1 May 1880 at the Great Munster Fair in April, Rev. Luke Glesson PP of Parteen sold two horses for £100.[15] When the priests were bequeathing money to their friends, families and charities they sometimes put conditions on, even controlled, the use of this money in the hope of being able to protect the recipients from beyond the grave. Rev. Edmund O'Donoghue, a curate in Bulgaden left his nephew Maurice O'Donoghue £100 from Mary O'Donnell (the residuary legatee) when she deemed fit:

> and if he does not conduct himself to her entire satisfaction my will is that same shall go to my Niece Annie O'Donoghue and the remaining fifty pounds to my niece Johanna Flynn.[16]

[12] N.A.I, Will of Rev. William Casey, listed 23 June 1908.
[13] N.A.I, *Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers,* 1881/3698.
[14] Emmet Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church & the Home Rule Movement in Ireland 1870-1874* (Dublin, 1990), p.239.
[15] *Munster News,* 1 May 1880.
[16] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Edmund O'Donoghue, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876 – 1888*, p.44.

O'Donoghue had nineteen shares in National Bank of Liverpool that were valued at £220 which he left to Annie O'Donoghue but if she didn't behave herself according to Mary O'Donnell it will be divided amongst Edmund's four sisters.[17]

Rev. Joseph Bourke of St Patrick's left the following instruction to his nephew Jeremiah McCarthy who:

> has been sufficiently provided for, besides he has got up to £500 more than his due … and if he is kind to his sisters and a protector to them, I am sure they will be of benefit to him.[18]

Rev. William Downes left the residue of his estate equally between Thomas, William and Lilian, his nephews and niece. If any of them 'be known to be going wrong, that is given to drink or immoral, I direct such a one share be divided amongst the others.' Downes continued,

> As all three are very young and living in England it may unfortunately happen that one or more of them may forget the religion in which they were baptised and renounce the Roman Catholic Faith. If so I direct that none of my assets should be given to such a one.[19]

It has also emerged from the study of the wills that a number of priests totalling eighteen had shares in various companies. The most popular shareholding was in banking with eleven priests holding shares, closely followed by railway companies of which ten priests were shareholders while three priests placed their trust no doubt very wisely in Arthur Guinness and Sons, the brewery. Two examples of priests' shareholdings are listed in Tables 3 and 4.[20] Nineteen priests invested in insurance policies. Rev. Thomas Downes had an insurance policy for £600 with the West of England Insurance Co., which he left to Bishop O'Dwyer and his successor as parish priest of

[17] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Edmund O'Donoghue, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876 – 1888*, p.44.
[18] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Joseph Bourke, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893,* p.396.
[19] N.A.I., Will of Rev. William Downes, listed 14 December 1901.
[20] See Tables 3 & 4.

Kilmallock.[21] Rev. Joseph Bourke had an insurance policy of £300 with the same company and with bonuses; it reached a value of £350. £300 of this money was to be invested in the education of two-day students in the classics for the priesthood who were unable to pay for their education. A fortnightly mass was also to be said by one of the seminary priests.[22] Rev. Patrick Michael Murphy, a curate in St John's left his insurance policy valued at £200, which he held with the Colonial Mutual Assurance Co. to his brother Rev. Andrew Murphy, then a professor at St Munchin's College.[23] Bishop Edward Thomas O'Dwyer had an insurance policy valued at £1,000 but his will does not mention with which company O'Dwyer held the policy with.[24]

The successor to a deceased parish priest usually had to pay compensation to the executors of the pervious incumbent for the parochial house. Rev. James McCoy paid £150 when he was appointed parish priest of Bulgaden in succession to Rev. Marcus Cleary in December 1886 and he in turn demanded that the same amount be paid to his executors.[25] Rev. James Molony, parish priest of Kildimo, left his house to his successor on condition that his executors received £150 minus two per cent depreciation for each year he lived in the house.[26] This condition was repeated in a majority of the seventeen cases where the parochial house was passed onto the successor who also had to pay for any improvements carried out to the property. Rev. Mortimer Fitzgerald, parish priest of Ballyagran, left his house to his successor and from notes included in his will he spent £88 15s on repairs on the house including £42 on thatching the house eight times in the pervious twelve years.[27]

[21] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Thomas Downes, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.226.
[22] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Joseph Bourke, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.396.
[23] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Patrick Michael Murphy, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889.*
[24] N.A.I., Will of Bishop Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, listed 7 November 1917.
[25] N.A.I., Will of Rev. James McCoy, listed 15 January 1907.
[26] N.A.I., Will of Rev. James Molony, listed 22 September 1904.
[27] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Mortimer Fitzgerald, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.136.

If the successor did not want the house, it was usually sold at a public auction and this money was included in the estate.

A number of priests left their money for the erection or repair of churches in the diocese. William Casey of Abbeyfeale stated in his will that he wanted a church to be erected 'at or near the junction of the three roads where the townlands of Dromtrasna O'Brien, CaherHayes and Sneenkilly met'.[28] Rev. Timothy Corkery retired parish priest of Tournafulla left his brother the Rev. Patrick (whose death preceded Timothy by a year) £200 'in trust for help to extend the chapel at Tournafulla and build a tower at the western gable'.[29] The Rev. John B. Meehan, parish priest of Croagh/Kilfinny, received £100 to tile the chapel in Kilfinny where Timothy wished to be buried.[30] Meehan himself left £40 for the repairs of Croagh and Kilfinny churches in his notice of charitable bequest.[31] Rev. Daniel Fitzgerald left £500 for the building of a new Roman Catholic Church for St Mary's parish where he served as parish priest from 1878 until his death on 10 November 1894.[32] Rev. James Glesson bequeathed £50 for the erection of Stations of the Cross in Coolcappa church, which was the last parish he ministered in before his retirement. If however these were erected during his lifetime, the money was to be used for improvements in the church.[33] Dean O'Brien left £100 for a stained glass window in the apse in Newcastlewest church.[34] In total over £3,200 was left to the building, improvement or upkeep of churches in the diocese.

Masses for the soul of the deceased were an important source of income to many priests. As Rev. Michael O'Donnell parish priest of Rathkeale stated in a letter to Bishop O'Dwyer dated 17 July 1917 that 'should I get the bequest of £100, I cannot put more than about £10 of it into my own pocket'.[35] Over

[28] N.A.I., Will of Rev. William Casey, listed 23 June 1908.
[29] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Timothy Corkery, listed 28 March 1892.
[30] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Timothy Corkery, listed 28 March 1892.
[31] *Munster News*, 16 December 1899.
[32] *Munster News*, 9 March 1895.
[33] N.A.I., Will of Rev. James Glesson, listed 29 August 1914.
[34] N.A.I., Dean Richard Baptist O'Brien, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.292.
[35] Limerick Diocesan Archives, *Bishop O'Dwyer papers* - Folder E.

£3,000 was bequeathed in the seventy wills and charitable bequests for masses for their souls or their intentions. Most of this money was left to priests of the diocese but Rev. John Reeves left £200 for masses to the Abbot of Mount Melleray in Waterford.[36] Rev. William Connery, parish priest of Effin, left £5 for masses[37] in comparison to £100 that Rev. Edmond Tracey parish priest of Askeaton left for masses for his soul and for his intentions between two curates.[38] Rev. Daniel Curtin left £100 for masses, which were to be said at a rate of five shillings a mass.[39] There were also rates of two shillings and sixpence and four shillings respectively for masses. Only five priests left no instructions or money for masses for their soul in their will.

Servants and housekeepers feature in a number of priests' wills. Bishop O'Dwyer's coachman, John Horgan would receive £100 if he were still in his employment at the time of his death.[40] Rev. Patrick Carroll parish priest of Croagh/Kilfinny left £20 to Mary Cussen his housekeeper who also gets to keep her bed and 'any poultry that I may die possessed of'.[41] Rev. John Bourke of Kildimo bequeathed four shares in the National Bank Ltd. to John Kilcooly, 'my faithful servant for over 30 years' and two shares to his housekeeper Honorah Flaherty.[42] However these were some of the lucky few as only a quarter of servants and housekeepers received any money from their masters' wills.

The poor fared reasonably well from the death of priests but often with revealing restrictions. Rev. Daniel Curtin left £50 to the poor of the parish of Glenroe/Ballyorgan on the condition that it was given in the form of blankets

[36] N.A.I., Will of Rev. John Reeves, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893,* p.424.
[37] N.A.I., Will of Rev. William Connery, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.8.
[38] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Edmond Tracey, listed 29 March 1909.
[39] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Daniel Curtin, listed 22 January 1914.
[40] N.A.I., Will of Bishop Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, listed 7 November 1917.
[41] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Patrick Carroll, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888,* p.424.
[42] N.A.I., Will of Rev. John Bourke, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893,* p.336.

not money.[43] Rev. James McCoy PP left £200 to Bishop O'Dwyer for the poor of St. John's Parish[44] while the Rev. John Carrick, parish priest of Kilfinane, gave the poor £20 but he wanted it used 'preferably for the uncomplaining ones who do not publicly solicit alms'.[45] £150 was left to the Bishop of the diocese to invest for the poor by the Rev. Michael Maher parish priest and the interest accrued from this sum was to be used each Christmas to provide bedclothes for the poor of Ardagh.[46] Thirty-seven different charities, religious groups, schools and hospitals benefited from the wills of the priests to varying degrees. Nearly £10,500 was left to these groups, the smallest being £5 to Rathkeale Convent from Rev. Martin Ryan, parish priest of Athea, and the largest being £500 to the Roman Catholic Orphanage from Rev. Thomas McEniry, parish priest of Effin.[47] McEniry also left £100 each to St Vincent de Paul, the Propagation of the Faith and the Magdalen Asylum run by the Good Shepherd nuns.[48] Rev. John Carrick bequeathed £50 each to the following: St John's Hospital, Good Shepherd Convent, the Male Orphanage and St Joseph's church.[49] Sometimes the reasons for a donation to a convent or charity were due to a personal connection as Rev. Michael Maher left £50 to the Convent of Mercy in Sunderland as he has a niece there.[50]

It is hard to give an exact amount of what sum of money was left to family members but it can be conservatively stated to be over £5,000. Family members usually benefited by the sale of personal property such as furniture, household goods and books. Rev. Michael McCormack of Manister left £150 to his niece Mrs. George Quaid that is to be used for her eldest unmarried

[43] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Daniel Curtin, listed 22 January 1914.
[44] N.A.I., Will of Rev. James McCoy, listed 15 January 1907.
[45] N.A.I., Will of Rev. John Carrick, listed 10 August 1915.
[46] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael Maher, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888,* p.501.
[47] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Martin Ryan, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888,* p.595.
[48] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Thomas McEniry, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888,* p.430.
[49] N.A.I., Will of Rev. John Carrick, listed 10 August 1915.
[50] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael Maher, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888,* p.501.

daughter 'as a marriage portion'.[51] Rev. Cornelius McCarthy of Knockaderry had £300 in the bank and it was to be divided by giving £150 each to his brother Charles and his sister Mrs. Mahon.[52] Rev. Arthur J. Sheedy, parish priest of Monagea, left his nephew John Nunan (who was a student for the priesthood in Maynooth College) his books, bookcase, writing desk, table, gold watch and chain, pins and oil stock.[53] Timothy Corkery left the President of All Hallows College £100 for ecclesiastical students and his nephew Timothy received £200 for his ecclesiastical education.[54] Rev. John Glesson, parish priest of Dromcollogher, left £50 to assist as a dowry for his niece Margaret Connolly 'now postulant' in Ennistymon Convent.[55] Rev. Michael Casey, parish priest of St Mary's, left £500 to be invested for the use of his stepsister with the interest to be used 'to provide board and lodgings clothes or comfort for her there (her present address) or elsewhere during the term of her natural life'. This money was then to be divided between various charities after her death.[56] Rev. Timothy Halpin left the rector of Mungret College £10 a year each August for the education of Patrick Clohessy of Knockea. Clohessy will get £30 once he left Mungret College and went to another college to finish his studies in the priesthood. Halpin's grandniece Kate Minahan was to receive £100 when she turned eighteen but if she died before eighteen, the money would be given to her sister. His niece Johanna Halpin was to receive £200. Halpin also left his house, lands, household furniture and everything else to his nephew Michael in trust after the payment of debts and funeral expenses.[57]

So then how did priests acquire such wealth during this period? Apart from the normal dues paid by their parishioners, mass offerings were very

[51] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael McCormack, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.303.
[52] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Cornelius McCarthy, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.374.
[53] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Arthur J. Sheedy, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.497.
[54] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Timothy Corkery, listed 28 March 1892.
[55] N.A.I., Will of Rev. John Glesson, listed 24 October 1901.
[56] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael Casey, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.220.
[57] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Timothy Halpin, listed 18 November 1901.

significant. Some indication of this can be obtained from the wills. John Rickard Tinsley who died on 19 April 1892, left £100 for Rev. Joseph Bourke the parish priest of St Patrick's for masses for his soul but Bourke died within one month of Tinsley's death.[58] Tinsley was a wholesale merchant and the largest importer of salt into Limerick city and also a former Mayor of Limerick in 1865. In his death notice in the *Munster News* he was described as being 'a fervent Catholic'.[59] Tinsley's name also appears in the will of Rev. Michael Casey PP as he had received a loan of £1,000 from Casey, half of which was to be the security of his mortgage on his business. Tinsley also got Casey's gold watch and chain as a token of affection.[60] Another example is Dean Flanagan of Adare who received £140 from the estate of Sarah Stokes who died in October 1905, two weeks before Flanagan died on 16 October 1905.[61]

Michael McCarthy in his book *Priests & People in Ireland* published in 1903 included a passage from the *Evening Telegraph* newspaper of 13 April 1901, which stated that Bishop O'Dwyer received £1,660 from Miss B. O'Grady of 4 Pembroke Road, Dublin for masses:

> or the repose of the souls of her late sister, Mary O'Grady (of Limerick), of her parents and relatives, and herself, and also charitable purposes in Limerick and Patrick's well.[62]

McCarthy, asserted that 'it is at the deathbed priests acquire the bulk of their means'.[63] He was, however, hostile to the Catholic Church and its priests and elsewhere states that when a parish priest dies 'he leaves nothing'.[64] However, it is likely that there was at least some truth in his assertion. Priests also benefited from the legacies of fellow priests to say masses for their souls and their intentions. Some priests were fortunate in that when they moved from

[58] N.A.I., Will of John Rickard Tinsley, listed 13 May 1892.
[59] *Munster News*, 20 April 1892.
[60] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Michael Casey, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills 1876-1888*, p.220.
[61] N.A.I, Will of Dean John Stanilas Flanagan, listed 5 April 1906.
[62] Michael J. F. McCarthy, *Priests and people in Ireland* (Dublin, 1903), p.111.
[63] McCarthy, *Priests and people in Ireland*, p.329.
[64] McCarthy, *Priests and people in Ireland*, p.328.

one parish to another, they received a testimonial and address from their parishioners. Rev. John Carrick was transferred from Newcastlewest where he was a curate to become parish priest of Kilcoman in March 1878. Carrick received a testimonial from the people of Newcastlewest but the *Munster News* of 20 July 1878 does not mention the sum of money involved.[65] However his compatriot Rev. C.P. Kenny also received a testimonial when he moved from Shanagolden to Knockaderry as curate in 1878 amounting to £120.[66] As we have seen parish priests were provided with parochial houses, though according to the Acts of the Diocesan Synod of 1890 they were 'not private property'.[67] The structure of the diocesan rules was that a priest was compensated for improvements he had made to the parochial residence and this increased their assets after their death. Some priests from well off families had personal sources of wealth in addition to that available to other priests. However, not all priests bequeathed large estates that included shares, land and property. Rev. John Kelly, a parish priest who died in 1892 and thirty six years as a priest left an estate of £82 1s 9d[68] while Rev William Carroll, a curate for twenty years died in 1889 leaving an estate of £75 18s.[69] But out of the seventy priests studied only nine had estates that were valued at less than £250.

In conclusion which of the statements, quoted at the beginning of this paper, is nearer to the truth, McNamara's assertion 'of no priest ever dying in the Workhouse' or Donor's statement 'I have no money'? As Donor himself left an estate of £625 5s 5d to his sister Monica in that will, his reliability, not to mention his credibility, is certainly open to rather serious questioning.[70] On the basis of the research to date, it can be stated with confidence that dying possessed of less than a comfortable living, not to mention 'dying in a

[65] *Munster News*, 20 July 1878.
[66] *Munster News*, 12 January 1878.
[67] L.D.A., *Varia 19th & 20th Centuries Ms.*
[68] N.A.I, Will of Rev. John Kelly, *Prinicpal Registry Wills Book 1891 Vol. II G-M*, p.357.
[69] N.A.I, Will of Rev. William Carroll, *Limerick District Probate Registry Wills Book 1889-9 June 1893*, p.22.
[70] N.A.I, Will of Rev. Michael Donor, listed 15 January 1910.

workhouse' would have been a rare occurrence for any of the priests of the Diocese of Limerick between the years 1878 to 1917.

APPENDIX 1

Table 1

Breakdown of priests of the Diocese of Limerick who died between 1878 to 1917

Category	Number
Bishops	2
Parish priests	68
Administrators of parishes	4
Curates	23
Retired parish priests	7
Retired curates	3
Chaplain	1
Priest who had no parish assignment	1
Priest was attached to the Diocese of Wellington in New Zealand but had been ordained for Limerick	1

Table 2

Breakdown of wills and charitable bequests of priests who died between 1878 to 1917

Category	Number
Bishops	2
Parish priests	50
Curates	8
Retired parish priests	5
Retired curates	3
Chaplain	1
Priest was attached to the Diocese of Wellington in New Zealand but had been ordained for Limerick.	1

Table 3

Stock Portfolio of Rev Patrick Condon, parish priest of Kilcornan who died on 14 January 1917 [71]

Stock	Price	Value
£250 worth of original stock in the Great Northern Railway	@ 90	£225
£300 worth of original stock of Great Southern & Western Railway	@ 79	£ 237
£800 worth of 4% preference. stock of Great Southern & Western Railway	@ 74 ½	£596
£60 worth of ordinary stock of A. Guinness & Sons Ltd.	@ 24 ¼	£145 10s
Total	**£1,331 10s**	

[71] N.A.I., Will of Rev. Patrick Condon, listed 23 March 1917.

Table 4

Stock Portfolio of Rev James Gubbins Fitzgerald, parish priest of Manister who died on 27 April 1914 [72]

12 Guinness ordinary shares	@ £35 ¾	£429
£250 Great Southern & Western Railway ordinary shares	@ 98 ½	£246 5s
£54 Great Southern & Western Railway preference shares	@ 99 ½	£53 9s 6d
60 C & J Bourke Ltd. Dublin	@ £5	£300
10 Irish Insurance Church Property	@ 20/-	£10
45 National Bank Shares	@ £18 7/8	£849 7s 6d
Total	**£1,888 2s**	

[72] N.A.I., Will of Rev. James Gubbins Fitzgerald, listed 15 August 1914.

Fianna Fáil and the creation of its identity (1926-31).

