

FROM PRE-BRIT TO EX-BRIT

**THE FORGING AND THE BREAK-UP OF
THE UK AND BRITISHNESS**



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INTRODUCTION (pp. 18–36)

UNDERSTANDING THE UNIONIST NATURE OF THE UK STATE AND THE REASONS FOR ITS ONGOING DEMISE

The Union Flag; why it is still party time for the nations of these islands; and an outline of the rise, hegemony and fall of the UK state

a) What does the Union Flag tell us about the UK? (pp. 18-27)

Today, even the United Kingdom's most diehard defenders realise their state may not be around forever. This is one of the reasons they are putting up such an intransigent defence. And, as far as the British ruling class goes, their sense of entitlement, following their enrichment over centuries of imperialist plunder and domestic and overseas exploitation, means there are few lengths they will not go to maintain their privileged position, in the face of their continued global decline.

We can get some indication of the current problems facing the British ruling class by examining a key symbol to have emerged in the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland - the Union Flag or Union Jack. Four core areas have been recognised as forming the foundational basis for the UK state. These developed into what we now term England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Yet the official state flag does not represent the UK's national make up very well.



The Union Flag of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1801, and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from 1921

The Union Flag does recognise England with its St. George's Cross, and Scotland with its St. Andrew's Saltire. But Wales, now an officially acknowledged nation within the UK, is not represented with a St. David's Cross. But the Union Flag still has a St. Patrick's Saltire to represent Ireland, although 26 counties of Ireland are no longer part of the UK.

Therefore, the state's current official title, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, highlights a problem. Great Britain is neither the name of a nation nor of a state. Great Britain was once a geographical term used to distinguish the larger (Celtic) British peopled island from the smaller British peopled peninsula of Little Britain or Brittany. The name Great Britain covers what became England, Wales and Scotland but not Ireland.

After the 1603 Union of the Crowns, under the Stuart dynasty, the term Great Britain represented an historical aspiration to create a united dynastic realm, which included England (incorporating its Welsh principality) and Scotland. This still left Ireland as a semi-detached constituent part of the wider Three Kingdoms, of England, Ireland and Scotland ruled by the Stuarts.

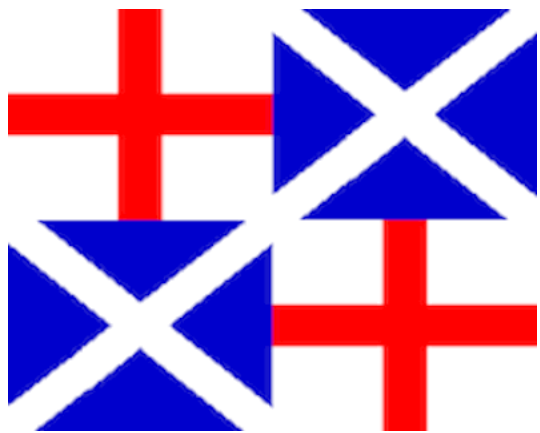
In 1603, James I of England and VI of Scotland pioneered the first Union Flag using the St. George Cross and the St. Andrew Saltire. However, the Stuarts' attempts to create an acceptable Great Britain through dynastic union proved to be premature. The seventeenth and the first half of eighteenth centuries were wracked by conflicts over the future of Great Britain and the Three Kingdoms.



The

Union Flags in England and Scotland after the 1603 Union of the Crowns

War commenced between the Stuarts' Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England in 1639, and was then extended to the Three Kingdoms when Ireland joined in 1641. The monarchy was overthrown as a result of these wars. This occurred first in England in 1649, leading to Cromwell's republican Commonwealth. Following subsequent wars against Scotland and Ireland, a 'Greater English' Republic came to rule over all these islands between 1651-60, first as a Commonwealth then as a Protectorate. This led to two new flags, the first showing the addition of Scotland to England in the Protectorate from 1654, and the addition of Ireland from 1658.



The flags of the Cromwellian Protectorate after 1654 and 1658

The old Union Flags were restored with the return of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, but the UK remained unstable. A new dynasty, headed by William of Orange followed the Glorious Revolution of 1688-91.

After the 1707 Act of Union, a new Union Flag was designed.¹ But a series of dynastic wars were then fought from 1688 between the House of Orange

and the ousted Stuarts; and then from 1715 until 1746 between the House of Hanover and the Jacobites as the Stuart claimants were now called. So, until 1746 there was a possibility that Scotland could have reverted back to the Stuarts' flags for the Union of the Crowns, if the Jacobites had won out, and retained only the old post-1603 dynastic union.



The Union Flag for the UK after the 1707 Act of Union

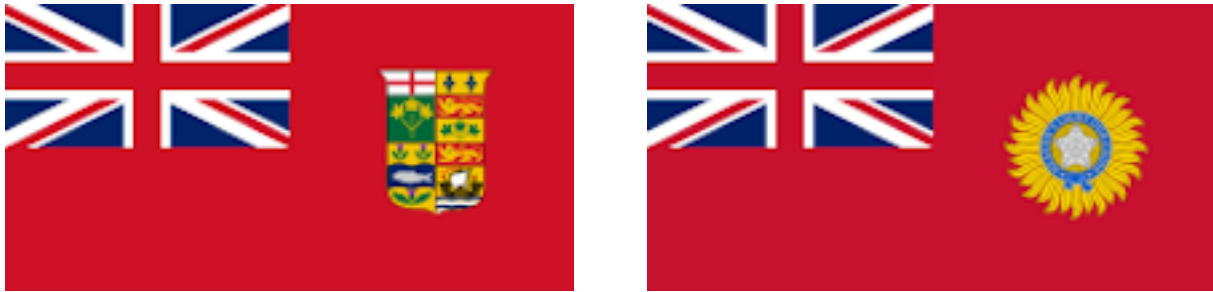
After the shock of the 1798 United Irish rebellion, the British ruling class decided to bring Ireland into the Union in 1801. However, Ireland wasn't brought into Great Britain and remained politically semi-detached. But a new Union Flag was quickly designed, which used the St. Patrick Saltire associated with the Anglo-Irish Order of St. Patrick founded in 1783. (Even Cromwell's Protectorate had acknowledged the Irish harp as Ireland's national symbol in its the post-1658 flag.)



Union flag since the 1801 Act of Union

However, in the nineteenth century, the name Great Britain increasingly took

on another connotation, with the 'Great' representing the projection of British imperial power. Union, Empire and Monarchy were intrinsically linked. The Union Flag appeared in the corner of all the British colonial and later dominion flags.



The flags of Canada from 1868-21 and British India from 1880-1947

The first significant reversal for the existence of the United Kingdom, came with the Irish War of Independence, from 1919-21. This was fought to establish the First Irish Republic. This had been declared in the 1916 Easter Rising and was subsequently voted for by a majority in the December 1918 Westminster election.

The UK government, though, was able to promote a Civil War from 1922-23, which overthrew the Irish Republic. But this still left 26 of Ireland's 32 counties under the control of the Irish Free State, which was awarded dominion status but now outside the UK. Partition led to only 6 of the Ulster province's 9 counties remaining under the direct control of the UK state. However, the historically semi-detached status of Ireland was retained for the new statelet of Northern Ireland. This was reinforced by a devolved Stormont, controlled by Unionists with a formidable official armoury of repressive powers, and extra-constitutional Loyalist paramilitary backing.

Following Partition there should have been a new Union Flag. However, the Ulster Unionists did not want to draw too much attention to their new status. They never considered themselves to be an 'Ulster' nation. They have remained far happier with seeing their attenuated 'Ulster' as being a British province. They made no demand to redesign the Union Flag.

Other provinces/regions like the North East or West Country of England have

no specific recognition in the Union Flag. And superimposing the Red Hand of Ulster on a new Union Flag would not have been a visually attractive proposition, with only 6 of the 9 Ulster counties remaining in Northern Ireland. So, a third of each of the five fingers of the Red Hand would have to have been cut off!



Adding the ‘emblem’ of partitioned Ulster to a post-1921 Union Flag

The Ulster Unionists continued to highlight their role within the UK and their leading role in British imperial wars. Union and Empire have been inextricably linked. Ulster Unionists placed a special emphasis on the recent sacrifices of the Ulster 36th Division at the Battle of the Somme in 1916 – a year with altogether different connotations for Irish Republicans.

But the decision to retain the old Union Flag also reflected the shrinking confidence of the British ruling class. With the defeat of the First Irish Republic, the UK state was able to retain Irish Free State under the Crown. As a British dominion it was given an imperial Governor General, who replaced the previous all-Ireland Lord Lieutenant. And Free State ministers still had to swear an oath of loyalty to the Crown.

However, unlike the other British dominions, the Irish Free State did not have a flag with a Union Jack in its corner. Despite the UK state’s overthrow of the First Irish Republic, the Irish Republican Tricolour was retained by the Irish Free State. But this could only now be flown officially in 26 counties of what had always been seen as a 32-county nation by Irish Republicans.



The Irish Tricolour, the flag of the First Irish Republic retained by the attenuated Irish Free State after Partition

The British class realised that, after the First World War, it was much harder for them to dominate the world. This weakness had been underlined by their recent loss of part of the UK state territory in Ireland. Thus, the UK's unchanged Union Flag became a British ruling class fig leaf to provide some symbolic cover for its declining imperial power. The retention of the whole of the all-Ireland St Patrick saltire in the Union Flag also revealed a lingering British ruling class desire to reassert its domination over the whole of Ireland, highlighted by its overthrow of the First Irish Republic.

The fact that the official Irish state flag did not have a Union Flag component created a precedent for other dominions, as the British Empire began to decline. The Irish Free State, and from 1949 the Republic of Ireland (still only 26 counties) had been able to hang on to this non-union flagged Tricolour due to the impact of the Republicans' armed resistance to the Union and Empire. But when other dominions won their full independence, or negotiated a further loosening of ties, they too dropped the Union Flag.



Flags of the Republic of India since 1947 and of Canada since 1965

As the British Empire continued to decline, further new challenges emerged within the Unionist state itself. By far the most significant of these was the renewed Republican struggle within Northern Ireland from the late 1960s, following the UK state's inability to properly reform its Ulster Unionist and Loyalist Orange sub-state in response to the Civil Rights Movement. After some initial half-hearted attempts at reform, the UK state resorted to widespread repression based on the use of military and other security forces, backed behind-the-scenes by collaboration with extra-constitutional Loyalist militias. And Stormont was abolished in 1972. Although now subject to Direct Rule, Northern Ireland was not brought into Great Britain, like Wales and Scotland. And to maintain the fiction of constitutional normality, the Union Flag remained unchanged.

This reactionary unionist clampdown in Northern Ireland was followed by the abandonment of liberal unionist, devolutionary reform in Scotland and Wales in the late 1970s. Despite the undoubted differences in the severity of the unionist clampdown in Northern Ireland, greater demands for national self-determination had gained support in Scotland and Wales too. To counter this, New Labour's liberal unionist, 'Devolution-all-round' deal was eventually introduced in 1997. This recognised a 'partnership of equals' for the four (in reality three and a bit) nations within the UK.

With Wales now a fully recognised component nation of the UK, this should have been celebrated with a redesigned Union Flag. However, any change in the Union Flag's design would once more highlight the ambiguous national make-up of the UK. And in the light of recent national democratic challenges, particularly from the Irish Republican Movement, the UK state's changing territorial and possibly transient nature would be highlighted. Therefore, a new Union Flag incorporating the Welsh St. David's Cross was not created.



The Union Flag not adopted in 1998 to recognise Wales as a nation of the UK

And under today's Tory government, both Wales and Scotland are to be reduced to British provinces, under the untrammelled control of the Crown-in-Westminster, backed by the UK state's anti-democratic Crown Powers. The 'partnership of equals' promised by the British ruling class under the post 1997 'Devolution-all-round' deal, is being abandoned. And in the Tories' Brexit Britain there have even been sections of the British ruling class looking to reassert their socio-economic control over the whole of Ireland.

A British ruling class, in continued global retreat, feels the need to hang on to those older imperial and unionist symbols, every bit as much as those Loyalists do on the Twelfth of July. Hence the continued importance of the Union Jack, which is now flagged up at every possible opportunity. In the absence of an independence referendum, supported in the 2019 Westminster and 2020 Holyrood general elections, the Tory government's continued promotion of the Union Flag, is making it increasingly appear to many as a flag of British unionist occupation.

Furthermore, the Union Flag is celebrated not only by the Tories, but by both Liberals and Labour. Indeed, historically, Labour's highpoint was the 'Spirit of 45', social monarchist, unionist, imperialist, welfare state. Today, Sir Keir Starmer does not like the Labour Party to appear in public without the Union Jack. Starmer wants to continue Tony Blair's British imperial tradition. Blair ordered British troops into combat in five countries, most notoriously in Iraq. Thus, it is not surprising that much of the rest of the world, sees the Union Flag as the Butchers' Apron'



The Union Jack as Butchers' Apron

The symbolism of the Union Flag, though, has been subjected to change. The traditional conservative bowing and scraping before royal and aristocratic authority and the appeals for reverence, which used to underpin the Monarchy and the Union Flag, are now very much on the retreat. Just as the Monarchy has to make itself part of the new celebrity culture, so the Union Jack is marketed through a wide range of commercial products, some decidedly tacky.

With neither Monarchy nor Union Flag able to sustain much authority or reverence for 'Britannia', Crown or Empire, the promotion of celebrity has helped to disguise the continued political role of the Monarchy in the Union and Empire. In the UK state, which Monarchy fronts, sovereignty continues to lie with the Crown-in-Westminster. The Crown Powers shield the anti-democratic House of Lords, the Privy Council, the City of London and the heads of the British armed forces, security agencies and civil service from any effective democratic scrutiny.

Thus, it can be seen that the official title used to cover the whole state - the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland/Northern Ireland - has been very much tied up with the promotion and defence of a British Empire through its various phases. The failure to redesign the official Union Flag, in 1922 and 1998, puts a spotlight on the UK's ambiguous and strained relationship between state and nation, the continuing decline of the British Empire, and the consequent increasing fragility of the Union.

**b) The Unionist nature of the state and the politics
which flow from this (pp. 28-33)**

The continuing decline of the British Empire, and consequent growing tensions within the Union, have underlined the significance of the National Question in the UK. This in turn explains the rise of Nationalist parties within each of the UK state's constituent units. In Scotland the Scottish National Party (SNP) is the leading political party (represented continuously at Westminster since 1974); in Wales Plaid Cymru is the third placed party (also represented continuously at Westminster since 1974). Whilst in Northern Ireland there have been the Irish Nationalist parties, the Social Democratic and Labour Party – SDLP (represented almost continuously at Westminster since 1974) and Sinn Fein (winning seats almost continuously at Westminster from 1981).

In addition, in Northern Ireland, there are the 'Ulster'-British parties – the Democratic Unionist Party, Ulster Unionist Party, Traditional Unionist Voice – and the Northern Irish-British, Alliance Party. And, although these parties and the Conservative, Labour, Lib-Dem parties dismiss those other parties in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales as being Nationalist, they too are Nationalist parties. Their Unionism upholds the British Nationalism promoted by the UK state.

The British Left often sees the existence of Great Britain as a guarantor of its own 'internationalism', pouring scorn upon English, Welsh, Scottish and, in the past, Irish Nationalism. However, the British Left's 'internationalism' is merely a reflection of that of the UK state. This state has been created by and maintained in the interests of the British ruling class, with its various hybrid-British components. The British Left is unable to conceive of an 'Internationalism from below' based, not upon English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish Nationalism, but upon English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish Internationalism. Many of the British Left are also just as opposed to developing an Internationalist politics based on the growing economic and social unity of workers in Europe, preferring to stick to their various 'British roads to socialism'.

The longest standing version of British Nationalist politics has taken the form of Conservative Unionism. This was a product of the two Unionist deals

covering Scotland in 1707, and Ireland in 1801, which produced the UK state with a common Westminster parliament. British Conservative Unionists, particularly in Scotland and Ireland, have supported Administrative Devolutionary measures, which placed control in the hands of the already existing local ruling classes. It was to defend their privileges, protected under Administrative Devolution, that these people became constitutionally Conservative. The traditional structure of the Unionist state, particularly the House of Lords, also gave them the means to call on support from their class cousins in the other nations whenever they were challenged by the 'lower orders'. Conservative unionism has not been confined to the Conservative Party, but has had its followers amongst the Liberals, Lib-Dems and the Labour Party too.

Later, with a widening of the franchise, which included more people from the 'lower orders' - men at first - Liberal Unionist politics emerged. This considers Political Devolution (once called Home Rule) to be the best way to maintain the UK state and British Imperial unity. In effect, Political Devolution promised the new middle class access to protected local career opportunities, at the same time as maintaining career opportunities at an all-UK and British imperial level. Liberal Unionism has not been confined to the British Liberal and Lib-Dem parties but has at times found significant support in the British Labour Party, and minority support in the Conservative Party. Conservative Unionists have also been prepared to accept new Political Devolutionary arrangements, which they once opposed, once they became the new constitutional status quo.

In Northern Ireland, the Liberal Unionist, Alliance Party is aligned with the Liberal Unionist, Liberal-Democratic Party in Great Britain. The British Labour Party has recognised the Constitutional Nationalist SDLP as its sister party. Constitutional Nationalists have a history of making alliances with Liberal Unionists. This was demonstrated in the three decades long link between the Liberal Party and the Irish Parliamentary Party. However, Labour's link to the SDLP has mainly been to get support from Irish voters in Britain, rather than any commitment to greater Irish Self-Determination. From 1977-9 Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan also came to an arrangement with the Conservative Unionist, UUP to help prop up the Labour government. And, in the process, the concessions Labour made to the UUP (e.g. the criminalisation of Irish Republicans and increased 'Ulster'

representation at Westminster) were far more significant than any made to the SDLP. However, such alliances are not confined to the Labour Right. Labour's recent deputy leader, Left Social Democrat, John McDonnell, floated the prospect of a future Labour-DUP deal² - and perhaps not only in jest!

Reactionary Unionism also has a long history in the UK. This form of Unionism has been prepared to violently oppose the introduction of, put limits upon, or even close down the UK's Politically Devolved institutions. This is done the better to reinforce the state's anti-democratic features buttressed by the Crown Powers. Historically, Loyalism has played this role in Ireland and Northern Ireland, but it has also had an influence in Scotland's Central Belt and in Liverpool. However, with today's ongoing and growing political crisis, accentuated by the long-term decline of British Imperialism, and reinforced by the post-2008 economic crisis followed by the 2016 'Brexit' vote, Reactionary Unionism has become more prominent throughout the UK. Growing sections of the British ruling class, backs against the wall, have now fallen back on this long political tradition.

Having once been confined to the Far Right, first amongst the 'Ulster' based Loyalists, and then in the Great British-based National Front (particularly during the 1970s), and the British National Party (particularly from 2005-10), Reactionary Unionism received a significant boost in the form of the Right Populist, United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). The old Conservative and Unionist Party (C&UP) had covered the full extent of the UK state from the nineteenth century, but had lost its wider UK organisation, with the full departure of the affiliated UUP in 'Ulster' by 1985. UKIP, however, was able to replicate the old C&UP's UK-wide organisation, winning either Local Council, Devolved Parliamentary, Westminster or MEP representatives in all four constituent parts of the UK. Following the shock of the high Scottish independence vote in 2014 and taking strength from the 'Brexit' vote to reinforce all the most backward features of the UK state, Reactionary Unionism is now in the ascendancy in the Conservative Party too. The Tories, as the Right wing of the Conservatives are usually termed, took over much of UKIP's agenda under Theresa May and the Brexit Party's agenda under Boris Johnson.

Since 2016, under Theresa May, the Tories, were in a parliamentary alliance

with fellow British Nationalists, the 'Ulster'-British DUP. They pursued a shared Reactionary Unionist agenda. They were prepared to close down the Stormont Devolutionary Assembly, not because it represented any threat to the wider UK, but because it provided a Liberal mask to contain and manage the political and social divisions within Northern Ireland. To this extent, the new Stormont sometimes raised embarrassing issues highlighting that not all was well in post-Good Friday Northern Ireland.

In the context of the 'Brexit' vote, any attempt to push Liberal Unionism in Northern Ireland finds it hard going. The late Ian Paisley had originally persuaded the DUP to accept the new Stormont, the better to undermine the Good Friday Agreement from within. Now that the current Tory leadership wants to go back before the days of the EEC/EU, in an attempt to revive the ghost of a long-gone British Empire, the DUP feels encouraged to go back to the days of the old Stormont, when 'croppies' knew their place. And although dented in voting by the Alliance Party in the 2019 Westminster general election, the Reactionary Unionist DUP held on to 8 seats to the Alliance's 1 seat.

But the DUP no longer even represents majority opinion within the Protestant community, especially amongst the younger generation, over issues such as EU membership, gay marriage and abortion rights. But the Tories and the DUP still find common cause over Brexit, by looking back to elements of a reactionary past. They have become more ecumenical in their prejudices, adding recent migrants, asylum seekers and Moslems to their older targets to cement their alliance.

Therefore, in the absence of wider popular support, underpinned by a limited EU referendum franchise, which excluded EU residents and 16–18-year-olds, the maintenance of Reactionary Unionism depends on a continued resort to all the most anti-democratic powers of the UK state. This is what the call to “take back control” amounted to. Furthermore, it has not only been Stormont which has been set aside, but even the very limited democratic notion of parliamentary sovereignty, as May and Johnson have ridden roughshod over Holyrood, Cardiff Bay, and Westminster itself.

The majority of the Non-Unionist Nationalist parties - the old Irish Nationalists, later the SDLP in Northern Ireland, the SNP in Scotland, and

Plaid Cymru in Wales, have confined their work to what is acceptable under the existing UK constitution. Sinn Fein, though, represented an Irish Revolutionary Nationalist alternative, which provided an extra-constitutional challenge to the UK state from 1917 to 1923, before its Republican wing was finally defeated in the Irish Civil War. Sinn Fein continued to exist, despite the breakaway of two considerably larger Constitutional Nationalist groupings, the right wing Cumann na nGhaedheal (now Fine Gael) in 1923, and the more populist Fianna Fail in 1926.

It was only in 1970, in Northern Ireland, that the Republican Movement and later Sinn Fein were able to re-emerge as a significant Revolutionary Nationalist force in the context of the challenge to the old Orange, Stormont order initiated by the Civil Rights Movement. They had to deal with the intransigence of the UK government, which continued to uphold as much of the old Ulster Unionist order as it could.

However, initially and tentatively following the Downing Street Agreement in 1993, and decisively and permanently following the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Sinn Fein changed to being a Constitutional Nationalist party. In the process, it has become a constitutionally recognised prop, helping to maintain UK state control over Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein's attempts, since the Good Friday Agreement, to promote a Constitutional Nationalist road to Irish unity have been strongly resisted by the Reactionary Unionists of the DUP and other Loyalists, now supported by the Tories. Sinn Fein's main vehicle for attaining Irish Unity, the reformed 'power-sharing' Stormont is largely powerless and has a Unionist veto, whilst 'Brexit' threatens a hardening of Partition.

Such has been the domination of the UK state, and its associated thinking, that Constitutional Nationalist parties, which have emerged as an opposition, often retain significant aspects of British Nationalism. The old Irish Parliamentary Party was prepared to accept Irish Home Rule within the UK and British Empire. It committed itself to the First World War, fought for British imperial interests. For much of its history, Plaid Cymru was more concerned with winning Cultural Self-Determination (based on Welsh language speakers) within the UK, than Political Self-Determination for Wales. And indeed, many in Plaid saw English-speaking, Labour-voting South Wales as more of a threat than Westminster. The SNP seeks

'Independence-Lite' under the British Crown and British High Command. The SNP leadership supports NATO, the US led imperial military alliance, which is also strongly backed by the British ruling class. The SNP leadership finds it hard to break free from the clutches of the City of London, highlighted by the arguments over the role of sterling in any future Politically Independent Scotland.

With the continued decline of the British Imperial power and the UK's domestic economy, and the British ruling class's resort to the Reactionary Unionist politics associated with Brexit, the National Question "hasn't gone away you know!"³

c) An outline of the book (pp. 33-36)

This book shows how the United Kingdom was created, sustained itself through Union, Empire and Monarchy, and how it began to first fall apart between 1916-21. And to understand the rise and decline of the UK and its associated British Empire it is necessary to go further back in history than the late nineteenth century. Indeed, it is necessary to go further back than 1801, or even 1707, the two key dates by which the constitutional monarchist and imperial Union came into being.

A long-term historical perspective is necessary because Right, Centre and Left British unionists have concocted their own British Nationalist histories to buttress continued support for the UK and Britishness. Their writings often go back to a dim and distant past to outline a historical continuity and inevitability for Great Britain and the UK that cannot be justified by events. Other Nationalist historians -Irish, Scottish or Welsh - usually confine their attentions to the relationship of their particular nation with the UK, or just with England. This book, though, looks at historical developments throughout these islands, and where relevant beyond.

Part One of this book goes back to the 'Pre-Brit' in the title. This refers to the period following the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West. Roman Britannia did not cover all the geographical territory of what later became Great Britain and never reached Hibernia/Ireland. The ending of the old Roman Empire was followed by a lengthy period when the states of England or Scotland, or any aspiring states covering the whole of what became Wales

or Ireland, did not exist. England and Alba did develop as early states, albeit within changing territorial extents. However, neither Eireann nor Cymru were able to develop or sustain united states. Whether later as England, Scotland, Ireland or Wales, it took much longer for these nations, socially and politically encompassing the majority of people living within their territories, to emerge from the earlier states or from within the United Kingdom.

Part Two of this book highlights the significance of the United Kingdom becoming a specifically unionist state from 1707, and reinforced in 1801. These parliamentary unions went beyond the earlier Dynastic Unions. This contributed to the development of Scottish-British, Irish-British and later Welsh-British Nations and identities, and when Ireland was partitioned to Ulster'-British and Northern Irish British identities (albeit not Nations). A greater ambiguity remained about the nature of England's relationship with the UK, and consequently about English identities.

The successful promotion of hybrid British identities was very much linked with the rise of the British Empire. Other Dynastic States, including France, had ruled over territories as diverse as the Two or Three Kingdoms ruled over by successive Norman-French, English and British dynasties. But like France they mostly later became Unitary not Unionist states. After the French Revolution, Bretagne and Aquitaine were broken up; but after the 1707 and 1801 Acts of Union, the embryonic Scottish and Irish nations further developed within the Unionist State and British Empire.

The Unionist nature of the UK has often contributed to the confusion over the distinction between Nations and Regions in these islands. Indeed, one strand of British Unionist thinking denies the existence of Nations within Great Britain, seeing only Scottish and Welsh Regions, along with a number of English Regions. This book looks at the development of Regions on an Administrative and Cultural basis. It examines the role that specific Regionalisms have played in buttressing the UK, especially in Liberal, Radical and Left Unionist thinking.

This book also examines the impact of migrations, especially those more recent movements of people seeking work and better lives, and those fleeing repression. In modern times, this has led to the creation of a number of

multi-ethnic urban communities, which also have a distinctive relationship to the UK state. The UK state's close involvement with the British Empire, and its more recent membership of the EEC/EU, have made the issue of migrants and their relationship to nation and state a major political issue.

Most of all, this book adopts an 'Internationalism from Below' perspective. It examines the struggles of the 'lower orders' in different historical contexts to show how they shaped the creation of the ~Nations (and later part `Nation - Northern Ireland) making up the UK state. It also highlights the periods associated with particular International Revolutionary Waves, when challenges were made, which looked beyond the continuing existence of the UK state. This is becoming ever more relevant today.

Parts Three, Four and Five of this book deal with the prolonged lead-up to the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, its crescendo between 1917-19, and its ebbing from 1921, until its definite ending in 1923. James Connolly was a major contributor to building a Socialist Republican-led, Republican (Irish Republican Brotherhood - IRB), Syndicalist and Women's Suffrage 'Internationalism from Below' alliance. This played a major party in the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, which triggered the wider International Revolutionary Wave.

Eventually this Republican challenge was contained, as the International Revolutionary Wave ebbed in 1921. However, twenty-six counties of Ireland still broke free from the UK state. These events signalled, right in the heartland of the British Union, that the UK state and British Empire's days were numbered. The Irish War of Independence provided an inspiration to anti-imperial struggles throughout the world. And for a period before his early death, the Socialist Republican, John Maclean took up Connolly's 'break-up of the UK state and British Empire' strategy in Scotland. This until recently neglected and often misunderstood period of Maclean's life is also examined in Part Five.

Both British Left Unionists and Irish and Scottish Nationalists have tried to claim Connolly and Maclean to support their own politics. This book provides a challenge to their attempts. It locates Connolly and Maclean within the initially Socialist Republican then developing wider Communist led, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance of Workers and Peasants, Women's emancipationists, Oppressed Nations and Nationalities seeking

freedom, or Self-Determination in its widest sense,. Connolly and Maclean have been the subject of more biographies and collected writings than any other Socialists born in these islands. The majority of these works have appeared since the late 1960s, in greater number more recently. This is because of the continued decline of the British Empire, the increasing relevance of the National Question and the consequent strains these place upon the Union.

Part Six of this book presents the case that the UK is today once more facing disintegration. This could still occur in a reactionary way, as the British ruling's determination to hang on to its Imperial and Unionist legacy, takes us all down with it. So, this section of the book also examines those social and political forces which could ensure that the break-up of the UK happens in a beneficial way for the majority. The British ruling class has and will continue to put up a vicious rearguard action until the bitter end. This why the Socialist Republican, 'break-up of the UK and British Empire' politics of Connolly and Maclean have taken on a new relevance. Informed by their struggles and works, we will be in a better position to bring about the 'Ex-Brit' demise of the UK state, highlighted in the book's title. And this should be located within a wider 'Internationalism from Below' perspective, as part of a global struggle for Emancipation, Liberation and Self-Determination (in its widest sense).

PART ONE (pp. 37-108)

FROM BRITANNIA, CALEDONIA AND HIBERNIA TO ENGLALAND, CYMRU, ALBA AND EIRINN

1. THE FOUR OF YORE

The far from inevitable development of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland as nations or states within their current territorial boundaries

a) The impact of different socio-economic systems and the role of religion in post-Roman Britannia, Caledonia and Hibernia (pp. 37-46)

Given the difficulties which the British ruling class and its supporters have in acknowledging the real nature and national make-up of the UK state, highlighted by the symbolism of the Union Flag, it is not surprising that they have also found considerable problems when addressing the highly contested history that led to this state's formation. And these problems go right back to those four core units - England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Historically these terms have meant and covered quite different entities, territorially, culturally, and politically.

States which recognised the majority of their inhabitants as members of a shared nation, took a long time to develop. Nation-states, or states claiming to be nation-states, could not be firmly established until the majority of their inhabitants were acknowledged as having certain democratic rights, of which the right to vote was the most significant. Before this, any state nationality ascribed to the 'lower orders' was usually on the basis of an extension of the property rights or powers of their lords and masters. This control and power was exercised through domestic slavery (over women and children), personal ownership (over chattel slaves), vassalage (over serfs), and later, particularly in the UK, master and servant relations (over artisans and workers). Subjecthood, not citizenship, has represented the political reality for the overwhelming majority under earlier forms of state. Many of those, who were ascribed particular 'nationalities' in such societies, showed relatively

little 'national' loyalty. Their own loyalties were usually more restricted, e.g. to kin, locality or a particular religion. They often tried to avoid military service or fled beyond their owners' or masters' control to escape slavery, serfdom or particularly onerous labour conditions. This is one reason modern armies often had a very significant non-national mercenary component.

Pre-capitalist social relations did not promote the formation of nations or nation-states. In those areas within these islands that did not become fully absorbed into Roman Britannia, such as that part of Britannia between Hadrian's and Antonine's walls, Caledonia which lay beyond these walls, and Hibernia across the Oceanus Hibernicus (today's Irish or Celtic Sea), more localised identities usually prevailed. This was also the case with the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, and later the Danes and Norse when they came to these islands. Their identities were initially based upon a kinship within a more communal landholding system under tribal chieftains. An oral culture, which depended on bards, transmitted traditions from one generation to another and helped the chieftains to cement their control, with strong emphasis placed upon kin lineages and their mythical origins.

Attempts by the early Irish, Dalriadan, Pictish and Welsh kings, who emerged from tribal chieftainships, to establish wider overlordship, e.g. through the office of the high king of Ireland,⁴ were always contested and enjoyed little long term success. The early Anglo-Saxon *bretwaldas*⁵ found the same problems trying to enforce more centralised control over varying tributary territories. Leaders' attempts to exert their power were still limited by their dependence upon the resources of their own kinship-based societies. These did not provide the necessary means to enforce more extensive control. Pre-feudal chieftains and petty kings enjoyed rights and privileges over others, but these were still exercised within a society based on kinship-held land. Although the dominant leaders would award particular landholdings to successful military commanders who served them well, these often reverted to the dominant leader, responsible for the kinship held land, after the death of the military commanders to whom they had been awarded.

Furthermore, the dominant leaders, or aspiring upstarts, only exercised their control as long as they were militarily successful. A wider body of tribal chieftains ensured there was usually an extensive group from which new leaders could be drawn. When leadership depended on a personal ability to

fight, passing down control through a single family could have been disastrous, especially if a new leader was not up to the job. In Alba and Eirinn the tanistry system was developed to pass on titles with their land allocation rights and command of resources to effective leaders.

Some of these leaders though, did eventually emerge as kings over more extensive territories. To achieve this, they developed a more feudal land-holding system, often copying nearby or more distant examples. Feudal superiors claimed a more direct ownership of land and usually extracted greater levies. Dues were also claimed, such as payments for the use of mills. Therefore, feudal kings, who were able to draw upon greater resources, could also control more territory. Directly held feudal land was often mixed with land under various forms of tenure, with different obligations. Feudal landholding also led to sub-feuing on a hierarchical basis. Sometimes, particularly in periods of crisis, those who held such sub-fued land were able to assert their own control. There was continuing tension between centralising and decentralising tendencies within feudalism.

One change, which took place in the transition to feudalism, was a downgrading of the need for a leader who took a direct part in all or most of the fighting. With feudalism there emerged a greater division of labour at elite level, both in terms of fighting men and a greater range of non-military office holders. This is where the Roman Catholic Church came to perform a central role. It provided literate officers who administered these new realms in a way that enhanced their kings' control. They helped to develop an ideology of kingship, underpinned by Christian rituals, to command a wider loyalty beyond what had been necessary to maintain kinship-based societies. The symbolism of being anointed to act on behalf of a Christian god became more important than mythological kin origins. Written forms of authority recognition, buttressed by Church trained state officials, replaced or downgraded the role of bards more dependent on oral traditions. The ability of the new feudal kingdoms to extract levies and fighting men, from a larger population over greater areas, gave them a decided advantage when confronting more locally based tribal chieftains and petty kings.

Christianity had originally penetrated the Celtic British population living in Britannia, which had been under Roman imperial rule and influence. For a period, some attempts appear to have been made to retain the old Roman

system after the departure of the Roman legions in 410. Indeed, Roman Christianity was extended across the Celtic Sea to Ireland. At this time Irish raiders and indeed settlers were to be found in what were now western Celtic British held lands. So, in some respects, this taking of Christianity to Pagan raiders, settlers and territories beyond the old Roman Empire resembled the activities of the Roman church on other imperial frontiers such as Germania.

There was a prolonged attempt to maintain the Roman structures and political organisation. However, as the impact of Roman withdrawal took effect, some Celtic British leaders opted for setting up their own local statelets. As their economies contracted, urban centres were abandoned in favour of older style Celtic fortified settlements. A more localised and subsistence economy became the norm. International trade became largely confined to luxury items for the leaders of the new petty kingdoms and chieftaincies.

Christianity in the eastern, southern and central areas of old Britannia was later overwhelmed by the impact of Pagan Saxons and Angles. However, it survived and revived in the western and northern Celtic British areas. The main impetus for this revival came not directly from Rome, but from a different source. An Egyptian-inspired monasticism reached Cornwall and those Celtic British and Irish areas on either side of the Celtic Sea. This monasticism followed the old trade routes from the Mediterranean, along the Iberian and Gallic Atlantic coastlines. Remote island monasteries were established in Ireland, and in what became Wales and Scotland, to recreate the isolation of those in the Egyptian deserts.

However, new monasteries were also built near the main strongholds of petty kings or chieftains in what were still kinship-based societies. These leaders often gained considerable influence over the monasteries. Prominent families became important monastic sponsors or placed family members in leadership roles. These families sometimes used their armed might to extend their chosen monasteries' influence. Winning elite backing did more to spread Christianity than humble proselytizing. The famed Irish monk, Colmcille/Columba belonged to the powerful O'Neill clan. He was involved in their battles in Ulster before moving to Iona in present day Argyll.

Irish Christianity, with only irregular contact with Roman Catholic officialdom, developed different religious practices, without making any

overt challenge to official church doctrine. Before this, Pelagianism, considered a heresy by the Roman Catholic Church, was only eradicated after a number of centuries in the Irish (and British) areas of Christianity.⁶ There were two significant reasons for breaches with official Roman Catholic practice. The socio-economic basis of Celtic Britain and Ireland did not support the cities and towns, which Roman Catholic episcopal organisation was based upon. It was the Roman city-based bishop's job to assert religious discipline. Furthermore, the narrowest parts of the English Channel and North Sea coastal areas came under the control of the Anglo-Saxons, who were Pagans. Despite the use of western sea routes, official Roman Catholic emissaries still found it quite difficult to reach much of the Celtic British and Irish areas. Visits became less frequent, and orthodoxy (which itself changed over time) was harder to enforce.

Christianity had also reached that area of Britannia beyond Hadrian's Wall. This area had only come under the indirect influence of the Romans. However, later in most of what is now Scotland, it was the Irish Columban church that eventually came to dominate after its initial extension from the Dal Riata of Ireland to that of Argyll. The Columban church's activities reached much further. Under Columba, and his Irish successors, the church was first extended to the Pictish lands. Under the Iona-based monk Aidan, it extended to Northumbria. From there its missionary activity was taken south into Mercia and Essex (East Saxons) and across the North Sea.

The multi-ethnic character of the Columban church, wherever it reached, highlights the on-the-ground reality, which undermines the 'racial'/ethnic exclusivity sometimes attributed to the early medieval kingdoms. Cuthbert, trained by Aidan, who became the Abbot of Lindisfarne, was probably of Celtic British origins. Irish monks and nuns also trained Anglians like Hilda who founded Whitby Abbey. The Irish monk, Columbanus trained continental Franks, like Eustace and Attala, who became abbots of the Columban church in Luxueil in Burgundy and in Bobbio in Lombardy. The multi-ethnic character of many religious establishments would likely have been reflected in society at large, despite the particular tribal or ethnic identity adopted by the local ruling elite.

The official Roman Catholic Church did manage though to regain and extend its earlier reach, particularly after the conversion of the King of the Franks.

The Franks controlled one side of the English Channel. They became adherents of the Roman Catholic Church from 508. The Church was able to re-establish cross-English Channel links in 598 through the newly converted Saxon King of Kent, who had a Frankish wife. The Archdiocese of Canterbury was established in this kingdom round about 601. Yet, despite the Saxon King Aethelbert of Kent getting the official Roman Catholic franchise from Pope Gregory, the emerging and more significant Anglian kingdom of Northumbrian kingdom did not initially follow this Church.

Northumbria became officially Christian in 634, under King Oswald. But the main impetus came not from Rome via Kent, but from Iona. The later King Oswui was brought up in Iona and was first married to an Irish princess. He encouraged the spread of the Columban church into Northumbria at Lindisfarne (with its own 'desert' outlier on the island of Inner Farne). However, like Kent, Northumbria also developed contacts with the Roman/Frankish world. Emerging feudal kings began to appreciate the value of the Roman Church in providing them with wider legitimacy and helping them to assert their authority.

King Oswui invited the Rome approved Bishop Wilfrid to the Synod of Whitby in 664. A debate was to be conducted on the Columban practice, which held sway in Northumbria (and in the Irish, Dal Riata, Pictish and Celtic British churches and monasteries). Not surprisingly Wilfrid argued strongly in favour of the official Roman practice. Oswui accepted this, no doubt persuaded of the value of having official papal recognition for his kingship. This also provided him with powerful backing in reversing Northumbria's religious domination by the Irish/British based Columban church. Following this, Northumbria was able to tighten its control over subordinate Celtic-British territories and launched an offensive into the land of the Picts,⁷ and even into Ireland.⁸

Thus began a period in these islands when being holders of the official Roman franchise and ruling over the territories with specific archdioceses and dioceses, whose leaders they could influence, became important to those holding power. Anglo-Saxon, and later English monarchs very much appreciated this. King Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, initiated the Archdiocese of York in 735.

Some Pictish leaders were in turn inspired by the power of Northumbrian kingship, after it had begun to assert its overlordship over their lands. Following the defeat of the Northumbrians at the Battle of Nechtansmere in 685, an assertive Pictish monarchy also decided to seek papal approval and adopted the Roman St. Andrew, not the Celtic Columba, as its main saint. When a united kingdom of Alba was established in 900, the growing primacy given to Kilrymont, later St. Andrews, reflected this change, although Iona remained a royal burial centre until 1098. St. Andrews became Alba's leading diocese. Although the Archbishop of York claimed authority over Scotland's dioceses, this was resisted in those areas, which came under the control of kings of Alba. That led to the transfer of all those dioceses to the direct control of Rome, leaving only the church in the separate Gall-Gael Lordship of Galloway under the Archbishop of York's control.

It is important not to over-exaggerate the differences between Anglo-Saxons and Irish Celts after the Synod of Whitby. A pro-Roman party was to be found amongst the Irish monks too, whereas some Anglian monks joined Colman, the Irish bishop of Lindisfarne. He retreated to Inishbofin off County Mayo, after the synod, in an attempt to duplicate the influential island monastic precedents, set by Iona and Lindisfarne. The older Columban church practices though remained in place for longer in Ireland.

Although Ireland eventually came to accept the Roman practices, the imposition of Rome's approved territorial structures proved more problematic. Because of Ireland's less developed economy and more fragmented political nature, the diocesan structures were more fluid. This was because of the absence of towns and the remaining power of monasteries, supported by petty kings and chieftains. Compared to England, or even to Wales and Scotland, Ireland had far more dioceses. This reflected local power holders' continued influence.

In Ireland, independent archbishoprics were set up in Armagh and Cashel in 1111. Only the Viking cities of Dublin and Waterford were subject to Archbishopric of Canterbury, but this was ended in 1152, before the Norman-French invasion. Two Irish archbishoprics, Dublin and Tuam were set up in the same year. The process of undermining the older kinship-based system with the newer feudal system was very much linked to the increased direct control and influence of the Roman Catholic Church. However, even the

official church found itself making organisational adaptations in areas where feudal conditions and urbanisation had not made much headway.

Although the process of feudalisation of landholding was developing quite rapidly in later Anglo-Saxon England, it was the Norman Conquest, which brought about the most thorough and top-down feudalisation throughout the Kingdom of England. This was also a pattern found in other areas of Europe, particularly where the Normans took control. However, some feudal kingdoms broke down, under the impact of attacks by Vikings, Saracens and Magyars. This contributed to a more decentralised form of feudalism. This was based on those local military leaders who were able to defend territory in the face of invaders, and to maintain effective control in defiance of weakened royal authority. But as a quid pro quo for defending these territories, local feudal leaders usually greatly increased the feudal liabilities on those they ruled over – freedom fighters they were not!

After Gregory VII became pope, the Roman Catholic Church made a lot of effort to counter this feudal decentralisation. Prior to this, the Papacy itself had sometimes become the plaything of local feudal leaders in what later became Italy. In the process, the Papacy had lost much influence. Although Pope Gregory wanted to create a universal Catholic theocracy, he realised that he needed the support of secular feudal leaders. A prolonged struggle took place to determine the balance of power between ecclesiastical and secular power. Successive popes, various German princes (from a variety of kingdoms and principalities, since a united Germany did not exist) vied for control over the office of the Holy Roman Emperor.

However, the Papacy's promotion of the Crusades, designed to subordinate secular feudal leaders to ecclesiastical purposes provided an early instance of political 'blowback'. The loot, land and new trading opportunities in the Middle East strengthened some kings, princes and other lords. Even the official, papal sanctioned, Knights Templar became heavily involved in secular activities, especially banking. However, in this they became too successful. But it wasn't the Papacy that reined them in. King Philip of France brutally suppressed them instead, gaining a lot of their property.

However, the main effect of the Gregorian Reforms upon England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, was the creation of new monastic orders, particularly

the Cistercians. In some cases, this was accompanied by the partial reform of the existing orders. Since these orders were under the direct supervision of leaders outside of England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland, they were not so amenable to pressure by kings as the local bishops were. Thus, a wide range of people could welcome these monastic orders. They spread to the non-Norman-French controlled areas of Cymru/Wales, Alba/Scotland and Eireinn/Ireland, as well as being directly introduced by Norman-French kings and lords in the areas they controlled.

These monastic orders, like earlier and later orders, were originally meant to set an example of Christian piety and charity. However, they also became major property holders. In many cases the working of the land and the processing of its produce passed from the monks to serfs. As a result, some of these orders, especially the Cistercians, became major promoters of economic change, especially wool production in the countryside. Wool fuelled the precocious development of the craft guild-based manufacture of textiles, clothing and other woven products in the cities, especially in Flanders.

This was an indirect and another unforeseen consequence of the Gregorian reforms, initially designed to counter feudal decentralisation. The feudal 'anarchy', which had given major lords the power to defy kings, sometimes seemed to be overwhelming the Kingdom of England too. However, its Norman-French and later Anglo-French kings did manage to maintain their hold. They controlled a wider Angevin Empire, from which they could draw substantial feudal tribute. This meant that, unlike some continental kingdoms, the Kingdom of England retained the resources to survive. It became one of Europe's more effective feudal monarchies, with a greater degree of direct royal control, exerted through the appointment of non-hereditary office holders such as sheriffs.

Following these conflicting pressures, reflecting the centralisation/decentralisation dynamic, different European Feudal States came to be made up of a varying patchwork of crown territories, palatinates, duchies, counties, marcher and other lordships, liberties and various ecclesiastical territories. Even the kings of England could be feudal inferiors for the land they held outside their realm, such as Gascony, for which they owed fealty to the kings of France. In turn, the kings of Scotland owed fealty

to the kings of England for land in Northamptonshire, Tynedale and sometimes other parts of Northumbria and Cumbria too. Many Norman-French lords held land simultaneously in the kingdoms of France, England and Scotland, and sometimes in areas of Wales and Ireland. Ecclesiastical territories, whether under the control of bishops or monastic orders, were often widely scattered. The territorial extent of archdioceses, dioceses and the holdings of monastic lands were not necessarily limited to particular feudal states.

As a result of all this, a number of hierarchical polities emerged - kingships, lordships and ecclesiastic realms. They had different and, at times, conflicting geographical centres of control, e.g. London, the capital of the Kingdom of England; the manorial courts of the major lords; or Rome (and sometimes Avignon), the centre of papal power. Attempts to maintain top-down control of these often competing or overlapping hierarchical units, made it difficult to generate the more horizontal cross-class loyalties necessary for the emergence of what would later be understood as nations and nationalism.

b) The emergence of four core areas (pp. 46-52)

It took many centuries before England took final shape as a territorial state extending to its present-day boundaries. In the early eighth century, the Northumbrian monk, Bede first came up with the term *Englalande*,⁹ to describe territories occupied by the Anglo-Saxons. When Bede wrote, there was no English unity. Instead, seven different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms - East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Mercia, Northumbria, Sussex and Wessex - had emerged from a greater number of earlier chieftaincies and petty kingdoms.¹⁰

The frontiers of these kingdoms fluctuated, and some were conquered or became dependent upon the other kingdoms. Together they did not extend as far west into either into Wales or Cornwall as the later English state, but Northumbria extended into much of what would become the southern part of a later Scottish state.

But many earlier English historians have attempted to equate England with the territories where the Angles and Saxons lived. It has been claimed that England corresponded to the area occupied by an Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic

race that became the English. Such histories claimed that the earlier Celtic British occupants living in these areas had been killed off or forced to move out, and that later invaders or migrants added relatively little to the English 'racial stock'. Recent DNA research has shown that this earlier largely biological racial-based history has little foundation.¹¹ This has been supplemented by new archaeological evidence. Although racially based history has now been largely discredited, a lot of the underlying assumptions have been transferred to more recent ethnic or cultural approaches to English and British history. This has been done to create a greater feeling of historical continuity for an English and then Great British state than actually existed.

The process of Anglo-Saxon (Germanic) settlement in the Celtic British territories began when some of British leaders brought across foederati (mercenaries) to resist Pictish, Irish and other Germanic raiders. Such practice had long been common in the Roman Empire. Some of these foederati were allocated land near the garrisons where they served. Unlike the rest of the Western Roman Empire, most Saxon and Anglian settlers remained distinct communities retaining their own languages. They did not adopt the British-Latin; neither did they adopt the local Brythonic or British language, which reasserted itself after the official Roman Imperial departure. Welisc or Welsh was the term used by Anglo-Saxon foederati and later colonists to describe the Brythonic British, and it meant strangers or foreigners. The Saxons and Anglians were Pagan.

As the structures of the hybrid post-Romano-Britannic order fragmented and went into decline, the leaders of Saxon and Anglian war bands were able to challenge their Celtic British employers. Particularly in the more romanised parts they completely overthrew the post-Roman British leaders, who were still trying to maintain the old order in the face of continued economic and population decline. Sometimes leaders of the war bands married into the leading British families and were able to assert their control in this way. Either way, they were able to bring about significant cultural shift, including a language shift from the Brythonic Celtic or Old Welsh to Anglo-Saxon (which later developed into English).

This language shift did not necessarily correspond to the displacement of one people by another. Sometimes a change in the elites was enough. Then they

could impose their language through the key institutions of power and provide the incentives to ensure cultural transformation took place. A period of bilingualism would have accompanied this transition. Sometimes cultural contact would be enough to induce language shift, with the older elites and others seeing 'which way the wind was blowing'. Some modern scholars consider the founders of the Saxon kingdom of Wessex to have had a Celtic British origin. Intermarrying with the Saxon settlers they 'saxonised' this kingdom.¹² The local Roman Christian churches' inability to resist probably led to a revival of Paganism amongst the Celtic British and brought the leaders of the Roman Christian churches into greater conflict. In the areas which were 'Saxonised' this went along with changes in the language and other aspects of their culture.

Later, from the early ninth to the mid eleventh centuries, the old Anglian kingdom of Northumbria and the Saxon kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex could have been absorbed into various Viking empires extending from Norway, Denmark, Dublin or York. So, the emergence of what we now consider to be England was a fraught process. It was not until 927 that Wessex finally established a kingdom, then written as Englalund.¹³ However, its continuing existence was far from ensured, under threats from Vikings, or later its incorporation within a wider Angevin Empire under the Norman-French. The Kingdom of Englalund (which for centuries was not ruled by people who spoke English as their main language) was the core component from which a larger English state and nation did eventually emerge. It was only in the late fourteenth century that English became the official language of state and in 1539 that the modern spelling of England was adopted¹⁴. And by then England covered a different territory, compared with Anglo-Saxon Englalund, with both losses and gains.

For a long period of time, Cymru/Wales covered an even more indefinite geographical area. Cymru was not a united territory, but a term that eventually became used to describe the changing and shrinking area covered by a number of post-Roman, British tribal chieftaincies or petty kingdoms where the Brythonic Celtic was the dominant language. Many small states emerged in the territory of what later became Wales, in the centuries following the Roman Empire's official retreat from Britannia.¹⁵ The western part of Britannia, or Britannia Secunda, had not been so romanised as east and central Britannia. It is likely that the Romans had ruled this area through

tributary chieftains.

Following the official Roman departure, Celtic British chieftains in this area were able to reassert control. The biggest of the Celtic British kingdoms to emerge were Ceredigion, Dyfed, Gwynedd, Morgannwg and Powys.¹⁶ Although divided, Cymru was originally far more extensive than the area it is associated with today.¹⁷ This can be seen in the word Cumbria, and Old Welsh place names are still found in southern Scotland (e.g. Ecclefechan, Lanark and Penicuik). Cornwall (Kernow) remained Celtic British controlled until the ninth century. The Celtic British also settled in the Gallo-Roman province of Armorica, from the end of the 4th century, forming a number of petty kingdoms collectively known as Breizh.¹⁸ In the early stages all these people were still considered to be British, and that name was given to the principal inhabitants of the lands stretching from the Forth Clyde area to Brittany. But eventually Cymru became confined to the area now known as Wales.

Once the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had emerged, the territorial retreat of the remaining Celtic British chieftaincies and petty kingdoms accelerated. Some of their ousted elites sought support from other Anglo-Saxon kings or took refuge in the remaining Celtic British territories to the west and north. Here some Celtic British leaders were more successful in either repelling or absorbing the earlier Irish and the later Viking (mainly Norse) and Gall-Gael (mixed Viking and Gaelic) raiders and mercenaries in their territories.

However, an indication of the break-up of a once much greater Celtic British territory was the development of separate languages in Cymru (Welsh), Kernow (Cornish), Breizh (Breton) and in Alclud/Strathclyde (Cumbrian). All of these Celtic British territories would originally also have included people who still spoke British-Latin, new Irish settlers and later Anglian and Saxon settlers, or in the case of Brittany, Frankish settlers. In the core areas of these Celtic-British territories, most of these new settlers would eventually assimilate.

Reflecting the mixed fortunes of their conquest and resistance, the territorial extent of what eventually became understood to be Wales was more uncertain than that of England or Scotland. Indeed, it was not until the 1972 that the UK government's Local Government Act, officially recognised

Monmouthshire as being part of Wales.¹⁹ The Far Right, English Democrats stand candidates for Monmouth seats in the Welsh Assembly elections.²⁰

Like Wales, Scotland was not the term originally used by the majority of the inhabitants of the territory or state, which eventually bore that name. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Picts were probably the most numerous people in what became Scotland. Picti, a name given by the Romans, just meant painted people,²¹ which probably meant that this was a golden age for tattoo artists! The Picts, like the Celtic British, spoke a Brythonic version of the Celtic language.²² They lived in Caledonia north of the Forth Clyde line. The Picts were divided into a number of tribal chieftaincies. There is uncertainty as to the status of seven Pictish areas that have been identified - Cat, Ce, Fib, Circhenn, Fidach, Fotla, and Fotrenn - but there is strong possibility that two dominant Pictish kingships eventually emerged, one north and the other south of the Mounth.²³

Celtic British tribal chiefs took control of the areas in Roman dominated Britannia south of the Forth Clyde line, when the Empire retreated. These included, amongst others, Alclud, Gododdin, Rheged and Elvet. And, as with other Celtic British chieftaincies and petty kingdoms, over time they mostly succumbed to Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, or became subjected to their overlordship. However, unlike other parts of the older Britannia, the later Celtic British kingdom of Strathclyde,²⁴ which evolved out of Alclud, was able to survive and regain some lost territory.