Declan Jackson

> The process by which a demoralised, dispirited and defeated minority which emerged from the civil war in 1923 succeeded in becoming the government of the country less than a decade later, and in giving birth to a political party which has exercised clear political dominance ever since, has fascinated and, to an extent mesmerised commentators.[1]

The aim of this article is to focus on one process that allowed Fianna Fáil to occupy a hegemonic position within the Irish political landscape. It will be argued that from the party's formation in 1926 until 1931 they were involved in a number of schemes with a specific aim of raising public awareness of the political entity that was Fianna Fáil. It is possible to divide this examination into three distinct areas. First, the formation of the network of local party branches (cumann), secondly the collection of signatures in an attempt to force the government to hold a referendum concerning the oath of allegiance, and thirdly, a large proportion of the article will be devoted to the establishment of the *Irish Press*. It will be argued that the combination of these three elements laid the foundations for a great deal of the success enjoyed by Fianna Fáil subsequently. Professor J.J. Lee succinctly described the contribution made the *Irish Press*, he asserted that:

> The *Press* played an important role in the Fianna Fáil election victories, not only by confirming the convictions of the faithful, but also by converting previous non voters or even unbelievers. The increase in turnout from 69 per cent in September 1927 election to 77 per cent in 1932, before rising once more to a record 81.3 per cent in 1933, probably owed a great deal to the popular enthusiasm generated by the *Press*.[2]

This article will attempt to build on Lee's assertion in so far it is will argue that the three schemes as outlined above created a 'popular enthusiasm' for Fianna

[1] Richard, Dunphy, *The making of Fianna Fáil power in Ireland 1923-1948* (Oxford, 1995), p.1.
[2] Joe, Lee, *Ireland 1912-1985 Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1989), p.168.

Fáil. In relation to the structure of the article each scheme will be examined individually followed by a fourth section devoted to the development of some conclusions.

The cumainn[3]

The local branch had a particular importance to the development of a public awareness of Fianna Fáil. Warner Moss defined a cumann as:

> The basis of the Irish party structure is the local club (known also as the branch or cumann). Its functions are the political education of the community, the maintenance of the local election machinery, and the forwarding of local sentiment to the national organization.[4]

More specifically Fianna Fáil in their constitution and rules define a cumann as:

> Branches of the organisation, which shall be known as cumainn, shall be formed in the manner hereinafter set out, and shall, consist of not less than ten members:
>
> (a) In rural areas – the basis of the cumann will be the church area.
> (b) In urban and city boroughs – the basis of the cumann will be the urban area or the electoral ward or such other area as may be directed in particular cases by the national executive.
> (c) In foreign countries – in such a manner as may be directed, in particular areas by the national executive.[5]

The requirements of 'political education' and 'maintenance of the local election machinery' as referred to in Moss's definition are contained in section 16 of the constitution and rules of Fianna Fáil, which sates that:

> 16. It shall be the duty of a cumann and of the members thereof to : -
>
> (a) Abide by the spirit of the constitution of the organisation.
> (b) Promote the interests of the organisation in its area, and to secure public support for its programme.

[3] Cumann singular, Cumainn plural, translated as club or branch.
[4] Warner, Moss, *Political Parties in the Irish Free State* (New York, 1933), p.54.
[5] *Frank Aiken Papers* [herein FAP], University College Dublin Archives [herein UCDA], p.104/1501.

> (c) Endeavour to increase its membership to include all supporters of Fianna Fáil in its area.
> (d) Carry out loyally such specific instructions as are time from time transmitted to it from bodies with authority to do so.[6]

Eamon de Valera the surviving leader of the 1916 Rising, resigned from his presidency of Sinn Féin on 10 March 1926; shortly after this the decision was taken to form Fianna Fáil. From the outset the establishment of a strong cumann structure was made a priority. In the 16 April edition of *An Phoblacht* the formation of Fianna Fáil was announced, accompanying this announcement was the request to assist in the formation of local branches, the request read as follows:

> The committee requests all who are willing to help them in their task to communicate with them. Secretaries of cumann and comharile ceanntar and individuals willing to organise new cumainn, are requested to write to the secretaries at the above address as soon as possible.[7]

From the moment that the new political party was revealed to the public attempts were made to establish and sustain the cumann structure thus, illustrating the centrality of the cumainn to Fianna Fáil. It was very much a case of building the party from a local foundation.

In order to form a cumann in an area a member of the national organising committee, headed by Gerry Boland and Seán Lemass, would contact local Fianna Fáil members or individuals that were potential members. If this initial contact was successful a prominent member of the party would travel to the locality and make a speech aimed at creating momentum in the area: Seán MacEntee was one speaker in demand during this process, he provided an insight into the process and how:

> For more than five years hardly any of us were at home for a single night or any weekend. Lemass bought up four or five second hand ford cars 'old

[6] *FAP*, UCDA, p.104/1501.
[7] *An Phoblacht*, 16 April, 1926.

bangers', and with them we toured every parish in the country founding Fianna Fáil branches...[8]

In 1927 there were 1,307 cumainn located throughout the country, by 1930 that figure had dropped to 550, by 1931 the figure had risen again to 750, and by 1932 there were 1,404 active cumainn registered with party headquarters. The obvious question to be raised, is despite all the energy being devoted to the organisation why did the figure fluctuate so rapidly? Firstly the 1927 figure was slightly misleading, although the figure is quite high the system did not appear to be working to the satisfaction of the party's central authority. In their report to the 1927 Árd Fheis Boland and Lemass stated 'We believe, however that many of the cumainn included in these totals are in need of reorganisation, and that the membership of all could be greatly increased.'[9] The reorganisation of many cumainn would have resulted in the amalgamation of some and the disbandment of others that were not performing in accordance with expectations. One barometer of performance was the annual church gate collection undertaken by each cumainn, if a cumann received a warning about its failure to perform in this respect it was a grave gesture. *The Nation* sternly stated: 'the gross receipts [of the annual collection] were to be sent to party headquarters. Any cumainn which refused to participate in the collection would loose representation at the next annual conference.'[10] This was a serious sanction as the Árd Fheis represented a high point in the annual activity of the cumainn. In a further effort to encourage the activities of the cumainn the success or failure of particular cumainn was discussed in front of the entire party at the Árd Fheis. If a cumann reached various targets they would not be subject to the annual subscription fee.

During a general election the local elements of the party came to the fore. The systems to be implemented were contained in a forty-page booklet

[8] *Irish Times*, 3 July, 1974.
[9] *FAP*, UCDA, p.104/1501.
[10] *The Nation*, 3 December, 1927.

entitled 'Fianna Fáil scheme for election organisation', the booklet was for private circulation only. The booklets central proposal was that:

> In each constituency there is a constituency director of election who is responsible for the general conduct of the entire election campaign and who is assisted by an election staff. The staff consists of the following:
> (a) A Director of Finance
> (b) A Director of Propaganda and Meetings
> (c) A Director of Transport
> (d) A Director of Canvass [11]

The individuals to fill the above post were to be drawn from both the national and local strands of the party. This mixture of the local and the central meant that the structure could operate at two separate levels, benefiting from the best strategists the central party had to offer and at the same time local people were visibly involved in the election campaign in their area. The cumann system allowed Fianna Fáil to maintain a constant presence within a relatively small geographic area; namely the rural parish or the urban electoral ward. Coupled with various high profile events staged by the cumann, such as a speech by a prominent politician or the church gate collection, the residents of the locality became more aware of the existence of the party.

Signature campaign

One of the first priorities of the new Fianna Fáil party was to force the William T. Cosgrave lead government to hold a referendum to remove the oath of allegiance to the British monarchy. The oath was one of the many contencious and divisive aspects of the Anglo – Irish treaty (1921) as it compelled Teacta Dála (T.D.) to swear an oath to a foreign monarch. The opposition could succeed in removing the oath by the calling of a referendum according to the conditions set out in 48 of the Free State constitution. The cumainn would play a vital part in this oath removal campaign. In order to achieve the required number of signatures the party followed a well-established pattern organising speeches by prominent members, supplemented with a propaganda campaign

[11] *FAP*, UCDA, p.104/1501.

and local cumann members physically collecting individual signatures. However, prior to examining the method of signature collection and the implications of the campaign in relation to raising awareness of the party, it is first necessary to outline the legal environment within which these developments took place. Article 48 of the Free State Constitution stated:

> The Oireachtas may provide for the initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendments. Should the Oireachtas fail to make such provisions within two years it shall on the petition of not less than seventy five thousand voters on the register, of whom not more than fifteen thousand shall be voters in any one constituency, either make such provisions or submit the question to the people for decision in accordance with the ordinary regulations governing the referendum…[12]

This article allowed Fianna Fáil, or any other group, to legally compel the government to hold a referendum on any issue providing the provisions of the article were met. The article was not as liberal as it may have appeared. The stipulation that no more than 15,000 of the total 75,000 signatures required could be in the same constituency meant that the campaign had to be virtually a country-wide enterprise. In order to achieve this aim the campaign had three principle avenues of attack. First, high profile members of the party began to address the issue of the oath, de Valera was one of the most energetic volunteers. In April 1926 he outlined Fianna Fáil's opposition to the oath of allegiance:

> The Free State Assembly might be used as a nucleus for such an assembly, were it not for the oath of allegiance of the King of England was posed as a political test on all who become members of that assembly. The oath no Republican will take, for it implies acceptance of England's right to overlordship in our country. The Free State oath is then the primary barrier to national unity, and must go if unity is to be attained. The removal of it is the immediate political objective of the new movement.[13]

Such speeches were utilised to create a momentum within the Fianna Fáil ranks in order to prepare the membership for the campaign that lay ahead.

[12] *Bunreacht Saorstáit Eireann* (Dublin, 1922), pp.26 & 27.
[13] The Earl of Longford and Thomas P. O'Neill, *Eamon de Valera* (London, 1970), p.246.

In conjunction with the speeches Frank Gallagher, at this time working as a free-lance journalist, produced a number of leaflets on the issue.[14] The most dramatic and persuasive of these documents was a leaflet entitled 'Some Opinions on partition and the removal of the oath'. The gravity of the message in it was is in a large part due to the calibre of the individuals quoted within the document. Gallagher quoted, Dr. Mannix Bishop of Melbourne, Cardinal O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry and Dr. Dignan, Bishop of Clonfert. The document was structured in the form of a number of quotations, perhaps the most forceful of which was taken from Dr. Mannix who was quoted as follows: 'The first thing to get rid of is the oath of allegiance, which some take but none believe in – and the Irishman that would willingly take it should clear out of Ireland.'[15] Gallagher's utilisation of Mannix's words allowed him to manipulate the reader's religious, political and patriotic sensibilities at the same time. The addition of the two other clerics provided the argument in favour of removal with an irreproachable prestige. Also, there was an implied criticism of the existing government in so far as they willingly took the oath, and thus were not worthy of remaining in Ireland.

The third element in the campaign was the physical collection of the signatures. This was achieved by taking full advantage of the cumann system. In many respects the collection of the signatures was similar to a prolonged period of electoral activity. Each cumann in conjunction with the central organisation had to circulate the petition and hold meetings in order to convince people to sign it. The speakers at these meetings attempted to convince their audience first, that the oath had to be removed and secondly that the petition and the resultant referendum was the best possible means of

[14] Gallagher is possibly most frequently receives attention for his role as the first editor of the *Irish Press*. He was both Parliamentary correspondent and later editor of the *Cork Free Press*. In December 1916 following the closure of the *Cork Free Press* he moved to Dublin where he began to get involved with Sinn Féin and the I.R.B. He was appointed to the publicity staff of the republican Dáil Eireann and acted as editor of the *Irish Bulletin* during the war of independence. He resigned his Dáil post in protest at the Anglo-Irish Treaty and later sided with de Valera again in the formation Fianna Fáil. From 1939 until 1948 he was the head of the government information bureau.
[15] *FAP*, UCDA, p.104/1562.

achieving this aim. This prolonged period of activity, as outlined above, allowed the party to evaluate the state of readiness of the organisation. Also, it illustrated to the public that the one-sided nature of post-civil war politics had come to an end. The signature campaign was central to Fianna Fáil's future as, many within the party felt as Frank Gallagher asserted that 'apathy and disillusionment had sunk deeply into the people'.[16] The attempt to remove the oath provided local members of the party with a sense of empowerment, it allowed them to once again feel that they had a role to play in shaping the destiny of the nation. If their actions succeeded they could force Cumann na nGaedheal to hold a referendum and address an issue they would rather ignore.

Once collected, the signatures were correlated by electoral ward, then by constituency and subsequently a party offical made a declaration to a Free State commissioner asserting the validity of the petition. While this process allowed for an organised presentation of signatures it also gave Fianna Fáil the opportunity to analyse the data and thus come to conclusions relating to the strength or weakness of their support on a virtually nation wide basis. The legislation required the presentation of a minimum of 75,000 signatures, in total the campaign yielded 96,079. The figures when examined regionally broke down as follows: Munster (28,593), Connaught (29,704), and Ulster (28,593) and Ulster (28,593).[17]

Fianna Fáil presented the figures before the Dáil in May 1928. This move was countered by Cumann na nGaedheal when they removed article 48 from the constitution with the Constitutional Amendment Act 1928, which was ratified by the Dáil in July 1928 and effectively brought to an end the attempt to remove the oath. Cumann na nGaedheal's decision to remove Article 48 was predicable, especially when viewed in the light of the legislation they introduced the previous year compelling candidates to take the oath. It was possible that the leadership of Fianna Fáil realised that the government was always going to effectively counter the referendum campaign to remove the

[16] *Frank Gallagher Papers* [Herein *FGP*], National Library of Ireland [Herein NLI], Ms. 18376(1).

[17] All figures taken from *The Nation*, 3 December, 1927.

oath. If this assumption is accepted the question must be asked why did Fianna Fáil pursue such a course of action even when they realised that it was doomed to failure? Two factors appear to be paramount; the campaign served to form lasting links between the central and local elements of the party, links that were to become central during the many election campaigns that the party was facing in the coming years. Secondly, the campaign received large amounts of publicity, it illustrated to the electorate and body politic that a change had occurred within the republican movement. Although they were still opposed to many elements of the Free State they were now willing to work within the established legislative and political structures with the ultimate aim of altering them to confirm to their republican republican ethos.

The Irish Press

As stated in the introduction the number of media outlets open to an Irish political party in the late 1920s and early 1930s was limited. Radio did not establish itself within the media landscape until the early 1940s. While many of the established daily newspapers held an editorial basis against Fianna Fáil during the party's initial years. In the introduction to his work on the *Irish Press* Mark O'Brien provided the following assessment of national newspaper opinion:

> When the paper ceased publishing in 1924 {the Freeman's Journal}, the only other indigenous daily titles were the *Irish Times* which 'still thought and spoke in terms of unionism', and the *Irish Independent* which 'was a strong supporter of the commonwealth connection'. Both were 'violently anti-de Valera'. Therefore de Valera's founding of the *Irish Press* 'could be justified solely in terms of the hostility of the newspaper establishment'.[18]

The use of party-controlled print media was a common feature of the twentieth century Irish political activity. Before 1916 William O' Brien's home rule paper the *Cork Free Press* was influential and after 1916 the republican Dáil produced the *Irish Bulletin* and the Labour party had *The Watchword*. In

[18] Mark, O'Brien, *De Valera, Fianna Fáil and the Irish Press* (Dublin, 2001), p.3.

the 1930s the Blueshirts produced the imaginatively entitled *The Blueshirt* and the republican movement used *An Phoblacht*. The first Fianna Fáil associated newspaper, *The Nation*, emerged on the 26 March 1927; the first editorial appeared under the headline 'Where We Stand'. Suring the course of the editorial the following comments were made:

> The Nation today salutes the Irish public hoping to win for itself a place in the life of the people worthy of the august cause it has been formed to serve. The Nation stands for an Irish republic. The stands for the freedom which men and women of 1916 and the succeeding years fought and died for.[19]

All the papers mentioned above have one thing in common, they were published once a week. De Valera's attempt to purchase the *Freeman's Journal* in 1924 illustrated the need for a republican-friendly publication. However immediately following the split in the republican movement following the Treaty debates de Valera and his supporters were aware of the need for a daily newspaper. Frank Gallagher in a letter to his wife dated 1st January 1922 noted that progress had been made within the anti – Treaty in relation to having a newspaper:

> I think that I should have no difficulty in getting a good salary. Dev is more or less in control and looks to me to run the newspaper, under E.C.'s [Erskine Childers] direction of course. The question of salary should come up next week and I will let you know at once. The present proposal is to have the paper bi-weekly for as long as the Dáil sits and then to become a weekly until money is in hands to start a daily.[20]

The paper mentioned above never actually became a regular publication, it until 1927 and *The Nation* that de Valera and his supporters had a newspaper over which they could exercise editorial control. In relation to *The Nation* its '…editor and proprietor was Seán T. O'Kelly, O'Kelly was one of de Valera's closest associates and a founding member of the party (Fianna Fáil).'[21] Yet *The*

[19] *The Nation*, 26 March, 1927.
[20] *Frank Gallagher and Cecilia Saunders Papers* [Herein FG & CSP], Trinity College Dublin Manuscripts Department [Herein TCDMs], 10050/137.
[21] R.K, Carty, *Party and Parish Pump Electoral Politics in Ireland* (Ontario, 1981), p.103.

Nation was central to Fianna Fáil without it they would not have had a dependable avenue to access the media. *An Phoblacht* was traditionally associated with the republican movement and in particular Sinn Féin. The editorial attitude adopted by this paper in relation to Fianna Fáil was initially confused. In April 1926 the paper ran a story giving information relating to the formation of a new party following the split within Sinn Féin. *An Phoblacht* even went so far as publishing comments, made by the Fianna Fáil organisational committee, that appeared to support the Fianna Fáil position: 'The committee realises that there is a nation-wide demand for a progressive Republican policy based on actual conditions of the moment.'[22] In the same publication two weeks later a very different story appeared, the author was Maire McSwiney. During the course of this piece McSwiney revealed her attitude towards Fianna Fáil: 'We all know that Eamon de Valera and the others who are with him in this will do nothing dishonourable; if they cannot get the oath abolished, they will cry halt and come back.'[23] In the latter half of 1926, the need for the establishment of *The Nation* became more pressing. The pro-de Valera editor P.J. Ruttledge lost control of *An Phoblacht* in a contest with Peadar O'Donnell and this resulted in the paper becoming heavily associated with and to a large extent controlled by, the Irish Republican Army (IRA)[24] *The Nation* was central to Fianna Fáil competing with the various political publications which were at this time common place through out Ireland.

However, if new converts were to be made to the Fianna Fáil political code and hopefully transformed into the loyal supporters required to sustain an ambitious party, innovation was called for. This innovation received party wide backing during the course of the second Árd Fheis in 1927 when the following motion was passed: 'That this Árd Fheis pledges its ardent support to the

[22] *An Phoblacht,* 16 April, 1926.
[23] *An Phobalcht*, 30 April, 1926.
[24] For a more detailed description see Peter, Pyne, 'The Third Sinn Féin Party: 1923-1926 part I' in *Economic and Social Review*, 1 (1969), pp.29-50.

projected daily newspaper.'[25] The organisational work started immediately after the resolution was passed at the Árd Fheis. In early 1928, de Valera accompanied by the paper's first editor, Frank Gallagher, went to America fund raising for the new paper. The money raised in Ireland was deposited at the Munster and Leinster bank. Some visits to America proved difficult, particularly after Fianna Fáil had taken the oath and entered the Free State Dáil. During the course of January 1928, de Valera and his party were followed by a Mr. Kent who had been a Sinn Féin T.D. and disagreed with the group that had formed Fianna Fáil. Kent was interviewed by the *Boston Globe* and asked why he was in America, he explained himself as follows:

> Mr. Kent said that he regretted having to expose Mr. de Valera but no other course was open to him...He was there to prevent people who subscribed to the original bonds from putting their money into Mr. de Valera's proposed newspaper.[26]

The initial fund-raising effort was focused on America, following his return to Ireland, de Valera sent Ernie O'Malley and Frank Aiken to America to maintain the effort. However, securing funds in America depended on raising funds in Ireland. The delicacy of the situation is illustrated by the following comments in *The Nation*: 'The moment that Ireland puts up the quota - £100,000 – there will be half a million dollars available in the United States.'[27] Finally, in conjunction with the funding drives both in Ireland and America it became possible to launch the new daily paper.[28] On Saturday 5 September 1931 the first edition of the *Irish Press* was printed in Dublin, it consisted of a twelve-page broadsheet. It may have seemed that Saturday was a bad day on which to launch a newspaper and ordinarily it would have been, but this Saturday was different, it was the day before the All-Ireland hurling final. One of the strengths of the newspaper was the depth of coverage that it devoted to

[25] *FAP,* UCDA, p.104/1967.
[26] *Irish Independent*, 19 January, 1928.
[27] *The Nation*, 25 February, 1928.
[28] For a more detailed description of these efforts the works of Richard Dunphy and Mark O'Brien should be consulted.

Gaelic games, it was a marketing masterstroke. The printing press of the paper was started by Mrs. Margaret Pearse, the mother of the 1916 rising leader, Padraig, which was a revealing characteristic of the future editorial direction of the paper.

The last three months of 1931 saw the circulation of the paper rise from 56,821 to an average of 86,825 for the second quarter of 1932, eventually the figures settled at approximately 90,000. This is quite a respectable figure when it is seen against the light of the distribution and circulation problems encountered by the paper initial years. To place this performance in an relative context the long-established *Irish Independent* was at this time selling approximately 120,000[29] copies daily. There was much opposition to the new paper. For example the paper was forced to go to the courts in order to gain access to an early distribution train that was used by its competitors to transport their papers through out the country. Also prior to the 1932 general election, the editor of the paper, Frank Gallagher, was called before a military tribunal charged with seditious libel, because of a series of stories relating to the treatment of republican prisoners in Free State custody. Disastrously for the Cumann na nGaedheal government the tribunal heard the case eleven days before the election and did not announce their verdict until after polling had taken place. The case was portrayed as partisan persecution of a news paper associated with the political opponents of the government, it was a triumph in terms of public relation for both the paper and Fianna Fáil. The tribunal eventually fined the paper a relatively insignificant sum of £100 but the fact that the readership contributed £500 to a fund to pay the fine illustrated the propaganda success of the case. [30]

It was an editorial policy of the *Irish Press* to focus on idealised aspects of traditional Irish life, including a specific view of republicanism. O'Brien outlined the vacuum that the paper sought to address:

[29] O'Brien, *De Valera and the Irish Press*, pp. 45-47.
[30] O'Brien, *de Valera and the Irish Press*, p.39.

In formulating its version of Irishness, Cumann na nGaedheal severely under-emphasised the cultural identity of the Irish people and it was this omission that later allowed Fianna Fáil via the *Irish Press* to exploit the hunger for cultural cohesiveness in the new nation state.[31]

The paper, by articulating the cultural desires of the people, for example its coverage of Gaelic games, also conveyed to the electorate that Fianna Fáil was the only political grouping which protected their political interest. It was hoped that more and more people would became supporters of the party as a result of agreeing with the views of the paper.

The *Irish Press* provided an avenue for the voice of dissent, crucially it managed to combine an element of social respectability with a radical (in this specific relative Irish context) cry for change. In the eyes of the electorate of the early 1930s any opinion that appeared in the *Irish Press* was almost interchangeable with those of Fianna Fáil. In 1929 Frank Gallagher wrote a long letter to John T. Hughes[32], during the course of the letter Gallagher expressed the following views in relation to the function of the *Irish Press*:

> The new paper, which will be in circulation in some six months, will probably be decisive in turning and guiding the tide. It will be the first time in history that Irish Republicanism will have a friendly daily newspaper. Therefore it will be an incalculable gain in every way.[33]

The above comments, which were made in private between two friends, are extremely revealing in relation to the true function of the paper. The first editor admitted that the paper would attempt to 'turn' and 'guide the tide'. This is an obvious and crude reference to moving public opinion towards the core values of Fianna Fáil.

[31] O'Brien, *de Valera and the Irish Press*, p.8.
[32] John T. Hughes was a Lawyer living in Boston, he was a staunch supporter of de Valera and a close friend of Gallagher's. During 1929 he was acting as Gallagher's American literary agent, assisting in creating demand for Gallagher's book *Days of Fear*.
[33] *Frank Gallagher Papers,* National Library of Ireland, Ms 18335 (4).

Conclusion

The contemporary reader has become so familiar with Fianna Fáil that it is difficult to imagine the Irish political landscape without the party. However in 1926 its survival was not guaranteed, as it had no sitting representatives and little chance of influencing political change. Yet, de Valera's anti-Treaty faction were confident that they were going to emerge victorious, in early April 1922 Frank Gallagher wrote to his then fiancé,

> The whole situation is electrical and at any moment anything may happen. There is little chance of blows between the Free State troops and the I.R.A. but it will go just barley short of that. We expect arrests and imprisonments to begin within a couple of months...I am confident of two things – 1. That the Free State is not going to work and 2. That we are going to win. The elections may not be held.[34]

Gallagher was incorrect in both of his predictions. Following the end of the civil war Sinn Féin and the IRA were shadows of their pre civil war strength.[35] However the 1926 beak-away group formed a party that one commentator has described as follows:

> In terms of winning elections, Fianna Fáil has one of the best records in the annals of liberal democracy. Over the fifty-year period from 1932 to 1982 inclusive, it contested eighteen general elections. After thirteen of them it formed a single-party government, and it was in power for thirty-nine years during this period.[36]

The three schemes addressed in this paper provided Fianna Fáil with avenues through which the electorate became aware of their existence and the party's relevance to individual voters. The crucial and common element in these three schemes is that by-in-large they existed outside the deafening roar of political activities during elections (both local and national). Thus, the electorate could assimilate the messages being conveyed without a multitude of distractions from other political groupings. It was this fact that played a central

[34] *FG & CSP*, TCDMs, 10050/148.
[35] See Pyne, *The third Sinn Féin Party: 1923-1926*, pp. 29-50.
[36] Michael, Gallagher, *Political Parties in the Republic of Ireland* (Dublin, 1985), p.10.

role in the raising of awareness of Fianna Fáil. As a result of the cumann structure, the signature campaign and the *Irish Press*, voters were not only aware of, but felt a deep loyalty towards Fianna Fáil.

An attempt to realise defined political goals or a continuation of the physical force tradition? An assessment of the IRA's decision to launch the border campaign (1956-62).

John Maguire

Modern Irish republicanism draws its inspiration from a tradition of conspiracy which centres on a number of rebellions, including those of the United Irishmen in 1798, the Young Irelanders in 1848, the Fenians in 1867, and most importantly, the 1916 Easter Rising.[1] As is often the case, differing interpretations of history are used to support political positions in the present. While it is doubtful that organisations such as the United Irishmen or the Young Irelanders viewed themselves as republican in the modern sense of the word, nevertheless, the central tenant of today's espousal of republican doctrine stands upon a version of history that sees an unbroken chain of rebellion that stretches back to 1798. This cyclical view of armed struggle in every generation has been used to justify the use of violence without recourse to public consent at differing points throughout the twentieth century. Indeed, the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) Border Campaign was to be one such occasion when armed volunteers saw themselves as continuing this tradition of insurrection:

> In 1798 there were the United Irishmen. In 1848 the Young Irelanders. In 1867 the Fenians fought for Irish Freedom. In 1916 we had the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army welded together to form the Irish Republican Army which fought Britain to a standstill from 1918 to 1921. To-day (1957) the volunteer freedom fighters of the same organisation carry on a tradition of underground struggle, guerrilla warfare and revolt.[2]

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[1] M.L.R. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland? The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement* (London, 1997), p.6.
[2] J. McGarrity (pseudonym) *Resistance: The Story of the Struggle in British Occupied Ireland* (Dublin, 1957), p.51.

Consequently, the use of violence by the republican movement was seen as a legitimate political tool which could be used to express opposition to British involvement in Ireland. This attitude towards the use of violence to achieve political ends has created a tendency towards elitism within republican circles. This elitist thinking was to become highly pronounced during the 1956 border campaign, and in no large measure contributed to its failure. The aim of this study therefore, is to effect an examination of the border campaign and its antecedents in order to fully trace the development of Republican thinking prior to the outbreak of violence in 1956. The decision to initiate a campaign during this period will be critically analysed with a view to assessing the motives behind the mounting of such an operation. Was the prospect of preparing for a new armed struggle used to rejuvenate a decaying and ailing organisation, or did the IRA leadership sincerely believe there were concrete political gains to be made from mounting an assault on Northern Ireland at this time? Finally, the effect of contemporary republican thinking on the IRA's approach to the campaign itself will also be considered in an effort to determine the reasons for its ultimate collapse, as well as the failure of the campaign to attract any measure of public support throughout its duration.

The campaign itself began in December 1956 when the IRA launched a new military initiative in Northern Ireland. This was to become the first sustained outbreak of hostilities perpetrated by the Republican movement since the failure of its disastrous 'S-Plan' Campaign in April 1941. The campaign proved to be a relatively unremarkable affair, mainly characterised by the IRA's attempts to destroy RUC stations in frontal attacks as well as resorting to more nuisance incidents such as setting fire to B-Special huts, and cutting telephone lines. Following the deaths of two IRA volunteers, Séan South and Fergal O'Hanlon, in an attack on Brookeborough RUC station, the brief momentum of the campaign began to ebb and as early as July 1957, the IRA found itself on the defensive due to the sustained efforts of the northern and southern Governments. From this stage onwards the campaign quickly

deteriorated before being finally called off by a recalcitrant IRA General Headquarters (GHQ) in February 1962.

Ultimately the significance of this campaign lay not in its military endeavours, but in the fact that it signalled a fundamental change in IRA policy. The campaign marked a switch from the IRA's original overriding goal of creating the 'Real Republic,' to the winning back of the six counties, by placing the emphasis on tackling the problem of unification at its source, Northern Ireland.[3] Subsequently IRA strategy was altered to reflect this change, and for the first time, the IRA, using the Republic of Ireland as a base of operations, ignored the British mainland and directed its intentions solely at Northern Ireland. However, in order to fully understand the importance of what was in effect a dramatic policy shift it becomes necessary to place it in some sort of context by effecting a brief perusal of the growth of republican doctrine prior to this period.

The growth of republican doctrine

The evolution of many modern strands of republican thinking can be traced back to the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty on 7 January 1922. Following the approval of the treaty by sixty-four votes to fifty-seven, a new provisional government was set up to prepare for the handover of power from the British authorities. For the advocates of the treaty the way was now paved for elections to the new Irish Free State parliament, and while it may not have delivered the much desired Irish Republic, it did establish full internal autonomy over fiscal and social policy, provided for the evacuation of British forces and established the basis for the creation of a national army. For many, including Michael Collins, the treaty was viewed as a device which Ireland could harness to extricate itself from British domination.[4]

However, as the vote in the Dáil (Irish Parliament) indicated, there was a large dissenting minority who remained unconvinced by this argument. For the

[3] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, p.66.
[4] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?* , pp.40-41.

anti-treatyites the concept of the republic held great meaning, and in their view was an actuality. It had been proclaimed in 1916 and established by the elected representatives of the Dáil in 1919. Furthermore, all of those involved with the movement during the Anglo-Irish War had formally sworn to 'defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dáil Éireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic.'[5] For the anti-treatyites, there could be no concessions on this issue; they had fought to defend a physical entity on which there could be no compromise. The treaty failed to deliver the republic; it sundered the nation and subjugated it to a foreign power through the use of the Oath of Allegiance. In their view the treaty was a step backwards, and for many, the use of force against the organs of the Irish Free State was perfectly justified, as it was now simply viewed as a new manifestation of British control in Ireland. As a result of this, many former comrades chose to stay outside the *de facto* instruments of government, instead, pledging their allegiance to the second Dáil as elected in 1919, as the true government of the *de jure* republic.

This pedantic approach to the treaty of 1921, introduced an element of elitism into Republican thinking. The IRA leadership, by ignoring the will of the majority, and the authority of Irelands democratically elected representatives, paradoxically wished to use force on behalf of the population to establish the republic. For many of the republican movements ideologues, this paradox represented a circle that could not be squared and in the words of de Valera:

> If Republicans stand aside and let the Treaty come into force acquiescence in it means the abandonment of national sovereignty... if the republicans do not stand aside... resistance means armed opposition to what is undoubtedly the decision of the majority of the people.[6]

This dilemma proved too much and many, including de Valera, ultimately made the return to constitutional politics. For those that remained with the movement there developed a deeply held conviction that despite the general

[5] *Oath of Allegiance to Dáil Éireann, 20th August 1919,* (Private Collection).
[6] Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (London, 2000), p.38.

will of the population, the Republic could only be achieved through force of arms. This strain of thought represented the synthesis of many decades of opinion and many strands of elitist thinking within the republican movement. This type of republican elitism reached it peak in December 1938 when the IRA, seeking moral authority for an upcoming bombing campaign on the British mainland, began to establish contact with the surviving members of the second Dáil as elected in 1921. This contact was to culminate in a public announcement which stated that the second Dáil had transferred the right to establish a Republican Government to the army council of the IRA and by implication meant that IRA army council now effectively viewed itself as the legitimate government of the Irish Republic.[7]

A sea change began to occur in the late 1930s with a growing sense within republican ranks that the movement should take into account prevailing political realities. The function of both the southern and northern administrations was never questioned: 'Indubitably both areas are ruled by partition parliaments whose functions in maintaining a divided nation are identical.'[8] However, it was felt that there was a qualitative distinction to be made. Britain was seen to be maintaining direct control over Northern Ireland, whereas the people of the twenty-six counties were able to enjoy some measure of autonomy. It was also felt that the reforms carried through by de Valera in the 1930s, such as the abolition of the Oath of Allegiance and the ratification of the 1937 constitution, had to most people's satisfaction given the south territory the substance of a republic.[9] The issue of Irish unity now appeared to be the sole remaining nationalist grievance, and in this new atmosphere the genesis of the 1956 border campaign was born.

The decline of the IRA

The decision to launch the border campaign was taken against the backdrop of a severe decline in republican fortunes that largely resulted from the IRA's

[7] Joseph Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army: The IRA* (Dublin 1997), p.154.
[8] Sinn Féin, *National Unity and Independence Programme* (Dublin, date unavailable), p.2.
[9] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, pp.66-67.

disastrous 'S-Plan' bombing campaign in 1939. Indeed, this campaign largely reflected the stagnation of tactical thinking that was inherent in the republican movement at the time. Despite years of discussion and planning the campaign was based on the premise that bombs exploding in England (Scotland and Wales were ignored, being considered fellow Celtic Nations) would force the British cabinet at Westminster to open negotiations on the northern issue. The IRA leadership also felt that if the Irish government would not, or could not openly support the campaign, it would at least tolerate the activities of the IRA in order to reap its planned benefits.[10] Between January and July 1939, the IRA managed to effect 127 explosions of varying degree throughout England. In response, the British government passed the Prevention of Violence Bill authorising tight control over immigration, the right to deportation, the detention of suspects and the registration of all Irish living in Britain.[11] The campaign was met with an equally draconian response in Dublin, coming as an unwelcome threat to the Irish Governments own efforts to end Partition. The counter terrorist clauses contained within the Offences Against the State Act were activated and the government was given the power to try IRA suspects under Special Military tribunals.

These measures effectively broke the IRA, by April 1941 the campaign had collapsed and the republican movement entered a protracted period of decline. This decline was to be augmented by the so-called 'Hayes Affair,' when an IRA Court Martial, on the charge of treason, sentenced to death the IRA Chief of Staff, Stephen Hayes. Ultimately Hayes escaped from his captors, but this debacle caused untold damage to the IRA and left the organisation riveted with division and disillusionment. The IRA's central command structure collapsed with the execution of the IRA's new Chief of Staff, Charlie Kerrins, in December 1944.[12] Without a central command the IRA lost its central focus and direction, its institutions began to decay and most IRA units disintegrated. Indeed there was an element of truth contained in the

[10] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.149.
[11] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.160.
[12] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.231.

speech made by the Minister of Justice, Gerald Boland, when he declared the IRA to be a dead organisation.

Consequently, when assessing the IRA's decision to launch the border campaign it is necessary to place it against the context of this decline because, even by the late 1940s the hesitant attempts to re-organise the movement were already tied to the idea of planning for a future, unrealised campaign in Northern Ireland. The idea of a campaign focused solely against the north was not new. Tom Barry had first touted the idea in June 1921, and Joseph McGarrity of Clan na nGael again raised the issue in 1934.[13] During the early 1940s preliminary preparations were made for just such a campaign, but were quickly abandoned because of the rapid deterioration of the IRA's resources. By September 1948, following a series of tentative meetings between leading republicans the IRA had begun to re-organise itself and was sufficiently prepared to hold an army convention.[14] This convention was to be significant because it provided the forum for the airing of ideas which lead to a decision being taken to prepare for a military campaign against the British in Northern Ireland.

The decision to launch the campaign

Why was this decision taken in 1948? Given the evidence available, it would seem that the republican movement would have had difficulty in mustering up enough manpower to stage a public parade, let alone launch a military campaign. Much of the population were unaware of the continued existence of the IRA during this period, and for the potential recruit, all the republican movement could offer was the faint hope of a far off better day. Yet, perhaps this was exactly why this decision was taken. Without something to aim for the burgeoning momentum towards re-organisation may well have fizzled out due to lack of direction. To quote Bowyer Bell, 'the purpose of the

[13] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, p.66.
[14] Coogan, *The IRA*, p.255. The General Army Convention (GAC) was the IRA's supreme authority, which elected an Army Council to exercise this role when the GAC was not in session. The Army Council in turn appointed a General Headquarters (GHQ) Staff.

organisation was at last clear.'[15] Disillusion was rife within republicanism, and for many the emergence of a new political party, Clann na Poblachta, and its espousal of constitutional republicanism, opened new avenues through which their energies may have been channelled. In this climate militant republicanism needed to offer something new if it were to survive. Given the era of political and social stagnation, the excitement of a new military campaign may well have been the key. As in 1916, the population had grown jaded and perhaps it was necessary to start the campaign in order to re-ignite the spark of physical force nationalism.