What eventually became Scotland, though, got its name from the Scotti, who were found mainly in Argyll. They spoke a Goidelic Celtic language (Old Irish/Gaelic) and were linked to the Scotti living in Ulster.²⁵ They were divided into four main kindreds or chieftaincies - Comgaill, Loairn, nOengusa and nGabraín - although there were also lesser kindreds. Eventually they became united in the kingdom of Dal Riata. Dal Riata originally extended across both sides of the North Channel, reflecting the continued links with Ulster.²⁶

At times the Scotti were dependents of the Pictish kingdom which also eventually emerged. However, the Gaelic language of the Scotti displaced that of the Picts. This probably came about through the success of Columban church, brought across from Ulster by the Scotti. It replaced the Druidism of

the Picts. Yet there was still a long period of struggle for supremacy between the Picts and the Scotti. The Picts were initially more often in the ascendancy. There were other occasions when this was reversed. The name Atholl (which means New Ireland) in the eastern Highlands shows that Dal Riata could expand at the expense of the Picts. This could have occurred through early Irish Christian penetration or when the Anglian Northumbrians had reduced the southern Picts to their control in the seventh century.

The same care needs to be shown though, when examining the lands lived in by the Picts, Celtic British, Scotti and Anglians, in what became Scotland, as should be shown when examining the lands lived in by the Anglo-Saxons in what became England. These areas were not monocultural. In what became Scotland, there was also intermarriage and other contacts at elite level between different ethnic groups. The descendants of the original inhabitants remained in place, even when new leaders took control, and were able to bring about religious and language shift and other cultural changes. There would also probably have been extended transitional periods, when the older languages and elements of the older cultures still survived, alongside the new ones.

When the Kingdom of Alba was formed in 900, after centuries of contestation between the leaders of its two main components, the Pictish and the Dal Riatan kingdoms, it occupied a much smaller proportion of what eventually became Scotland, than Aethelstan's Kingdom of England did of what eventually became England. At this time, the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria still controlled the Lothians and Tweeddale, whilst the Celtic British Kingdom of Strathclyde still controlled much of the south-west of Scotland and Cumberland. The western Highlands and Islands, Caithness and Sutherland, as well as Galloway, were under Norse or Gall-Gael control. Furthermore, the Kingdom of Alba had a shaky hold even over its Gaelic speaking areas. There were often challenges from different lineages pressing various claims. This was due to the rules of leadership succession, which were still based on the old kinship based social order.

Eirinn was one of the Gaelic names by which Ireland was known²⁷ (Fhotla was another). Eirinn had an early territorial meaning that covered the whole island. The Romans knew it as Hibernia. Eirinn was essentially a cultural realm. The dominant language was the Goidelic Celtic Irish. But despite

considerable linguistic unity, Eirinn was even more politically disunited than Engaland, Cymru or Alba. Eirinn was an area where kinship control over landholding, exercised by tribal chieftains, petty kings and their followers, remained strong. A Gaelic speaking class of judges administered the Brehon Laws.²⁸ Bards also upheld the position of the tribal leaders. British and Welsh ecclesiastical figures also lived in Eirinn and deposed and aspiring leaders from the Celtic-British and the Anglo-Saxon chieftaincies and kingdoms took refuge there, whilst some also intermarried with the Celtic Irish.

Ireland consisted of petty kingdoms and chieftaincies. The main ones to emerge were Airgialla, Connacht, Laigan, Munster, the Northern Ui Neill, Southern Ui Neill and Ulaid.²⁹ But there were many smaller ones, which were sometimes able to assert their autonomy, but at other times fell under the sway of the larger kingdoms. They also had changing frontiers as they struggled with each other. It was not until 1603 that Ireland was united under the control of a single state, but that was based in England.

c) Engaland/England (pp. 52-54)

In 927, Aethelstan of Wessex established the first but more territorially limited English kingdom. However, this was absorbed into King Cnut's Empire of Denmark, England and Norway between 1016-42. The successor Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Engaland lasted only to 1066. At that point it was threatened with being conquered by the King of Norway, Harald Hardrada. This would have brought England once more into a northern Viking empire. However, the Norman-French, William Duke of Normandy conquered and proclaimed himself the successor king of Engaland; although it took him a further five years to take full control. He had to resort to a particularly brutal campaign, the Harrying of the North, to finally achieve this. William was also quick to impose his own choice of archbishops in Canterbury and York to augment his power.

The dominant class in the new kingdom of England was mainly made up of descendants of the Norman-French conquerors. They absorbed some members of the old Anglo-Saxon elite, although rebellions resulted in their more general replacement by royal appointees from the king's Norman and

Breton territories. The Kingdom of England became one of the constituent parts of a wider Angevin empire, which also included the county of Anjou, the duchies of Normandie and for a time Bretagne, as well as parts of Wales and Ireland. This emphasises the contingent nature of what became the national territory of England. Those nationalists who look for continuity from feudal times, in the territories they claim as belonging to their nation by historical right, often make spurious claims about a period when feudal obligations across states were more important and the official Roman Catholic religion was not based on national organisation.

Whilst Norman-French and Latin became the official languages of state, people of Anglo-Saxon origin were brought into the administration at the lower level. Most of these administrators would be bilingual and could mediate between the new Norman-French speaking rulers and the English speaking 'lower orders'. The same process would have taken place on the manors. It was not until the end of the fourteenth century that English became the official language of law in England.³⁰ The Anglo-Norman language had never replaced English amongst the 'lower orders', although it did modify their speech quite considerably. Geoffrey Chaucer represented the best-known figure in a new English cultural renaissance. From 1381, William Wycliffe and the Lollards formed its radical religio-political wing. Wycliffe translated the bible into English in 1380, something for which the pope attacked him. The pope wanted to maintain the Latin of the Roman Catholic Church. It is an indication of how little national cultural appeals mattered to the existing feudal ruling class in England that the king and the overwhelming majority of the lords also opposed Wycliffe's English bible.

Under the Norman and Angevin dynasties, a more centralised feudal monarchy did emerge in England. However, its Angevin kings, not content with holding their lands in France as feudal inferiors, went on to make a claim for the French Crown. This led to the Hundred Years War from 1337-1453. Even as late as 1451, a serious attempt was made to recapture Gascony, which had recently been lost to the Kingdom of France. This followed a request from the leaders of the city of Bordeaux, who considered themselves to be English and not French subjects. Clearly, the present-day idea of who constitutes a particular nationality, either on territorial or linguistic grounds, was not what motivated the leaders of Bordeaux.³¹

The increased tax demands needed to pay for the wars against the French rulers contributed to the Peasants Revolt in 1381. This revolt was also backed by 'lower orders' town dwellers, particularly in London. The rebels, led by Wat Tyler, raised far-reaching anti-feudal demands, inspired by the radical cleric, John Ball. In 1450, Jack Cade led another revolt of yeomen in Kent. The costs of the continuing war against France triggered this. It was only with the final defeat by the French, in 1453, that serious English royal aspirations were effectively ended across The Channel. Although the enclave of Calais remained English until 1558, the official title of the reigning monarch included 'King of France' until 1801, and the Channel Islands are still Crown Dependencies.

However, the end of the Hundred Years War was almost immediately followed by the dynastic Wars of the Roses between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians from 1455 to 1485, such had been the disruptive impact of the Hundred Years War in England. In 1485, Henry Tudor, who was descended from the Welsh Tudor family, became King of England. He certainly showed no pan-Celtic sentiments. He suppressed the 1497 revolt of Cornish speaking tin miners.³² They were protesting at his increased taxation to pay for war with Scotland. By this time Wales had already been under rule from England for over two centuries. Most of the Welsh-speaking gentry had become bilingual. They were now Anglo-Welsh supporters of the English state.

But long after this resort to the Welsh Tudors, the English then the British ruling class, remained quite happy for their state to have a marked nationality disconnect between monarch and subjects. In 1603, the Scottish Stuarts took the crown; from 1688-1702, the Dutch House of Orange; and from 1715-51, the first two Hanoverian monarchs were German speaking. Nationalist historians who look favourably upon certain royal families' abilities to create a more centralised English or British state, which they see as contributing to their particular nationality's or nation's history, can underplay this lack of a national connection in the ruling dynasties.

d) Cymru/Wales (pp. 54-57)

Once the kingdoms of England and Alba finally emerged, they both survived.

This was not the case for kingdoms that emerged in Cymru/Wales. The first short-lived kingdom to cover most of Wales (apart from Guent/Gwent and Morgannwg/Glamorgan) was that of Hywl Ddda from 942-950. He achieved this extension of power over other Welsh principalities and chieftaincies by means of an alliance with the Anglo-Saxon King Aethelstan of England, whom he acknowledged as overlord.³³ Nevertheless, Hywel Ddda remained in control of his Welsh kingdom. He is remembered for codifying the Welsh laws. The next kingdom of Wales, headed by Gruffudd ap Llewelyn, covered not only the territory controlled by Hywel Dda, but also Guent and Morgannwg. It too only existed for a short period - between 1055-63. Gruffudd, like Hywel, built up his Welsh kingdom through alliances with Anglo-Saxons, in this case the still Wessex-dominated, Kingdom of England.³⁴

Like those earlier Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which took their inspiration from the Franks and sought the backing of the Roman Catholic Church, these aspiring Welsh kings took their inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and also sought the official approval of Rome. They were also prepared to employ what were, in effect, foreign mercenaries, another common practice. However, an older kinship-based society in Wales still continued to resist top-down feudalisation. Because of this, both Hywel's and Llewellyn's kingdoms soon broke apart into their constituent petty kingdoms and principalities. These divisions allowed Norman-French feudal invasions to take place from 1081. Marcher lords eroded away much of the geographical area of the petty kingships and principalities in what later became Wales. The Angevin kings of England also ensured that they also had a presence in Wales to prevent the emergence of any competing Norman-French led state there.

It has already been shown how important Christianity was in the development of the various states found in these islands. After the Synod of Whitby in 664, the Celtic British churches eventually came to accept official Roman Catholic practices. This had an additional implication in what eventually became Wales. The archbishop of Canterbury gained supremacy over the Welsh church, providing the later Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French kings with a powerful lever to extend their control. However, it took longer for all four dioceses in Wales to adopt the official Roman territorial form, as the power of monasteries in the north and west remained closely linked to the

power centres of the small kingdoms and principalities. They retained their influence.

Furthermore, the post-1050 attempts by Pope Gregory VII to assert Roman supremacy over not only Catholic religious practice, but over the secular world too, had an ambiguous effect in Wales. This was shown by the impact of the associated Cistercian monastic movement. The new monastic orders were transnational, with their ultimate authority lying outside either England or Wales. Thus, both Welsh kings and princes and the Norman-French invaders were prepared to sponsor such monasteries in their own territories.

The last remaining Welsh state of Gwynedd was led by Prince Llewellyn ap Gruffudd from 1245-82. However, such was the strength of what was now Anglo-French power, that Llewellyn sought King Henry III's recognition as Prince of Wales and later made alliances with the Anglo-French de Montfords in England to protect his position.³⁵ When the ambitious Edward I came to the throne of the Kingdom of England, he was able to use Llewellyn's own brother and other Welsh leaders against him. This highlights once more the importance of kinship rivalry in the as yet barely feudalised parts of Wales. Llewellyn was killed in 1282.

Edward I took direct control over the new royal territories in Wales. To help him in this, a string of new castles - Conwy, Caernarfon, Harlech and Beaumaris - were built to assert control. The first-born royal son now became the Prince of Wales, making Wales a principality of the English Crown. Anglo-French bishops, who had long been dominant at Llandaff and St. David's in South Wales, became more influential at Bangor and St. Asaph's in North Wales too. There were bilingual bishops too, acceptable for their ability to mediate between rulers and ruled. In other parts of Wales, the marcher lords still retained their control over the Welsh.

There was one last Welsh revolt, led by Owain Glyndwr from 1400-1415. In 1404, Glyndwr was crowned Prince of Wales and held the first Welsh parliament in Machynlleth. He wanted to restore the traditional law of Hywel Dda, create a separate Welsh church and build universities in north and south Wales.³⁶ This combination of a society based on earlier Welsh kinship-based law, along with the most up-to-date feudal educational provision, is quite striking. It shows that the near all-embracing feudalism

found in England and France, where earlier non-feudal forms of landholding had been eliminated or marginalised, was not the only possible path for medieval societies. In other countries hybrid versions of feudalism could also be found. In Sweden and Norway, a landholding peasantry was recognised as a fourth state of the realm, whilst the peasants of Switzerland were able to successfully defend their own land against Hapsburg feudal imperial and aristocratic encroachment. Glyndwr's Wales still had widespread landholding held under traditional kinship laws, which helps to explain his own hybrid feudal aims.

Nevertheless, like Llewellyn of Gwynedd, Owain Glyndwr saw his best chance of success lying in his involvement in the feudal politics of the kingdom of England. He made a deal with two powerful families there, Percy of Northumberland, and the Mortimers from Shropshire. Under this deal, Glyndwr was to rule Wales and the English Marches, Percy the north of England and the Mortimers the south of England. Glyndwr made a treaty with France in 1405.³⁷ He was involved in all-out war with Henry IV. Resistance continued until 1412, highlighting the seriousness of this revolt. Had it been successful, it would not only have created a Welsh state, but it would have recovered land long lost by the British/Welsh. Henry prevailed though, but without ever capturing Glyndwr.

After English had replaced Anglo-French as the official language in England, it also became the official language in Wales. It was spoken in the new boroughs, which acted as market and administrative centres. However, unlike the royal burghs in Scotland, their Welsh equivalents did not act as significant centres for the penetration of English speech into the surrounding Celtic language speaking areas. The vast majority of people in Wales, who worked on the land, remained Welsh speakers. Bilingualism did develop, though, amongst those using the borough markets and those in contact with the royal and marcher lord administrations.

e) Alba/Scotland (pp. 58-67)

A Scottish state, termed by its Gaelic name Alba, was first established by King Constantine round about 900. Full political unity between Picts and Gaels followed the devastating impact of Viking invasions. Like the early

Kingdom of England, the Kingdom of Alba was more limited in area compared to its present extent. However, the Viking invasions also thwarted the drive of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of England to conquer the territory the Anglian Northumbrians had lost. This permitted the Kingdom of Alba to extend its territory and influence into both Anglian northern Northumbria and Celtic British Strathclyde.

When the Norman-French took over the Kingdom of England, leading Northumbrian families sought refuge in the Scottish court. This provided the basis for continued Scottish ambitions in this area. William the Conqueror attempted to stymie these threats by following up his Harrying of the North with an invasion of Alba. He imposed the Treaty of Abernethy on King Malcolm III in 1072. However, the Alban kings' ambitions in former Northumbria were not ended until King David's defeat at the Battle of the Standard in northern Yorkshire in 1138. It took the Treaty of Falaise in 1174 to finally end Alba's claims in neighbouring Cumbria (or southern Strathclyde). The earlier direct annexation of former Anglian and Celtic British territories by Alba shows that the English nation, which eventually emerged much later, cannot be equated with the lands once held by the Anglo-Saxons. It also highlights the wider feudal imperial aims of both the Norman-French kings of England and the Gaelic kings of Alba.

The Anglian speaking peasantry of the eastern Borders and the Lothians, as well as the Celtic British peasantry of Strathclyde, became subject to new Gaelic overlords. However, the limited Gaelic elite penetration of these new territories was demonstrated by the continuation of the old Anglian and British laws, and the failure of Gaelic to become the language of most of the people living there. Furthermore, as Scottish kings extended their influence into the Gall-Gael areas, beginning with Argyll, and later Galloway (and temporarily Mann too), they initially worked through local lords or chieftains, who often retained their own laws and customs.

Because of the Alban kings' tentative control over their domains, David I invited in Norman-French forces in 1130 to provide him with more muscle. Like the short-reigned Welsh kings or princes, David and several other subsequent kings in Scotland enjoyed cordial relationships with the kingdom of England. They all wanted to emulate its more centralised feudal system. However, the medieval kingdom of Alba remained less centralised than the

kingdom of England. This was because of the longevity of the kinship based social order, particularly in the Highlands and Islands.

Nevertheless, the Scottish kingdom became more centralised than the state orders in either Wales or Ireland at the time. Thus, reinforced by the new well-armed and well-connected Norman-French incomers, Scotland's increasingly hybrid Norman-Gaelic feudal ruling class was also able to resist later encroachments by the Angevin kings of England. The kings of Alba also attempted to exert their direct influence through appointed sheriffs. This meant creating counties following the model of the kingdom of England. However, by the time of the First Scottish War of Independence in 1297, neither the western Highlands and Islands, nor a large part of Galloway, had yet been turned into counties.

Norman-French adventurers were ever keen to break both from their original Norman-French overlords, and those non-Norman rulers who employed them as mercenaries. In Scotland, as elsewhere, this was achieved by gaining access to the existing elite through land grants and marriage. By the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Balliols (de Baileul), the Comyns (de Commine) and the Bruces (de Brus) were the main contestants for the Scottish throne. The Stewarts (Fitzallan) followed the Bruces to the throne in 1371. The Stewarts (who later became the Stuarts) were originally from Brittany and became hereditary high stewards to the earlier kings of Alba. All of these Norman-French families originally held land in Norman England.

The Bruces, in their first bid for the Scottish kingship, behaved in a similar manner to Llewellyn ap Gruffudd in Wales. They both sought the backing of the King of England, in Robert the Bruce's case against his Balliol rivals. It was only when his own bid failed, and the popular revolt led by William Wallace had been crushed, that he broke from Edward I and launched an attack against the Balliol appointee and supporters. The Bruce family, though, had taken on enough Gaelic characteristics, through marriage, that they sought not only the kingdom of Scotland, but also the High Kingship of Ireland, to broaden their new challenge to the King of England. Elsewhere in Scotland, descendants of other Norman-French lords, brought in to buttress royal control, themselves 'went native'. In the Highlands, the de Friselles became Clan Fraser, and the Graunds became Grants.

From the days of King Malcolm III (1058-93), some Alban kings made use of Anglian Northumbrians (partly to enhance their claims over northern Northumbria), or English settlers from other areas in a similar manner to the way the Norman-French had done in Wales and Ireland. This also went along with the introduction of Flemish settlers who, as elsewhere, promoted wider international trade links. English and Flemings were particularly well placed in the new royal burghs. And later, just as the Norman-French language had increased its influence at the expense of Gaelic at the Scottish court, a similar process was to take place through the use of Scots - an Anglian dialect of the English language, which had been preserved in the Lothians and Scottish Borders and spread by other settlers from the wider old Northumbria.

This Scots language went on to sideline the Norman-French and the Gaelic language at the state level. The royal burghs played an important part in this process, particularly in the Lowlands. The burghs also had important links to the northern European economy centred upon Flanders. It is perhaps the Scottish Lowland's involvement in this wider economy, which explains why the royal burghs were effective in promoting a more widespread use of the Scots language, than the post-Edward I royal boroughs were in promoting the English language in Wales, or the English settled cities of Waterford and Dublin were in promoting the wider use of the English language in Ireland.

Burghs in the Borders became commercial centres for the surrounding sheep farming areas. The Cistercians at Melrose promoted the hothouse economic development of the Scottish Borders as an important wool supplier for the cross-North Sea trade to Flanders.³⁸ Berwick upon Tweed, which acted as a major wool exporting port, became Scotland's largest town. Indeed, it was the economic lure of Berwick and the Borders that provided a major incentive for Edward I to invade Scotland and to annex it.

Following the defeat of the Scottish aristocracy (many with lands in England too) at the Battle of Dunbar in 1296, William Wallace and his allies launched a major insurrection. Wallace opened his operations in 1297 by killing King Edward's imposed sheriff of Lanark, William Heselrig. Heselrig was trying to collect the hated or hated wool tax. Wallace, with the support of a few still defiant lords, such as Andrew Moray in the north and William Douglas in the

south, but also with Andrew Pilche, a burgher in Inverness of Flemish origins, went on to win the stunning victory of Stirling Bridge, in the same year. Wallace pioneered the schiltrons military formation to defeat the mounted knights,³⁹ the 'panzer divisions' of the feudal order. When war closed off any access to Flanders, Wallace tried to make new Scottish links with Lubeck, the principal city of the mercantile Hanseatic League.⁴⁰

This period coincided with a new challenge to the French Crown and its feudal supporters in Flanders. Flanders formed the heartland of a new proto-capitalist order, where wool was processed and woven into cloth and clothing by artisans. Pieter de Coninck,⁴¹ a weaver from Brugge, led a civilian militia, which defeated the French mounted knights at the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302 using similar tactics to Wallace's schiltrons.⁴² It was the challenge posed by Wallace's mobilisation of the 'lower orders' that led to the decisions of most Scottish lords, including Robert the Bruce, to support Edward I against him. Furthermore, it was the threats represented by Wallace and de Coninck, which led the warring feudal rivals, Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, to come to a truce. Following this, Wallace was executed in 1305, and Philip IV was able to reassert his control of Flanders in the same year.

However, Robert the Bruce and his feudal allies went on to take advantage of the weakness of Edward I's successor, Edward II. Bruce attempted to recreate a Scottish monarchy, free from the control of the King of England. After Bruce's victory at Bannockburn in 1314, leading Scottish church figures provided him with significant support. They helped to draw up the *Declaration of Arbroath* in 1320. This was an appeal to the pope, which was successful in getting his recognition of the Scottish king's independence. This contributed to the Treaty of Northampton in 1328. Bruce also ensured that those lords who supported him received the lands of the rival Balliol claimants and his supporters. They were also able to restore full feudal control over their peasantry and the burghs, more restless after their participation in Wallace's war. Even the sheriffs became hereditary posts so central was the position of competing feudal lords in the new Scottish kingdom.

The degree to which the descendants of the new Scottish lords, appointed by King Robert and later the Stewarts, were motivated by their own feudal

interests rather than any Scottish patriotism, was demonstrated by the Treaty of Ardtornish-Westminster in 1467. John Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, and James, Earl of Douglas, who had now fallen out with the Stewart kings, made an agreement with King Edward IV of England to divide Scotland between them and to recognise the King of England as their overlord.

The long-standing, multi-ethnic character of the Scottish nation has been accepted more readily than that of pre-modern England. Anglian Northumbrians were present in the eastern Borders and Lothians. From these and other English settlers, Scots language speakers came to dominate the expanding network of royal burghs and their surrounding countryside. Flems were also present. At the time of the First Scottish War of Independence, it is likely that the majority of people living south of the Forth-Clyde line spoke a dialect of English. The Celtic British (Old Welsh) language had probably only died out relatively recently, in areas of old Strathclyde. Gaelic, dating from the Gall-Gael incursions, was still spoken in Galloway and Carrick. North of the Forth-Clyde line, though, Gaelic was the main spoken language, and indeed was still the majority language in Scotland. Norse would have been spoken in Caithness.

After Bruce and his successors' successful takeover of the Scottish kingdom, the royal burghs, which had done much to make the area south of the Forth-Clyde line Scots-speaking, began to perform the same role along the east coast of Scotland and in Galloway. These royal burghs extended in an arc from Dunfermline, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen to Elgin in the east, and from Dumfries, Whithorn to Ayr in the south-west. The new Stewart dynastic state accelerated the replacement of the previously dominant Gaelic language. The increasingly divergent social systems in the Lowlands and Highlands and Islands contributed to this. The Lowlands, followed by the east coast, were increasingly feudalised, whilst considerable elements of the old kinship-based order remained in the Highlands and Islands. John of Fordun, a chaplain in the now largely Scots-speaking Aberdeen, acknowledged this growing divide between two social systems. He viewed this divide from a superior feudal point of view. Fordun described the Highlanders as "a wild and untamed race, primitive and proud, given to plunder and the easy life."⁴³

The word Scots (or Scotti), previously synonymous with Irish, now became

the term to distinguish the Lowlanders and their language from the Erse, the Irish and the Highlanders and Islanders on one hand, and from the Inglis or the English on the other. The Scots language, which replaced both Norman-French and Gaelic at court level, contributed to a cultural renaissance beginning at much the same time as Chaucer in England. This first Scots Renaissance produced writers of prose, poetry and chronicles, known as the Makars. They included John Barbour, Robert Henryson and William Dunbar.

Barbour, like the earlier John of Fordun, became an Aberdeen based ecclesiastic. He wrote *The Brus* (Robert the Bruce) to emphasise the future royal Stewart and other feudal lords' roles in the War of Independence. He wrote out the more popular William Wallace-led campaign from Scottish history. It was not until about 1470, that Wallace could be celebrated in Blind Harry's, *The Actes and Deidis of the Illustre and Vallyeant Campioun Schir William Wallace*. He was reconstructed as a heroic feudal chivalric figure.

The Gall-Gael or western parts of the Highlands and Islands and Galloway were also divided into counties in order to extend the king's authority. In these areas the Gaelic language had been able to displace the Norse language of Viking conquerors, and the local Cumbric language. However, on the Gaelic-Scots language interface, Gaelic was increasingly in retreat. By 1473, the capital of Scotland was transferred from what had been Gaelic speaking Perth/Scone to Scots-speaking Edinburgh. James IV, who died in 1514, was the last Scottish king able to speak Gaelic, although Scots was his first language. Gaelic had by now largely retreated to the Highlands and Islands, and the upland parts of Galloway and Carrick. It remained, though, the majority language of Scotland north of the Forth Clyde line. These areas still held a significant proportion of Scotland's population.

Gaels now used the term Sassenach (Saxon) to describe all Lowland Scots. The last significant remaining institutional support for the Gaelic language was confined to the Lord of the Isles. Some Highland chieftains also supported the bardic and military culture (including sending gallowglass mercenaries to Ireland). Most Highland churchmen also continued to speak Gaelic. However, as in Wales, some Celtic leaders (in Scotland's case, Gaelic speaking lords and gentry) became bilingual. They used their position to both mediate with the Scottish state, and sometimes to enhance their own

power over rival clans.

Despite their annexation by the Scottish Crown, for a considerable period the Hebrides, and at times, some areas of the mainland Highlands, remained under the effective control of the semi-feudal, semi-kinship based Gaelic speaking Lordship of the Isles. The Scottish kings had a fraught relationship with this particular lordship. As with the kings of England, in relation to the kings of Alba, the Scottish kings sub-fued land deep within their own state to ensure loyalty. Thus, Greenan in Ayrshire was sub-fued to the Lord of the Isles. Territorial contiguity and integration were relatively low priorities under feudalism. It took the Battle of Harlaw in 1415, the failure of the anti-Stewart Treaty of Ardtornish-Westminster in 1467, and the abolition of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, to end the possibility of a separate Gaelic speaking realm emerging. Yet, some of the ousted lordship's family were still prepared to support the regent of the later King Edward VI in his Rough Wooing of Scotland between 1549-52.⁴⁴ These and other threats also led to Scottish kings' involvement in the affairs of Ulster, by then well beyond the English Crown's shrinking control over Ireland.

The disorder brought about by Scottish kings' attempts to undermine the Lordship of the Isles in the Highlands contributed to this area's descent into clan feuding. The feudal Earls of Argyll (Campbells) and Huntly (Gordons), rather than the Scottish monarchy, became the main beneficiaries. As a result of repression by these families and the king, there were several broken or outlawed clans such as the MacGregors. Some of their members became caterans and turned to cattle reiving, other forms of brigandage, or became mercenaries. Loyalty to the Scottish state played little part in their thinking.

This was also the case on the Scottish Border, divided into three Marches, in the face of challenges from England and the king's own subjects. Those powerful lords, appointed by the king, often prioritised their own interests in their job. Some (e.g. the Douglas family) were not averse to making their own cross-Border deals. Below them were warlike clans, such as the Armstrongs and the Grahams, who lived on both sides of the border. They made use of this divide to try to escape royal control when threatened by one state or the other. These clans also became involved in reiving (raiding) and in blackmail (an early protection racket). Just like the Sicilian Mafia's ability to find priests to serve their interests, these clans also found priests prepared

to offer prayers for a good raid! The state loyalties of these Border clans were also decidedly ambiguous.