Ultimately, the decision to prepare for a new campaign did have enormous implications for the republican movement. Without a doubt between 1948 and 1955, the IRA and Sinn Féin witnessed a revival. IRA GHQ was reorganised and the severed connection to Clan na nGael in the United States was re-established, providing a limited, though regular, source of income for the republican movement. In order to combat a weapons shortage, IRA GHQ decided in 1951, to undertake a series of raids on British Army installations in order to obtain a new supply of arms and munitions. The net effect of these raids was to have an incalculable boost on the morale of the IRA. The most daring of these raids occurred in broad daylight on 14 June 1954, when an IRA unit infiltrated Gough Military Barracks in Armagh and escaped with 250 rifles, 37 Sten guns, 9 Bren Guns and 40 training rifles.[16] This incident more than any in the previous twenty years, glamorised the IRA, and proved pivotal in attracting new volunteers to the movement. It was described in the *Irish Times* as 'the most spectacular raid of arms from British Forces in Ireland.'[17] Quick to capitalise on its success, the IRA telephoned the *Irish Times* with a statement which read:

[15] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.246.
[16] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.260.
[17] *The Irish Times*, 14 June 1954.

> At 2.40 this afternoon units of the Republican Army entered and took control of Gough Barracks, Armagh City. They took control of the guardroom, the telephone exchange and the arsenal which was cleared of all equipment.[18]

Further raids on Eglington Naval Air Base in Derry and the Aborfield Depot in Berkshire followed which inevitably attracted hundreds of new recruits. Given the upsurge in republican activity there was to be no government crackdown. In 1948 Clann na Poblachta had entered into an inter-party government with Fine Gael and its Republican sympathies inevitably meant that the Clann's position in government would prove useful. Republican prisoners were released, Garda and Special Branch harassment was ended and the IRA was generally left unmolested to prepare for its campaign.[19] Sinn Féin was also riding this renewed wave of republican enthusiasm and campaigned vigorously throughout the North during the 1950s. By 1955 Sinn Féin had the resources to run a candidate in every constituency within the six counties in the upcoming Westminster elections. Success quickly followed, and on 26 May 1955 the party polled almost the entire nationalist electorate, winning 152, 310 votes.[20] However, under closer scrutiny it quickly becomes apparent that Sinn Féin's success may not have been as impressive as it initially might have seemed, when it is taken into account that the non-participation of the Nationalist Party of Northern Ireland heavily inflated the Sinn Féin vote. Nevertheless this did not prevent Sinn Féin from hailing the vote as a landmark in its 'campaign to organise all Irishmen into one united people to end forever British occupation in Ireland.'[21]

To be concise, the revival of the republican movement was nothing short of miraculous. The preparations for a new military campaign fundamentally rejuvenated the ailing republican movement. The decision to launch the campaign galvanised those of authority within the IRA to continue and increase

[18] *The Irish Times*, 14 June 1954.
[19] Kevin Rafter, *The Clann: The Story of Clann na Poblachta* (Dublin 1996), p.97.
[20] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, p.66.
[21] *The United Irishman*, June 1955.

their efforts at re-organisation. The lack of direction that had so long plagued the republican movement was now gone. However, if we are to continue our analysis of the IRA's decision to initiate a new campaign, it becomes important to consider the question of whether the IRA leadership believed there was a genuine chance of success if such a venture was to be pursued. Unquestionably the planning and organisation of the campaign was a matter of the utmost gravity for the IRA leadership. Great pains were taken to ensure the secrecy of the organisations plans. Indeed, most volunteers in the lower echelons of the movement scarcely knew the motivation behind the increase in drilling and procurement or weaponry.

Much time and deliberation was also spent on formulating a basis of attack, and in 1956, Séan Cronin, an ex Irish Army officer was entrusted with planning the campaign.[22] Given Cronin's background, it is however surprising to note that his masterplan, known as 'Operation Harvest,' proved to be at the least ambitious, and at the most foolhardy. Following a period of training in the south, four flying columns, each consisting of twenty-five men would move into North Ireland and begin operations. The aim of these columns was to attack priority targets, such as RUC stations and B-Special huts, and raise new columns. It was hoped that in time the IRA would be: 'in a position to liberate large areas and tie these in with other liberated areas- that is areas where the enemies writ no longer runs.'[23] Operation Harvest was based on the premise that once the campaign began it would snowball and public opinion would rally behind the IRA. Unfortunately for the IRA, Operation Harvest's most obvious weakness lay in the fact that two thirds of the population of Northern Ireland were Unionists with absolutely no sympathy for the republican cause. However, this flaw was overlooked and the Orange populace was ignored given the republican insistence that it was the British Army that maintained the division of the country. Furthermore, even in nationalist areas the IRA's assumption of public toleration must be called into question, since the

[22] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, p.276.
[23] McGarrity, (pseudonym) *Resistance*, p.38.

introduction of the welfare state had already driven a wedge into the movement's tradition support base.[24] Nevertheless, most within the organisation were optimistic about the chances of success and the inherent faults in the IRA's plan were only considered in hindsight. Given the self righteous belief in the virtue of the republican cause we can be left with little doubt that the IRA undertook this campaign by ensuring every effort for its success.

Ultimately the campaign was a failure and this can be attributed to two key errors that were committed by the IRA leadership's elitist approach to the campaign itself. The first of these blunders occurred when the IRA failed to spell out at the start of the campaign exactly what the violence was meant to achieve politically. Obviously there was a generalised feeling within nationalist circles that the campaign was started to end British involvement in Northern Ireland, but the exact manner in which this was to be achieved remained unclear. The second cardinal error committed by the republican movement was the way it viewed the large Sinn Féin vote in 1955. Rather than regarding it as a manifestation of broad Catholic discontent, something which could be built upon to increase its support, it was instead viewed as a straight licence for military action.[25] This was to be highlighted by a statement given by Sinn Féin following the election:

> The verdict at the polls is most gratifying and amply justifies the Sinn Féin approach to the ending of British occupation and the evils that stem from Britain's unwarranted interference in affairs that are the sole concern of the Irish people.[26]

Therefore once the campaign was initiated there was no effort made to retain and nurture nationalist confidence on either side of the border. There was no propaganda offensive launched in order to explain the motives of the IRA, nor was there a formulation of any kind of social and economic

[24] Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army*, pp.284-285.
[25] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, p.69.
[26] *The United Irishman*, October 1955.

programme designed to appeal to the public at large. Rather than uniting and solidifying nationalist opinion as the IRA had hoped, the decision to continue with the campaign, once the IRA had lost the initiative, only served to alienate the Republican movement from its traditional support base.

Conclusion

To conclude this study, it is reasonable to assume that the *raison d'etre* of the IRA was to engage in armed military campaigns. Lacking a social and economic programme, the use of force was the central guiding principal upon which the militant republican movement was built upon, and proved to be the mainstay of its identity. As a result, engaging in military campaigns was to be the IRA's fundamental purpose. The decay of militant republicanism in the early 1940's can largely be attributed to a lack of focus or direction stemming from a lack of purpose, i.e. a campaign, and therefore, it is in this light that the decision to go ahead with a military initiative in 1956 has to be assessed. Ultimately this course of action was to have welcome consequences for the IRA in the short term, but it was not taken out of a cynical attempt to revitalise the movement. Instead the IRA's revival can easily be ascribed to the galvanisation of a movement that once again had an objective. Given the evidence at hand, it is also important to conclude that IRA GHQ would not have taken the decision to fight if they firmly believed there were no gains to be made from such a venture. Unfortunately for the IRA, the campaign was inevitably a failure and this was due, in no large measure, to the stagnation of tactical thinking that ravaged the republican movement at this time. This stagnation can easily be attributed to the development of the inherent elitism which thrived within the isolated confines of the militant Republican movement. By conducting debates on obtuse points of rhetoric, the republican movement preferred to ignore prevailing political realities by immersing itself in the mantle of dogmatic and outdated ideology. Consequently, since republicans were absolutely convinced of the validity of their cause and their methods of achieving it, they were also unequivocally confident that the

general population shared their same motives and desires, and as a result made no effort to court the support of the public. In summation, while the campaign may have been a failure, it was significant in the fact that it indicated a change in policy on behalf of the republican movement, facilitated the split which lead to the creation of the Provisional IRA and provides us with an interesting precursor to the outbreak of 'the troubles' in 1969.

The Origins, history and recent development of flamenco: From minority folklore to universally recognised art form.

Dagmar Reschke

Introduction

For many people flamenco is a synonym for Spain and one of the prominent features of Spanish culture. Even though flamenco has become increasingly popular with a wider audience in both Spain and abroad, there is a widespread misconception of flamenco. It is commonly believed to be Spanish, even though it only native to Andalusia, from where it spread to mainly Madrid and Barcelona, along with Andalusian migrants. Flamenco is often reduced to an erotic and seductive dance. However, flamenco is the artistic expression of happiness, pain, sorrow and distress, and not a folkloristic version of 'Dirty Dancing'.[1] The exact origins of flamenco are unknown, but there is a consensus that flamenco is a combination of different cultural and musical influences, which reflect the turbulent history of Andalusia.[2]

A definition of flamenco

The art of flamenco, as it is know currently is characterized by three elements: *baile* (flamenco dance), *cante* (flamenco song) and *toque* (flamenco guitar play). *Cante flamenco* (flamenco song) is not easily comparable to other singing styles, as is does not emphasize what is normally considered a good singing voice. A typical flamenco voice, the *voz affillá*[3], has a hoarse sound. *Toque* (flamenco guitar play) is very complex in rhythm, but not in melodies.

[1] Gerhard Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco y Flamencología* (Seville, 1998), p.49.
[2] *Gypsy* does not refer to Spanish Gypsies only, but to Gypsies in general, who should generally be referred to as Roma. Roma is the official generic term, which has been adopted by many international organisations. In this article, the term *Gitano* is used in lie of *Gypsy,* which has rather negative connotations in Spanish as well, however, it also seems to carry a certain admiration, therefore, it is the chosen term for this article. See Juan de Dios Ramierz Heredia, *En Defensa de Los Mios* (Barcelona, 1985), p.182.
[3] *a* hoarse voice, regarded as the ideal Flamenco singing voice, named after the legendary cantaor El Filló

Baile (flamenco dance) has traditionally had masculine and feminine styles. The masculine style was characterized by footwork and sharp movements, while the feminine style was characterized by round arm and upper- body movements. Modern *baile* (flamenco dance) is often characterized by a juxtaposition of gender roles, for example *bailaores* (flamenco dancer)[4] might dress in women's chlothes and vice versa.[5] This element was introduced by Carmen Amaya in the 1950s and 1960s, and it is also used by Joaquín Cortés in his flamenco productions. Historically, the *cante* (flamenco song) is the oldest element. *Cante* (flamenco song) used to be sung *a palo seco (*a cappella) or accompanied by *palmas* (hand clapping)[6] or *pitos (finger snapping). Baile* (flamenco dance) was introduced later. The guitar was not introduced to flamenco until the end of the eighteenth century, and only became popular during the *cafés cantantes* period.[7] *Baile* (flamenco dance) and *toque* (flamenco guitar play) used to be only accompaniments to the *cante* (flamenco song), which was at the centre of interest. However, today *baile* (flamenco dance) and *toque* are often more prominent, while *cante* (flamenco song) is sometimes degraded to an accompaniment for *baile* (flamenco dance) and *toque* (flamenco guitar play), both of which are more popular with the general public than the *cante (flamenco song)*. Today, many *tocaores* (flamenco guitar player) are solo artists, since *toque* (flamenco guitar play) has developed into an art form in its own right. Flamenco has a vast number of different styles or *palos (styles)*, which can be categorized in 'groups' and 'families'. The group distinction includes four groups, which are the basic styles, the derived styles, the *aflamencado* styles (any type of music adapted to sound like flamenco) and other styles. Each group can be subdivided into a number of 'families.'[8]

[4] *cantaor/a-* flamenco singer; *bailaor/a-* flamenco dancer; *tocaor-* flamenco guitarist
[5] Donn E. Pohren, *Lives and Legends of Flamenco* (Morón de la Frontera, 1964), p.179.
[6] usually by at least two people to produce the characteristic sound
[7] José María Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos* (Barcelona, 1999), pp.58-59.
[8] For a detailed account of the different styles see: José María Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos* (Barcelona, 1999), pp.30-56.

The origins of flamenco

Even though flamenco is almost a synonym for Spain, it is not a Spanish, but an Andalusian art form. Flamenco music and dance are a fusion of different cultures.[9] For example, centuries of Moorish occupation, coexistence of Muslim, Jewish and Christian traditions, the *Gitanos*, who arrived in Spain in 1425,[10] the reconquest of Spain, the conquistadors, most of whom were Andalusians, all of whom had their impact on Andalusian culture and the development of flamenco.[11] In the sixteenth century,

> *Gitano* influence on Andalusian flamenco song and dance begins. Although flamenco is not a *Gitano* invention, the art of flamenco later becomes forever associated with the *Gitanos* from the 19th century onwards. [12]

It can be said that the *Gitanos*[13] were probably the one group that had the most influence on flamenco.[14] The first written reference to flamenco is by José Cadalso in his *Cartas marruecas* in 1774.[15] Among the first literary accounts of Flamenco are 'Un baile en Triana' by the writer Estébanez Carderón and Viaje por España by Charles Davillier.[16] The cultural roots and geographic origins of flamenco are to be found in Andalusia, and more specifically in Jerez de la Frontera, the Triana *barrio* (neighbourhood) of Seville, and in Cádiz.[17]

[9] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, *Historia del Cante Flamenco* (Madrid, 1981), p.19.
[10] José María Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos* (Barcelona, 1999), p.17.
[11] Most *cantes de ida y vuelta*, a particular style in flamenco originated in Spain, were influenced by Latin American music, especially Cuban, Argentine and Colombian folk music, to return to Spain, hence the name *cantes de ida y vuelta* or 'round- trip songs'. For a more detailed account see: José María Parra Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco de Todos los Estilos* (Barcelona, 1999), pp.54-55.
[12] Anonymous, "*Timeline of Romani History*", *The Patrin Webjournal* http://www.geocities.com/~patrin/timeline.htm accessed 01.10.2002
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[15] Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco*, p.17.
[16] José Cenizi Jiménez, "Los Escritores y el Baile Flamenco", *Alboreá* Nos 6 and 7, October 2000 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera) http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002
[17] Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco*, p.18.

A fringe movement

In the period before 1860, flamenco was a minority folk art, which was played by *Gitanos* in the family circle. Talented *Gitano* amateurs also played it in public to supplement their income. They kept their day jobs as labourers, and it can be assumed that they were unable to make a living with their music alone, as flamenco lacked a wider audience. Flamenco musicians played at *fiestas* or *ferias* [18], or they were hired by *señoritos* [19] for parties with their friends. Artists were highly dependant on the goodwill of the people who hired them as an exotic attraction for their *fiestas*. Flamenco was not socially acceptable as it was inseparably linked with the *Gitanos,* who occupied the margins of society.

The golden age

The so-called Golden Age of flamenco was characterized by the *cafés cantantes*, bars where flamenco was performed for a paying public on a regular basis. This period lasted roughly from 1860-1910.[20] During this time, flamenco became accessible to a wider audience, while before him it had only been accessible to the *Gitanos* and their friends in private *juergas*.[21] The *Payo cantaor* (non-Giatano flamenco singer) Silverio Franconetti Aguilar (Seville 1831- 1889) was instrumental in the opening- up process of this time.[22] 'before Silverio, flamenco was only known to Gitanos and a few people who could go to places where *Gitanos* lived.'[23] A contemporary of Silverio, the flamencologist Demófilo, was opposed to making flamenco accessible to a wider audience because he feared for its purity.[24] Some of the most important artists of this period were the *cantaores* (flamenco singers) El Filló, Silverio Franconetti, Tomás El Nitri, Don Antonio Chacón, Manuel Torre, the *cantaora*

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[23] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, *Historia del Cante Flamenco* (Madrid, 1981), p.78.
[24] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guia del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.17.

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(flamenco singer) La Niña de los Peines, the *bailaora (flamenco dancer)* Juana La Macarrona, and the *tocaor* (flamenco guitar player) Ramón Montoya,[25] who introduced the tremolo in flamenco, thus revolutionizing *toque (flamenco guitar play*). They were the first generation of flamenco artists who became professional performers with fixed contracts.

The Golden Age also saw the appearance of a number of *Payo* (non-*Gitano*) artists. Before this period, flamenco was the exclusive domain of the *Gitanos*. It was also during this period when the discussion about *pureza* (purity*)*[26] started. The *canaores* (flamenco singers) El Filó, Silverio Franconetti, Don Antonio Chacón, Pepe Marchena, Manolo Caracol, and Tomás Pavón were in favour of modernization, while the legendary *cantaor* (flamenco singer) El Planeta, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, Demófilo, Juanelo de Jerez, de Falla, Lorca, Antonio Mairena, and Ricardo Molina were defenders of the so- called *pureza (purity)*.[27] Manolo Caracol was criticised for singing with a piano or an orchestra, which had been unheard of in flamenco at the time. He has since become a model for young *cantaores (flamenco singers)*. Demófilo saw in the *cantes* (flamenco songs) of the 1870s already the 'remains of a legendary *cante gitano (Gitano* song*)*, which was gachoized, after it had left the ...Gitano family, where its purity had been preserved for centuries'[28] Schuchardt, Balmaseda, and Demófilo were defenders of *pureza*. They were also the writers who in the late nineteenth century, started writing about Flamenco in a serious, yet sympathetic fashion, as opposed to earlier romanticising and less well-researched accounts of the genre. The Spanish literary movement known as realism was at the forefront of an anti-Flamenco movement, which began to gain momentum in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which coincided with the *cafés cantantes* period. One of the

[25] Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco*, pp.19 – 20.
[26] *pureza* refers to a traditional, so-called pure style of flamenco, also called *flamenco puro*
[27] Manuel Correa García, "*Alegato contra la Pureza*" Alboreá, No. 5, March 2000 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera)
http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002
[28] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco*, p.63.
Gacho is the term used for non- Roma

prominent figures of this movement is the writer Eugenio Noel, who wrote his 'Campaña antiflamenca, Señoritos, chulos, fenómenos gitanos y flamencos' in 1919.[29] The book was a fierce criticism of the *cafés cantantes* culture. Lorenzo Leal y Ramírez Fosforito was also among those who strongly opposed the *cafés cantantes* culture.[30] Their criticism was not so much directed at Flamenco as an art, but at the socio – economic phenomena that accompanied it, namely the *señoritismo*[31], alcohol abuse, prostitution and immorality in general. Another criticism was the association of Spain and Spanish culture with flamenco. Flamenco at the time was still associated with the fringes of society. Critics of flamenco also strongly rejected the association of Spanish culture with flamenco. According to these critics, Spain would have been presented in dichotomous opposition to a more sophisticated and cultured Europe, of which they wished Spain to be part of.[32] Eugenio Cobo has found that most writers in the late nineteenth century were mainly concerned with the more sinister aspects of the Flamenco culture, while others, such as the early twentieth century poet Rainer María Rilke, focused more on the exoticism of flamenco.[33]

The opera flamenca

The periof from 1910 until 1955 was the era of the *opera flamenca*, when popular and festive styles dominated the genre. Shows were also performed in theatres instead of the more intimate settings of the *cafés cantantes*. During this time, some of the major artists were the *bailaora (flamenco dancer)* La

[29] Ana Mª Tenorio Notario, "La Documentacion sobre el Flamenco (I)" *Alboreá* No. 2, June 1999 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera)
http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002
[30] José Cenizi Jiménez, "Los Escritores y el Baile Flamenco", *Alboreá* No 6 and 7, October 2000 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera)
http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002
[31] formerly *señorito* was the title for the son of a wealthy landowner, now a pejorative term for a spoiled, rich young man. The expression señoritismo is referring to this phenomenon
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Argentinita, the *tocaores* (flamenco guitar players) Sabicas and Niño Ricardo and the *cantaor* (flamenco singer) Pepe Marchena. Intellectuals and artists, such as Manuel de Falla, have often considered this as a time of decline for flamenco[34]

Nuevo flamenco or new flamenco

Since the mid-1950s, there has been a revival of the art of flamenco, but the "flamenco boom" did not take place until the 1960s and 1970s. Artists, such as the *cantaores (flamenco singers)* Camarón de la Isla and Enrique Morente, the *cantaora* (flamenco singer) Carmen Linares as well as the *tocaores* (flamenco guitar players) Paco de Lucía and Manolo Sanlúcar, were the driving force behind the flamenco revival. Camarón was a great admirer of the *cantaores* (flamenco singers) Manolo Caracol and El Chaqueta, and of the *cantaora* (flamenco singer*)* La Perla de Cádiz[35]. For many *aficionados,* Camarón's style was too innovative at the time, but he introduced *cante* (flamenco song) to a wider audience;[36] today his style is widely considered classic. It was mainly Paco de Lucía and Camarón who cleared the path for other artists who tried to experiment with less traditional forms of flamenco. Since the 1970s, there has also been a steady stream of groups, such as 'Ketama', 'Pata Negra' and 'Barbería del Sur', who play flamenco fusion styles ranging from jazz, blues, rock and salsa to pop. Some of the major young solo artists are the *cantaoras* (flamenco singers) Niña Pastori and Estrella Morente. Prominent figures in the new *baile flamenco* (flamenco dance) are Joaquín Cortés, Joaquín Grilo and Cristina Hoyos.[37] In the last thirty to fourty years, Flamenco has not only become socially acceptable, but fashionable. Before, it was regarded as an underground phenomenon and a pastime for undesirables, and only a small

[34] Expósito, *El Compás Flamenco*, pp.20-21.
[35] Caballero, *El Cante*, p.362.
[36] Caballero, *El Cante Flamenco*, p.361.
[37] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), pp.24-25.

number of writers and intellectuals, such as Lorca or Manuel de Falla were concerned with Flamenco.[38]

Flamenco in film

Flamenco has also been a prominent feature in Spanish cinema from the beginning of cinematography until today. Historically, cinema and film have always had more prominence in popular Spanish culture than other media. Frequently, the portrayal of flamenco in film seems to deserve some attention. Generally, flamenco has been presented in a very superficial manner in films and mostly in the context of stereotypical views of Andalucia. Tenorio distinguished three periods in the history of the cinematic portrayal of flamenco. The first two periods coincide with the time before the 'Golden Age' and the 'Golden Age' or 'Cafés Cantantes Period' respectively. The third period stretches roughly from the time of the 'Opera Flamenca' to the beginnings of the 'Nuevo Flamenco' until today. The first period was from the late nineteenth century until the Spanish Civil War, and was a partly a parallel development to the 'Cafés Cantantes Period' or the so-called 'Golden Age'. The first silent films in Spain featured flamenco in the context of rural Andalusian life. The main protagonists during that period were the *bailaoras* (flamenco dancers) Pastora Imperio and La Argentinita.[39] The time from the Civil War until the 1970s has seen a boom of the so-called 'españoladas', films which featured an exaggerated 'Spanishness', based on a romanticised notion of rustic Andalusian peasant life. The basis of these films was the portrayal of flamenco as the essence of 'Spanishness.' This should also be seen in the context of the Franco era, when this image of Spain was officially fostered and perpetuated. During this period, artistic quality often left much to be desired, but of course there were notable exceptions, namely the *bailaora (flamenco*

[38] Luis García Caviedes, "El Amanecer del Flamenco" *Alboreá* No. 1, February 1999 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera) http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002
[39] Ana María Tenorio Notario, "La documentación sobre el Flamenco IV" Alboreá, Nos 6 and 7, October 2000 (Centro Andaluz de Flamenco: Jerez de la Frontera) http://caf.cica.es/mundo_flamenco/revista/revista.html accessed 01.10.2002

dancer) Carmen Amaya.[40] One of her great successes was her role in the award- winning film 'Los Tarantos' in 1963, directed by Francisco Rovira Beleta.

From the 1970s on, the number of films focused on flamenco has declined but the quality has improved. The films 'Bodas de Sangre' (Blood Wedding), 'El Amor Brujo' (Love the Magician), 'Carmen', 'Flamenco', and 'Sevillanas' directed by Carlos Saura, are among the most well – known films about flamenco.[41] Carlos Saura's films 'Carmen', 'Bodas de Sangre' and 'Flamencos', the latter starring 'Ketama', which all feature a flamenco theme, were widely criticised by purists for their non – traditional approach to flamenco and the fact that flamenco was available to a mass audience on screen, as opposed to the more intimate and traditional setting of a *juerga* or a show in a *tablao.*[42] However, these films, especially 'Carmen', were very successful with the general public, which would never have been reached by traditional flamenco performances that are favoured by purists. The film 'Carmen' demystifies flamenco because it features the production process of a flamenco stage production and the hard work and rehearsals that are involved in flamenco, as opposed to the traditionalists' ideal of a *flamenco* (flamenco artist) who is suddenly overcome by *duende* (spirit). Today, 'non- Spaniards are largely responsible for the renewed demand for, and interest in, flamenco.'[43] Flamenco shows all over the world are usually sold out,[44] and as long as there is an audience, there will be flamenco, whether it is *flamenco puro* or *nuevo flamenco*. In 2000, Manuel Palacio's 'Gitano' was one of the latest films released featuring a flamenco theme.

[40] Tenorio Notario, "La documentación sobre el Flamenco IV"
[41] Tenorio Notario, "La documentación sobre el Flamenco IV"
[42] establishment, where flamenco is performed on a regular basis; originally tablao meant a low wooden platform, used as a stage
[43] Donn E. Pohren, *Lives and Legends of Flamenco* (Morón de la Frontera, 1964), p.330.
[44] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.134.

The debate about *pureza* versus *nuevo flamenco*

The question whether flamenco should adhere to its tradition and whether innovation is potentially beneficial or desirable, or whether it is an indicator for the decline of flamenco has been a matter for debate since the 'Golden Age'. A frequently used term in this context is *pureza (purity)*. This term is normally used to refer to traditional flamenco, but in fact there are two different definitions of *pureza (purity)*. The most common definition of *flamenco puro* is flamenco that does not change over time, but remains in its traditional restrained form. Traditionalists oppose any change in flamenco as a loss of authenticity and quality:

> I am of the sad conviction that nobody sings like La Niña de los Peines anymore, that Ramón Montoya's guitar play is still unmatched and that the quality of today's baile flamenco is worlds apart from the dancing done at the beginning of the century. Conversations with artists from the old days seem to support my viewpoint. [45]

Many *aficionados* share this view and maintain that the essence of flamenco is lost in group performances.[46] Steingress argues that most *aficionados* continue to follow an 'ideology of pureza, which confuses artistic criteria with nostalgia'[47] The second definition of *pureza (purity)* is an entirely different one. This definition stresses that flamenco is about expressing authentic feelings to which one can relate, and not about strict adherence to tradition. This means that when life changes, flamenco has to change as well in order to remain pure. The *cantaora* (flamenco singer) La Niña de la Puebla believed that flamenco was not in decline:

> Today you have to sing better than in the past because there is more media coverage. Then, if somebody sang badly the public did not expect as much as they do today. Back then you could not sing for soleares, seguiriyas, tarantas,

[45] Madeleine Claus, 'Baile Flamenco' in Claus Schreiner, (ed), *Flamenco- Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia* (Portland, 1990), p.92.
[46] Madeleine Claus, 'Baile Flamenco', p.95.
[47] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco*, p.59.

the public did not want to hear it, but today they like it. Back then you did not have to sing as good as you have to these days.'[48]

This is a possible reference to the era of the *opera flamenca,* when festive styles were predominant. Enrique Morente is another *Cantor* (flamenco singer) in favour of modernisation, he insists that:

> Music is alive, not for the museum, if not, we would still be...in the caves..this is an art for professionals. 'what you heard from the people before you, you take it in, you feel it and you express it, this is pureza pureza is if you feel what you sing cante always talks about problems of all people[49]

Schreiner also argues that 'all the talk about purity seems a bit exaggerated.'[50] Generally, it is difficult to compare flamenco from the turn of the century with modern flamenco, as the quality of traditional flamenco cannot be verified because there are very few recordings. We have to rely on what their contemporaries recount. However, these recounts are subjective, personal views, and many people tend to glorify the past 'in search of a paradise lost'.[51] According to Steingress, the great majority of *aficionados* see flamenco as something that is 'completely independent from the inevitable cultural changes.'[52] The existing recordings of *cantaores (flamenco singers)* and *cantaoras* (flamenco singers) from the beginning of the century give us some idea of their art, but their lives and experiences were different from ours. '...times have changed, and so has flamenco.'[53] Moreover, artists such as Ramón Montoya, Niño Ricardo, Manolo Caracol, and La Niña de los Peines were accused in their time of 'vulgarising' flamenco.[54] Yet today they are considered classics by traditionalists.[55] A similar trend can be expected in the

[48] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, *El Cante Flamenco* (Madrid, 1994), p.338.
[49] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, *El Cante Flamenco* (Madrid, 1994), p.363-364.
[50] Claus Schreiner,"Preface", pp. 7-9 in Claus Schreiner (ed), *Flamenco- Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia* (Portland, 1990), p.8.
[51] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.18.
[52] Gerhard Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco y Flamencología* (Seville, 1998), p.59.
[53] Stiengress, *Sobre Flamenco,* p.193.
[54] Stiengress, *Sobre Flamenco,* p.172.
[55] Madeleine Claus, 'Baile Flamenco' in: Claus Schreiner, (ed), *Flamenco- Gyps y Dance and Music from Andalusia* (Portland, 1990), p.92.

case of contemporary artists. It has already taken place in the case of Camarón who was criticised for his innovations but who is now widely, though not universally, considered a classic. Finally, the debate about *pureza* (purity) is not only about art, it is also closely linked to the *Gitanos* and their image.

The question of ethnicity in the debate about *pureza*

In general, Spaniards have a rather ambivalent attitude towards the *Gitanos*. In Andalusia, the situation is slightly different because there is almost a symbiosis between the *Gitano* and Andalusian cultures, and it is often hard to distinguish what is *Gitano* and what is Andalusian.[56] *Gitanos* are admired and envied for their art, but they are also regarded with both fear and suspicion by the rest of the population.[57] Steingress states 'this schizophrenia might be summarized in one sentence: Flamencos yes, Gitanos no!'[58] There is also a tendency to romanticise and stereotype *Gitanos* as a picturesque, folkloristic people, and as relicts of a past that people in industrialised countries dream about. The supposed decline of flamenco is frequently blamed on external influences on the *Gitanos* and their music.[59]At times, this nostalgia can take on bizarre forms, seemingly placing the interests of *aficionados* in flamenco over the interests of the *Gitanos.*

> lately a new wave of Anti- Gitanismo has raised its head in Andalusia it might prove benefitial for gypsy-Andalusian flamenco for pressure creates counterpressure which could well lead to a revitalization of flamenco from within.[60]

Ramírez rejects romanticised notions of the *Gitanos* as "*gitanería*" or fictional identity that has nothing to do with *Gitano* identity. According to him, *Gitano* identity is defined by respect for their traditions and values, which he refers to

[56] Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia, *En Defensa de los Míos* (Barcelona, 1985), p.182.
[57] Marion Papenbrok, 'History of Flamenco- New Directions' in: Claus Schreiner (ed), *Flamenco- Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia* (Portland, 1990), p.37.
[58] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco*, p.72.
[59] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, *Historia del Cante Flamenco* (Madrid, 1981), p.18.
[60] Claus Schreiner, 'Introduction' in: Claus Schreiner (ed), *Flamenco-Gypsey Dance and Music from Andalusia*, p.32.

as "*gitanismo*".[61] Ian Hancock has remarked that it is often non-gypsies who define what is typically gypsy and what is not: 'When gypsy behaviour asserted itself in ways contrary to the specialists' expectations, it has been seen as a shortcoming on the part of the Gypsy.'[62] It is true that flamenco has changed since it became accessible to a wider audience during the *cafés cantantes* period, but before this opening- up process, flamenco was not readily accessible to a wider audience. Gitanos are generally very protective of their culture, therefore it is not very common that outsiders are invited to join a private *juerga Gitana*,[63] the only place where, according to the traditionalist traditionalist view, "pure" flamenco is to be found. There is considerable debate whether flamenco can be studied by virtually anybody or whether one has to be born into it, and whether one needs to be a *Gitano* But even among flamenco artists there is no agreement on this issue. According to Steingress, *flamencos (flamenco artists)* in recent years have used the *aficionados'* association of *Gitanos* with 'pure' flamenco by stressing the *Gitano* element in their cantes. In this context, the *Gitano* element is used as a hallmark to emphasise the quality of music on the basis of ethnicity rather than on artistic quality.[64] Paco de Lucía argues that *Gitanos* tend to be the best flamenco artists because most of them are exposed to flamenco from birth, but this does not mean that others cannot play flamenco. He affirms that one does not need to be a *Gitano* in order to have a legitimate right to play flamenco.[65] 'modern flamenco is totally professionalized...many artists have never had any artists among their ancestors, and have not learned it the traditional way, through family reunions'[66] Calvo and others. argue that 'Now records are the most

[61] Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia, *Nosotros los Gitanos* (4th ed.) (Barcelona,1983), p.142.
[62] Ian Hancock, 1997 "The Struggle for the Control of Identity" *Transitions* 4/4, November 1997
[63] private fiesta at a *Gitano* home, where flamenco is being performed
[64] Gerhard Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco y Flamencología* (Seville, 1998), p.171.
[65] Paco Espinola, "Entrevista con Paco de Lucía" *La Caña* No. 3, June 1992 (Asociacón Cultural "España Abierta: Madrid)
[66] Manuel Bohórquez Casado, 'Nombres que llenan Épocas- La casa de los Pavónes' in: José Luis Navarro García and Miguel Ropero Núñez (eds.), *Historia del Flamenco* (Volume II), (Seville, 1995), p.429.

important source of knowledge [of flamenco]'[67]. Members of the band Ketama also stress the importance of exposure to flamenco over ethnicity, 'Flamenco cannot be studied...You have to live the rhythm from a very early age on'[68]

However, flamenco seems to be closer to the *Gitano* mentality because of their collective experience of marginalization and persecution. There is a general pattern that applies to the majority of flamenco artists. The vast majority of them had an early start in both playing and performing in public, and most have a family background in performing, thus ensuring an early exposure to flamenco music and tradition. The majority were born or raised in Andalusia. Two other cities that have produced a large number of *flamencos* (flamenco artists) are Madrid and Barcelona. Most *flamencos (flamenco artists)* are of modest backgrounds. An exception is the early *cantao*r (flamenco singer) Silverio Franconetti, who came from a middle- class *Payo* (non-*Gitano*) family.[69] Usually this background explains why so many contemporary *flamencos* (flamenco artists) were encouraged by their families to become professional musicians. We can assume that most *flamencos* (flamenco artists) are *Gitanos* because of the stronger family ties within the *Gitano* family,[70] which gives them a better chance to learn their art from other family members. *Gitano* culture is largely based on oral tradition, so a close–knit family certainly plays an important part in the education of future *flamencos* (flamenco artists). As flamenco is the expression of pain and sorrow, *Gitanos* may better relate to flamenco, because they have experienced more hardship and persecution over five centuries than other population groups in Spain. A large number of *flamencos* (flamenco artists) in their 40s and 50s or older have never had any formal music instruction and often little or no formal education. Paco de Lucía, for example, cannot read music, even though he has also found

[67] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.19.
[68] Calvo, Gamboa and de Miguel (eds.) *Historia,* p.98.
[69] Ángel Álvarez Caballero, Historia del Cante Flamenco (Madrid, 1981), p.77.
[70] Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia, *Nosotros los Gitanos* (4th ed.) (Barcelona, 1983), pp.27-28.

the need to acquire some knowledge of music theory.[71] Younger artists, however tend to have a certain degree of formal instruction and education along with the traditional way of learning from other family members. Joaquín Cortés trained as a ballet dancer before becoming a *bailaor (flamenco dancer)*. This is due to a change in attitude towards formal education and a gradual change in the socio – economic situation of the *Gitanos*. In the past, artists who had formal music instruction were often not taken seriously by other artists who had learned their trade in the traditional way,[72] but things are changing gradually.

International influence on flamenco and impact of flamenco on other music styles

Much has been said about the negative influence of other music styles on flamenco, but flamenco has also had considerable influence on other music styles, thus enriching the international music scene. This influence reaches from classic music to jazz, blues, rock 'n' roll, Celtic folk and pop music. One of the earliest and best – known examples is certainly Bizet's opera 'Carmen' but Bizet was not the only one to use flamenco for his works. The Spanish composer Manuel de Falla has used flamenco elements in the opera 'La Vida Breve' and in the ballets 'Gitano' and 'Fantasia Bética'.[73] Other classical composers who used the flamenco theme for their art were Béla Bártók, Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel, Isaac Albéniz[74], and Igor Strawinsky.[75] The poet Federico García Lorca wrote a number of poems that were inspired by flamenco in his collection of poems 'Romancero Gitano'.[76] In turn, his poems

[71] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.32.
[72] This was communicated to the author by *aficionados* during her field research in Seville from October 1999- February 2000
[73] Claus Schreiner, 'Introduction' in Claus Schreiner (ed), *Flamenco- Gypsy Dance and Music from Andalusia* (Portland, 1990), p.28.
[74] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guia del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.176.
[75] Calvo. *Gamboa and de Miguel Historia*, p.197.
[76] García Lorca, Federico, *Romancero Gitano* (2nd ed.) (Madrid, 1980, first published in 1928)

were often used as lyrics for contemporary flamenco, not only by Camarón on his album 'La Leyenda del Tiempo' but also by younger artists.[77] A number of European and American rock, pop and jazz musicians have experimented with flamenco and have incorporated it in their music, bringing flamenco, or rather "flamencoized" music to a wider audience. Among them are John McLaughlin, Larry Coryell, Miles Davis, Carlos Santana, Al DiMeola and Chick Corea, who all worked with Paco de Lucía in the 1970s.[78] More recently, flamenco elements have appeared in the music and show of Bill Wheelan's 'Riverdance', especially in the tracks 'Firedance' and 'Andalucia'. Christy Moore also featured flamenco elements in the track 'Viva la Quinte Brigada' on his CD 'Collection Part II'. These fusion styles of flamenco are not flamenco even in a more general use of the term, but they do introduce elements of flamenco to an audience that is not interested or appreciative of *flamenco puro*. Some people might eventually become interested in flamenco as well, while others might not, but it is certainly a chance to introduce the genre to a wider audience, which would not have been reached with traditional flamenco in the first place.