As in England and Wales, the contingent nature of those territories, which eventually came to be recognised as Scotland, is marked. The Gall-Gael Lordship of Galloway was taken over by the Scottish crown in 1234. By the Treaty of Perth in 1266, the king of Norway ceded the Gall-Gael Sodor (the Inner and Outer Hebrides) and Mann (the Isle of Man) to the Kingdom of Scotland. However, Mann was lost to England in 1334. The Isle of Man retained its autonomy under the English Crown, unlike any of the other former Gall-Gael or Norse islands to be held by the Scottish Crown.

Because of the inability of the King of Norway to pay the dowry for his daughter to marry James III, the Northern Isles of Orkney and Shetland were then annexed to the Scottish Crown in 1472. The Scottish based Angus (Gaelic) and Sinclair (Norman-French) families had held the Jarldom of Orkney (which included Shetland) on behalf of the Norwegian Crown since 1236. This shows European kings' predilection for non-native administrators, less likely to challenge them.

The Northern Isles were Norn (a Norse dialect) speaking. The land was held under the old Norwegian udal form of tenure, which meant there was a broader base of landholders than in Scotland. So, the increasing feudalisation under the Scottish Crown contributed to a turn for the worse for most of the people living there. The annexation of the Northern Isles by the Kingdom of Scotland appears to represent a fairly arbitrary piece of territorial acquisition, although such transfers were very common throughout Europe in the feudal period.

Having a close relationship with the local officers of the Roman Catholic Church was important in the further development of feudal crown power. In 1275, the territory of the Diocese of Sodor and Man, which had been part of the Norwegian Archdiocese of Nidaros, was taken into the king of Scotland's realm. In 1388 (by which time Man been lost to the English Crown), this diocese was reorganised and renamed Argyll and the Isles. The addition of Argyll to the diocese had the effect of diluting the influence of the still powerful Lordship of the Isles. By 1359, the Scottish king was successful in getting the transfer of the Diocese of Galloway from the Archdiocese of York

to the direct control of Rome. James III took the additional precaution of transferring Galloway to the Diocese of St. Andrews in 1472. To further marginalise the influence of the Lordship of Isles, James III ensured that the Diocese of Argyll and Isles was also transferred to the control of the Diocese of St. Andrews at the same time. Finally, James III transferred the Diocese of Kirkjubagr (Orkney and Shetland) to St. Andrews in 1492. St. Andrews lay well within the realm where the kings of Scotland could wield effective power.

During the second Scottish Wars of Independence, from 1332-57, when Scottish kings chose to support France during the Hundred Years War, large swathes of Scottish territory were often occupied by English forces. These forces held a number of places for a long time. Roxburgh Castle was only finally recovered in 1460, whilst Berwick-upon-Tweed was permanently lost in 1482. It is likely that this continued instability and strife contributed to the retention of a hierarchy of feudal families still drawing on kin support in the Borders. This also led to lesser local clans competing for territory and spoils, sometimes with the support of, sometimes against the bigger feudal families, particularly the Marcher Lords.

If the later years of the feudal Kingdom of England were dominated by the dynastic Wars of the Roses, precipitated by The Hundred Years War, then the Kingdom of Scotland during the same period (and beyond) faced its own problems. There were challenges from feudal magnates, such as the Douglasses; fratricidal strife within the Stewart royal family, leading to the murder of James I in Perth in 1437 and the death of James III at the Battle of Sauchieburn in 1488; and wars against England leading to the deaths of James II at the battle for Roxburgh Castle in 1460 and James IV at the Battle of Flodden in 1513.

Despite these royal deaths, and unlike some other European dynasties, the Scottish Stewarts produced enough heirs to ensure dynastic continuity. If this had not proved to be the case, then other invited or uninvited claimants could have propelled Scotland along a quite different course, with different territorial outcomes. Thus, the emergence by 1482 of a Scottish state within its current territorial boundaries had little to do with any widespread sense of Scottish nationhood. This would be an anachronistic term to describe the territorial outcome of kinship (clan) struggles, feudal and dynastic rivalry

within Scotland, wars between different feudal states, and conflicting ecclesiastical pressures.

f) Eirinn/Ireland (pp. 67-69)

Unlike Engaland/England or Alba/Scotland, or even temporarily Cymru/Wales, Eirinn/Ireland never developed its own united kingdom. The High Kingship of Ireland hardly amounted even to a confederation and any holders were soon challenged by the leaders of the other kingdoms. In 1169, one contestant, the King of Leinster attempted to do what the earlier King David of Scotland had done. He invited over Norman-French lords and adventurers, in this case from South Wales, to help defeat other rivals and to extend his power. His invitee, Richard Strongbow de Clare, soon manoeuvred himself, through marriage, into becoming the official heir to the Leinster throne. However, the de Clares were not able to duplicate the success of those Norman-French families who later took over the Scottish throne. Worried by the emergence of possible competing kingdom in Ireland, the Angevin King Henry II of England moved to take control in 1170. Henry became Lord of Ireland in 1175 and attempted to enforce feudal fealty upon Anglo-French lords, petty Irish kings and chieftains alike.

Anglo-French lords went on to take over considerable areas of Ireland. Many of these lords crossed from Wales. Some Anglo-French lords had married women from local Welsh leading families. Welsh family names such as Taafe and Griffith became Irish surnames. The Anglo-French also brought across English colonists, who settled in Bargy and Forth in what became County Wexford. In addition, some English and Flemish merchants and artisans also moved to those few towns, which had developed as trading centres, especially Dublin and Waterford.

The subaltern position of these English settlers undermines the arguments of those Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationalists, who see racial/ethnic English imperial rule going back, either to the Anglo-Saxons, or the post-1066 Kingdom of England. In the Norman-French, then Anglo-French kingdom, the English language spoken by the majority had far less status than the Gaelic language spoken in Ireland and Scotland, or the Welsh language as long as Welsh principalities lasted. Norman-French was the official language

throughout the Angevin Empire, including those parts of Ireland the Norman-French conquerors effectively controlled. The clerics they employed backed this up with the use of Latin, the official language of Catholic Europe.

Ireland's politically fragmented nature, with its many petty kingdoms and chieftaincies, made it harder to deliver that decisive blow, which would allow the kings of England's centralised feudal control to be more effectively exercised. In comparison to Wales, Ireland was also helped by being physically separated by the Irish Sea. Similar social conditions in Wales could not prevent the eventual complete takeover there. Significant areas of Ireland, however, remained independent, or at least semi-independent of both the king's Lordship of Ireland and other feudal lords' control. Despite the initial success in extending both Norman-French royal and lordly control over much of Ireland, and the growth of some new towns, this process was thwarted.

The Norman-French, moulded in a western European feudal culture, backed by the Roman Catholic Church, could see that a different social order prevailed in Ireland. Gerald of Wales, a leading ecclesiastic, and propagandist for the Norman-French conquest of both Wales and Ireland, wrote a piece in Latin. He described the Irish as "an adulterous and incestuous people, in which both births and marriages are illegitimate, a nation out of the pale of the laws"⁴⁵.

The invasion by Edward Bruce (1315-18), though ultimately unsuccessful, also weakened the King of England's control over much of Ireland. Edward invaded to assert a claim to the High Kingship of Ireland, and open up a second front in his brother, King Robert's war with King Edward. However, this was no war of pan-Celtic national solidarity. Edward's forces harried the lands of Irish Gaels, Anglo-French and English settlers alike. Bruce's own Gaelic clan allies relished the extra feudal military muscle he brought when it came to attacking the lands of their Gaelic clan rivals.

Such was the devastation caused over three years, before Edward Bruce was killed in 1318, that the Norman-French lords found it harder to reassert their control, leaving their abandoned lands to be fought over by Irish clans. And, unlike, Scotland, but more like Wales, those few towns in Ireland did not lead to the replacement of the native language by English in the surrounding

countryside. Indeed, Gaelic-speaking 'Irishtowns' were found next door to the new towns set up by the Norman-French and English. Even such separation did not prevent the Gaelic language from breaching the town walls. Under the 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny the attempts made to reverse this process were not successful.

The King of England's Lordship of Ireland was forced back to the Pale around Dublin. The Norman-French Bisset lords, who arrived in Ulster from Scotland, soon moved out of the orbit of the Angevin lordship and became increasingly gaelicised. Bissets adopted the name McKeown. This process also happened to other Norman-French families, who had come from England or Wales, but were now also outside the shrinking Pale, e.g. the de Nangles who became Costellos, and the de Burghs who became Burkes. Most of Ireland retained or reverted to the Gaelic language.

The impact of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was different again from Wales and Scotland. Local Irish power holders introduced some Gregorian reforms and the linked Cistercian monastic movement to Ireland, for the same reasons as Scottish and Welsh power holders. The four Irish Archdioceses of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam continued to preside over territorially changing, local Irish lord-dominated dioceses. The relative lack of urban development in Ireland limited the full impact of Rome's influence. This is why Henry II was able to get papal backing for his 1170 invasion, by offering to extend Rome's full ecclesiastical control over the church in Ireland. This led to a new wave of Norman-French backed Cistercian (and other reformed order) monasteries, introduced after the conquest. However, from 1180 Norman-French and later English archbishops only held the Archdiocese of Dublin in what became the Pale. Elsewhere the church in Ireland more reflected the interests of the Gaelic order and its Irish chieftains.

Throughout the medieval period, Ireland never enjoyed political unity. The Irish high kings had been mainly ceremonial figures, whilst the Angevin, Yorkist and Lancastrian lordships of Ireland never succeeded in getting complete control of the island. Nor were any of the Irish petty kings or major lords outside the Pale able to create a core kingdom for a later united Ireland.

g) These islands at the end of the medieval period (pp. 70-73)

It can be seen that the emergence of Englland, Cymru, Alba and Eirinn came about through conquests, new settlement, sometimes leading to population displacement, but more often through cultural shifts amongst the existing inhabitants. However, several of these groups became completely assimilated, such as the Vikings (but only much later in the Orkney and Shetland). Another such group was the Flems, who accompanied the Norman-French invasion. They arrived in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland and were key to the expansion of wider trading networks, extending back to the continent. Over time, other migrants were to arrive from the continent, particularly in England, e.g. Jews and Lombards. They were mainly involved in commerce and finance. There were occasions, particularly at times of crisis, when these incomers were subjected to repression including physical attacks and killings. Edward I expelled Jews from England in 1290. Such outbursts of xenophobia could also be directed at others, who would not be considered to be nationalities or religious minorities today. Outsiders from other cities, towns and villagers were also sometimes attacked. This reflected a more general xenophobia (hatred of all outsiders) rather than the racism which later developed.

In Wales, and later in Ireland and Scotland, the Norman-French used English colonists, just as the British were to use Indian colonists in Malaya, South and East Africa, and the West Indies in the late nineteenth century. The histories of the 'Englishries' followed different paths in Wales, Ireland and Scotland. In Wales 'Englishries' were established in Gower, Glamorgan and Pembroke from the late eleventh century. These 'Englishries' retained much of their English character and orientation, accentuated by trading links, particularly with Bristol. During key events like the Reformation, the Civil War, the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, these areas of Wales tended to be divided on similar religious and class lines to England.

In Ireland, the 'Englishries' began as part of the extended royal domain of England, and their social and political life reflected this. Lionel Simnel launched his bid for the English throne in Dublin in 1487, and Perkin Warbeck tried the same from Waterford in 1495. However, the Old English eventually joined the native Irish and the Gaelicised Norman-Irish. They remained Roman Catholic during the Reformation and resisted the Protestant

New English newcomers.

In Scotland, English settlers were planted in Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1296. However, once Scots were permitted to live within the city walls after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Berwick, whilst remaining part of England, adopted a hybrid English/Scottish character. Both the English and Scots living there became overwhelmingly Protestant but had their own churches in the town. There was still enough ambiguity in the situation to require the 1747 Wales and Berwick Act, which confirmed that Berwick (and Wales) were part of England.

As the medieval feudal order was coming under increased pressure in Western Europe round about 1500, it was still difficult to anticipate the development of distinct English, Welsh, Scottish or Irish nations within today's national boundaries. England appeared to be furthest in reaching its current territorial form, but later dynastic and colonial expansion was to create new ambiguities over the territorial extent of England. Moreover, the end of the fifteenth century was a time when specific local territorial forms of administrative control were still in place in England - the Council of the North, the Council of Wales and the Marches, the Palatinate of Durham, the Lord Marcher Wardenship on the English border with Scotland, and the Stannary Parliaments of Devon and Cornwall. And there was still a lingering royal claim to France reflected in the king's official title, and control of Calais and the Channel Islands.

Wales had been absorbed into the kingdom of England as a principality, but the marcher lords still retained considerable power. Marcher lordships were in the hands of the old Norman/French feudal families on both sides of a Border that was porous. There were still remnants of the older Welsh bardic tradition, which probably enjoyed some support from those old Welsh lordly families who accommodated themselves to the new Principality of Wales. Socially though, Wales was becoming increasingly divided between an Anglo-Welsh English-speaking elite, and the Welsh-speaking 'lower orders'.

At a period of history when the 'lower orders' counted for nothing in the political arena, this was of little political significance. Ironically, it was probably the King of England's, and Anglo-Welsh lords' largely unchallenged control over Wales that meant a plantation policy was not

adopted, unlike what happened in Ireland. This meant that beyond the royal castles, the lords' great halls and the royal boroughs (which were bilingual), society remained Welsh-speaking. Much later, the Welsh speaking 'lower orders' living in these areas would emerge politically from this 'hidden reservoir'.

Although Scotland's present-day territorial extent was attained by 1482, powerful feudal lords still often challenged the Scottish kings from their own territories. Despite being royal appointees, the Marcher Lord Warden General, and the three subordinate Marcher Wardens provided these local feudal landholders with considerable power, and the ability to defy the king. Similarly, in the Highlands and Islands, it was mainly through the indirect control of particular powerful families that the king was able to extend his influence. These feudal lords would sometimes challenge the king. Meanwhile from 1472 the Orkneys and Shetlands, whilst nominally under the Scottish Crown, were under the effective control of a local feudal lord.

In Scotland, the lack of effective centralised control, supplemented nevertheless by sometimes brutal attempts to extend it, created instability. From this stemmed much of the local clan rivalry and the use of gallowglass mercenaries in Ireland, who came from the Highlands and Islands largely kinship-based social order. Thus, continued wars with the Kingdom of England, or the acts of Border marcher lords acting independently, also led to the evolution of warlike clans. And beneath the formal Border arrangements policed by the marcher lords on both sides, other non-official and clandestine deals and activities were to be found.

Ireland had nominally become a Lordship of the Angevin kings of England. However, this lordship proved unable to extend its effective control over the whole island. Even those one-time Anglo-Norman Earldoms of Kildare, Desmond (both held by Fitzgeralds), and Ormond (held by the Butlers) became more gaelicised. However, beyond the Pale and these three earldoms, no single Gaelic family ever gained supremacy, so political authority remained fragmented. A shared language and bardic culture (which also extended into the old Lordship of the Isles) did not receive the official backing of a united Irish state.

In various parts of Europe, secular leaders in some of the more powerful

states did have the power to ensure that the local church (its archdioceses and dioceses) was organised territorially to correspond to these states' territories. However, such territorial organisation was not readily recognised by the Roman Catholic Church as a principle and was often only conceded under pressure. Influential monastic orders continued to be organised across state boundaries. And, as for Great Britain, this remained a geographical concept. In 1500, the notion of a British nation and a British state was less of a political reality than the global universal Roman Catholic Imperium that had been promoted unsuccessfully by some popes.

2. AND THEN THERE WERE THREE

The kings of England forced acceptance of a more limited realm contributed to the emergence of an English nation; the uncertain boundaries of Wales within an English unitary state; the effect of the continued divide between two social orders in Scotland; and the enforced territorial unity of Ireland under the English Crown leads to deepening social division

a) A century of dramatic socio-economic change (pp. 73-81)

Economic and social changes were brought about by the growth of farming for the market, the processing of agricultural produce (e.g. wool spinning, leather tanning and brewing), mining, metallurgy and manufacturing (particularly woollens). The resultant increase in domestic and interstate trade were important economic factors behind the transformation of the old feudal order, and by extension to what remained of the even older kinship-based orders. These developments brought about new classes, new struggles and a new landed and mercantile capitalism. These first led to significant changes within feudalism, as attempts were made to create more effective states to contain and mould the new mercantile capitalism for royal purposes. This contributed to the emergence of more centralised and sometimes absolutist states. This was the background to the creation of the English nation and nation-state.

Religion again played a key role in this. Throughout the prolonged medieval

period in Europe, what are now considered to be economic, social and political struggles were largely understood in terms provided by Christian theologies. The later medieval period did produce the Renaissance, within which new secular and early scientific thinking challenged Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The Reformation, though, produced a complete break with the Catholic Church in many states. Yet the Reformation still tended to reinforce religious modes of thought, before more widespread secular thinking emerged. Both Reformation and the Counter-Reformation theology adapted their ways of thinking to address the new changes in society.

The majority of Europe's imperial kings and aristocrats continued to give their support to the Roman Catholic Church, because it backed the existing social order. Indeed, this church played a considerable part in supporting the larger feudal imperial states, particularly the Hapsburgs. Lutheranism, though, looked to a Reformation that drew most of its influential support from lesser kings, princes and lords. It challenged those who their held power with the backing of the Roman Catholic Church. It opposed the Roman Catholic imperial states in particular. However, rather than overthrow the feudal order, Lutheranism provided backing for aspirants to power within a reformed version of the feudal set-up. Some Calvinists also looked to lesser monarchs, princes and lords, but most of Calvinism's committed support came from the gentry, merchants and master craftsmen in the cities. Their challenge was more radical. Calvinism went further than Lutheranism in challenging the existing feudal order, whilst at the same time developing measures of social control to discipline the new 'lower orders', arising from the latest economic changes.

However, beyond these two reforming movements lay the Radical Reformation associated with Anabaptism, backed by peasants and artisans. They were revolutionary. They were not only defiantly anti-feudal but committed to a new Christian social order that opposed all top-down clerical control. Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists alike opposed the Anabaptists. The Anabaptists were brutally crushed after the 1525 Peasants' War. Following this, the Radical Reformation tradition continued as an underground movement.

French Catholic kings had long tried to subordinate the Papacy to French state interests through a policy known as Gallicanism. However, in 1531

Henry VIII went further and decided to ‘nationalise’ the Roman Church in England, the better to use its property and powers for his own ends. At this stage he wanted to go no further in religious terms, appreciating the church's role in maintaining social order. Henry VIII cynically used the unpopularity of some of the Catholic Church's more venal agents to seize control of church and monastic lands. His chief minister, Thomas Cromwell saw the Henrician Reformation as a way to build up the financial power of the Crown by selling church and monastic lands. This was done to create a new English ruling class more loyal to the Crown than the earlier feudal lords. The sale of confiscated land put much of it into the hands of a new rising class of increasingly commercial landholders.

However, Henry VIII undertook two further significant political reforms to increase the centralised control of the English Crown. A series of acts were passed between 1535-42, which incorporated Wales fully into a unitary English state. These measures are sometimes wrongly termed Acts of Union. But there were not two sides involved in their implementation; they were entirely the work of the English state.⁴⁶ Following Edward I's earlier conquest, Wales had been divided into territory directly under the Crown, and land only under its indirect control, run locally by the marcher lords. But now, all of Wales was divided into counties on the English model, with High Sheriffs ensuring the legal supremacy of the Crown throughout.

After the incorporation of Wales within the English state, it became subject to the Council of Wales and the Marches. Its headquarters lay in Ludlow in Shropshire. This council's remit covered what were considered the twelve Welsh shires, and the shires of Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Shropshire and Worcester. This is where the ambiguous position of Monmouthshire began. The Church of England was the established church in Wales. The Welsh dioceses had already been subjected to the Archdiocese of Canterbury. The diocesan boundaries sometimes straddled Wales and England. This lack of official regard for Welsh territory was of little political consequence within a unitary English state.

One of the key provisions of the 1535 Act was that anyone seeking office within the state had to speak English. The majority of the Welsh gentry were bilingual. Over a period of time, the Welsh gentry, through their membership of the Church of England, evolved into Anglo-Welsh members or supporters

of first the English, then later the British ruling class. The fact that the royal Tudors originally came from Wales also opened up England to Welsh families wanting to advance their careers. The powerful Cecil (Siesylt) and Herbert families came from Wales. There was little opposition from the Welsh gentry to Wales becoming fully part of England. The Henrician reforms enabled many to get their hands on church and monastic lands. Each Welsh county was also now able to send an MP to the English parliament. Access to Westminster considerably increased the Welsh gentry's scope for personal advancement.

However, the majority of the Welsh population remained workers on the land or in rurally based processing and crafts. They spoke only Welsh. Indeed, the Welsh language was still spoken in Herefordshire's Archenfield and Shropshire's Oswestry as late as the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ In those sectors where Welsh/English economic interaction took place, such as the long-distance cattle trade, the people involved retained their Welsh language as well as speaking English for commercial purposes.

To further centralise the control of the monarchy, Henry VIII also upgraded the English monarchy's previous Lordship of Ireland, creating a separate Kingdom of Ireland in 1542. In effect, Henry was now the head of two kingdoms. He initiated a policy of 'surrender and regrant', by which Gaelic chieftains could abandon the kinship-based Brehon Laws and run their lands on the English feudal model. This had limited impact at first and even the Anglo-Irish earls opposed the further extension of royal power and rebelled.

Henry's centralising reforms were also resisted within England, particularly in those areas that had not yet undergone much economic transformation. Here the power of traditional lords, still loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, dominated. This led to the Pilgrimage of Grace, a revolt of the northern lords in 1536. After crushing this, though, Henry was able to reinstate the Council of the North and appoint his own reliable appointees, in a similar manner to the Council of Wales and the Marches.

There was a relative absence, at this time, of any significant Radical Reformation forces in England, Wales or Ireland. So, the Henrician Reformation, imposed from above, was often opposed by the 'lower orders' too. Most reformers adopted a Lutheran or Calvinist theology, which went

well beyond changing the language of liturgy from Latin to English. The reformers attacked longstanding religious rituals and wider customs that had given some meaning to the lives of peasants, artisans and their families. The old Roman Catholic Church had been involved in most parishioners' lives at significant points such as baptisms, marriages and deaths, as well as providing many saints' day holidays and festivals.

As with the Roman Catholic Church's own much earlier displacement of Paganism, it took some time before the new Church of England was able to provide alternative religious rituals, celebrations and customs, which could take deeper root in society. An example of 'lower order' resistance to the new Anglicanism occurred with the Prayer Book/Western Rising in 1549. This was centred upon Cornwall and Devon.

The new commercially minded lords and gentry promoted by Henry VIII started to enclose their tenants' land to provide grazing for wool production. This led to the evictions, which included those traditional yeomen landholders unable to provide the legal documents, pay for the necessary lawyers, or deal with coercion by the new landowners. Some peasants joined Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1549. However, in this more economically developed area, it was not the older Roman Catholicism that was defended. East Anglia became one area where more popular forms of Protestantism emerged.

When the English monarchy returned to Roman Catholic hands in 1553, under Queen Mary, this did little to improve the position of the 'lower orders'. Mary's support for her husband, Philip II of Spain, the secular leader of the Counter-Reformation, and her persecution of Protestants, helped Protestantism appear more national and take deeper root in England. Neither did the Roman Catholic Gaels in Ireland benefit from Philip and Mary's rule, as a state policy of Plantation was adopted. This involved the attempted removal of the Gaelic clans from King's County (Offaly) and Queen's County (Laois).

Mary's successor, Elizabeth I, restored an established Anglican Church, but resisted the more radical changes advocated by Calvinists in particular. Many features of the Roman Church were retained, as well as some older cultural practices scorned by other reformers. Elizabeth was more concerned

with getting loyalty for her personal rule. There were no Catholic martyrs in the first ten years of her reign. It was the threats from Philip II of Spain that led to later executions. In the process of conflict with Catholic Spain, the idea of an English Protestant 'nation' under 'Good Queen Bess' took deeper root.

The Elizabethan period coincided with a further English cultural renaissance. This produced such figures as William Shakespeare. Others, such as the playwright, Christopher Marlowe, the poets Edmund Spenser and Sir Walter Raleigh, combined their cultural activities with service to the English Crown. Marlowe was a government spy; Spenser and Raleigh (as well as Francis Drake) took part in the suppression of the 'mere Irish'; whilst Raleigh also took part in the first attempted English colonisation of Virginia, as well as undertaking Crown licensed attacks on the Spanish Empire.

During this period, Scotland, with its own longstanding Stewart/Stuart royal dynasty, still lay outside the political control of the Kingdom of England. However, the Reformation had a twofold effect. First it enhanced the power of those Scottish lords who supported the winning Protestant side, and it raised the ambitions and hopes of lairds and burghers. Secondly, it led to a major diplomatic switch, from a situation where the Scottish kings and the majority of the ruling class saw France as their principal ally, to one where they saw England as their ally.

With regard to the first of these two changes, land lost by the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland tended not to end up in the state's hands. In Scotland, the grander lords got their hands on a high proportion of this land directly. They formed the Lords of the Congregation led by the 'Bonny' Earl of Moray. Unlike England, a lot less land was sold on to the lairds (Scotland's equivalent to the gentry). Thus, the excluded lairds and burghers formed a more radical Calvinist and Presbyterian alliance with the radical ministers to further their interests.

One such minister was John Knox. In his *First Book of Discipline*, written in 1560, he outlined the kind of society the Scottish Calvinists wanted to create. Land confiscated from the Roman Catholic Church was meant to finance his proposed reforms. A reformed Church of Scotland would use this income to bring about a wholesale Protestant cultural revolution. Trained ministers,

with churches in every parish, would organise education for boys, followed by wider access to reformed universities. But the Protestant Lords of the Congregation included some particularly avaricious people, anxious to keep their hands on church lands and incomes. They ensured that the *First Book of Discipline* remained largely a dead letter. But they were willing to use Knox and other Reformers for their own ends.

However, the Lords also needed outside armed support to deal first with the Roman Catholic Regent of Scotland, the French Mary de Guise, and later with her daughter-in-law, Mary Queen of Scots. They could not defeat the powerful French forces stationed in Scotland alone. This brought about the second change - a shift to an alliance with England, now with a Protestant monarch, Queen Elizabeth I. Once the Lords felt these forces were no longer required, the English, as well as the French armies, were persuaded to leave Scotland, under the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560.

Yet the struggle continued between Mary, Queen of Scots and her supporters and the Protestant forces. It took until 1567 before the latter won out. Mary was captured and sent to England, where she was imprisoned. The civil war still continued though. Mary retained some domestic support. It took another intervention from England to finally defeat Mary's backers in 1573.

Some of those who view history through Nationalist eyes see Mary Queen of Scots as, first a French, then a Spanish puppet, whilst others see John Knox as an agent of England. Such thinking does not appreciate that Nationalism was not then the dominant mode of political thinking.

Mary Queen of Scots was a member of a European royal dynasty, which had widespread connections across state boundaries. Mary's father was from Scotland, her mother from France. It was standard practice for such royal families to make claims to thrones across Europe. As it happened, it was Mary's involvement in an unsuccessful plot to have her cousin Elizabeth I assassinated, and herself declared Queen of England, that resulted in her execution in 1587. Had Mary been successful, there would have been little difficulty in processing a legitimate claim. Feudal dynasties were not motivated by Nationalist concerns, but by maximising their own power on as wide a territorial basis as possible. Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, more distant by relationship to Elizabeth I, was able to successfully push his claim

to become James I of England in 1603. His wife was Danish.