Flamenco – from amateur art to big business

According to Antonio Carmona from the band 'Ketama', flamenco is 'one of Spain's most profitable products and export goods.'[79] 'Andalusia sells baile and toque'[80] Before the 'Golden Age', the scale was much smaller, but flamenco was never performed in public for the sole reason the artist was overcome by *duende*, but for the simple reason that they were forced to supplement the family income. It was only in the Golden Age that the first professional *flamencos* (flamenco artists) entered the scene. More recently, flamenco has turned into an industry with significant annual profits. The

[77] Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), pp.40-41.
[78] Calvo, Gamboa, and Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora*, pp.159-160.
[79] Antonio Carmon and Javier Marín, "El Orgullo Gitano", *El Mundo Magazine* No. 165, 1998
[80] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco Flamencología*, p.195.

flamenco business is the 'sale of art and products'[81] and 'the flamenco myth multiplies the tourists' interest [in Spain]'[82]. The earnings of flamenco artists have changed considerably over the years. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, most artists playing in bars barely earned enough money to survive. Since the flamenco revival in the 1950s, earnings increased significantly. Camarón, for example only earned 1 million pts[83] per performance in 1977. Even though earnings of *flamencos* (flamenco artists) are considerably lower than those of their colleagues in the pop music sector,[84] contemporary *flamencos* (flamenco artists) can live quite comfortably off their earnings. However, the commercial success of artists who appeal to a mass audience is not always combined with high quality.[85] With the onset of mass tourism, a number of up-beat, colourful tourist shows of questionable artistic quality have led to a distorted perception of flamenco, which may in part explain why *nuevo flamenco* has quite a tainted image with many *aficionados*.

Conclusion

In the early days, flamenco was the preserve of talented amateurs attempting to supplement their income. They did not have much time or means to improve their technique or to broaden their horizons through education or travel. Contemporary artists are professionals who dedicate their entire lives to flamenco and the further development of their skills.[86] Many contemporary *flamencos* (flamenco artists) work with musicians from other cultures. This cross – cultural experience may help them to get a better understanding of flamenco by contrasting it to other music styles and creating their own personal styles. Obviously, a flamenco artist needs talent and *duende*, (spirit) but also

[81] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco Flamencologia*, p.218.
[82] Steingress, *Sobre Flamenco Flamencologia*, p. 224.
[83] 1 million pts is roughly equivalent to € 6,000.
[84] Calvo, Gamboa, and de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco*, p.134.
[85] Paco Espinola, "Entrevista Con Paco de Lucía" *La Caña* No. 3, June 1992 (Asociacón Cultural "España Abierta: Madrid)
[86] Enrique Morente, as cited in: Pedro Calvo, José Manuel Gamboa, and Antonio de Miguel (eds.), *Historia- Guía del Nuevo Flamenco- El Duende de Ahora* (Madrid, 1994), p.47.

good technique, which requires a lot of practise and education.[87] Through the growing popularity of *nuevo flamenco* and flamenco fusion, the audience has multiplied beyond the circle of traditional *aficionados*, both in Spain and abroad. People who started listening to flamenco pop, which is more accessible than *flamenco puro,* might eventually become interested in exploring the roots of flamenco and become *aficionados*, just as *aficionados* might also enjoy listening to *nuevo flamenco*. Flamenco has evolved out of a variety of influences and has never been a static art, thus change and development should not be seen as a decline of quality, but rather as enrichment, both artistically and commercially. There will always be a place and a market for traditional flamenco but on a much smaller scale than for the new flamenco movement with its mass appeal. The criteria by which the quality of music is judged should be based on artistic quality and not on ethnicity or adherence to a romantic stereotype. Judging artists by the degree to which they can imitate other artists degrades them to clones who will always be in the shadow of their role models and who will never reach the perfection of the original. This would be a constant source of disappointment to both artists and audience. Artists would never be able to reach their true potential, and *aficionados* would have to deal with the frustration that 'nobody sings like La Niña de los Peines anymore'[88]

A Note on Terminology:

This article employs a number of Spanish terms which are more appropriate in the context of this article, as most of them do not have exact equivalents in English. The Spanish glossary used in this article is mostly generic, but some of it may reflect local usage, as it was communicated to the author during her field research in Seville from October 1999- February 2000. Usage in other regions may differ. Translations in this article are all her own unless otherwise stated.

[87] Anonymous, "Entrevista con Paco de Lucía", *El Mundo Magazine* No. 132, 1998.
[88] Madeleine Claus, 'Baile Flamenco' in Schreiner, (ed), *Flamenco- Gypsy Dance*, p.92.

'The Lion of the Hour'[1]

Themes in the political philosophy of Dr. Oscar Douglas Skelton, (1910-41).

John Paul McCarthy

The events of the twentieth century have given many commentators ample excuse for doubting the capacity of the individual to change the course of history for the better. If many were still convinced in the aftermath of the Second World War that history had a current, they saw it as one that ran in the direction of endless brutality and exposed the ultimate inefficacy of the individual when confronted with historical forces.[2] Little heed was given to the gentle faith of the late eighteenth century Enlightenment philosophers who believed that all of life's problems were amenable to rational analysis and that in the hands of the educated individual lay the keys to universal salvation. Though the precise relationship between the individual and the group or nation or state that he serves has been the subject of fierce debate over the centuries, each generation has produced personalities who have left an indelible and undeniably personal mark on the times in which they live.

In this regard Canada has as much to say as the American or European nations. In refreshingly stirring analysis that has avoided the pessimism that has inflicted two generations of scholars, Henry Kissinger stood firm in arguing that individual politicians and/or administrators have the potential to change the course of history. Commenting on the influence of America's twenty eight president, Dr. Kissinger asserted that, 'Woodrow Wilson's appearance on the scene was a watershed for America, one of those rare examples of a leader who fundamentally

[1] A striking phrase used by Oscar Douglas Skelton in describing the achievements of Sir Wilfred Laurier, Canada's first Francophone Prime Minister in O.D. Skelton *The Day of Sir Wilfred Laurier* (Toronto,1915),p.178.
[2] For more on this see Henry Hardy and Roger Hausheer (eds.), *The Proper Study of Mankind – An Anthology of Essays by Isaiah Berlin* (London,1998), pp.91-119.

alters the course of his country's history.'[3] Though Oscar Douglas Skelton may not have had as global a reach as that crusading philosopher-king, his influence both as a man of ideas and in his capacity as Canada's chief diplomat for sixteen years could be said to have shaped the course of Canadian history in a number of important ways.[4] This paper will examine his contribution to the Canadian state from a variety of perspectives, certain that each one of his important roles deserves independent analysis. Drawing on the philosophy of the *Annalles* school of historical inquiry, this paper will attempt to examine the mentality that lay behind most of Skelton's academic works and his policy advise whilst under secretary of state at the Canadian Department of External Affairs from 1925 until his sudden death two years into the Second World War.[5] An examination will be attempted of his ideas on such diverse concepts as nationalism, imperialism, the Canadian social contract and the role of government in the lives of its citizens as well as sovereignty and international law. The paper will outline his vision of the type of country which he would ideally have loved to serve and will assess his vision within the context of the Anglo-Canadian imperial relationship. An academic by profession and by temperment, Skelton had devoted his formative intellectual years to the formulation of a total analysis of the workings of a capitalist society in the twentieth century. He was unusually well qualified for a career as a government administrator, not so much due to his voracious appetite for work or his personal skills, but because he was the proud possessor of a remarkably

[3] Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York,1994), p.54.
[4] For broad summaries of Skelton's career see J.L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men; The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto, Buffalo, London 1982), pp.1-62, *A Man of Influence-Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft 1929-68* (Toronto,1981), pp.56-80; J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record* (Toronto,1970) 31,62,146,166-7,170,616,43,44,53,58,116-23 ; Arnold Feeney *The Things that are Caesar's* (Toronto,1982); Lester Bowles Pearson *Mike ; The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson 1897-1948* (Toronto,1972), vol.1.
[5] For an elegant description of the Annalles School of History see: Norman Davies, *Europe – A History* (London, 1997), pp.955-6. See also Patrick Burke, *The Annalles School and the French Historical Revolution* (Cambridge, 1989).

coherent political philosophy that had its roots in rural Ontario and was tempered by the assistance of a series of intellectual mentors over a long period of time. He assumed the headship of a tiny department of state intimately familiar with the complex challenges that would face him. Not only did he understand the types of questions that he would be called upon to answer but he had spent his previous two decades in the search for their answers.

The dominion beyond the sea

Though scholars have disagreed about various aspects of Skelton's career, there has been widespread agreement that the adjective 'nationalist' does justice to his basic political philosophy.[6] Though his devotion to his country had an underlying emotional content, it had none of the romanticism that scholars have identified as inherent in most nationalist projects. It may be as well to distinguish for the purposes of an examination of Skelton's philosophy between various types of perspectives, which, though regularly linked together under the catch all rubric of 'nationalism', have significant intellectual and moral differences. Michael Ignatieff has distinguished between two types of nationalism, one that is based upon a theory of civic virtue, the other drawing support from an ethnic imperative.[7] Both schools of thought, whilst having champions as antagonistic as Pierre Elliott Trudeau on the civic side and Maurice Duplessis on the ethnic side, share an important intuition. Both agree that the presence of the 'collective' is important for the development of the individual. Both schools of thought acknowledge that the individual can be seen as a part of a greater organic whole, which gives to individuals a type of protection and sense of purpose without which

[6] Of a variety of available sources on Skelton the uncooperative nationalist see Nicholas Mansergh *The Commonwealth Experience Volume 2 ; From British to Multiracial Empire* (Toronto,1982),18. See also Norman Hillmer 'The Anglo-Canadian Neurosis ; The Case of O.D. Skelton' in Peter Lyon (ed), *Great Britain and Canada ; Survey of a Changing Relationship* (London,1976); Granatstein, *Ottawa Men, pp.* 62-92.

[7] Michael Ignatieff *Blood and Belonging – Journeys into the New Nationalism* (Toronto,1993), pp.3-11. For a further elaboration of the civic-ethnic distinction further a field see M.S. Das *The Political Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru* (New York,1961), pp.70-93.

they might never fully develop. Their difference lies in the differing rules by which both schools allow their collectives to be filled. They also differ fundamentally in that one side acknowledges no higher law than the rule of the collective, whereas the other (the civic school) see the collective as a potentially tyrannical entity, in other words if the individuals who go into creating it are not afforded recognition as ends in themselves and as the possessors of rights and privileges that no collective can take from them. In the eyes of the civic nationalist, the collective is created by a rational act of consent on the part of the individuals present for whom the creation of an entity bigger than any one of them is the result of a contractual agreement designed by all concerned. This social contract binds both individual and collective to a series of rules and reciprocations. Having been entered into in the spirit of calculating rationality, they retain the right to tear up that contract should it be breached at any stage.[8] In the eyes of the ethnic nationalist, an individual is an integral part of the collective from the moment of his birth. His destiny is bound up with the destiny of his class, his tribe or his nation not because of what he does but because of what he is. Membership of the collective, according to this school, results not from a series of binding agreements, but from a series of binding characteristics. If one is born into a certain class, tribe or nation, if one's parents were of the same collective, if you share the same faith as the group, follow their ancient customs and speak their distinctive language, then you are deemed a constituent member of that collective whether you consent to it or not.[9]

Ethnic nationalists have little trouble in constructing a coalition of the faithful, as a world without such a faithful is entirely incomprehensible to them. Civic nationalists, however, are faced with the challenge of drafting the terms and

[8] On the social contract theory of society, which has historically commended itself to liberal philosophers the like of Skelton see Jonathan Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 18-26,42-53.

[9] For further elaborations on this matter see Henry Hardy ed Isaiah Berlin *The Roots of Romanticism; The A.W. Mellon Lecture in the Fine Arts* (Bollingen Series xxxv; 45, New Jersey,1999).

the principles of the social contract which gives life to their concept of the nation. They must articulate a vision of society that is sufficiently broad so as to include a variety of groups who make up the polity in which they live. In countries of diverse size with a divided history and conflicting group loyalties and self-images, this may prove an extraordinarily difficult task to complete. Since Canada is claimed as the home of a variety of ethnic groups and since it is a polity that has been wracked by provincial, linguistic, religious and philosophical conflict since its inception, civic nationalism has had to grow in difficult conditions. It has been much easier to appeal to exclusive ancestral loyalties, be it of the native Cree peoples, or the Francophone Quebecois or Ontarian Anglophiles, than it has been to outline a political philosophy which all of these diverse groups can give full faith and allegiance to. Attempts in this regard have been readily ridiculed as offering an anemic vision of Canada, a vision that, trying to be all things to all men, ends up offering comfort to none. This type of political universalism has been derided as alien to the Canadian spirit and insufficiently robust to 'authenticate' a vision for the country's future.[10]

Oscar Douglas Skelton is best described as a civic nationalist, though again even this more precise term needs to be qualified if a proper understanding is to be gotten of his political philosophy. Nationalists of all hues rest upon the rocks of imagined communities. For the most part, the visions of the societies which they articulate and idealise, have their roots first and foremost in the imagination. Sentimentality is a key characteristic of their thought patterns, their political philosophy in some cases owing more to religion than to the more empirical social

[10] For further discussion of this matter within the context of the political philosophy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, arguably Canada's most formidable liberal politician, see *Assessing Five Visions for Authenticating Canada's Future* presented to the New England Political Science Association, Providence, April 30,1999. This paper critically applies the criteria of psychologist Alan Braithwaite for effecting a meaningful sense of statehood ('authentication') to the 'one nation' liberalism of Trudeau.

sciences.[11] This could never be said of Dr. Skelton, whose primary focus in all discussions was one of 'interests'.[12] His background in economics and the newly emerging area of social sciences of the early twentieth century gave his mind a strongly functional twist, rendering him largely immune to the political romanticism that gave all nationalists, even the gentle economic ones, such a hard edge. His advocacy for a Canadian state that was as free to determine its place amongst the nations as it was to harness its domestic economic riches, had its roots in Skelton's regard for efficiency and symmetry rather than in any mystical faith in the inherent destiny of the Canadian people. He argued that Canada required freedom in the field of international relations not because it was its as of right, but because the distinct combination of its experiences and interests made Canada a better arbiter of foreign policy than a distant Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs located in distant London. His life long determination to avoid the centralizing instincts of the British elite was based less upon an inherited antipathy to all things imperial but rather on a differing interpretation of the Canadian national interest. Submission to the flattery of Lloyd George or to the blandishments of Lord Curzon would be, Skelton informed a friend, 'to ignore all the differences of interests, all the differences of situation, all the differences of sentiment, all the internal complexities, and to set up what in the long run, even if it were tried, would prove to be a hopelessly impractical unity where there really is

[11] For engaging reflections on the nature of the nationalist mind see the Irish historian Tom Garvin *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928* (New York, 1987). Some scholars have argued that the prevalence of nationalist doctrine within Irish political discourse prevented the type of critical sociological reflection that drew its strength from the social sciences (as practiced by Skelton and his fellow travelers Adam Shortt, W.C. Clark and W.A. Mackintosh) from emerging until the late 1950s.

[12] On Skelton's interest based political philosophy see Barry Ferguson *Remaking Liberalism ; The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark and W.A. Mackintosh,1890-1925* (Montreal), pp.62-91. Ferguson singles out Skelton's admiration for Borden and Laurier due to his belief that they 'devised consistent policies based on Canada's distinctive interest' and avoided the 'extremes of imperialism and seperation.' For important arguments in favour of a foreign policy based upon Skelton like 'interest calculation' rather than universal idealism see Henry Kissinger *Years of Renewal* (London,1999), see also the thoughts of the former British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (1989-95) Douglas Hurd in *The Search for Peace ; A Century of Peace Diplomacy* (London,1997), pp.73-155.

the principles of the social contract which gives life to their concept of the nation. They must articulate a vision of society that is sufficiently broad so as to include a variety of groups who make up the polity in which they live. In countries of diverse size with a divided history and conflicting group loyalties and self-images, this may prove an extraordinarily difficult task to complete. Since Canada is claimed as the home of a variety of ethnic groups and since it is a polity that has been wracked by provincial, linguistic, religious and philosophical conflict since its inception, civic nationalism has had to grow in difficult conditions. It has been much easier to appeal to exclusive ancestral loyalties, be it of the native Cree peoples, or the Francophone Quebecois or Ontarian Anglophiles, than it has been to outline a political philosophy which all of these diverse groups can give full faith and allegiance to. Attempts in this regard have been readily ridiculed as offering an anemic vision of Canada, a vision that, trying to be all things to all men, ends up offering comfort to none. This type of political universalism has been derided as alien to the Canadian spirit and insufficiently robust to 'authenticate' a vision for the country's future.[10]

Oscar Douglas Skelton is best described as a civic nationalist, though again even this more precise term needs to be qualified if a proper understanding is to be gotten of his political philosophy. Nationalists of all hues rest upon the rocks of imagined communities. For the most part, the visions of the societies which they articulate and idealise, have their roots first and foremost in the imagination. Sentimentality is a key characteristic of their thought patterns, their political philosophy in some cases owing more to religion than to the more empirical social

[10] For further discussion of this matter within the context of the political philosophy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, arguably Canada's most formidable liberal politician, see *Assessing Five Visions for Authenticating Canada's Future* presented to the New England Political Science Association, Providence, April 30,1999. This paper critically applies the criteria of psychologist Alan Braithwaite for effecting a meaningful sense of statehood ('authentication') to the 'one nation' liberalism of Trudeau.

sciences.[11] This could never be said of Dr. Skelton, whose primary focus in all discussions was one of 'interests'.[12] His background in economics and the newly emerging area of social sciences of the early twentieth century gave his mind a strongly functional twist, rendering him largely immune to the political romanticism that gave all nationalists, even the gentle economic ones, such a hard edge. His advocacy for a Canadian state that was as free to determine its place amongst the nations as it was to harness its domestic economic riches, had its roots in Skelton's regard for efficiency and symmetry rather than in any mystical faith in the inherent destiny of the Canadian people. He argued that Canada required freedom in the field of international relations not because it was its as of right, but because the distinct combination of its experiences and interests made Canada a better arbiter of foreign policy than a distant Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs located in distant London. His life long determination to avoid the centralizing instincts of the British elite was based less upon an inherited antipathy to all things imperial but rather on a differing interpretation of the Canadian national interest. Submission to the flattery of Lloyd George or to the blandishments of Lord Curzon would be, Skelton informed a friend, 'to ignore all the differences of interests, all the differences of situation, all the differences of sentiment, all the internal complexities, and to set up what in the long run, even if it were tried, would prove to be a hopelessly impractical unity where there really is

[11] For engaging reflections on the nature of the nationalist mind see the Irish historian Tom Garvin *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928* (New York, 1987). Some scholars have argued that the prevalence of nationalist doctrine within Irish political discourse prevented the type of critical sociological reflection that drew its strength from the social sciences (as practiced by Skelton and his fellow travelers Adam Shortt, W.C. Clark and W.A. Mackintosh) from emerging until the late 1950s.

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diversity.'[13] The functional language that he was prone to using is significant in this context.

Skelton was too astute a diplomat and too close to Mackenzie King in particular to ever completely dismiss the empire as a force in Canadian affairs. His proposal in 1920, admittedly then only in private correspondence, of a alliance of nations bound together by the British Crown rather than a top heavy empire of nineteenth century variety, cannot be beaten as an articulation of his subtle and largely economic form of civic nationalism. He envisioned a 'policy of imperial alliance, the reshaping of the empire, so far at least as the lands of white men go, into a league of nations equal and independent, linked by a common king.'[14] This seemingly simple proposal was nearly a full decade before its time and would, at least in 1920, have required the full dismantling of the principle of imperial sovereignty in so far as Westminster was concerned and the erection in its place of an impeccably Wilsonian coalition of autonomous and co-equal states co-operating as sister nations in a troubled world. It pre-shadowed the Commonwealth that was to emerge in the light of the Statute of Westminster in 1932 and would have been largely unrecognizable to the generation of Britons who attained power just before the 1914-18 War. Scholars have argued that since the implications of Skelton's model would have ensured the *de facto* destruction of the empire as he had known it, its author must have been a nationalist thinker. Yet, his reasons for proposing this recalibration of the Imperial arrangement in 1920 merit careful sifting. He continued in his letter to outline the main advantage of his project. He argued that, 'this policy alone, it is urged, can reconcile imperial and national sentiment, retaining the imperial tie while giving scope to the desire for freedom from central control.'[15] His invocation of 'national sentiment' should not cloud an investigation of his basic philosophy. Its use here, judging from his

[13] As quoted in Hillmer, *Neurosis*, p.64.
[14] Hillmer, *Neurosis*, p.64.
[15] Hillmer, *Neurosis*, p.64.

earlier works, refers to the growing feeling in his own country that Canada had interests and challenges bestowed upon her by history and geography that only she should be allowed to calculate. There is little evidence in his writings to support the idea that he was possessed of advanced separatist tendencies or anything other than mild nationalist theses. He was arguably too good a biographer of Laurier for that. One could argue again that his rationale is purely functional rather than romantic, in that his scheme is designed to ensure that Canada is in the best position possible to calculate its interests and act accordingly. Nowhere does he make mention of either the special destiny of the Canadian people nor crucially does he rely as of 1920 on a theory of national self determination.

The significance of Skelton's views on the imperial relationship can be appreciated through a process of comparison. He was not the only subject of King George V to devise a scheme for redesigning the empire that would be based upon the principles of equality and independence bound together by the symbolism of the common crown. In the sanctuary of his rambling house on Dublin's scenic south side, Éamon de Valera, President of the underground Irish Dáil and Republic, developed a theory of imperial relations nearly identical to Skelton's. A mathematician by training, de Valera saw the world in terms of political spheres, lines and triangles. He proposed an independent Ireland that would be linked to the British empire for matters of mutual concern and that would give recognition to the British Crown as the symbol of the overall association. He explained his plan to bemused colleagues by drawing two concentric circles, which intersected on the arc. One he called Ireland, the other the empire. Touching yet basically separate circles gave vivid representation to his preferred outcome at the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations then about to begin at 10, Downing Street.[16] Though Skelton and de Valera may have shared the same ideal, they defended it with strikingly

[16] This famous scheme is examined within the context of Imperial affairs in 1920 in John M. Regan, *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921-3: Treatyite Politics and Settlement in Independent Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), pp.5-6. He succeeded in implementing it some 15 later than planned with the occasional assistance of Mackenzie King.

different weapons. Whereas Skelton argued that Canada's size, composition and distance from the Crown made imperial centralization illogical, unproductive and unattainable, de Valera took his stand on the rock then occupied by President Wilson. He devoted his entire political career to the vindication of what he felt to be Ireland's inalienable right to self determination as a proud, ancient and free people. Skelton wanted freedom because it made sense to his tidy mind. De Valera demanded freedom as of right. As he would demonstrate in the course of his second and third terms as Taoiseach, practical or functional considerations would always be subordinated to his belief that Irish self – determination had to be achieved even if the economic sky was to fall. Though British diplomats have a tendency to label all troublesome natives as being 'obsessed with a mixture of suspicion and nationalism'[17], the foregoing comparison demonstrates that natives had different reasons for creating similar kinds of trouble.

Scholars have commented on the range of matters over which Skelton exercised an influence. He quickly came to aid Mackenzie King on almost every matter of importance. One area where he was of little help to the Prime Minister though was the Quebec issue. With little interest in the great federal compromise between Canada's 'two founding peoples' and with fewer contacts outside of his happy Ontario world, Skelton's perspective on the problems posed by the 'French fact' stand in stark contrast to the rest of his thinking; it is characterized by impulse, it was largely unsystematic and unrelated to his general theory of society. Decent enough to be baffled by the rougher edges of Anglophone suspicion of French Canadians and sensitive enough to see that the potential always existed for massive civil strife in the country, Skelton was sympathetic to calls for French language classes in Anglophone schools.[18] Quebec played a peripheral, if important role in reinforcing Skelton's natural disinclination to become embroiled

[17] This phrase was used with Skelton in mind by a hostile source in the British Foreign Office. Quoted in Hillmer *Neurosis,* p.80.
[18] Granatstein, *Ottawa Men*, p.34.

in foreign entanglements. His study of the Laurier tight rope act during the Borden government's imposition of conscription during the 1914-18 war had convinced him that foreign engagements only had the potential to further poison an already unfortunate situation. He viewed Quebec through the same managerial spectacles favoured by Prime Minister King, giving the problem only the weighting of yet another traditional variable that required accommodation prior to making an essentially political calculation. He pondered the question only insofar as it arose in the context of his remarkably consistent strategy for a distinctively Canadian foreign policy. To his smooth brain, the plight of the Quebecois posed none of the moral quandaries that would surface in later political discourse. Indeed Skelton, though a gentle man by disposition (and as such a weak administrator in the estimation of a macho minded Mike Pearson), he gave to morality no preeminence in his grand design for Canadian foreign policy. However unwittingly, Skelton came to personify a policy consensus that 'calmly assumed away the existence of one third of the nation', a consensus that expected French Canadians to 'recognize themselves in a national image which had hardly any French traits' and asked them 'to have the utmost confidence in a central state where French Canada's influence was mainly measured by its not inconsiderable nuisance value.'[19]

In the east block

In the course of his memoirs, Winston Spencer Churchill once remarked that, despite all appearances to the contrary, no position can compare to that of chief executive.[20] This is true in terms of the sheer power concentrated in the twentieth century Westminster premiership, be it in Ireland, Great Britain or in Canada. It is also true in terms of the lonliness of the position as well. Over the last two hundred years, the importance of the cabinet, the parliament and the elected

[19] Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 'Federalism, Nationalism and Reason' as contained in Trudeau *Federalism and the French Canadians* (New York, 1968), p.200.
[20] Anthony King (ed), *The British Prime Minister ; A Reader* (London, 1970), p.65.

representative has been diminished as a result of the rise of professional advisors whose demonstrated genius lay in their capacity to attract and hold the attention of the leader of a particular commonwealth. Indeed no biography of any political leader would be complete unless it laid bare the relationship between the dominant political figure and his closest advisors, be they professional ones or purely private. Where the Moor of Venice took counsel from the wily Iago (with disastrous results for him and his kingdom), Benjamin Disraeli formed a close relationship with the mythical Monty Corrie. The ferociously secretive Éamon de Valera relied heavily on Maurice Moynihan in order to get his constitution formulated and for advice and support during his most demanding of decisions. Canada's self consciously superior Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, acknowledged quite openly the importance of Gerald Pelletier and Michael Pitfield to him during the course of his dramatic premierships. During his service to three Canadian prime ministers, Oscar Douglas Skelton illustrated the crucial role that public servants can have in the formulation, defence and execution of major public policies. Whether in the act of sustaining a tired prime minister, encouraging a reluctant secretary of state or humbling a doubting bureaucracy with his determination, Skelton soon became the wheel by which King in particular drove the Canadian cart towards functional independence in the Commonwealth, disinterested guardianship in Europe and wary cordiality with the neighbouring United States[21].

His sudden death from exhaustion in 1941 denied him the opportunity to test his skills in the crucible of war, though his consistent belief that the Nazi war, however honourable in motive and vital in fact, could no nothing but fundamental damage to the interests of his 'peaceful kingdom'. In most of the fundamental

[21] For a flavour of Skelton's duties and the type of influence he wielded see Pickersgill, *Reader*, pp.116-23. This section explains Skelton's role in the on going war time negotiations between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King. Pearson *Mike*, p.125. illustrated the iron control that Skelton asserted over the foreign service, when at the height of the Ethiopean and Munich emergencies in the 1930's, Skelton's policy of studious non intervention in Europe began to unravel.

events in Canadian diplomatic history from King's assertion of the principle of Canadian sovereignty with regard to troop commitments in 1922, through the various imperial conferences that culminated in the historic Statute of Westminster of 1932 and beyond the superficially 'inglorious' Canadian stance on collective security, Ethiopia and Munich in the 1930s, Ottawa's response bore Skelton's fingerprints. Whether involved in the enervating minutiae of interdepartmental wrangling, the technicalities of imperial trade agreements or deciding the guiding principles on which Canadian attitudes towards fascisms and communism would be founded, Skelton's advice remained basically loyal to his famous address in 1922. Conceiving foreign policy as a simple extension of domestic (economic policy), Skelton argued that success in foreign affairs demanded the rigorous identification of fundamental interests and a political class strong enough to protect them regardless of the distracting allure of a foreign policy concerned romantically with moral obligations[22]. In this regard, his early identification with the philosophy of Woodrow Wilson may be said to have been eclipsed by the belief, held until the end of his life, that, since over extension based upon romantic Wilsonianism could easily destroy a country, foreign policy must remain loyal to domestic interests first and foremost. That many of the talented officials whom he personally recruited to the tiny Department of External Affairs did not always agree with 'O.D', (particularly in the post-war period) is testament to his regard for men of substance rather than men of loyalty. Credited with the creation of the modern Canadian civil service and constructing an amicable administrative structure by which the prime minister, the Cabinet, the foreign service and the privy council mandarins could all communicate with maximum efficiency and minimum friction, Skelton may be said to have substituted the 'performance

[22] On the 1922 paper see Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism,* p. 86. This disciplined definition of foreign policy is to be contrasted with the more romantic ideas of certain nationalists thinkers with whom Skelton is often clumsily confused. On nationalist foreign policy directives see P.N. Haksar on Jawaharlal Nehru in his collected papers, *Premonitions* (London and New Delhi, 1984).

principle' for the 'possessor principle' with regard to staffing and recruitment. As such, the old ghost of Sir Wilfred Laurier could have afforded a proud smile at such an impeccably liberal achievement.[23]

Machiavelli's curse

Ireland's seventh Taoiseach, Dr. Garret FitzGerald, argued that politics is by far the most draining of professions, given the fact that it challenges its practitioners on a multiplicity of levels. If Skelton's career as a much put upon Under Secretary of State showed how much physical stress high policy making involves, then the complex moral challenges that confronted him particularly in the 1930s show even more clearly that politics is not for the faint hearted. The emergence of Adolph Hitler from relative obscurity in the late 1930s challenged Canadian diplomacy on a number of levels. Nazi bestiality represented the very antithesis to all that Skelton knew and loved. This devoted admirer of Laurier's pluralism could not but have been repelled by the primordial nationalism that sustained all of Europe's twentieth century dictators. The inherent aggression in the dictator's foreign policy as displayed at Danzig, the Ruhr and during the Austrian Anschluss in 1938 was completely alien to the universal pacifism that appealed to Skelton and that sustained at least in theory his own brand of liberalism. Yet the policy advice that he advocated at this stage, most of which was accepted gratefully by an agitated Prime Minister Mackenzie King, was predicated on the assertion that rather than attempt to defeat Hitler and Mussolinni, Canadian diplomacy should remain aloof from European commitments. Skelton has been classed regularly as an archetypal 'appeaser' of the Neville Chamberlain school, with certain scholars discerning a similar pessimism and poverty of vision between British and Canadian diplomacy in the period before 1940. Whilst this is not the place to engage in a sustained

[23] On the traditional liberal regard for this negative brand of liberty (i.e. Removal of barriers to facilitate the rise of the best and brightest) see comments on the great hero of Canadian liberalism, W.E. Gladstone in A.J. P. Taylor, *British Prime Ministers and other essays* (London,1999).

analysis of Chamberlain's foreign policy, it is important to pinpoint certain important differences between British and Canadian diplomacy at this stage.

The most striking difference between say Lord Halifax's advice and that of Skelton can be discerned in their different justifications offered for a similar policy of non-engagement. British 'appeasement' had its basic roots in an appreciation of the relatively weak state of the British economy and military in comparison to a well-oiled Reichswehr[24]. The British elected not to fight in 1938 because most knew that they simply were not ready. Skelton's advice remains remarkably free of such functional pessimism. The state of the Canadian armed forces hardly concerned him, given the fact that his belief that Canada should have no part in an approaching European conflagration was the logical implication of a remarkably consistent political philosophy. If the Chamberlain school sponsored a diplomatic strategy that encouraged studious detachment largely as a result of negative considerations, Skelton's advice, even though tending towards a similar conclusion, should be seen as the logical conclusion that could not have been otherwise, considering Skelton's first principles. As J.L. Granatstein has shown persuasively, the approach of war in the 1930's did nothing to shake Skelton's belief that when attempting to forge a suitable diplomatic strategy Canadian diplomats simply had to give pride of place to a thorough analysis of Canadian interests before they considered her universal obligations. Skelton felt certain that automatic partnership with Britain in a war against Germany and or Italy would have a devastating effect both on the healthy development of the Canadian economy, on the progress made since Laurier's time with regard to the imperial/national development of the dominion and on general Canadian 'self respect'. He was too sensitive a man not to have been appalled by the general course of events in Europe. Yet his belief that interests must take precedence over

[24] The quality of Chamberlain's mind and character can be assessed through the many memoranda that he wrote as quoted in John Charmley, *Chamberlain and the Lost Peace* (Nottingham,1992). See also Roy Jenkins, *The Chancellors* (London, 1998), pp.330-365. And A.J.P. Taylor *British Prime Ministers and other essays* (London 1999), pp.108-114.

obligations survived the awful pressures that the Under Secretary suffered particularly during 1938. The dilemmas dropped in the lap of the staff of the east block in the 1930s were well outlined by a young L.B. 'Mike' Pearson, the future Prime Minister. Written after the Czech crisis of 1938, Pearson poured his heart out to a glacial Under Secretary, arguing that,

> My emotional reaction to the events of the last two months is to become an out and out Canadian isolationist, and yet when I begin to reason it out isn't it as simple as that. In short, I just can't find the answer to a lot of questions. For one thing, critical though I may feel of British policy leading up to the crisis, I can't sincerely quarrel with the decision as ultimately taken, not to fight. That being so, I have no right, I suppose to assume that the present Government is not as aware of past mistakes and present dangers as I am.... In the second place, would our complete isolation from European events (if such a thing were possible) save us from the effects of a British defeat, and, finally, even if it did, could we stand by and watch the triumph of Nazidom...? I can't answer a single one of these questions .... But if I am tempted to become completely cynical and isolationist, I think of Hitler screeching into the microphone, Jewish women and children in ditches in the Polish border... and then, whatever the British side may represent, the other does indeed stand for savagery and barbarism. True, as Mr. Massey often tells me, there are seventy five million decent Germans, who love peace and, apparently revere Chamberlain!- That's a hope, I admit. But though I am on the side of the angels, in Germany the opposite spirits are hard at work...[25]

The significance of Skelton's diplomacy lay in the fact that recognizing the dilemma which the fates had presented him, he took his stand firmly on the rock of interest. No less than the great Machiavelli before him the importance of his diplomatic philosophy

> stems from his *de facto* recognition that's ends equally ultimate, equally sacred, may contradict each other, that entire systems of value may come into collision without possibility of rational arbitration, and that this happens not merely in exceptional circumstances, as a result of abnormality, or accident or error, but as part of the normal human situation.[26]

[25] Quoted in Granatstein, *Ottawa Men*, p.89.
[26] Berlin, 'The Originality of Machiavelli', p.320.

Skelton's exterior certainty should not be confused with a lack of emotional or intellectual sensitivity to the great issues of his day. Like the great prince before him, Skelton the philosopher seems to have understood that in terms of conflicting high policy priorities, 'one chooses as one chooses because one knows what one wants, and is ready to pay the price.'[27]

Conclusion

If Pierre Elliott Trudeau was correct when he argued that 'individual liberty is cherished in Canada,'[28] then Oscar Douglas Skelton may be said to have claims over a nice plinth in the Canadian pantheon. His liberalism gives coherence to his life's work in a number of ways. His critique of capitalist society and his repudiation of early 20 the century Marxism rested on his belief in the ultimate efficacy of the individual at the heart of the historical process. Freedom to choose, diversity and tolerance commended themselves to this elegant biographer of a pivotal figure in the development of liberalism in Canada. His appreciation of the liberal ideal ensured that he would have little patience with the autocratic and chauvinistic schemes so favoured by the likes of Joseph Chamberlain. Equality of nation states under a common crown commended itself to him as a result of his civic liberalism rather than an insular and unstable theory of self – determination. The universalism that can be discerned in all liberal projects manifested itself in his sanguine appreciation of the British element to the Canadian national identity, forceful though his criticism of the 'mother country' could be at times. His stewardship of the Department of External Affairs and his management of PMO-PCO relations remained impeccably Gladstonian in orientation and design.

The pivotal position that he had largely created for himself at the heart of Canadian political life was appreciated and marked with modesty by his long

[27] Berlin, 'The Originality of Machiavelli', p.320.
[28] A phrase uttered by Prime Minister Trudeau during a television speech at the height of the 'October Crisis in 1970. See *Notes for a national broadcast by the Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau* available in full at www.canadahistory.com/trudeau_-_war_measures_act.htm

suffering chief. Reflecting on Skelton's death in 1941, Prime Minister King paid his 'knightly companion' a handsome compliment, confiding to his diary that 'there is no question however that so far as I am concerned, this is the most serious loss thus far sustained in my public life and work.'[29] Reflecting on a collaboration of nearly two decades King continued and argued that Skelton's death 'may be meant to cause me to rely more completely on my own judgement in making decisions, and to acquaint myself more meticulously with all that is happening so as to be able to meet each demand as it is occasioned.'[30] For a man of public service like Skelton few compliments could have been more appropriate.

[29] Quoted in Pickersgill, *Reader*.
[30] Quoted in Pickersgill, *Reader*.

The concept of tradition and narrative: A theoretical analysis based on the stories of Miss Jean Laffan.

Ann O'Riordan

This paper is based on the narratives collected from Miss Jean Laffan of Kilonan, Castletroy, Limerick. Jean Laffan is an English-speaking, literate woman, who grew up on a farm on the outskirts of Limerick city. Consequently, she has lived her life at the interface of the urban and the rural, a setting which is a widespread experience in Ireland today. I first met Miss. Laffan in October 2001 and since then have been collecting personal narratives from her. These narratives centre upon her own family and her life since her birth in 1931 to the present. This article will first discuss the respective concepts of 'tradition' and 'narrative,' specifically referring to the narratives of Miss. Laffan and secondly, it will focus on how the aforementioned concepts are relevant to the stories of a single Irish woman in twenty-first century Ireland.

In 1981, Scandinavian ethnologists and folklorists debated the concept of 'tradition' at a Nordic Conference in Helsinki. Those present at that conference devised three different meanings of the term 'tradition'. First, it was defined as something which is handed down in a continuous process of transmission. Second, 'it was the stuff out of which cultures are made and which we have deposited in our folklore archives'. The third meaning was 'tradition as something representative of a social group (based on a selection by members of the group or by outside agents).'[1] The first meaning was deemed the least interesting of the three, as it only reflected the common everyday use of the word found in dictionaries. The second meaning caused problems, as it raised the question how 'tradition' and 'culture' relate to each other. The third meaning proved to be the actual core of the debate. It introduced a new voice,

[1] Lauri Honko, 'Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity and Strategies of Ethnic Survival' in *European Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (1995), p.133.

namely, the community; maintaining and expressing views on its own traditions.[2] In relation to the third meaning of tradition; representative of a social group, it is evident that the narratives of Miss. Laffan are representative of the society and the era in which she lived. Her voice, a little known but important locus of experience of Irish life, is echoed throughout the island of Ireland but would otherwise not be heard or publicised beyond one's own community.