After John Knox became a Protestant, he took up church positions in Scotland, England, Frankfurt and Geneva (it was to take considerably longer before these two cities became parts of recognised nation-states). Knox's first wife was English, his second Scottish. He did not see the Calvinist Protestantism, which he promoted, as being confined within national boundaries. He became involved in religio-political disputes in every state he lived in. Whilst Knox certainly worked for a Scottish/English alliance, he soon opposed the Anglican version of Protestantism in England, earning him the enmity of Elizabeth I. The non-national scope of Knox's Calvinism was shown in his aim to unite "the elect of all nations, realms, nations, tongues, Jews and Gentiles."⁴⁸ Calvinists, in common with the Roman church at the time, understood 'Catholic' to mean a church where it was duty of the state to ensure that everybody living within its realm was a member.

Some Nationalist historians (particularly since the Scottish Cultural Renaissance of the 1920s and '30s) also see the Knoxian Reformation as being responsible for a major retreat in and the growing insularity of Scottish culture. However Scottish Calvinism was internationalist in its aims - more so than English Anglicanism. Certainly, in Scotland many traditional festivals and practices were ended, strongly discouraged or forced underground, and considerable damage was done to the architecture and art found in the old Catholic churches and monasteries. In this respect, radical Calvinist zealots behaved like those Roman Catholic zealots who had destroyed many classical monuments and ended the festivals associated with Paganism.

However, the artistry previously performed by those employed to adorn churches was now transferred to the secular sphere, particularly in the design of the new houses for the great lords and some lairds. Although the sophisticated choral singing associated with the Roman Church was ended, church singing was 'democratised' and undertaken by the whole congregation. In this way, the new Presbyterian Calvinist culture was able to develop its own deeper roots in society, in an analogous way to which the less radical Anglican Church was able to do in England.

There was a continuous tradition of Scots writing through the Reformation

period. This included the Renaissance philosopher John Mair and playwright David Lyndsey. They both strongly criticised the Roman Catholic Church, whilst remaining members. Following them, James Wedderburn became an early supporter of reform and wrote plays and poems satirising the Catholic Church. These were written up in popular broadsheets.

Knox's proposed school curriculum was advanced for its time. He did favour the use of the English *Geneva Bible*. Its later literary English successor, the *King James Bible*, did much to marginalise Scots as a written language. However, it is doubtful how much effect this had on spoken Scots, any more than people in England abandoned their particular local dialects for *King James Bible* English. We can see the same bilingualism today, with the public use of official English - either Queen's or BBC - and the private (and indeed sometimes public) use of many local dialects and accents.

George Buchanan, a native Gaelic speaker, produced internationally acclaimed Latin poetry, and also wrote in Scots. Buchanan started as a Roman Catholic intellectual but became a strong advocate of the reformed Scottish Church. Like John Knox and Andrew Melville, he ended up on its more radical wing, justifying the overthrow of tyrants. For this, his writing was banned in Scotland, England and on the continent.

b) These islands in 1600 (pp. 81-82)

By the end of the sixteenth century, the outlines of a more widely based English nation had clearly emerged. However, the English state also incorporated Wales as a principality subordinate to the Crown. Wales had also been divided into counties on the English model, although its territorial extent still remained ambiguous. Furthermore, the Kingdom of England (albeit then under a queen, Elizabeth) was also in the last stages of attaining full political control over Ireland. There had been some limited English colonisation of Ireland, particularly Munster, in the sixteenth century. The Nine Years War, which undermined the power of the last Irish Gaelic lords in Ulster, was coming to an end, although at the cost of the near bankruptcy of the English state. All of Ireland was united for the first time, and by 1609 all of the present-day Irish counties had been created, the majority in the sixteenth century. So ironically, the United Ireland desired by later Irish

Nationalists, today by Irish Republicans, and the thirty-two counties, which form the organisational basis of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), were products of English Crown rule. Nevertheless, despite this newfound imposed political unity, social divisions were to deepen further in Ireland. These were later to hold back the emergence of a united Irish nation.

Since the Wars of Independence, Scotland had been at near perpetual war with England. Sometime there were stand-alone wars between the English and Scottish crowns; sometimes these came about because of the combination of the Hundred Years War and the Scottish-French, 'Auld Alliance'. There were also conflicts in Scotland as a result of the private struggles of Highland and Border lords and clans. Irish/Scottish Gaelic links still continued across the North Channel of the Celtic Sea. However, the Scottish state was probably in a more secure position in 1600 than it had been for several centuries. This situation mainly came about because of Scotland's post-Reformation rapprochement with England.

Attempts to conjure up a wider British realm also appeared in the sixteenth century. In 1521, the Scottish philosopher, John Mair (Major) wrote his *History of Greater Britain*, in which he advocated Scotland's unity with England, through royal marriage. The attempt to do this through the Rough Wooing of Scotland in 1544, which involved the burning of Edinburgh and several Borders towns and villages, did little to make this a popular proposition. Between 1570-80, John Dee, a court astrologer, alchemist and occult philosopher of Welsh descent, argued for Queen Elizabeth to establish a British Empire. To establish a claim, he argued that the Celtic British King Arthur had conquered Ireland, and that Prince Madoc of Gwynedd had discovered America in 1170.⁴⁹

However, it was not such spurious claims that determined why Ireland was conquered by the English Crown, but the state's ability to exercise military power. Elsewhere, England's relative military weakness explains why it was only the Spanish Crown which had a foothold in North America at the time, and why the attempted English colonies there failed in the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, the reality of a Great British state, and even less a British nation, had advanced little further by 1600 than it had in 1500.

3. REVOLUTION IN THE THREE KINGDOMS

The continued rise of the English nation and the invisibility of Wales as a separate polity under the Three Kingdoms and the 'Greater English' Republic; the legacy of two societies and the struggle between an all-islands Presbyterian settlement and the Stuarts' wider dynastic claims limit the development of a Scottish nation; and the ethnically and religiously divided nature of Irish society acts as a barrier to the development of a united Irish nation

a) The Stuarts' struggle to control the Three Kingdoms and the Puritan, Presbyterian and the Independent Republican challenges, with their different class and national bases of support (pp. 83-86)

By the 1603 Union of the Crowns, James VI of Scotland became King James I of the Three Kingdoms - England, Ireland and Scotland. It was James who first termed himself King of Great Britain. However, in the political and social circumstances prevailing at the time, he could not make this stick. His kingship over Ireland would complicate matters, as would English (and Welsh), then Scottish and Scotch-Irish colonial settlement in North America. What was the territorial reach of his proposed Great British state? Indeed, what would be the territorial extent of the English state, which dominated the Three Kingdoms?

England had developed an early, territorially integrated, market economy, focusing particularly on the needs of London. Foodstuffs from the Home Counties, woollen cloth from the West Country, and coal from Newcastle were all sold in London markets. Advanced agricultural methods and craft techniques were imported from the Dutch Netherlands. A common English language print culture existed in England. This could be read by growing numbers of gentry, merchants, master craftsmen and even some yeomen and artisans. However, a strong English national identity had not yet penetrated very deeply amongst the wider population, especially tenant farmers, labourers, and 'vagabonds'. England's navy did recruit seamen from throughout the state. In contrast, army regiments were still raised mainly at the county level, often producing loyalties that reflected this.⁵⁰

These economic and social changes were accompanied by the continued rise of new class forces in England throughout Elizabeth's reign and into the Stuart era. Conflicts developed between these classes. On one side were the commercially orientated landed nobility and the royal chartered merchants, who still thought in terms of privilege and monopoly. On the other side were the gentry, master craftsmen, smaller merchants and the better-off yeomen trying to find an independent economic niche for themselves. Both sets of these new rising political forces initially hoped to make their influence felt within the English state, so they could better promote their interests. The established Church of England became a focus for this conflict. In the course of the unfolding struggles with Tudor and Stuart monarchs and their aristocratic supporters, the new challengers first adopted Puritanism. From this there later evolved a more organised Presbyterianism.

A similar process took place in Scotland. Scotland though was considerably less economically developed than England. The Tudor monarchy had been more prepared to provide state office, and hence access to landed wealth, to non-aristocratic families. Thomas Cromwell had been the son of a merchant and hostelry owner. The Tudors wanted to build up a counterforce to the old feudal lords. However, the Scottish Stuarts, allied to the big feudal lords, largely ignored the interests of the gentry and burghers. To counter this an earlier and relatively stronger Presbyterian challenge emerged in Scotland.

The Presbyterian form of church organisation was designed to bring the king and state under the control of the supporters of the Church of Scotland. It was also meant to impose discipline upon the 'lower orders' - tenant farmers, artisans or wage earners and their families. Church sessions enforced this control at local level. And to do this, they sought full state backing. James VI, who had initially been prepared to accept Calvinist doctrine (probably arrogantly assuming that kings were automatically among the elect!), remained resolutely opposed to any Presbyterian reorganisation of the church that could challenge his power.

Knox had failed to bring about the thorough reform of the church he desired, but his successor, Melville continued to confront the Scottish Crown. Melville famously called James VI, "God's sillie vassal."⁵¹ However, James VI was able to win out and impose his own episcopalian control over the

church through his appointed bishops in Scotland. Following the 1603 Union of the Crowns, he was also able to use his greater powers, as James I of England and head of the Anglican church, to have Melville imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1606, then to send him into exile in 1610.

The first concern of James VI/I was to use his much-increased power, following the Union of the Crowns, to ensure his effective control over Scotland. This meant taking direct control of the Borders. The Wardens of the Marches were abolished. Many troublesome Armstrongs, Elliots and Grahams were transplanted to work as miners in the newly developing coal pits in Northumberland and Durham, or as settlers on the further edges of the new Ulster plantations. Not having strong religious convictions, some of these settlers 'went native' and became Catholic; others joined the more committed Protestant incomers. A few, though, found the change in the way of life expected of them difficult. One of the first recorded Armstrongs in Ireland was hung at Dungannon in 1625 for horse-theft!⁵²

In the Highlands, James' now far more comprehensive 1609 Statutes of Iona followed his earlier proscription of the MacGregors. These statutes were designed to 'civilise' the Gaelic chieftains. This meant outlawing the old kinship-based culture and bardic traditions by promoting the English language and the state-backed Church of Scotland. The plantation of Scots Lowlanders in Lewis formed an accompanying policy, unsuccessful in this case. James revealed the manner by which such plantations were to be introduced - "slaughter, mutilation, fyre-raising, or utheris inconvenieties"!⁵³

Yet, it was in Ireland, finally conquered by the English Crown following the Nine Years War, where such plantations and methods were most resorted to under the new Union of the Crowns. As with the Tudors' earlier attempted plantation of Munster, the Stuarts' Ulster Plantations were preceded by widespread military devastation and famine. Therefore, as a result of the large number of Irish deaths, there were not enough English settlers to replace them.

James, having inherited the Irish Crown, took responsibility for planting Ulster. Here he hoped to create new British subjects, through an amalgam of Scottish and English settlers, financed by the rich London guilds. The majority of settlers were Lowland Scots. However, old enmities and

religious differences ensured that this desired British loyalty did not come about. The New English Anglicans looked to London or the Anglo-Irish administration in Dublin, whilst Ulster-Scots Presbyterians maintained their links with Edinburgh and Glasgow. Scots Presbyterian settlers opposed attempts to impose Anglicanism in Ulster.

The overwhelming majority - the 'mere Irish' - continued to resent the confiscation of the land they had occupied under the old kinship-based system. They opposed both Anglican and Presbyterian Protestantism, which had made few attempts to adapt to meet the needs of a very different Irish society. The native Irish also retained a strong memory of the still recent atrocities they had endured. Their number now included disinherited former chiefs and bards, who still used the old oral traditions to pass on this history. The 'mere Irish' also provided refuge for banned Catholic priests. These conditions provided the basis for an Irish jacquerie, when the primary concerns of the new UK state lay elsewhere.

The Scottish war in one kingdom, which commenced in 1638, was extended to a second in Ireland in 1641, before finally escalating into the War of the Three Kingdoms in 1642. This later phase of conflict has often been misleadingly termed the English Civil War; and seen as a battle between two sides, the Cavaliers or Royalists, led by Charles I and his son Charles on one hand, and the Roundheads or Parliamentarians, led by Cromwell on the other. Polarisation between these political forces was indeed important but, for many, other concerns and more local interests provided greater motivation. Furthermore, the Stuarts' wider entanglements in these islands and beyond tended to produce conflicts complicated by the issue of dynastic control rather than clear-cut national struggles. As in case of the early histories of what became England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, religion played an important part in the political changes that took place in these countries during the sixteenth century.

b) England (pp. 86-90)

Some amongst the religious opposition to James I and Charles I in England (as in Scotland) organised themselves in clandestine conventicles. The majority though remained in the official Church. They were seeking a new

constitutional monarchy based on godly principles. Those though who defied the state in England became part of the Separatist or Independent tradition. The Independents' ranks tended to be drawn from the lesser gentry, yeomen, merchants, and artisans. The most radical Independents were found amongst the craftsmen and apprentices in London, and the longstanding yeomen opposition to enclosures in East Anglia.

Under James I's state persecution, some Independents went into exile in the Netherlands, or settled in New England. However, many returned to England when the political situation became more favourable during Charles I's War of the Three Kingdoms. The ranks of the Independents went on to include Congregationalists, Baptists, and later, Quakers. They represented the lineal descendants of the earlier Radical Reformation.

The Independents had quite fluid identities when it came to identifying themselves with particular states or nations. When the Pilgrim Fathers sailed in 1620 from Plymouth for Massachusetts, they left as persecuted English Separatists. When they arrived in Crown chartered colonies, they developed more local colonial attachments, being wary of attempts to create a wider New England. Over time, many settlers became Congregationalists in religion. Later, some began to join with those in England who considered themselves to be 'freeborn Englishmen'. Finally, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, most of those who remained in the American colonies become 'liberty loving Americans'.

When the War of the Three Kingdoms reached England in 1642, the first challenge to royal despotism there came from the Presbyterians. They had followers within the existing state churches in England and Scotland, and other supporters amongst the Ulster Scots. Scotland was the Presbyterians' stronghold. After four years of struggle with the Crown, they and their English allies were able to force the English Parliament to accept *The Solemn League and Covenant* in 1642. Charles I continued to resist, believing as he did in the unconstrained divine right of kings.

The failure of the Presbyterians to counter Charles I effectively left the way open for the 'lower order' Independents. Presbyterians were wedded to their own version of a constitutional monarchy. Independents were prepared to take far more radical measures to oppose the Crown. Many became overtly

republican. Unlike the Presbyterians, the Independents were overwhelmingly English. Under Oliver Cromwell they created their own New Model Army. This was a revolutionary force. Although Lord Fairfax (who adopted the non-aristocratic title, Sir) remained the Captain-General, the New Model Army introduced promotion on merit. Thus, Hewson the cobbler, Okey the ship chandler, and Pride the drayman became senior officers.

It was from amongst the ranks of the New Model Army that the Levellers, the radical wing of the Independents, first emerged. In 1647 the *Putney Debates* were organised between Cromwell and leading Levellers. The Levellers drew up *An Agreement of the People*. Most Levellers desired an end to monopolies and wanted a much wider distribution of individual property. Although an even more radical group, the Diggers, later emerged who supported communal land holding.

However, the Levellers were eventually defeated by Cromwell's regime. Cromwell divided them by adopting their demand to have Charles I executed and by declaring an English Commonwealth in 1649. But he also directed Leveller forces to Ireland, offering land in lieu of payment. Some resisted Cromwell's attempt to send them, since they were in sympathy with the Irish defence of their common lands.⁵⁴ They were crushed at Burford for their defiance and this precocious display of 'internationalism from below'. The possibility of England developing as a small farmer, merchant and artisan-based economy was aborted. The triumph of the 'counter-revolution within the revolution', following the final suppression of the Levellers, benefitted the larger commercial landlords and merchants, and led to a whole series of retreats.

The Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland was declared in 1653. Its *Instrument of Government* was the only written constitution covering these islands or any of its constituent nations, until that of the First Irish Republic in 1919. However, the Commonwealth soon gave way to Cromwell's Protectorate in 1654. It had a parliament, but this was dissolved the next year, as political power became increasingly centralised in the person of Cromwell. Cromwell was given the title of 'His Highness the Lord Protector'. The Council of State offered him advice. Subordinate to His Highness and the Council of State, there was also meant to be a Lower House and a new Upper House, together forming the second Protectorate Parliament.

By the 1656 *Humble Petition and Advice*, these arrangements were consciously remodelled to very closely resemble the earlier set-up with its King advised by the Privy Council, and a House of Lords and House of Commons. The pseudo-royalist nature of Cromwell's Lord Protectorate became increasingly clear. This was opposed by the shrinking Republican forces and seen as not going far enough by the resurgent royalists. Therefore, in practice, to retain his control Cromwell continued to rule as a military dictator.

The Commonwealth's Lower House was meant to have four hundred elected English and Welsh MPs (England continuing to include Wales for political purposes) and thirty each from Scotland and Ireland. As the centralisation of power under Cromwell's appointed Major Generals continued, so did the 'Greater English' character of Cromwell's Protectorate. Cromwell was very much 'God's Englishman' and he opposed the notion of a British state. Britishness was associated with the Stuart dynasty's attempts to get wider support for their Three Kingdoms.⁵⁵

Following the Levellers' defeat, the economic power of most of the remaining lords was left largely untouched. The economic underpinning of Cromwell's new Greater English Republic was state promoted Mercantilism. The Fenlands of East Anglia were an area where the conflict between a new national economic orientation and defence of an older local, household and commons subsistence economy was particularly acute.

Before the English Civil War, Cromwell had legally represented the interests of the fenmen, in the face of this new economic challenge. However, once in power he went on to become the chief advocate for an Act “designed to complete the drainage work on the Bedford Level. The wording of this act is textbook mercantilism”.⁵⁶ The commoners of the Fenlands resisted this strongly, and it was only through the use of Scottish prisoners of war that the southern Fens were reclaimed. Forced labour was part and parcel of many early large-scale capitalist developments. However, in the northern Fenlands the commoners triumphed. This allowed their traditional way of life to continue as one of the many local cultures not fully brought under the heel of the new mercantile capitalism.

Large numbers of prisoners from Scotland and Ireland were also put to forced

labour in the West Indies.⁵⁷ Cromwell's support for new plantations in Ireland and his colonial policy under the Western Design, led to the further strengthening of large landowners, including those on slave-based plantations. The power of the bigger merchants also grew. These emerging social classes were the socio-economic forces behind the Commonwealth's and the Protectorate's continued political retreats from democratic republicanism. After Cromwell's death in 1659, two of his supporters, Lord Fairfax and George Monck (soon to become Duke of Albemarle), who had benefitted considerably during this period, invited Charles II back at the 1660 Restoration. They represented all those who also wanted to consolidate their recent gains.

c) Wales (pp. 90-91)

With Wales long absorbed into the Kingdom of England as a principality, and with its Anglo-Welsh lords and gentry participating in the state, the economic, social and political struggles, which arose in the War of the Three Kingdoms, were very similar to those in England. However, the far less developed nature of the economy meant that the Royalists, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, were considerably stronger throughout most of Wales than they were in England. The main strength of the Parliamentarians lay in Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire, which had English speaking boroughs and important commercial links with England across the Severn Estuary.

Both Royalists and Parliamentarians recruited in Wales and the Marches. The Parliamentarians were eventually able, by drawing upon English forces, to oust both Charles I and his Royalist forces from Wales by 1645. However, once the Civil War began to move into its most radical phase, centred upon England, a similar situation arose in Wales, to that which was to occur in Scotland.

The leading Welsh Parliamentarians, the Puritan John Poyer, Major-General Rowland Laugharne and Colonel Rice Powell switched sides and allied with Charles I. There were virtually no Welsh Independents. Cromwell had to deal with this challenge in person, bringing five divisions of his New Model Army into Wales. The three Parliamentary defectors were captured and sentenced to death, but Lord Fairfax intervened, so that only Poyer was actually executed.

In the first phase of the war, the Royalists had used Welsh foot soldiers as cannon fodder. As a consequence, Welsh soldiers experienced disproportionate casualties at the battles of Edgehill, Tewkesbury and Hereford in 1642.⁵⁸ Thus, after 1647, Royalist forces, now augmented by former Parliamentarians, found it difficult to recruit Welsh soldiers. There was also a lack of sympathy in English Parliamentary ranks. A hundred Welsh-speaking women, wives and camp followers of the Welsh Royalist forces, were massacred in the aftermath of the Royalist defeat at Naseby in 1645. Afterwards, the Parliamentarians tried to excuse their actions by claiming that because these women spoke a 'foreign language'. They thought that they were Irish!⁵⁹

Cromwell suspended the Council for Wales and the Marches, and Wales automatically became part of the English Commonwealth in 1649, and later his pseudo-monarchist 'Greater English' Protectorate. There were Anglo-Welsh MPs in the Protectorate parliaments, but these were soon dissolved. After the earlier problems Cromwell had faced in Wales there was now some acknowledgement of Welsh distinctiveness. Under the 1650 Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, a Bible was published in the Welsh language. However, the majority of the Commissioners responsible for implementing this act were either English or Anglo-Welsh members from the Border counties.⁶⁰ The use of the Welsh language was only meant to be for a transitional period before Wales became another fully anglicised part of the English Commonwealth.

Once the Commonwealth of England gave way to Cromwell's Lord Protectorate, Major Generals were placed in charge of twelve different regions. Wales was incorporated into the region that included the marcher counties of Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire.⁶¹ The ambiguous extent of the territory covered by a Wales long incorporated into the English state continued. A large majority of the population remained Welsh speakers. They belonged to the 'lower orders' and they had no significant religious or political organisations to defend their own interests. Thus, where they participated in the war, it was as subordinate forces recruited to meet the political ends of others.

d) Scotland (pp. 92-96)

A different pattern of struggle emerged in Scotland. This reflected the nature of its society, and its external links particularly with Ireland. The 1643 Revolution in the Three Kingdoms had originally been triggered off in 1637 in Scotland. Jenny Geddes,⁶² a market trader, threw a stool at the minister sent by the official state to impose the Anglican-style services in St. Giles Kirk. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury had imposed these. At the same time, many Scottish lords feared that Charles I might seize back the land they had obtained from the Roman Catholic Church. They decided to take the lead of what had initially been a 'lower orders' revolt. They got one of the radical ministers, Archibald Johnston of Wariston to draw up the *National Covenant* in 1638.⁶³

The National Covenant amounted to a political challenge to Charles I, leading to the Bishops' Wars. It was this that triggered what eventually became the War of the Three Kingdoms. Charles sent an army to Scotland in 1639. However, the well-organised Covenanters forced the king to back down. Charles tried again in 1640, but the Covenanters defeated his army at the Battle of Newburn, and Northumberland and Durham were occupied. This led a reluctant king to call an English Parliament in 1640, eleven years after the previous one. However, this parliament, dominated by the Scottish Covenanters' English Presbyterian allies, also went on to defy the king.

The Presbyterians were to achieve their greatest success with *The Solemn League and Covenant* agreed by Westminster in 1642. Johnston was a key figure in these negotiations. The *Solemn League*, backed by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was to be implemented in England (including Wales), Scotland, Ireland and the English colonies. Some entertained the idea of an even wider international Protestant alliance.⁶⁴ However, as more 'lower order' forces began to organise, Charles I was able to split off prominent aristocrats amongst the Scottish Covenanters. Many in the Covenanter leadership grew increasingly concerned at the independent mindedness of the radical ministers. They had hoped the ministers would limit their activities to the requirements of the original aristocratic signatories of the *National Covenant*.

Like their English Presbyterian allies, though, the remaining Covenanters

were still hamstrung by their adherence to the idea of a constitutional monarchy. They sought the sovereignty of a covenanted king working in tandem with an assembly of the divines. The Stuarts remained wedded to a very different idea of monarchy based on the divine right of kings. When a hard-pressed Charles I signed up to *The Solemn League and Covenant* in 1643, he was blatantly insincere in doing so. This was demonstrated in his attempts to mobilise Episcopalian and Catholic military forces in the Scottish Highlands and Islands and in Ireland. This meant that the conflict continued in Scotland.

Indeed, any understanding of the further development of the war in Scotland has to take into consideration the different types of society, which still existed in the Highlands and Islands, and their continuing links with Ireland. Despite increased feudalisation north of the Highland Line, many areas still retained older practices dating from a more kin-based order. Although James I had gone to considerable lengths, after the 1603 Union of the Crowns, to exert royal power in the Highlands and Islands, he still had to resort to the indirect power of powerful local families. The Marquis of Argyll acted as a Clan Campbell leader in his own lands, and as a feudal lord at court. There were still clans able to act in defiance of official state and local lordly law and order.

James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, initially a signatory to the National Covenant, was one of those who quickly developed cold feet. He saw power slipping out of the nobles' hands, at the same time as an ambitious Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll, was trying to lead the Covenanters for his own family's benefit. Therefore Montrose, who became the leading Royalist general, supplemented his Lowlands based and largely Episcopalian noble forces with Highland and Islands, Gaelic clan forces.

The leader of Montrose's Gaelic clan forces was Coll Ciotach or Colkitto. He led a branch of Clan Donald whose interests extended from Islay to Ulster. They had suffered considerably at the avaricious hands of the Campbells. From 1644-6 Colkitto's forces proved to be very effective, against Covenanter forces, at the battles of Tippermuir, Auldearn, Alford and Kilsyth. However, Colkitto's involvement in the sacking of Aberdeen, in 1644, highlighted the problems for the Royalist camp. Although Aberdeen was, in effect, a Lowland city, its leaders were largely Episcopalian, and could

probably have been won over to actively support the Royalist cause.

The problem was that the clans, whose livelihood depended primarily in the scant resources of their homelands, saw the plunder of cities and towns as their reward for joining the war. After his victory at Kilsyth in 1645, Montrose was forced to dismiss Colkitto, fearing another counterproductive city sacking - this time of Glasgow. Colkitto returned to the war that interested him most - seeking revenge on Clan Campbell. Having already sacked the Campbell's headquarters at Inveraray, and heavily defeating them at Inverlochy, he did so again at Lagganmore.

Meanwhile, Montrose had to press on south with considerably depleted forces to meet the experienced Covenanter General Leslie. Montrose was confronted with a larger army at the Battle of Philiphaugh in the Borders and was heavily defeated. At the prompting of the army's Presbyterian 'commissars', Montrose's remaining Irish troops and their camp followers were massacred after the battle. Montrose went into exile. After the Battle of Philiphaugh, it was now General Leslie who had the forces to enter the Highlands. He eventually defeated Colkitto at the Battle of Rhunahaorine Moss in 1647. Colkitto retreated to Ireland, where he joined the Confederate forces, at this point acting independently of Royalists in England and Scotland. However, the Irish Parliamentarians killed him, after his capture in the Battle of Knocknanmuss in 1647.

Following the Battle of Marston Moor in Yorkshire in 1644, the leadership of the anti-Royalist forces in the War of the Three Kingdoms passed from the Scottish-led Presbyterians to the English-led Independents. This was the battle in which Oliver Cromwell emerged as a significant leader. However, within Scotland itself, the leadership remained with the Presbyterians. They became split between the Engagers, led by the Duke of Hamilton, who like their moderate Welsh equivalents, joined Charles I's forces, and the Remonstrants, who, although fronted by the Earl of Argyll, were very much influenced by the Kirk Party of radical ministers, led by Johnston.

After Cromwell had defeated the Engagers at Preston in 1648, the Kirk Party took power in Scotland in 1649, and introduced some anti-feudal reforms.⁶⁵ There is a parallel between the radical Covenanters, who looked to a strictly enforced Covenant, policed by radical ministers, and those who became the

official Communists or supporters of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, who looked to a one party state policed by commissars, to bring about their desired social order.

The earlier Scottish supporters of the English Parliamentarians still held strong reservations about Cromwell's Independents, especially their Leveller wing. They considered them to be Sectaries opening up society to rule by the 'lowest orders'. Therefore, once Charles I had been executed, they, as would-be constitutional monarchists, looked hopefully to his son, whom they crowned as Charles II of Scotland at Perth in 1650. The majority of the Covenanters backed the new king. Montrose returned and launched one final Royalist campaign from the far north. This time he was defeated at the Battle of Carbisdale by one of the most radical Covenanters, Colonel Archibald Strachan.⁶⁶ Strachan went on to oppose even the radical Covenanter Remonstrants or Kirk Party, when they declared their support for a covenanted Charles II. The Kirk Party excommunicated Strachan, following his suggested alternative to their policy, a continued accommodation with Cromwell. He died later that year.

Cromwell was forced to return to Scotland, where he defeated the Remonstrants at Dunbar in September 1650. Here the minister 'commissars' persuaded the Remonstrant forces to abandon their more strongly held hillside position. They then went down to defeat. This defeat though, allowed the much more openly royalist Engagers, now termed Resolutioners, to take control in Edinburgh and most of Scotland, leaving a Remonstrant rump in the west. Cromwell defeated the latter first at the Battle of Heiton in December 1650, before going on to defeat Charles II (then only of Scotland), who was backed by English Royalist and Scottish Resolutioner forces, at Worcester in September 1651.

Cromwell decided to incorporate Scotland into his 'Greater English' Commonwealth. As in the case of Wales, which had been absorbed into England between 1534-6, these new arrangements were not the result of a union negotiated between different national governments, but a top-down imposition. Although the English Commonwealth had its name changed to the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, the *Tender of Union*, which prepared the ground for this, was only debated and passed in the English Parliament to be proclaimed in Edinburgh in 1652.⁶⁷

The principal Scottish governing body, the Council of Estates was abolished, and the Church of Scotland reduced to the status of an Independent church. Both the competing General Assemblies of the moderate Resolutioners and the radical Remonstrants were suppressed, although Presbyterians were quite free to practice their religion and organise local kirk sessions. Eight English commissioners initially governed Scotland. Although, when the Irish peer, Lord Broghill, was made president of a new Council in Scotland in 1655, two Scottish Council members were added to the seven English members. A commission of four Englishmen and three Scotsmen took over responsibility for the legal system.

Following Cromwell's 'counter-revolution within the revolution' in England, his government brought about no further radicalisation in Scotland. Instead, under the 1654 Act of Pardon and Grace to the People of Scotland, Cromwell looked to reconciliation with former Engagers/Resolutioners and, following the 1653-4 Glencairn's Rising, even with some more openly Royalist nobles.⁶⁸ In 1657, the Remonstrant Johnston joined Cromwell's administration. Johnston had probably been encouraged by General Monck's suppression of the Robert Overton plot in Edinburgh in 1654.⁶⁹ He could now clearly see that Cromwell was no longer encouraging the Sectaries. Johnston became a placeman within Cromwell's 'Greater English' Protectorate. When Charles returned in 1660, Johnston's earlier opposition to the execution of his father Charles I, and his part in the Remonstrants' initial armed opposition to Cromwell, was forgotten. Once Charles had been made king of both England and Scotland, Johnston was executed for his role in supporting Cromwell, and being a key figure in the radical Kirk Party before this.

e) Ireland (pp. 96-103)

The struggles, which emerged in Ireland, during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, were the most complex of all. This reflected the varied socio-economic conditions found there. Although royal control over the whole island had been finally established, following the defeat of the last Gaelic lords in the Nine Years War, the social structure of Ireland still varied regionally and remained quite distinct from England, Wales and Scotland.

Within the old Pale, where the social situation had in some ways earlier resembled Glamorgan, Gower and Pembrokeshire in Wales, the Reformation later led to a divergent path of development. The big majority of the descendants of the original Anglo-Norman and English settlers in Ireland remained Roman Catholic and became known as the Old English. Many were urban dwellers, involved in commerce, like their pre-Reformation counterparts in England. But their interests were set aside under the Tudors, in favour of the New English settlers, who mainly gave their support to the Anglican Church.

The New English became the main beneficiaries of the confiscation of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical and monastic lands in Ireland. They obtained land in eastern Leinster (which coincided with the old Pale) and in eastern Munster, much of which was confiscated from the Old English earls after they rebelled against the Crown. They also settled in cities like Dublin and Cork. There was a real split between the Protestant New English and the Catholic Old English.

However, despite the Old English sharing Roman Catholicism with the Irish Gaelic majority, differing class interests divided them too. The leaders of the Old English came from the feudal lords, descendants of the original Anglo-Norman settlers, e.g. the Marquises of Ormond and Clanrickarde, and the Earls of Inchiquin and Castlehaven. These families had intermarried, both with the families of the Gaelic Irish chieftains and with noble families in England. Often the Old English lords held lands in Ireland and England. This meant that, as conflicts developed between the English Crown and the majority in Ireland, many of the more aristocratic Old English families were torn. They were more ready to seek accommodation with the Crown, and sometimes with the Protestant New English settlers, than with their more lowly co-religionists among the Old English and particularly the Gaelic Irish.

After the last of the old Gaelic lords had been defeated and had gone into exile in 1607, the overwhelming majority of the remaining Gaelic Irish were now confined to the 'lower orders'. These included an outlaw class of woodkernes or tories,⁷⁰ with ousted lesser clan chiefs and their bards living amongst them. One result of the continental exile of Gaelic lords, Catholic priests and students, was to bring them into contact with the Counter-Reformation culture, backed by Spain and the Spanish Netherlands and by

France. Many exiled Irish Gaelic leaders joined the Spanish and French armies, whilst others, who pursued religious careers, joined the Irish Colleges, particularly at Leuven/Louvain in the Spanish Netherlands and Douai in France. These Irish colleges sent trained priests back to Ireland to stem any Protestant advance.

However, these priests' main task was not re-converting Protestant 'heretics' but providing religious instruction to Irish people who were often only nominally Catholic. These people had little understanding of the arguments needed to combat the Protestant theological challenge. Their Catholicism was still mixed with earlier semi-Pagan beliefs and practices, which had been tolerated by the Church because they did not openly challenge official doctrine or power.

Furthermore, although the official Roman Catholic Church stuck with the Latin bible, the Anglican Church in Ireland was very slow to provide a Gaelic version.⁷¹ When it finally did so in 1685, this was understood to be a transition to the use of English. Thus, language turned out to be a key arena in which Irish Catholic ecclesiastics and scholars were at a decided advantage compared to their less numerous Protestant counterparts in the 'culture wars' of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. For, whether in Ireland or abroad, Irish Catholic authors continued to write secular works in Gaelic, such as Seathrún Céitinn/Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn/History Of Ireland*.

There was also more continuous direct contact between the Continent and Ireland, when compared to the Scottish Highlands and Islands. This had a double-edged effect. As Protestant England became drawn into conflicts with the Catholic Spanish Empire, Ireland's links with this state seemed particularly threatening. However, it also meant that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was far more willing to provide personnel and logistical backing for their Irish Gaelic adherents, than they were for their rapidly declining Scottish flock. These people now mainly lived in the remoter Gaelic speaking Highlands and Islands, an area with which the major Catholic powers and Rome had far fewer contacts.

It was events in Scotland that prompted a group of disinherited old Gaelic families, led by Rory O'More and Conor Maguire, in 1641, to attempt to

seize Dublin, whilst Sir Phelim O'Neill's forces seized towns and forts in Ulster. Their aim was to bargain with Charles I from a position of strength. They wanted the return of their lands. They saw themselves as copying the Scottish Covenanters' attempts to seek redress for their grievances, and they tried to prevent any conflict with the Ulster Scots.⁷²

However, the plot to seize Dublin was thwarted, whilst O'Neill's success in seizing several Ulster towns and forts precipitated a very different struggle. The downtrodden Gaelic peasantry, remembering the huge loss of life and land they had suffered during the Nine Years War and the subsequent Plantations, mounted their own jacquerie and began to expel all settlers. These settlers included the Ulster Scots, who had taken Irish land just like the English settlers, and were hostile not just to Anglicanism, but even more so to Roman Catholicism. An estimated 12,000 Scottish and English Protestant settlers were killed or died of hunger and cold in Ulster in 1641-2.⁷³ Many settlers returned to Scotland and England, greatly stoking up anti-Irish feeling amongst Scottish Covenanting and English Parliamentary forces.

This situation led to new tensions. Charles I organised two armies to crush this rising. The Earl of Ormond led the first. Although from an Old English Irish family, he had converted to Protestantism. The English-born Protestant, Sir Charles Coote, governor of Dublin, provided backing. Irish Catholic civilians were massacred in the operations against the rebels. The second army, led Scottish Covenanter Major-General Robert Monro in Ulster, also massacred many Irish Catholics.⁷⁴ The effect of this repression was to bring together many more Gaelic Irish and also Old English into an alliance in the defence of what remained of their lands and to uphold Roman Catholicism. In May 1642 these forces united at Kilkenny in the Confederation Assembly. They drew up the *Oath of Association*.

In many ways the leaders of the Irish Confederates and signatories of the *Oath* were mirroring the leaders of the Scottish Covenanters and signatories to the *National Covenant*. First, they hoped to take control of rebellion from below and harness it for their own ends. Secondly, they needed to get outside support to pressurise Charles more effectively - the English Parliament in the case of the Scottish Covenanters, and the continental Catholic powers and the Papacy in the case of the Irish Confederation. They also shared some of the same weaknesses. They declared their loyal support for Charles I, whilst

placing unrealistic demands upon him - demanding either a Covenanted or a Roman Catholic supporting monarchy.

But Charles' political power depended on Anglican bishops. Before the outbreak of the War of the Three Kingdoms, Charles' leading hitman, Thomas Wentworth, Earl Strafford, had plans to take the land off any lord who defied the monarch. A strict Anglican, he used his position as Lord Deputy of Ireland to confiscate more Catholic land. The Covenanting lords, who challenged Charles from 1638, feared he would do the same to their land in Scotland. Therefore, to many major landowners in Ireland, Scotland and England, it appeared that Strafford was looking to regain control of all the lands that had originally been confiscated under successive plantations, by the Lords of the Congregation or by Henry VIII. These would provide Charles with the resources to develop an absolute monarchy.

However, such a plan had little chance of success. It meant taking on the majority of the landed ruling class which had emerged on the basis of sixteenth century Reformation confiscations, particularly in England and Scotland. Whatever differences existed between the Presbyterians and Independents, Roman Catholicism would always be associated in their minds with a return to an earlier social order, and the loss of lands acquired during the Reformation. So, the Irish Confederates were limited in their choice of possible allies in England or Scotland. Thus, Charles, in trying to manoeuvre between and win support from Presbyterians and Catholics, found he was working with quite contradictory forces. He had to resort to secret plots and deals, which fell short of what many of his allies wanted, whilst providing grist to the mill of his opponents.

Nevertheless, with the resources provided by the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Rinuccini,⁷⁵ and the return of Owen Roe O'Neill,⁷⁶ one of the exiled Gaelic leaders, who had a Franciscan education and Spanish military training, the Confederates soon controlled most of Ireland. Only New English, Protestant Dublin and Cork, and some towns in Ulster held by Ulster-Scots lay beyond their control. Rinuccini's orthodox Catholic politics can also be seen as a mirror image of Archibald Johnston's orthodox Presbyterian politics.

Although both fought nominally under the banner of Charles I, they often found themselves in opposition to the king, and to the alliances proposed by

fellow Irish Confederates or Scottish Covenanters, especially by their more lordly members. Johnston ended up opposing the Resolutioners who wanted to join Charles' Royalist forces in England against the Independents. Rinucinni opposed the Viscount Muskerry's First Ormond Peace in 1646 and Lord Inchiquin's Second Ormond Peace in 1649, both alliances made with Irish Royalists, also against the Independents.

The alliances Charles I made with Ormond came about as a result of the failure of the major Catholic Confederate lords to defeat the Parliamentarians, or to follow up O'Neill's victory over Robert Monro after the battle of Benburb in 1646. O'Neill and Rinuccini were united in wanting to pursue a campaign for the restoration of Gaelic Irish lands and the Roman Catholic religion, even if their primary emphasis over these two issues differed. Having those with the most direct experience of the disastrous effects of plantation, the Gaelic Irish, were prepared to pursue war against not just the English Parliamentarians and Scottish Covenanters, but also against Irish Confederates prepared to make deals with Irish, English and Scottish Royalists at their expense.

This is why once Rinuccini left Ireland in 1648 in despair at the ineffectiveness of the Confederates. O'Neill went on to make war with the Confederates. To help him do this, he made a truce with the English Parliamentary forces in Ireland under George Monck and Sir Charles Coote.⁷⁷ O'Neill drove away the Ulster Scots who had recently, as followers of the Scottish Engagement, joined Charles' forces in alliance with the Confederates.

Thus, for a short period from 1648-9 there was an English Parliamentarian/Irish Gaelic alliance pitted against an English Royalist/Scottish Engager/Irish Confederate alliance. However, the only force which could have made something more of this was the left wing of the Levellers who went on to defy Cromwell, when he decided to invade Ireland. Their defeat at Burford ensured that any longer-term alliance would not occur.

That such alliances were not beyond the bounds of contemporary historical possibility was shown in the Isle of Man. In 1651, its feudal ruler, the Earl of Derby, joined the Royalist forces in England. The local Manx Gaelic leader, Illiam Dhone took the opportunity to capture all but two of the island forts.

He wrote to the English Parliamentary leader, Colonel Duckenfield asking for support to take these and offering to "surrender Man on the condition that the islanders might enjoy their lives and liberties as formerly they had."⁷⁸ However, by this time, Cromwell was no longer backing any new radical anti-feudal measures, and he granted the island to Lord Fairfax. Fairfax continued to rule in the old feudal way. Nevertheless, the roles played by Owen Roe O'Neill and Illiam Dhone show that other roads were possible at the highpoint of the revolution in the Three Kingdoms.

Back in 1649, Cromwell, worried about the continued possibility of Ireland acting as a base for Royalist attacks on England, decided to mount a full-scale invasion. Promises were made to soldiers and financial backers that they would be compensated with Irish land. Cromwell initially faced a Catholic Confederate allied with Irish and Ulster-Scots Protestants. After the massacre of many Catholic civilians at Drogheda and Wexford, the Protestant Royalists deserted their Catholic Confederate allies, and came over to Cromwell. They were keen to hold on to their lands.

Meanwhile, Colonel Robert Venables and Sir Charles Coote were given responsibility for dealing with the allied Irish and Ulster-Scots forces in Ulster. The first were seen off at Dromore in September 1649 and the second at the battle of Lisnagarvey in December. As with those recently Royalist Irish Protestants, the Ulster Scots changed sides and began cooperating with Cromwell's forces.

However, the massacre at Drogheda persuaded the Ulster Gaelic Irish leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, to switch sides and to join the Irish Confederates. Although O'Neill soon died, Bishop Heber McMahon, a long-time ally of O'Neill and Rinuccini, took the leadership of Ulster Gaelic forces. O'Neill's nephew, Hugh, inflicted a defeat on Cromwell's forces at the Siege of Clonmel in June 1650.

However, against the advice of his officers, and anticipating the similar actions of the Covenanting ministers at the Battle of Dunbar three months later, MacMahon made his army abandon its strong position, to go down to defeat at the Battle of Scariffholis later in June.

Having defeated in turn the Ulster Scots and the Ulster Gaels, Henry Ireton,

followed by Edmund Ludlow, took a further two years to obtain the final surrender of the Irish Confederates under Viscount Muskerry and the Marquis of Clanrickarde at Galway. 34,000 Irish soldiers were allowed to go into exile. Some scattered guerilla action by Irish Gaelic Tories continued but was brutally suppressed. Cromwell's campaign and the subsequent occupation were so harsh that it is estimated that a third of the Irish population died, the majority from famine and plague. 50,000 were also sent to the West Indies as forced labourers.

Ireland became part of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. Effective executive power was in the hands of Cromwell's Council of State in England, and his appointed Lord-Deputy in Ireland.⁷⁹ When the Commonwealth gave way to the Protectorate, and a parliament was set up with provision for 40 Irish MPs,⁸⁰ this excluded Catholics and Episcopalians. Even then many seats still remained vacant, whilst the parliament was soon suspended before finally being abandoned.

The use of the Gaelic language was banned in public, and the remaining bardic schools were closed down. Catholics, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, were forbidden from taking part in public life, and their priests were outlawed. Initially all Catholics were to be transplanted across the River Shannon into Connacht. Although this action was never completed, eleven million acres of Catholic owned land, out of Ireland's twenty million acres, were confiscated. A good deal of the remainder had already come into Protestant hands as a result of the Plantations.

The longer-term result of this was to create the basis for the Anglo-Irish, Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, although that was not finally formed until the aftermath of the later Treaty of Limerick. In 1691. Along with the slave plantation owners in the West Indies and American colonies, and later the landlords in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the Anglo-Irish landlords were to become a formidable force for reaction in the UK. Of these three reactionary forces, Cromwell's 'counter-revolution within the revolution' contributed to the creation of two. He was responsible for the brutal subjugation of Ireland, and the Western Design⁸¹ with its war against Spain that led to the annexation of Jamaica.

f) These islands in 1660 (pp.104-108)

Clearly there had been considerable changes in the economic, social and political set-up in these islands since 1600. England had become considerably more economically developed and was furthest along the road to the creation of a nation, albeit one constrained by being part of the non-national state of the Three Kingdoms.

Over the seventeenth century, the biggest change, linking the fortunes of England (including Wales), Scotland and Ireland, had come about through the creation of the shared Stuart dynasty. Nevertheless, this dynastic and monarchical union created a whole new set of problems. The union between England and Scotland greatly assisted James I/VI to increase his control over the Borders and large areas of the Highlands and Islands; as well as stepping up the plantations in Ireland.

However, the problems in Ireland and the Highlands and Islands had not been eliminated. This was demonstrated very clearly during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, with the rise of the mainly Old English-led Confederates and Owen Roe O'Neill's Ulster Gaels in Ireland, and Colkitto's Gaelic forces in Scotland, who also had their own links with Ireland. The Isle of Man was another place where Gaelic forces, this time led by Iliam Dhone, organised themselves for their own political ends. It was only in Wales, that Celts, their leaders now very much Anglo-Welsh, failed to organise independently. Instead, they joined up to fight either for the English led Royalist or Parliamentary forces.

As it turned out, the socially and ethnically hybrid nature of the Three Kingdoms became a greater problem for the Stuarts, than for their opponents. James I's attempt to create a new Great British identity hardly got off the ground in England or Scotland, whilst his attempt to forge a British identity amongst the settlers in the Ulster plantation, also made little headway, as the English and Scots families, settled there, continued to look to the religion and politics of their original homelands.

Although both Charles I's and II's attempts to bring together English and (non-Gaelic) Scottish Royalists, and some Royalists from an Anglo-Irish background, created relatively few problems for them, as soon as they tried to

incorporate Irish Catholic Confederates and Ulster and Scottish Gaels, their other allies began to draw back. Gaels were considered particularly 'barbaric'. The actual or perceived Roman Catholicism of these three groups also made it especially difficult to bring them into any wider Royalist alliance, which included Protestants, especially Presbyterians.

Initially the Scottish Presbyterians appeared to be in the best position to create a pan-islands alliance. It was in Scotland, that the Covenanters launched what developed into the War of the Three Kingdoms. In the first stages of this war, they enjoyed strong support from English Parliamentarians, as well as from Ulster-Scots. Their Calvinist Presbyterianism was more international in its ambitions than either English Puritanism or most Independents, who considered themselves 'freeborn Englishmen'. Indeed, in the next century, the exceptionalist tradition of the 'freeborn Englishman' was to be carried over by those colonists who eventually rebelled and became 'liberty loving Americans'. In its modified British version this exceptionalism also came to inform both the Victorian idea of the 'British road to Progress', and the later notion of a 'British road to Socialism'.

However, the new class forces, which rose to prominence in England were still marginal in Scottish and Irish society. Scottish attempts to set up colonies in Nova Scotia enjoyed as little success as the earlier English colonies in North America had under Elizabeth. This reflected Scotland's lesser degree of economic development and hence its lack of wider political and military clout. Scottish Presbyterianism soon discovered that it had quite different problems to address in the Highlands and Islands, where the continuation of a Gaelic social order provided a different dynamic in the war against Charles I. The clan divisions inherent in this order also proved to be a problem for Charles' most capable Scottish Royalist leader, the Marquis of Montrose.

The most important political force to develop in Ireland was the Confederacy. However, the fact that Ireland was more socially divided than either England or Scotland made it even harder for the Confederates to hold together a wider alliance. Class and language divided many Old English from the Irish Gaels, despite a shared Roman Catholicism. When the leaders of the Confederacy tried to come to some accommodation with other Irish Royalists, Presbyterian Parliamentarians and Ulster Scots, this alienated the Irish Gaels

and the Papal Legate, Rinucinni. When they allied with the Irish Gaels, this alienated other Irish Royalists, Presbyterian Parliamentarians and Ulster Scots, as well as weakening Charles I's position in England and Scotland. Unlike the Presbyterians, and later the Independents, the leaders of the Confederacy had no real wider political aims outside Ireland, such as extending Roman Catholicism to the other parts of the Three Kingdoms. Yet they were still hampered by their desire to share a common Stuart king.

The English Independents eventually emerged as the most significant opposition to Charles I. Neither the Scottish Presbyterians and their English Presbyterian allies, nor the leaders of Irish Confederacy had been able to force Charles I to bow to their demands. The English Independents cut through this Gordian knot, by ceasing to make demands on Charles I. Instead, they cut off his head and abolished the monarchy.

Those amongst the Scottish Covenanter leaders, who went on to form the Remonstrants, because of the continued intransigence of Charles I, initially found themselves in alliance with Cromwell. When the opportunity for a new king, Charles II, arose, they thought he might finally agree to be a fully covenanted king. So, they broke with Cromwell and went to war and defeat. However, once the Cromwellian regime became more firmly based, many from both wings of the Covenanters accepted this.

Ireland, however, would appear to be the place where the English Independents would have the least chance of making headway. Lord Broghill was the only significant Irish leader who became a supporter of Cromwell. However, the Irish Confederacy's divisions, allowed the Independents to act in a more coordinated and, when necessary, very brutal fashion.

Yet, it was precisely the brutality of the Cromwellian occupation, and the exclusion of Catholics and Gaels, the overwhelming majority in Ireland, which ensured that Cromwell's 'Greater English' Commonwealth/Protectorate had no chance of creating the basis for a new wider 'Greater English' nation, which included Ireland. It also left a legacy, which made it more difficult to create an Irish-British nation later. Nevertheless, the one thing that the legacy of both the Three Kingdoms and the Commonwealth/Protectorate did ensure was that by 1660 future political struggles in the emerging nations of

the UK would be even more closely linked.

Over the seventeenth century England also emerged as a much more significant power in the international arena. Royal monopolies, such as the East India Company and Hudson Bay Company, had promoted trade. Cromwell's wars with the Dutch (1652-4)⁸² and Spanish (1655-60)⁸³ highlighted the growing strength of English imperialism. After the earlier failures under Elizabeth, James I had licensed the first successful English settler colonies under the Virginia and Plymouth Companies in North America, the Somers Isles Company in Bermuda, and in Barbados in the West Indies.

As a result of these developments, the possibility of forming a confederal civilian republic (a larger version of the Dutch Republic) of England, Scotland and Ireland never came about.⁸⁴ Some Independents, still drawing upon older Radical Protestant thinking, had advocated a wider 'republic of the godly', uniting England and the Dutch Netherlands.⁸⁵ Cromwell, though, sought to transform the Stuarts' dynastically linked, Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland into a more centralised, Greater English, mercantile republic capable of meeting the Dutch competition.

The rise of merchant capital had already led to purely commercial conflict between England and the Dutch Netherlands. Revolutionary religious aspirations for Salvation were beginning to give way before the more profane and earthly notion of Profit.⁸⁶ Cromwell set aside any religiously based Protestant solidarity, the better to pursue English merchants' secular and national commercial interests. The Navigation Acts were passed in 1650 and 1651, arriving "at a fully-fashioned conception of economic policy in essentially its national form".⁸⁷ Dutch shipping was to be excluded from English, 'British' and colonial ports. English naval power was to be the chosen method for promoting the country's mercantile capitalism.

The famous Dutch philosopher, Hugo Grotius, confident in the superiority of Dutch commercial shipping, had already published his *Mare Liberum*. This work advocated 'freedom of the seas.'⁸⁸ John Selden, the English philosopher, answered him in *Mare Clausum*. This suggested that the seas could be claimed by states in much the same way as land.⁸⁹ "Mercantilist logic was the logic of violence in an age of violence".⁹⁰ Cromwell initially offered the Dutch a deal to divide the world into two spheres of influence,⁹¹ in a similar

manner offered to Spain and Portugal in the Papacy brokered, Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. The Dutch replied to the English with an offer of free trade between the two 'godly' republics.

Unable, however, to compete economically with the stronger Dutch economy, Cromwell's new 'Greater English' republic sought a war with the Dutch republic, to win by force what could not be won through economic competition. The First Anglo-Dutch war lasted from 1652-4. Cromwell's support for a more secular notion of English nationalism, now enhanced by Mercantilist policies, was then further developed by his alliance with Catholic France against Catholic Spain between 1654 and 1660.

However, Cromwell's grandiose ambitions, shown in his 'Western Design', to replace Spanish colonial power with English colonial power in the Caribbean, came unstuck in Hispaniola. Yet, the incidental seizure of Jamaica from Spain, in 1656, contributed mightily to the expansion of the English (and later British) promoted chattel slavery. This further reinforced large-scale landed and mercantile capitalism through the development of plantation-based agriculture in the colonies.

Commercial landlords and large merchants were already beginning to map out a new English national path. Cromwell's ambition for England to replace Spain and to overtake the Dutch, as the leading European power, anticipated the 'English road' of the eighteenth century, with its Patriot politics. Those following this particular course of development included improving landlords and tenant farmers, merchants, manufacturers, shippers and colonists. Yet the 'nation' being promoted was still geographically flexible. 'England' included those settlers living overseas in the colonial ports, towns and their immediate hinterlands. And colonists in North America were to make their own political demands on the English and later the British parliament, many considering themselves to be 'freeborn Englishmen'. And following the failure to create a 'Greater England' encompassing Scotland and Ireland the specific national nature of the state covering these islands had still to be determined.

PART TWO (pp. 109-222)

A UNIONIST STATE FORGED IN THE FURNACES OF BRITISH IMPERIAL EXPANSION AND THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGES

1. UNION AND EMPIRE - HYBRID BRITISHNESS OR REPUBLICAN BREAKAWAY

The making of a British ruling class, united in the promotion of empire; its decision to create a unionist state rather than a unitary nation-state; the Republican challenges - the USA, the one that got away, and Ireland, the one that did not make it

a) The Three Kingdoms following the Glorious Revolution (pp.109-116)

The Stuart Restoration took place in 1660. However enough of the old feudal order had been cleared away in England and Wales that when Charles II and James II attempted to restore as much as they could, and pursue monarchical absolutism on the French model, this led to resistance. The outcome was the 1688 Glorious Revolution. William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic (a position bearing a resemblance to Cromwell's Lord Protector in the English Republic) became William III of the Three Kingdoms. James II/VII, the first Roman Catholic monarch in England since Queen Mary was forced into exile. James' followers and those of the subsequent Stuart claimants to the lost throne became known as Jacobites.