Honko elaborated on this debate and argued that it was poor economy to use the concepts 'tradition', 'culture', and 'identity' together. In his view, tradition comprises many elements, some parts of which are in use at any given time while other parts are waiting to be used. They are stored in museums, in archives, in libraries or in the case of oral traditions in the human mind. He goes on to note that 'tradition' does not need to be described as a functioning system, it is a cumulative entity. As each new person is born, the boundaries of tradition will change. Honko defines 'tradition' as the level of availability of cultural elements, not at the level of their use or function. Tradition signifies the cultural potential or resource not the actual culture of the group.[3] Miss. Laffan is 72 years of age, however, she wished to confine the area of study to her early youth (1931-1947). As Honko suggests she only uses some parts of her stories which are stored in her memory. Furthermore, even within this period there is still only some tales that she wishes to speak about. Either way it further accentuates the fact that Miss Laffan's narratives follow the concept of tradition.

Honko's theories on the relationship, between 'tradition', 'culture' and 'identity' are compelling. In his view, culture is not in things but in people's way of seeing, using and thinking about things. When tradition is transformed into culture something important happens. Certain parts of tradition become cultured, meaning that they are made relevant to the community. They become

[2] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.133.
[3] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.133.

integrated in its way of life. However, no tradition can pass into culture if there is no social control, if there is no interpretation or selection.[4]

If 'culture' gives order to 'tradition as a store of available elements', then the idea of 'identity' goes further. The concept of 'tradition' is the same but it becomes more focused. Part of the collective tradition is put to one side and made to represent the group in cultural communication. These traditions may refer to language, music, dance, narratives, ritual and so on. As Honko stated: 'In this process of selection and added emphasis, flags, colours and names, for example, cease to denote objects, qualities and persons or places. They become emblems, representative symbols of the group in question.'[5] They carry meanings, which make the identity group unite and develop a sense of togetherness. Thus, the power of traditional elements selected and integrated into the system of identity expression is impressive. Miss Laffan speaks about places important to her in her life. She tells tales about people whose presence left a lasting impact on her. For her these places and these people are not just 'persons or places'. They are as Honko says, 'representative symbols.' They have become symbols of her life. They carry meanings, which unite and develop a sense of togetherness in my informant's life.

Shils, in *Tradition*, has developed many interesting definitions of the term 'tradition' also. He studied forms and functions of traditions and found them in all levels of culture. Shils emphasised that 'traditions should be considered as constituents of the worthwhile life.'[6] He attributes the success of the eighteenth century Enlightenment to tradition; 'The Enlightenment was antithetical to tradition. The success that the Enlightenment achieved was owed to its becoming a tradition. Its success was owed also to the fact that it was promulgated and pursued in a society in which substantive traditions were rather strong'.[7] Shils argued that human beings cannot survive without traditions even though we are so often dissatisfied with our traditions. He is of

[4] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.134.
[5] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.134.
[6] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.131.
[7] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.132.

the opinion that tradition must be handed over by several generations; 'At a minimum, two transmissions over three generations are required for a pattern of belief or action to be considered a tradition.'[8]

In the early 1980s the concept of 'tradition' was reinvented and reassessed by disciplines such as history, folkloristics and ethnology.[9] In 1983, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger edited a collection of essays entitled *The Invention of Tradition*. What these essays proved was that a large number of seemingly ancient traditions were shown to be recent in origin. Furthermore, customs, religiously adhered to have been invented only a couple of decades previous. For example, today, whenever the Scots gather together to celebrate their national identity, they do so by wearing the kilt and playing the bagpipes. Little do they know however, that they are celebrating the successful nineteenth century invention of a Scottish tradition. What we can learn from this is that a newly invented tradition, the kilt, may become interpreted as ancient if it is associated with cultural identity.[10] Inventing traditions is essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past. The invention of tradition usually occurs more often when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed. Thus, producing new ones to which they were not applicable. Such changes have been particularly significant in the past two hundred years and therefore, it is acceptable to expect these instant formalisations of new traditions to cluster during this period.[11]

'Tradition' must be differentiated from 'custom', which dominates so-called 'traditional' societies. The characteristic of 'traditions' including invented ones, is invariance. 'Custom' is not invariant, because even in traditional societies life is not so. For example, 'Custom' is what judges do but

[8] Honko, *Traditions in the Construction of Cultural Identity*, p.132.
[9] The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad way. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period, usually a matter of a few years and then establishing themselves with great rapidity.
[10] Hugh Trevor-Roper 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland.' in Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.15-41.
[11] Eric Hobsbawn, 'Introduction' *The Invention Of Tradition*, pp.4-5.

'tradition' is the wig, robe and other ritualised practices surrounding their action. The decline of 'custom' would thus, change the 'tradition' with which it is intertwined. A further distinction must be made between 'tradition' and convention or routine, which has no significant ritual or symbolic function. Such conventions or routines are not 'invented traditions' since their functions and, therefore, their justifications are technical rather than ideological.[12]

Hobsbawn stated that where the old ways are alive, traditions need to be neither revived nor invented. However, where they are invented it is often not because old ways are no longer available but because they are deliberately not used or adapted. There is one marked difference between old and invented practices. The old were specific and strongly binding social practices, whereas the latter tended to be vague as to the nature of values and rights of group membership. However, in spite of much invention, new traditions have not filled more than a small part of the space left by the decline of both old tradition and custom. This might be expected in societies in which the past becomes increasingly less relevant as a model for most forms of human behaviour. In the words of Hobsbawn: 'What is done structures the days, seasons and life cycles of 20th century western men and women very much less than it did their ancestors'.[13]

Irish folklorist, Diarmuid Ó Giolláin had debated the connection between tradition and folklore. He states that 'folklore is predicated on the death of tradition… Folklore appeared as it was disappearing, it was discovered as it was being lost, it was recovered as it ceased to be. Folklore was tradition, or at least it was traditional, and tradition helped to legitimise its identity.'[14] The notion of tradition is important; with its strong emotional undertones it has tended to dominate definitions of folklore to the present day. Tradition is the sense of something handed down with 'a very strong and often predominant sense of this entailing respect and duty,' which has come to the fore. Ó

[12] Hobsbawn, 'Introduction' p. 3.
[13] Hobsbawn, 'Introduction' p.11.
[14] Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish Folklore: Tradition, Modernity, Identity* (Virginia, 2000), p.8.

Giolláin believes that the meaning of the word is inclined more towards ceremony, duty and respect. Tradition is imagined as a thread linking us to our shared past as we move forward and, at the same time, it legitimates what we do in the present. He feels that today's society is destructive of traditions. He states that a key implication of modernisation is that tradition prevents societies from achieving progress. Thus, to be modern is to turn one' s back on tradition, to live in the present and be orientated only towards the future.[15] Thus Ó Giolláin's phrase '...folklore was tradition...' Folklore is the voice of the people, those whose voice is not heard in the history books. It is the history of the ' ordinary' people. Jean is a symbol of folklore. Her voice is a link to our past. Her stories not only link us to the past as Ó Giolláin suggests, but they also justify what she does in the present. They show us what is relevant in her life today. The majority of her tales focus on her family life and her life in her home place. By speaking about these events at length she legitimates their importance in her life today. Thus, it can be seen that the concept of 'tradition' offers a lively and interesting debate. The theory encompasses the notions of tradition as a representative of a social group, Honko's belief that tradition needs to be differentiated from culture and identity and the conflicting theories of Shils and Ó Giolláin, the former stating that in order to survive we need tradition, while Ó Giolláin affirms that society is destructive of tradition.

Narrative

First, what exactly is narrative? The word 'narrative' comes from the Indo-European root 'gna' which means both 'to tell' and 'to know'. Today there exits conflicting views about the existence of narrative. In many areas of study it was said that 'to choose not to tell a story [was] to be more modern.' To sum up the Zeitgeist's verdict, one author declares, 'Traditional narrative is dead.'[16] On the other hand, it can be said that reports of the death of narrative have been exaggerated. Sociologist, David Maines states that in his field at least,

[15] Ó Giolláin, *Locating Irish Folklore*, p.13.

[16] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, (eds). *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Science*, (New York, 1997), p. xiii.

'narrative's moment' has arrived. It is true to say that narrative seems alive in the languages of everyday life. Narratives have been portrayed as forms of dialogue that place events in an order with a beginning, middle and end. These events tell what happened over a period of time and, furthermore, they show continuities among the events depicted. Narratives organise and give meaning to the experiences of the narrator in his or her world. They enable us to see the present as part of a set of relationships involving a past and a future. But narratives change. There is no fixed meaning in the past, for with each new telling, the story varies, the audience differs and the story is modified. As Gorfain writes, 'retellings become foretellings.' We continually discover new meanings.[17]

Some view narratives as stories that do not mirror reality. To them 'story telling inevitably involves selectivity, rearranging of elements, re-description, and simplification.' Narratives have been described in terms such as 'capsule views of reality', 'world views', 'paradigms,' throughout the common thread is the idea that narratives mediates between the self and the world. To justify this view, narrativists argue that although a story is about real life happenings, the way in which the individual relate and organise his/her memories of these events is in some way fictional.[18] Crites stated that stories and the symbolic words they portray are not like monuments that men behold, they are like dwelling places. Place where people inhabit.[19] To add to that, narratives, according to the Miller Mair, are 'habitations'. They take control of our thinking so much so that we have no other way of knowing the world but only through them.[20]

However, Paul Ricoeur disagrees with this statement, he says that remembrances from the past are to be found in all new ideas and images. Ricoeur states that narrative is not only housed in language, but that painting,

[17] Edward Bruner, 'Ethnography as Narrative' in Victor Turner and Edward Bruner (eds), *The Anthropology of Experience* (Chicago, 1986), p.153.

[18] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community* p.xiv.

[19] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community* p.30.

[20] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community* p.xxiii.

poetry and other forms of human fabrication can be viewed in terms of narrative. He describes how Plato compared narrative to painting, and how painting enables us to see the world in another way by increasing our vision of it, '...because we have seen paintings we can now perceive the universe as landscape.'[21] Ricoeur applied what he stated about painting to poetry as well. Poetry appears to be a retreat of language into itself, '...a pure and simple abolition of reality'. However, poetry is denied the ordinary vision or reality that is described in narrative. According to Ricoeur, our task is to extend the concept of narrative beyond language and to acknowledge the work of what he calls 'analogies' and 'paradigms' in the field of scientific knowledge. [22]

People tell stories in order to find out who they are and how they should behave in a world that is complex and often dangerous. As Gene Outka points out; 'Our moral lives require narration.'[23] Stories allow us to interpret reality by organising information into conceivable sequences and scenarios. Some narrativists such as Landau, would even go as far as to say that we have not only different versions of stories but also different versions of reality, which are shaped by these basic stories.[24] Narrative is not just a simple description it is an interpretation and a common mode of communication. As Barbara Carniawska stated, people tell stories to entertain, to teach and to learn, to ask for an interpretation and to give one.[25] Narratives express the everyday life of people: their experiences, their purposes, and their expectations. It dwells on the 'surface' of human life. As Kerby declared, it is an important way in which our lives are understood.[26] For example, the narratives of my informant, Jean Laffan focus on everyday events such as swimming in the local river, going to school on the train, saying the Rosary at home and so on. It is this very sense of 'ordinary' which make Miss. Laffan's narratives interesting. For Jerome

[21] Mario Valdés (ed.), A *Ricoeur Reader. Reflection & Imagination* (Toronto, 1991), p.133.
[22] Valdés (ed.), *A Ricoeur Reader,* p.135.
[23] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.xxviii.
[24] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.105.
[25] Barbara Czarniawska, *The Uses of Narrative in Social Science Research* (2001).
[26] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community,* p.131

Bruner, narratives are 'ancient and universal'; the 'capacity to tell and understand stories' writes Donald Polkinghorne appears at 'an early stage of individual and cultural development'. In specialised spheres such as science and law, narratives may be in decline but in the world of everyday life narratives represent and organise our memories.[27]

It has been suggested that 'without memory, experience would have no coherence at all.'[28] Memory has always been the 'home' of narrative. Both as individuals and members of various groups, our present existence is shaped by memories of our past and anticipations of our future. As Stephen Crites states, while we 'live forwards', we 'understand backwards'.[29] The most direct and obvious way of recollecting is by telling a story. Storytelling, according to Carr, allows us to integrate the past, present and future and thus, form stable identities on both a personal and communal level.[30] It is through storytelling that we can translate our views of events that happened in the past, into a form that will allow the listener to grasp it's meaning almost immediately. Thus, memory does not fabricate or distort that which is recollected, it simply transforms it in to a story pattern. We are aware of what comes before and what comes after an action or an event. When we are uncertain we can consult our memory. The recall may not be correct but we have the sense that this consultation is possible. Furthermore, as Novitz explores, what we recall depends in large measure on the sorts of questions we ask, and these in turn, depend on our purposes in asking them.[31]

Narrative plays an essential role in the development of a unified individual identity. It is involved in our search for our own image. The stories that we tell about part of or events in our lives do so in ways, which give insight into our character. It would seem that we all carry with us narratives, which furnish us with ways of thinking about ourselves. To paraphrase Novitz, if some one wants to think of themselves as pious, humble and all that this

[27] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p. xxi.
[28] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.32.
[29] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.2.
[30] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.2.
[31] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.145.

implies, then they would select and organise the events of their past and so tell the stories in terms of these structures.[32] In reference to the narratives of my informant, it is clear that by analysing her stories one can see her personality. Her compassion, her sense of justice and self-belief, all these characteristics and more, are portrayed in her narratives. Narrative gives us the freedom to select and arrange the events of our lives in ways that allow us to give them what we think are their proper significance. Without narratives, there is no way of emphasising some events, marginalizing others and at the same time relating all in a significant whole. Narrative is very flexible and so allows its authors scope for their own inventiveness. Thus, there are many literary devices, which authors use in their texts in order to heighten the effect of their stories. One can make events seem timeless and true; one can stretch time so that a tiny event within the narrative assumes an importance it would otherwise have lacked.[33]

Bettelheim has argued that narratives give one's life a sense of meaning and direction. Instead of viewing life as just one thing after another, the person tries to understand his/her life events as systematically related; 'One's present identity is thus not a sudden and mysterious event but a sensible result of a life story.'[34] Our narratives are acquired as we grow, develop and interact with the people around us. The view that we take of ourselves, our narrative identity, is the source of our self-esteem. The fact that life narratives tend to guide and regulate our behaviour is of the greatest social significance. They are responsible for many of the great and lesser achievements in our society. Our narrative identity helps us to determine what we consider to be important in our lives. Thus, narrative identities are of crucial importance not just for the individual who carries them but also for the societies in which they live. How we see ourselves affects what we regard as important and this in turn must affect how we behave in society.[35] Narratives are what bind a community.

[32] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.150.
[33] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.148.
[34] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.162
[35] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.152

They explain a group to itself and legitimate its deeds and aspirations. It is because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of narratives that we live out, that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of others.[36] Community comes into being through communication, which Dewey describes, as 'a process of sharing experience till it becomes a common possession.'[37] Stories are symbolic actions, words and deeds that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, or interpret them. As Fisher says, there is no story that is not embedded in other stories.[38] Ruth Finnegan adds to the discussion on narrative by her belief that as of late there has been an increased emphasis on the social context, the performance and the audience as well as on the roles of narrative and narrator.[39] Linda Dégh, believes that narration is ageless. She further states that 'the impulse to tell a story and the need to listen to it have made narrative the natural companion of man throughout the history of civilisation.' It is Dégh's opinion that stories are old and venerable, but they are also new and up to date, 'persistent and yet continually reinterpreted ideas.'[40]

One particular area of narrative studies, which is much debated among folklorists, is personal experience narrative. Its definitions and its uses are diverse amongst folklorists and ethnologists of today. Personal experience narratives are narratives from an everyday segment of a person's life. Robinson observes 'personal narratives are situated communications and as such, provide compelling evidence of the versatility of the genre as well as the centrality of 'storying' in everyday life.'[41] Another definition of personal narrative from Dolby-Stahl is that 'the personal narrative is a prose narrative relating a personal experience; it is usually told in the first person and its

[36] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A study in moral theory* (London, 1985), p.219.
[37] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.308.
[38] Hinchman, Lewis and Sandra, *Memory, Identity, Community*, p.314.
[39] Ruth Finnegan, *Oral traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices* (London, 1992) p.41.
[40] Linda Dégh, 'Folk Narrative' in Dorson Richard, *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (London, 1972) p. 72
[41] Linda Dégh, *Narratives in Society: A Performer-Centered Study of Narration* (Helsinki, 1995), p.73.

content is non-traditional.' However, Pentikainen adds to this by saying that the personal does not necessarily mean the first teller's experience but also includes that of a second, third or later member of the chain of tradition bearers.[42] Furthermore, Dégh is of the view that the above definition of the personal narrative has to drop the 'non-traditional' element. Dégh believes that there is nothing in this World that does not have tradition.

Conclusion

Ruth Finnegan states that personal narratives can have the role of validating and expressing someone's life. They can make sense of the experiences that the person has lived through. Through narrative, these experiences or 'personal creations' are a witness to the past.[43] Within personal narratives, one can also witness gender divide. In the traditional patriarchal society, men's stories focused on experiences such as military service, labour migration and faraway experiences. However, women's concerns were homebound namely love, marriage, and family life. The narratives of my informant centres primarily on the above mentioned 'female' themes. Jean relates stories of the multiple births in her family, the hard domestic situation for women during the Anglo-Irish Economic War, her family's genealogy and so forth.

Researchers of personal narrative, such as Lehmann and Jeggle, stress that personal stories are factual, unremarkable, unartistic and average, just as is the talent of their tellers. The evidence, however, shows the opposite. The memorable parts of every person's life appear as moments of reversal from routine and drudgery. They help attain a sense of importance in the narrator's life. Their authors regard their creations with pride. However, much depends on the skill of the everyday narrator. In some cultures, polished speech is a learned skill, while others can turn an ordinary incident into a fascinating story.[44] To 'everyday' tales about domestic chores, farm life, attending mass,

[42] Dégh, *Narrative in Society*, p.73.
[43] Finnegan, *Oral Traditions*, pp.48-49.
[44] Dégh, *Narratives in Society*, p.77.

wakes and so forth, my informant brings a sense of humour and a fascinating insight into her 'ordinary' life.

This discussion on narrative will be drawn to a close with a reference to the classic phrase of the French narratologist Barthes when he said that:

> There are countless forms of narrative in the world, in this infinite variety of forms, it is present at all times, in all places, in all societies; indeed narrative starts with the very history of mankind; there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes, all human groups, have their stories, and very often those stories are enjoyed by men of different and even opposite cultural backgrounds...like life itself, it is there, international, transhistorical, transcultural [45].

[45] Finnegan, *Oral Traditions*, p.39.

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