The 1689 *Bill of Rights* formed the basis for a new constitution in England. The *Bill of Rights* was never given written constitutional status but was left in the hands of the Crown-in-Parliament. This is where sovereignty lay, and not in the House of Commons, and certainly not with the people. All MPs and senior officials swore an oath of loyalty to the Crown, which was the centre-piece of the constitutional set-up. This acted as a severe constraint upon any wider democratic accountability. Nevertheless, at the time, even a

constitutional monarchy was seen as a challenge to the absolute monarchy of King Louis XIV of France, and his would-be emulators, the late Charles II and James II.

The new English constitution recognised the power of the rising mercantile forces, but also the need to retain enough of the old state to keep the 'lower orders' in check. As well as the Crown, the House of Lords and an established religion was retained. At the heart of the reformed English state was the new nexus between Westminster and the rising City of London. Throughout subsequent reforms, including the change to a UK-wide parliament, The City retained its independent status. The Bank of England was set up in 1694, under Royal Charter, with the immediate aim of building the Royal Navy to protect imperial power.⁹²

A now powerful English mercantile capitalist class was determined to follow up Cromwell's grand imperial ambitions. It still had to deal with a powerful landed aristocracy. But together, the monarchy, House of Commons, House of Lords, City of London and the Royal Navy promoted English imperialism. King William accepted this as the price for English support in his struggle against Louis XIV on the continent. Considerable effort went into maintaining the established Church of England, still seen as vital for maintaining social order. Official toleration was extended to other Protestant denominations, provided they accepted the monarchy and the supremacy of the established Church of England (in England and Ireland).

In Wales, the Glorious Revolution was truly bloodless (there had been two skirmishes in England which resulted in some deaths). The Roman Catholicism, which was still a force in Wales during the first War of the Three Kingdoms, had been almost completely replaced by Anglicanism amongst the Anglo-Welsh gentry. Anglicans, along with a growing number of Nonconformists, gave their overwhelming backing to William of Orange. Those Anglo-Welsh leaders, who participated in the politics and culture of England, made decisions that if resented were also passively accepted by the overwhelming Welsh speaking majority of the population.

The new constitutional set-up took different forms in Scotland and Ireland, as long as these two countries had their own parliaments. Here, the Glorious Revolution had not taken the almost bloodless form it did in England and

Wales. It was three years before the Glorious Revolution, that the Duke of Monmouth mounted a rebellion against James II in the English West Country in 1685, supported by many who adopted the old Leveller green colours. But it had gone down to defeat and repression.⁹³

However, in Scotland, the radical Covenanters had not been prepared to back the Earl of Argyll's attempted rising, planned to coincide with Monmouth's. He had been responsible for suppressing an earlier Covenanter rising at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679.⁹⁴ After this battle the Covenanters split. The theological basis of this reflected class divisions. Richard Cameron led the radical wing. The Cameronians adopted the *Queensferry Paper* and the *Sanquhar Declaration*⁹⁵ in 1680, by which they became, in effect, theocratic republicans. They were organised in a democratic manner. Their United Societies were involved in correspondences with each other. They held general meetings, usually on remote hillsides, defended by armed guards. They constituted a 'state within the state' in areas of southern Scotland. Despite being under constant persecution, throughout the Killing Times, from 1680-8, the United Societies maintained their organisation and international links.⁹⁶

In 1685, the Cameronians kept their powder dry. Their opportunity came when James VII fled from England in 1688. When his Scottish supporters tried to take control of Edinburgh, after William of Orange took the throne of the Three Kingdoms, the Cameronians and their allies provided the disciplined forces to prevent this from happening. Furthermore, they were not prepared to meekly fall in behind William of Orange. They maintained their own independent organisation and crucially they formed their own Cameronian regiment.⁹⁷

After the Highland clan forces, led by James's military commander in Scotland, John Graham, Viscount of Dundee, defeated William's forces at Killiecrankie in 1689, it was the Cameronians who checked the Jacobite advance at Dunkeld. With the immediate Jacobite challenge in Scotland seen off, any remaining resistance was overawed by the state organised Massacre of Glencoe in 1692. The new Williamite regime, still seeking some accommodation, deliberately selected, not one of the major Jacobite families, but the relatively marginal Macdonalds of Glencoe, to set an example.⁹⁸

The Cameronians became split over acceptance of the new constitutional settlement in Scotland outlined in the 1689 *The Claim of Right*. Presbyterianism was recognised by the state as the basis for the official Church of Scotland. From this point Scottish Presbyterians abandoned their earlier support for an international Presbyterian order and largely settled for 'Presbyterianism in one country'. Because wider social forces had been mobilised in Scotland during the Glorious Revolution, *The Claim of Right* and *Article of Grievances* were more radical than the *Bill of Rights* in England. The Scottish Parliament was more independent of the Crown. Yet this parliament was still dominated by older feudal interests. The franchise was even more restricted than in England.

However, the short-lived Scottish Parliament from 1690-1707 gave some representatives from the non-aristocratic forces a political voice. One of these, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, outlined his plans for Scottish economic development within a new federal union for Scotland and England.⁹⁹ He also supported a wider federal republican order of small states in Europe. He was to strongly oppose what he saw as the incorporating 1707 Act of Union. Fletcher's views, also shared by some English Commonwealthmen and the supporters of the old European city-states (e.g. Venice), were still confined to rule by an elite. They did not envisage participation by the 'lower orders'. In the face of a crisis caused by famine, Fletcher argued for an extension of heritable serf status to cover the many vagrants found in Scotland. Colliers and salt-panners were already in this position.

A minority of Cameronians though constituted themselves as an Independent body. Thus, they completed the religio-political trajectory followed by the Independents in England in the first War of the Three Kingdoms. These Cameronians were to become active against the Union of Parliaments in 1707, and in the Galloway Levellers' Revolt against enclosures in 1724.¹⁰⁰ However, they became increasingly marginalised. Yet, it is noticeable that when independent plebian organisation appeared in Scotland, in the early nineteenth century, it was organised into Societies and Correspondences. In 1816 these new organisations celebrated the Battle of Drumclog, a Covenanter victory in 1679.¹⁰¹ It was not Methodist organisation or history that went on to inform the early working class in Scotland.

In 1700, a quarter of the population of Scotland remained Gaelic speakers,¹⁰²

but their numbers and the lands they occupied continued to shrink. However, there were still discontented Gaelic clan leaders and outlaws in the Highlands and Islands. But, as in Ireland by this time, and in contrast to the first War of the Three Kingdoms, no significant independent Gaelic leaders emerged at a national level, such as Owen Roe O'Neill or Colkitto in the War of the Three Kingdoms. Non-Gaelic, and mainly Episcopalian nobles, such as Viscount Dundee, the Earl of Mar, and Lord George Murray provided the military leaders for the 1689, 1715, 1719 and the 1745 Jacobite Risings. They subordinated those clans supporting the Jacobites to their own interests. Furthermore, rivalries inherent in the clan system ensured that other clans were on the government side.

It was in Ireland that the Glorious Revolution, like the first War of the Three Kingdoms, took its bloodiest course. After the Stuart Restoration and the 1662 Act of Settlement for Ireland, not even all the Cromwellian confiscations of Old English lands had been restored, never mind the earlier dispossessed lands of the Old English and Gaelic Irish. Nevertheless, in 1689, the Old English Catholic leaders in Ireland gave their support to the deposed James II. This backing was given despite James being nearly as slippery as Charles I and II. James also wanted to be restored to the Crowns of all three kingdoms, which meant conciliating Protestant landed interests.

The war that took place on Irish soil became part of a much wider inter-state conflict involving William of Orange and Louis XIV. The Jacobite forces took over even more of Ireland than the Irish Confederacy had ever controlled, including Dublin and Cork. Nevertheless, William's military forces, which included troops from Ireland, England, the Netherlands, Denmark and French Huguenots, proved to be superior to the Jacobite forces, which consisted mainly of Irish and French troops. After James left Ireland, following the Jacobites' defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, his French General, the Marquis de St Ruth, continued fighting until defeated and killed at the Battle of Aughrim in July 1691. Patrick Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, held out in Limerick till October 1691. Sarsfield was from an Old English Catholic background. He had taken part in the crushing of the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685, and in one of the two skirmishes in England, when William of Orange landed.

After their defeat, most of what remained of the Catholic section of the Irish

ruling class went into exile. From 1695, the Penal Laws were greatly stepped up, in breach of the 1691 Treaty of Limerick. Those Catholic landowners, who still remained in Ireland, were faced with the choice of converting to the established Anglican Protestant religion or of losing their lands. Only Church of Ireland members were represented in the Irish Parliament in Dublin. Presbyterians and other Independents were also excluded from public office, but no restrictions were placed upon them holding land.

As in Scotland, by the time of the Glorious Revolution, there were no longer any major Irish Gaelic leaders. The Gaelic Irish were either mainly poorly armed foot soldiers led by Old English or French military leaders; or rapparees,¹⁰³ following in the earlier tradition of Tories or woodkernes. Yet, the Irish Gaels remained the overwhelming majority of the population. They maintained their own Gaelic language and Catholic religion in the face of continued oppression.

The American colonies were another area where there were now significant numbers of people from an English background. In New England, Independent Congregationalist churches were a powerful influence and opposed the state-backed Anglicanism of the Stuarts. Other colonies were more tolerant over whatever form of Protestantism - Anglicanism, Presbyterianism or Independency (mainly Congregationalism) - existed. Maryland, though, was under the control of the Catholic proprietor, Baron Baltimore, and he resisted attempts by the Protestant majority to overthrow the wider Christian toleration he supported there. Pennsylvania was under the control of the Quaker proprietor, William Penn, who supported toleration for all Christians, as well as for Jews.¹⁰⁴

However, the majority of the English colonists in all four areas were opposed to the limits placed on their trading activities by the Restorationist regime's 1660 and 1663 Navigation Acts. And, with the exception of the Pennsylvania's Quakers, they also opposed the colonial authorities' restrictions imposed upon the settlers' seizure of Native American lands.

At this point the distinction between those employed in indentured labour or in chattel slavery had not been firmly established. After Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676 and Leisler's Rebellion in New York between 1689-91, the local ruling elites increasingly saw the need to divide the 'lower orders'. This

led to the reservation of shorter-term indentured labour for Whites and permanent chattel slavery for Blacks.

The English (and later British) colonial elites received support from those who owned sugar plantations in the West Indies and also wanted slave labour to work them. As chattel slavery became more widespread in the eighteenth century, some plantation owners were able to use their positions at Westminster, particularly in the House of Lords, to provide political support for the continuation of this super-exploitative form of labour.

When the Glorious Revolution occurred, there were rebellions in Boston and New York. Most colonists saw rule by the new William III as preferable to rule by James II. The rebels used this opportunity to break up the Stuart's recently imposed Dominion of New England (which included New York and New Jersey), and to oust his governors Edmund Andros and Francis Nicholson. This led to the return of more local control in the individual colonies. The Catholic proprietor of Maryland was removed in another rebellion, and the colony became a direct possession of the Crown. Only Pennsylvania remained initially untroubled, but William Penn soon faced challenges from less tolerant colonists.

The majority of colonists probably now considered themselves to be 'freeborn Englishmen', like the Glorious Revolution's supporters on the other side of the Atlantic. In as far as the colonists' Englishness was hybrid in form, qualified by particular colonial or religious identities, this did not yet challenge much shared thinking across the Atlantic. There were many social links between leading families on both sides of the Atlantic. The thought of having a new American national identity did not yet exist.

Thus, it was possible for colonists to believe that, in the more densely populated coastal areas, they were part of shared Protestant 'nation' that included England. However, on the inland frontiers, another form of society was emerging. The economic and social links between the Appalachian frontier and England, Scotland and Ireland, from which its settlers originally came, were more tenuous. In some respects, this frontier resembled Ulster, only it was not the Irish Gaels who were being displaced, but the Native Americans.

The Glorious Revolution had brought together Protestants from England (including Wales), Scotland, Ireland and the American colonies to a greater extent than the pragmatic alliances formed at the time of the Reformation, or during the War of the Three Kingdoms. But as yet there was no widely shared British identity, even among the ruling classes of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Indeed, even a section of the new English settlers in Ireland was moving to assert a greater Irish identity for themselves. In 1698, William Molyneux, whilst accepting a shared monarchy, wanted the Irish Parliament to assert its legislative independence from the English Parliament.¹⁰⁵ The Anglo-Irish were beginning to take shape. Mainly confined to an elite, they still looked down on the 'mere Irish'. They depended on a shared established religion and various loyalist associations to ensure support from the Protestant 'lower orders', who were most numerous in Dublin and Cork cities, albeit still a minority.

b) The effect of the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland upon the development of the UK state (pp. 116-122)

A major effect of the Nine Years War was to place rising English imperialism and an increasingly defensive Dutch imperialism into a closer alliance against Louis XIV's France, the most powerful state in Europe. France was pursuing its own imperialist designs across the globe. The consequent struggle between the opposing imperialisms was now interpreted not so much in religious terms (although Protestant/Catholic rivalry could still be invoked), but more as a conflict between constitutional and absolute monarchy.

Both England and France began to exert pressure on their neighbours to line-up on their side. If the King of England and the Dutch Republic gave their support to the French Protestant Huguenots, then the King of France gave his backing to the Jacobites, and the Catholic exiles from Scotland and Ireland. Nevertheless, both sides were prepared to make other pragmatic 'religious' alliances, such as the support received by the Dutch Republic from the Catholic Hapsburg Empire, and the support France received from the Muslim Ottoman Empire.

Scotland was one place where there were still significant Jacobite forces, but these were largely confined to the more traditional Episcopalian nobles and Highland and Island Gaelic clans. The feudal laws in Scotland allowed nobles to order their tenants to fight, whilst military experience was central to members of those still organised in the remaining, including the now broken clans. This made the Jacobites in Scotland a much more threatening force than in England, or even in Ireland, where exile and extensive dispossession meant there were few significant Jacobite supporting nobles left living there.

An attempt had been made, under the 1698-1700 Darien Scheme, to develop an independent Scottish economy based on colonial trade, but this failed. Meanwhile, Scotland underwent the 'Seven Ill Years' of famine in which between 5-15% of the population died and 15% became vagrants.¹⁰⁶ After these failures, the new class forces represented in the Scottish parliament lost much of their political confidence. Some now thought in more immediate terms and gave their support to the Protestant constitutional monarchist set-up created after the Glorious Revolution. They saw a need to defend this against the growing and threatening power of Catholic absolutist France. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which led to the Huguenot exodus,¹⁰⁷ the suppression in the Cevennes of the Calvinists between 1690-1700, and the repression of the Camisards from 1702-4, fuelled these concerns.¹⁰⁸ The French state also adopted protectionist measures that undermined earlier trade with Scotland.¹⁰⁹

These considerations led forces amongst the Scottish ruling class to advocate a parliamentary union between England and Scotland. This was also very much the policy of the majority of the English ruling class. They were looking for greater dynastic security, the removal of any possible French-backed Jacobite military threat from Scotland, and guaranteed access to Scottish markets and primary products, particularly cattle to provide meat. Getting more recruits for the armed forces, and new tax revenues for the fight against France, were other considerations. The majority of the Scottish ruling class was concerned about their own future in a turbulent world, increasingly dominated by bigger imperial players. However, as well as amongst the Jacobites, who opposed the Union for their own dynastic and legitimist reasons, there was still widespread opposition to the proposed Union from many Scottish burghs looking to traditional trading partners

across the North Sea. The Cameronians and other Covenanters mobilised this opposition to the Union.¹¹⁰

After the English state resorted to a combination of 'carrot and stick' in the negotiations, the Scottish ruling class majority agreed to abolish their parliament in Edinburgh in 1707. They obtained direct representation in the Union parliament in London. They transferred their very restricted Edinburgh parliament franchise arrangements to Westminster. First though, they secured the independence of the Church of Scotland and the Scottish legal system. The decision taken by the English negotiators to pay important Darien Scheme debtors and to bribe selected politicians also helped to oil the wheels of Union.

The 1707 Act of Union was made, not only in the class interests of those more commercially minded Scottish landlords, but also of that section of the merchants who sought imperial outlets. The 1603 Union of the Crowns had excluded Scottish-based companies from operating within the wider English Empire, although they were allowed to trade in England. However, many Scottish merchants had taken advantage of the fact they could still join up with English merchants and be part of non-Scottish based companies in England, Ireland and the Empire.

Operating in England and its colonies, Scottish merchants were not subject to the strong feudal constraints upon their activity, which they faced back in Scotland. So Scottish merchants prospered, particularly as traders in tobacco from the slave-based plantations of Virginia. Although the English ruling class was overwhelmingly in favour of the Union, reservations were still expressed by some English merchants, who feared Scottish merchants' competition in the colonies. However, the majority of an increasingly confident English mercantile capitalist class appreciated the benefits of developing a 'joint-stock empire', in which they would be the dominant partner.

After 1707, the unionist form of the new UK state provided a contrast with the unitary state created in England following the full incorporation of Wales between 1535-42. There had been no Welsh parliament since the short-lived one set up by Owain Glyndwr in 1404. Under Henry VIII, the already partly anglified Welsh gentry were offered the prospect of far greater political and

economic influence after being admitted to the English Parliament. They also received a share of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical and monastic lands. Thus, the earlier situation in Wales contrasted with the later situation in Scotland.

The Scottish ruling class already held much land and had their own parliament and other state institutions. This is why the new political arrangements had to make far more concessions and concede continuing status for Scotland within a specifically unionist state. Although 45 new Scottish MPs were added to the existing 513 MPs, and 16 Scottish peers added to the existing 50 at Westminster, this did not fundamentally alter the nature of the existing English parliament. Nevertheless, the unionist form of the post-1707 UK left the Scottish component of the British ruling class with considerable local power. The Scottish ruling class was granted, in effect, its own 'national self-determination' within the UK.

Furthermore, the UK parliament also addressed what were now shared English and Scottish ruling class imperial concerns. Scots were quick to take up positions in the British army, navy, colonial administrations, and chartered companies. In the process, a new British ruling class was created, which, under the new UK political system, led to the development of distinct hybrid British identities. North Britain never really gained much traction ('South Britain' was still-born at birth), but a Scottish-British identity did eventually become more rooted. This was to extend further down the social scale, when the franchise was extended from the nineteenth century.

After 1707, the Scottish component of the British ruling class was also able to roll back some of the concessions they had been forced to make after 1690, in the face of more radical challenges from below. They used the new Union parliament in Westminster to reinforce their position by reimposing their patronage over the Church of Scotland in 1711. This gave them considerably increased local power, since the Kirk was responsible for social discipline.

This provided the first example of the resort, by one section of the British ruling class, to the Unionist state to get assistance from its class allies at Westminster. They could then impose their will in the face of popular domestic opposition. As a consequence, state backed aristocratic patronage in the Church of Scotland provided a target for popular opposition for more

than a century. Furthermore, it was not until the ending of Westminster's (and particularly the obstructive House of Lords) say over land ownership, that Scotland's remaining feudal land tenure arrangements were ended in 2004!¹¹¹

The new Union also helped to secure the UK state, and both its English and Scottish supporters, from French-backed Jacobite threats after the installation of new Hanoverian dynasty in 1714. However, it was not until the final defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746, that the Scottish economy was fully assimilated into the new British mercantile, agricultural and nascent manufacturing capitalist order in a 'revolution from above'. This was done in a brutal manner. It began immediately with the killing of the wounded lying on the field of Culloden. This was followed by the harsh imposition of martial law, the shooting and hanging of fugitives, the driving away of stock, and the burning of houses and cottages. One hundred and twenty were executed, but nearly seven hundred men, women and children died in gaol or the Tilbury hulks. Almost a thousand prisoners were sold to American plantations. Five years later, fugitives were still being hunted by patrols, and there was a plan to massacre the Macphersons.¹¹²

There are parallels with Stalin's wartime and post-war activities. Both Stalin's USSR and the UK Whig regimes resorted to brute repression. Stalin initiated the wholesale transportation of peoples, the Crimean Tartars, Chechens, Ingush and Volga Germans during World War II. This was followed by his role in the transfer of various nationalities in occupied Eastern Europe, in areas incorporated into USSR's western border, and by courting popularity amongst the post-war nationalist governments elsewhere, e.g. through the systematic expulsion of Germans living in the border areas of Czechoslovakia. These transfers, with their accompanying violence, amounted to 'ethnic cleansing', as part of Stalin's 'revolution from above'. He virtually eliminated private financial, industrial and large-scale agricultural capital to undermine the traditional capitalist class and their allies in his newly conquered territories. State planning ensured that new industries were developed to meet the needs of the USSR through its control of the economic union, COMECON.

Similarly, under the Whigs, feudalism was finally uprooted in Scotland. The estates of Jacobite chiefs were forfeited to the Crown and placed under the control of Commissioners. They spent money on organising surveys, on land

reclamation and afforestation; on developing a fishing industry, on premiums and bounties for linen and hemp production, and on public works programmes aimed at providing roads, bridges and harbours. Trade with England, particularly in primary products like cattle and fish, intensified. A few elements of feudal land law still remained in Scotland. These became subordinate elements within a dominant capitalist order. They were retained to cement what later became a commercial landed/industrial capitalist/City of London alliance in the face of various 'lower order' challenges. Ownership of land, and the status it provided, also proved attractive to industrialists and bankers.

The primary aim of the Jacobite claimants to the UK had never been to re-establish an independent Scottish kingdom, but to regain the Crown of Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. The Scottish parliament had rarely met under the Stuarts. Like the Episcopalian Church of Scotland, it was an instrument of royal power. Bonnie Prince Charlie had been christened Charles Edward Louis Casimir Silvester Xavier Maria Stuart.¹¹³ Despite Charles' claim to the Kingdom of Scotland, and those loyal Gaelic clans who had turned out for his grandfather and father in 1689, 1715 and 1719, there was not a 'Maol-Chaluim', nor a 'Domhnall' in his full name. This highlights the European Catholic absolutist orientation of the Jacobites.

Following Charles Stuart's defeat, leading Jacobites became 'turnkilts'. John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, page to Charles at Holyrood in 1745, served first as colonial Governor of New York in 1770 and a year later as Governor of Virginia. Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, fought at Falkirk with the Jacobites in 1746, but emerged as a leading British general in the Seven Years War against France. The Jacobite heroine, Dame Flora Macdonald, when living in exile in North Carolina, took an active part in trying to ensure that Hanoverian royal authority was not overthrown. Her husband, her son and son-in-law went on to fight for King George III.¹¹⁴

It was shortly after the defeat of the Jacobites that the UK emerged as the leading imperial power in the world. France was defeated in the Seven Years War from 1756-63, and many of its colonies were taken over. British naval power was key to this success, a reflection of the thinking of the seventeenth century English philosopher, John Selden. This new British imperialism claimed the right to control the seas, and imposed the first successful naval blockade on France, stretching from Dunkirk to Marseilles.¹¹⁵ Naval

blockades were to be a key part of British imperial military strategy up to and immediately after the First World War. The UK gained Nouvelle France in North America (except for the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon), much of the French empire in India, and Minorca in the Mediterranean. The British Empire was now able to finance its economic growth through various forms of imperial tribute based on chattel slavery, plunder, colonial taxation and unequal trade, as well as the profits resulting from domestic enclosure, improvement, and the new manufacturing.

c) The choice facing the Thirteen Colonies - join the constitutional monarchist Union or go for an independent Republic (pp. 122-126)

Throughout the eighteenth century, tensions grew between the Thirteen Colonies and the UK state. However, a significant body of opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, amongst the more radical Whigs and Commonwealthmen, saw this conflict as one between the Hanoverian George III and the Tories on the one side and the 'freeborn Englishmen' on the other.

Benjamin Franklin was one figure to emerge as a significant leader amongst the colonists. Franklin was originally employed by the Quaker party in Pennsylvania to defend their interests in London. This meant asserting the colonial assembly's rights against the London-based proprietors. Franklin began his political life as a unionist, seeking the kind of Union for the American colonies within the UK that Scotland had made in 1707.¹¹⁶ Initially he looked for allies amongst the UK Whigs to support reform. In 1754, he suggested the Albany Plan of Union¹¹⁷ to unite the American colonies in order to increase their influence at Westminster and to win the support of the Native Americans in the UK's Seven Years War with France.

Franklin's political switch, from being a British constitutional Unionist to becoming an American revolutionary Republican, came about as the result of the continued obstruction of the colonists' imperial reform plans by the British government. Thus, it can be seen that Unionist intransigence in the face of more democratic reform has a long history! Worse, the British government stepped up its demands upon, and its restrictions over the colonists. They had no political representation at Westminster.

Then a visit to Ireland and Scotland, in 1771, helped to convince Franklin that Union under the British Crown did not necessarily bring progress for the many. “In those countries a small part of society are landlords, great noblemen and gentlemen, extremely opulent, living in the highest affluence and magnificence, the bulk of the tenants, living in the most sordid wretchedness in dirty hovels of mud and straw and clothed only in rags.”¹¹⁸ This was a more damning attack on the Union than would be made today by many Scottish or Irish nationalists!

However, as the tensions broke out into open conflict, 'freeborn Englishmen' in England still hoped that the 'freeborn Englishmen' in the Thirteen Colonies would remain within the UK state. They pointed out that they both defended the same rights - trial by jury, freedom of elections, and no taxation without representation. They suggested a new federal UK could solve these problems to the benefit of all 'freeborn Englishmen'.¹¹⁹

Ever since then, whether in Ireland in 1919, or Scotland in 2014, promises of federalism have represented the unionists' last-ditch attempt to prevent the break-up of the UK and to uphold British imperial interests. These are promises that cannot be honoured in a state where sovereignty lies with the Crown-in-Westminster. This allows Westminster to over-ride any subordinate body. Different degrees of devolution are the most that can ever be granted under the UK's unwritten constitution. But without any written constitutional underpinning, these can also be undermined or suspended altogether.

Following the Brexit vote, Theresa May's government, first invoked Henry VIII's royal prerogative, then the High Court, and tried to ignore and override the assumed powers of the devolved assemblies in Scotland and Wales. In 1972, Edward Heath's government closed down Stormont altogether, without any vote at Stormont (not that this was any real loss, but its replacement by what, in effect, was British military and security service rule in Northern Ireland was no gain either).

In the late eighteenth century, facing continued British government intransigence, many people in the Thirteen Colonies began to move away from ideas of constitutional monarchy, where the Crown still had the last say, to organising in defiance of the Crown. Like the Independents during the

civil war in England, and the Cameronians facing Crown repression in Scotland, the colonists were becoming Republicans. It took a little more time before they abandoned their various 'freeborn English' colonial beliefs and became 'liberty loving Americans', conscious of a need to build a new nation. The colonists were forced to unite in the face of British government intransigence.

To achieve unity, the colonists formed the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in 1774. The Second Continental Congress, held in the same city, agreed to the *Declaration of Independence* in 1776. In the UK, there is still no written constitution outlining citizen rights and duties, because people remain subjects of the Crown. The British ruling class reserves the right to use the constitution as they see fit. The *Declaration of Independence* made the electors of the Thirteen Colonies sovereign. But it also began the process by which a *United States Constitution* was drawn up, debated and finally agreed in New York in 1788. Republics, based on the sovereignty of the people, need a written constitution.

However, there was another side to the emerging American nation. Both the coastal city-based land speculators and the colonists on the frontier wanted to end the deals between the UK government and the Iroquois Confederacy. They were eager to get their hands on Native American lands. Plantation owners, particularly in Virginia, were concerned about the possible threat to chattel slavery, following Lord Mansfield's ruling in 1774 making slavery illegal in England.¹²⁰ In many ways these new Americans were developing that English exceptionalist tradition, which had replaced the wider emancipatory vision of the Levellers. The fact that many from the 'lower orders' had migrated to the Thirteen Colonies, to escape oppression and hardship at home, contributed to the transfer of this exceptionalist tradition across the Atlantic.

Furthermore, this exceptionalist tradition had been maintained by some amongst the 'lower orders', despite the defeat of Cromwell's 'Greater English' Republic. English exceptionalism upheld a Gothic tradition, which maintained the fiction that the freeborn Anglo-Saxons had expelled all the Ancient Britons from their lands,¹²¹ which consequently became unoccupied 'virgin territory'. Similar thinking amongst settlers in the Thirteen Colonies could maintain that the Native Americans had either not effectively occupied

or had abandoned the land they had lived on. Cromwell had also jettisoned any opposition to chattel slavery, the better to strengthen his merchant allies' desire for profit from this trade. Slaveholding was a fundamental feature of the southern colonies and remained so on the new cotton plantations in the USA.

However, there was another tradition, which also contributed to this American exceptionalism. Scots and particularly Ulster-Scots (who became known as the Scotch-Irish) colonists brought their Calvinist Presbyterianism to the frontiers. They saw themselves as the 'chosen people'. In Knox's thinking the elect could come from all peoples. But, from 1707, 'Presbyterianism in one country' helped to shift the ground from the idea of a worldwide 'elect' living amongst the worldwide 'unsaved' to a much more narrowly conceived 'chosen people', and the more immediate and threatening 'unsaved'. These Presbyterians saw themselves as belonging to a particular religio-national identity who faced the ungodly outsiders. This prepared the ground for a 'chosen people' in their new Independent Protestant churches.

The basis for early racist attitudes had developed amongst Ulster-Scots when seizing the lands of the 'wild Irish' in the seventeenth century. They came to apply their thinking to the 'savage Indians'. The Scotch-Irish lived on the furthest edges of the frontier, where they could not necessarily depend on the support of colonial troops. Hence, they organised their own militias. Indeed, the colonial authorities often thought that the Scotch-Irish frontier settlers deliberately provoked Native American attacks, so they could massacre any Native Americans and seize their land. The Scotch-Irish tended to view Catholic Irish, Native Americans, to which they added African slaves, as God's 'outcasts' deserving of any ill treatment that was meted out to them. Because of the strength of racism in the South, Protestant churches would split on racial grounds too. Only the small Reformed Presbyterian Church, formed by those migrants of a Cameronian persuasion, challenged chattel slavery.¹²²

There is another way of looking at the situation that developed in the USA. It was not only Cromwell's 'Greater English' imperial republicanism which came to fruition in an American form in the USA. King James I/VI had hoped to create a new British identity within a united kingdom from an amalgamation of the English and Scottish colonists in the plantations of

Ulster. This did not really happen in the UK until after the 1801 Act of Union. However, the mixing of the English and Ulster-Scots colonists on the Appalachian frontier did much to contribute to the creation of a new American identity within a new white imperial Republic. When the term White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) was thought up to describe the American colonial elite, mainly from English settler stock, it could have been complemented by White Ulster-Scots Protestants (WUSPs), those settlers on the frontier, who included the Scotch-Irish.

Thus, the creation of the new USA ensured that a cross-Atlantic British nation, or nations-state including the American-British, never came about. Up until 1962, the French Republic tried to retain the colons' 'white' Algeria within the French state. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were later to be supporters of a British Imperial Federation, designed to include other white colonies.¹²³ However, as in the case of the Americans, the Canadian-British, Australian-British and New Zealander-British eventually opted for the creation of independent states. Yet, although the attempt to create a new parliamentary union in the UK, based on Franklin's Albany Plan, came to nothing, the British state was soon to extend its unionist form to Ireland.

d) Ireland and the Republican 'Internationalism from Below' alliance in the 1789-1815 International Revolutionary Wave (pp. 126-136)

Ireland was one place where developments across the Atlantic were followed very carefully. The Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy shared several characteristics with the American colonists. They were also mainly descended from colonists (although some Irish Catholic landowners became Protestants to hold on to their land, and as a consequence joined the local ruling class). The Ascendancy had its own institutions, including its own parliament. In Dublin. They felt aggrieved at the mercantilist measures used by the British government to hold back Irish trade and manufacturing. They increasingly resented the limitations that the English Parliament's Poyning's Law of 1494, and its successor UK Parliament's Declaratory Act of 1719, had placed upon the Irish Parliament.

The Thirteen Colonies had successfully defied the 1766 Declaratory Act,

which tried to impose Westminster's authority over the colonial assemblies. Therefore, a Patriot Party developed in the Irish Parliament, which took its inspiration from the colonists' defiance. They organised a military force, the Irish Volunteers. Their declared purpose was to support the Crown against a possible French invasion. The French were allied to the American colonists. However, the Patriot leaders also hoped that the Irish Volunteers would provide the extra muscle needed to reform the relationship between the UK and the Irish Parliament. And indeed, under the pressure created by the war, a new relationship was achieved in 1782. The legal supremacy of Westminster over the Irish Parliament was abolished.

Henry Grattan led this post-1782 Irish Patriot Parliament. Nevertheless, the UK state has never been based on the sovereignty of parliament, so the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (sometimes called the Viceroy to emphasise the Crown link), based in Dublin Castle, remained the person in whom power ultimately resided. Furthermore, the Patriot Parliament's legislative independence, in itself, did not alter the continued imperial relationship between the UK and Ireland. This imposed many economic constraints, which held back development at a time when this was proceeding apace in both England and Scotland.

The eighteenth century, though, had brought considerable economic and social changes in Ireland. As well as those landlords who continued to live by rack-renting their tenants, others were undertaking agricultural reform. Their commercial activities led to the development of primary processing industries, greater trade and the growth of towns. Catholic merchants were increasingly found alongside Protestant merchants, since commerce was an area which they had not been excluded from under the Penal Laws. As a result, there was greater commercial intercourse between Catholics and Protestants. Some Catholic families had members who had become Protestant to get on in the world. This brought them into closer contact with Protestants. Many converts still maintained relations with other Catholic family members.

Some Penal Laws were also abolished, whilst some others were ignored or used less often. In 1758 a loyal Catholic Committee had been organised, with support from the few remaining Catholic landholders and the growing number of Catholic merchants. They pressed for the abolition of the Penal

Laws.¹²⁴ From 1766 the Roman Catholic Church officially recognised the legitimacy of the Hanoverian regime, which opened up some possibilities for the further amelioration of the Penal Laws.¹²⁵ By 1778 the ban on intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics was lifted.

But it was the growing war of American independence, which gave the Irish Patriot Parliament political leverage. Volunteer groups were formed, ostensibly to defend Ireland against any American attacks. One wing of the Volunteers thought that Westminster would be forced to make more economic and social concessions. But a more radical wing began to emerge, which showed sympathy with the American demand for political independence.

The Irish Patriot Parliament also became divided over their attitude towards Catholics. Some of the Volunteer corps had allowed Catholics to become members.¹²⁶ Grattan thought that admitting Catholics to the Irish Parliament would strengthen the Patriots' position in the struggle to win further reforms from the UK state. He believed that the limited number of wealthy Catholics, who might gain representation by lifting the restrictions on them becoming MPs, would show their loyalty to the Crown and support him in seeking further reform. He remained opposed though to extending the franchise on a wider class basis.

Grattan still faced opposition from many of the Anglo-Irish elite, including some fellow Patriots and Volunteers. Grattan's attack on the Penal Laws might lead to a questioning of the confiscation of formerly Irish Catholic held land. Many reactionary local squires were very aware that their continued extortion of rents or labour depended on the maintenance of legal discrimination and force, and that any perceived slackening off could lead to revolt. The Catholic Whiteboys, a secret agrarian organisation,¹²⁷ remained a force to be reckoned with in the South.

Once the ostensible need for the Irish Volunteers had disappeared, following the UK's recognition of American independence in 1783, they still remained a significant force in Ulster. Here the social and political situation was different from the rest of Ireland. In Ulster, it was not the Anglo-Irish Anglicans who dominated, but the Ulster-Scots Presbyterians. Furthermore, the links between the Ulster-Scots and Scotland remained strong. They had a shared religion. The Ulster-Scots middle class were excluded from

graduating at the Anglican Trinity College in Dublin, so undertook their higher education in Scotland, at Edinburgh or Glasgow. There was also continued and growing trade across the North Channel.

Presbyterians in Ireland had also faced discrimination. Tenant farmers had been subjected to the power of landlords. In the 1770s the mainly Presbyterian Hearts of Oak agrarian movement in Ulster had won increased rights for tenant farmers.¹²⁸ These became known as the Ulster Custom. Some also became involved in flax growing for the linen industry. Linen was one industry that had been exempted from Westminster's protective measures. In north-east Ulster the linen trade was mainly in the hands of Presbyterian merchants.

Under its Presbyterian leadership, Belfast developed as a city of the Enlightenment. The *Belfast Newsletter*, set up as early as 1734, was the first newspaper ever published in English and started life taking a radical view. The Linen Hall Library, set up in 1788, was a centre that encouraged enlightened reading and debate. An example of the growing toleration was the decision of the city's Presbyterian and Anglican churches to organise a collection to help build the first Catholic church in Belfast in 1784.¹²⁹ Another product of the Enlightenment, Radical Freemasonry, also took root in the city. Freemasonry encouraged secularism, but also contributed to the tradition of creating secretive oath-bound societies.

Officially excluded from the most significant political positions, under the laws directed against Nonconformists in England and Ireland, Presbyterians in Ulster effectively developed their own society within the UK state. This was buttressed by their connections to Scotland, where Presbyterianism had official state support. One consequence of this was that the Presbyterian schisms found in Scotland were transmitted to Ulster. Another was a wider shared Scottish/Ulster-Scots culture. The popularity of the radical influenced Scots poet Robert Burns soon extended to Ulster.¹³⁰

The Volunteers in Ulster had been the main force behind the organisation's Convention held in Dungannon, County Tyrone.¹³¹ This had provided the impetus for the creation of the autonomous Irish Patriot Parliament in Dublin 1782. However, it was the storming of the Bastille in 1789 and the beginning of the revolution in France, which propelled things much further. This had a

significant effect on many Protestants, who up to now had equated Roman Catholicism with absolutism. The fact that it was the overwhelmingly Catholic 'lower orders' that made the French Revolution began to undermine this fear.

However, the more moderate supporters of the French Revolution soon began to get cold feet, as the 'lower orders' began to act independently. Edmund Burke, a recent supporter of the American colonists and Irish Patriots led their retreat. Tom Paine's reply, the *Rights of Man*, acted as a spur to the setting up of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791. The Society's first branch was in Belfast.¹³² It took up the most radical positions. There were still influential moderate Presbyterians, so the Belfast Society produced its own more radical newspaper, the *Northern Star*. Whilst the majority in Dublin was still looking for a more autonomous Irish parliament within the monarchist union, some in Belfast began to consider the break-up of the Union and the declaration of a Republic.

The Society in Belfast was to go beyond most French Republicans, including the emerging Jacobins, in its thinking. French Republicans lived in a state, which was seen by many, in France, Europe, the USA and the colonies, as representing the highest stage of civilisation. Even when French Republicans rejected the Ancien Régime's political and economic order, they still saw the French culture of the Enlightenment, which had developed within France's bosom, as superior to other cultures. In much Enlightenment thought, 'barbarian' cultures had been associated either with backwardness and incivility or regarded nostalgically as belonging to 'noble savages.'

The United Irish Society in Belfast, though, did not equate the advance of the revolution with championing the dominant ethnic group's language and culture. They made a real effort to incorporate the denigrated vernacular Irish Gaelic culture of the 'mere Irish'. Some had been influenced by the recent bardic cultural nationalism. One of their members, Henry Joy organised the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792.¹³³ The *Northern Star* published a Gaelic miscellany, *Bolg an tSolair* in 1795¹³⁴ and promoted the Gaelic slogan, *Eireann go brach* – 'Ireland Forever'.

Another feature of the Society was the social and political emergence of women. The Belfast Society was to produce five who became well known in

radical circles - the Catholic Anne Devlin, and the Presbyterians, Betsy Gray, Jane Greg, Mary Ann McCracken and Martha McTier. And debates took place in both Belfast and Dublin about women's rights and organisation, with a letter to the *Northern Star*, from the secretary of the Society of United Irishwomen. Mary Anne Holmes, sister of Robert Emmet, was active in the United Irishmen in Dublin. And just as the United Irishmen maintained their own contacts with revolutionary democrats overseas, so many of these women were in contact with Mary Wollstonecraft, author on the 1792 *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, who lived in London¹³⁵ And women took an active part in the armed risings in 1798. Betsy Gray, a Presbyterian, was killed after the Battle of Ballynahinch,¹³⁶ whilst Mary Doyle, a Catholic, was very active in the Battle of New Ross in County Wexford.¹³⁷

Furthermore, the revolutionary leaders in Belfast initially saw themselves as part of a wider universal challenge to the old order. The French Jacobins, especially Robespierre, were extremely reluctant to support the slave rising in Saint Domingue/Haiti. To this day many claiming to be revolutionary Socialists, see the Jacobins as representing the highpoint of Revolution in the 1789-1815 International Revolutionary Wave. They see their own politics as being an updated Jacobin (later Bolshevik) version against the updated Girondisme (later Menshevism). But the most profound revolutionary change in that revolutionary wave, the abolition of chattel slavery, and the most contested struggles in terms of lives lost, occurred in Haiti. Therefore, contemporary revolutionaries in Europe, the infant USA and Latin American republics, should be judged by their attitude towards those Black Jacobins, initially led by Toussaint de L'Ouverture, who were at the most advanced point in that revolutionary upsurge.¹³⁸

Former slave, Olaudah Equiano lived in the Belfast from 1791 to 1792. He had a big impact on the Belfast leadership of the Society. Samuel Neilson and Mary Ann McCracken, in particular, argued strongly in favour of the emancipation of slaves.¹³⁹ And some amongst the Irish did identify with the black emancipatory revolution in Haiti. "The veteran United Irishman James Napper Tandy, although based in France, disapproved of the ruthless French suppression of the Toussaint insurrection: 'We are all of the same family, black and white, the work of the same creator.' Toussaint's struggle engaged the attention of the Irish 'rhyming weaver and United Irishman, James Orr (1770-1816) of Ballycarry, County Antrim, whose anti-slavery poems included *Toussaint's Farewell to St Domingo*' (1805), *The Dying African*

(1806) and *The Persecuted Negro* (1809). Another United Irishman {from Cork}, John Swiney, named one of his sons Toussaint in 1808.”¹⁴⁰

But events closer to home remained the principal focus of United Irish activity. As early as 1792, the Belfast Society was already looking to form an anti-Unionist, Republican 'Internationalism from Below' alliance. William Drennan made links with Thomas Muir and the radical wing of the Scottish Friends of the People. Drennan wrote an anti-Union address to their First Convention in Edinburgh in 1792.¹⁴¹ After the split in, and then the suppression of the Friends of the People, the clandestine Society of United Scotsmen was formed. It was allied to the United Irishmen and the London Corresponding Society. The spirit of this alliance was expressed in the toast, which was an 'up yours' to their Loyalist detractors - “To the swine of England, the rabble of Scotland and the wretches of Ireland.”¹⁴²

In 1797, the United Scotsmen became involved in a plan that involved the French Directory and the Batavian (Dutch) Republican Navy. French troops were to be landed on the east coast of Scotland from Dutch ships. After triggering a rising of the United Scotsmen, these troops were meant to march across the narrow Central Belt and sail from the west coast to the north of Ireland, where the United Irishmen would join the rebellion.¹⁴³

However, spontaneous Anti-Militia Riots in Scotland led to a premature and hastily organised rising in Strathtay. Nevertheless, mutinies at the Nore and Spithead opened up the prospect of neutralising the formidable British Navy, which was maintaining a blockade of Republican France and its allies. Only adverse winds prevented the Dutch invasion fleet from setting sail. Both the Scottish Anti-Militia Riots and the British Navy mutinies were suppressed. The Royal Navy eventually destroyed the Dutch fleet at the Battle of Camperdown in October.¹⁴⁴ However, in an indication that Scotland's 'upper orders' were now strong unionists, the admiral in charge of the British fleet was Andrew Duncan, son of the Baron of Lundie, Provost of Dundee.

Thomas Muir, a leading Radical in the Friends of the People, and sworn member of the United Irishmen, had been transported to Botany Bay in 1793, because of the threats to the state, represented by his Irish and French links. A joint French/American mission rescued him in 1796. After a series of escapades, he made his way to France. Here, he tried to get the French Directorate to support another invasion of Scotland, with the aim of

overthrowing the British Union and the wider UK (including Ireland). He wanted to set up republics in Scotland, Ireland and England.

Muir's 1797 appeal for support invoked Radical Covenanting history to highlight the Scotland's tradition of opposition to 'tyrants'. Muir also transcended the earlier anti-English xenophobia associated with the Edinburgh city mobs. "It is not the English people that La Grande Nation {France} has to fight, it is only with a hundred or so scoundrels."¹⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the radicalisation of the United Irishmen had been greatly facilitated by the increased repression of the UK state. This had led to the retreat of most aristocratic and many middle class members. Others from the 'lower orders' came to the fore. The Presbyterian weaver, Jemmy Hope joined the Society in 1795. He was to become an effective organiser.¹⁴⁶ He maintained the class independence of workers and their need for trade unions. He had strong doubts about many in the leadership of the United Irishmen. But his criticisms were accompanied by strong support for the 1798 Rising and the Robert Emmet led rising in 1803. Despite the defeat of both, Hope retained deep enough support he was able to go underground, until benefitting from the general amnesty in 1806. He remained a Radical until his death in 1847

In 1798 preparations were made for an Irish insurrection. The UK state responded in a number of ways. Central to these was building up the reactionary forces of repression. They mobilised an Irish Yeomanry, which initially had some moderate Volunteers in its ranks. They included Anglicans, some Presbyterians and a few Catholics. The United Irishmen in Belfast even considered joining the Yeomanry to win them over and get arms.¹⁴⁷ However, the British General Lake, sent in to reassert UK state control, anticipated this. With the backing of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 2nd Earl Camden, and his effective depute, Viscount Castlereagh, Lake gave his support to the viciously sectarian Orange Order in those areas where the Society might gain control of the Yeomanry.¹⁴⁸

The Orange Order grew out of the violent activities of the Protestant Peep-O-Day Boys. Based in County Armagh, they included many Protestant (here more likely to be Anglican) weavers. Fearing Catholic competition, they reacted in the opposite way to the United Irishmen. They wanted to uphold

Protestant supremacy, reserving weaving jobs for Protestants. They mounted a campaign of ethnic cleansing.¹⁴⁹

The Orange Order looked beyond the Peep-O-Day boys by bringing in people of higher social status. These people decided to incorporate and greatly extend the scope and activities of the Peep-O-Day Boys. The unofficial support they received from the authorities greatly assisted this. Lake ensured that the Irish Yeomanry adopted their methods and conducted a campaign of property seizure, arson, torture and murder. With the assistance of, or with a blind eye from the authorities, the Orange Order was able to organise not only throughout Ireland, but spread to Scotland and England too, particularly amongst the army.¹⁵⁰

The UK government also had the support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which was additionally wooed by state backing for a new Catholic college at Maynooth in 1795.¹⁵¹ In the face of the greater involvement of 'lower orders' Catholics in political affairs, the Catholic Committee had dissolved itself in 1793. Some of its more radicalised members did support the United Irishmen though.¹⁵² Father John Murphy joined the Wexford Rising and was stripped, flogged, hanged, decapitated and his body burnt by the Yeomanry at Tullow in County Carlow.¹⁵³ Father James Coigly became a United Irishmen emissary to France and England, but was captured and hanged at Maidstone.¹⁵⁴ Catholic tenants were also involved in the Defenders,¹⁵⁵ who operated mainly in the North. Many joined the United Irishmen. Catholic tenants went on to provide considerable support for the rising in Wexford, and some to General Humbert's French Republican forces in the West following the 1798 invasion. Later attempts to create an Irish Catholic 'Nation' would invoke such disloyal Church members, partly to provide cover for the hierarchy's role in supporting the Crown authorities at the time.

Government spies had penetrated the United Irishmen leadership, so the initial planned rising in Dublin in 1798 was aborted. The United Irishmen in County Antrim and County Down went ahead anyhow, but they went down to defeat. Lake's repression provoked the most serious rebellion in County Wexford, which was brutally crushed. The small French force, which landed in County Mayo, and which had some initial success, was outnumbered and surrendered. Wolfe Tone attempted another landing in County Donegal but was captured. The scale of repression, before, during and after the 1798

Rising was massive. It is estimated that between 10,000 and 50,000 died.¹⁵⁶ They were overwhelmingly from the rebel camp.

The fear of further French backed challenges led the British government to promote a new constitutional settlement for Ireland. The model chosen was an extension of the unionist arrangements, which covered Scotland. Many amongst the remaining United Irishmen members were opposed to the proposed parliamentary Union and continued to support an Irish Republic. However, the defeat of the 1798 Rising and the sheer scale of repression ensured that organising an immediate rising would be difficult. Nevertheless, there was continued guerrilla action and another attempted rising led by Robert Emmet in 1803.¹⁵⁷

Some Protestants, including Grattan, the moderate Irish Patriot, were also opposed to the new Union.¹⁵⁸ However, the argument that if Catholic emancipation was ever to be implemented, at least the UK Parliament would never have a Catholic majority persuaded many. The government made a different argument when speaking to the Catholic hierarchy. They said the Union of the parliaments would be followed by Catholic emancipation passed at Westminster. The Catholic hierarchy fell in behind the Union.

This support was offered despite the new Irish franchise for voting for at Westminster being greatly restricted, compared to that of the Irish parliament. But after their experiences in the International Revolutionary Wave, the Catholic hierarchy was just as hostile to a widened franchise. In 1793 the vote had been given to Catholics owning or renting property worth 40 shillings.¹⁵⁹ This had occurred under the pressures exerted in Ireland at the highpoint of the International Revolutionary Wave. However, the impact of this franchise extension was largely undermined, since Catholics still couldn't be MPs. But the Irish parliamentary franchise had been considerably wider than that in England, and even more so than the very limited franchise in Scotland, which had been preserved in the 1707 Act of Union.

The post-1801 expanded Westminster had a highly restricted franchise, buttressing the position of the expanded British ruling class. 100 Irish Protestant MPs joined 28 Protestant Lords and 4 Anglican archbishops at Westminster.¹⁶⁰ These new Irish members at Westminster were added to

those Scottish MPs elected to the House of Commons and those Scottish lords in the House of Lords. Together they provided a reactionary 'well', from which the British ruling class could be drawn upon to reinforce its position of whenever required.

However, many United Irishmen following the defeat of the 1798 Rising, did give their support to the Act of Union, because at least this undermined the political position of the old Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. But they soon found that the British government had come to a new arrangement with Irish Unionists. Both they and many Catholics were to become as disappointed with the government's promise to legalise Catholic MPs, as many Irish Nationalists were to be after Tony Blair implied that the Good Friday Agreement would lead to 'parity of esteem'. Blair's other promise made to Unionist politicians, when he said that his prime concern was to preserve the Union, would have applied as much to those making similar promises in the lead up to the 1801 Act of Union.

The Orange Order continued to have misgivings about the abolition of the Irish Parliament. Having already won the open and closet backing of many Protestant lords, gentry and magistrates and some British officers for the brutal methods they used, many thought that continuation of the Irish Parliament would be an additional defence for Protestant supremacy. However, the stationing of many government troops, the extensive bribery of those Irish lords, who would be affected by the new Union, proved enough to get the Irish Parliament to disband itself in 1801.¹⁶¹

But part of the concessions made to reactionary unionists in Ireland was the retention of the Irish Yeomanry, which remained under their direct control. Although unable to hold on to the Irish Parliament, Irish Protestant supremacists mobilised support amongst the most reactionary elements of the British ruling class, including King George III. He refused to countenance Catholic emancipation. Not only were the activities of the Orange Order tacitly approved in Ulster, but the Order also went on win support from leading sections of the British ruling class. Later Queen Victoria's uncle, Prince Ernst, Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale, and (significantly) Earl of Armagh, became a member.¹⁶²

e) The UK by 1801 - the failure to create a unitary British state, the rise and fall of the Irish autonomous parliament, the realised and attempted Republican breakaway states in the USA and Ireland, and the British ruling class opts to extend the unionist form of the UK state to Ireland (pp. 137-143)

By 1801 there had been four serious attempts to bring about some form of loyalty or shared identity in these islands and in the Thirteen Colonies. In 1603, James I became the King of the Three Kingdoms, and he tried to create a new British identity. However, the socio-economic and political conditions in these islands were so diverse that dynastic union failed to create the basis for a British nation, or even a state implementing the same laws throughout its realm.

In 1651 Cromwell created the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. But this was, in effect, a 'Greater English' Republic. This state was only imposed and maintained in Ireland through brute repression. It eventually gained more support in Scotland, but control was always exercised from England. The Restoration brought back those Scottish institutions, which had been suppressed in 1651, and politics returned to the conflict between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Even in England, Cromwell's republic could only be held together as a military Protectorate. Thus, the possibility of creating a 'Greater English' state and a wider English nation across these islands proved to be a historical dead end.

It took the English and Scottish ruling class deal, which brought about the 1707 Act of Union, to open up the possibility of creating a more long-lasting and specifically British Union. However, until the end of the eighteenth century, attempts to create a British nationality, in England in Scotland, did not go much beyond the British ruling class. Thinking of oneself as a 'North Briton' in Scotland was likely to bring derision, not least because the English Whig, John Wilkes published an anti-Scottish scandal sheet bearing that name.¹⁶³ Support for the British Empire proved to be the main factor cementing this ruling class alliance and bringing about the creation of a Scottish-British identity.

'Freeborn Englishmen' in the Thirteen Colonies built up their own local

institutions. They became well practiced in dealing with the UK state. However, when it came to pushing for a reform of the political relationship between the UK state and the colonies, the two possible unionist options, a Scottish-type union, or the promise of federalism, proved to be will-o-the-wisps. In the face of British military occupation, the colonists ceased to be 'freeborn Englishmen' living in a shared empire. They made their Declaration of Independence in 1776 and as 'liberty loving Americans' created a new US Republic in 1783 (which, after suppressing internal more revolutionary opposition, continued the inherited British imperial tradition but now as Americans).

When the colonists had stepped up their challenge to the UK state, the Irish Patriots followed them along the first stages of this process. They already had a single parliament, which was one advantage over the earlier thirteen fractious colonial assemblies in North America. Furthermore, the UK government could now see the results of pursuing a policy of intransigence. So, in 1783, the Irish Patriot Parliament was granted autonomy. On paper, Ireland was now in the position of pre-1707 Scotland. It had its own parliament under the Crown. It also had its own currency.

Nevertheless, there were important social and political differences in addition to the changed economic conditions in Scotland and Ireland over the time span from 1707 to 1801. In 1707, the majority of the people in Scotland were part of the established Church of Scotland. The 1707 parliamentary union could be seen as an attempt to see off the reactionary Jacobite challenge, which would have reduced the Three Kingdoms to a client state of Louis XIV's France. However, the deeply reactionary politics that won out after the 1801 parliamentary union with Ireland was highlighted by successive British governments' rejection of the democratic idea of a secular nation of citizens based on the sovereignty of the people. In 1801 in Ireland, it was the Anglican Church, only supported by a minority, which formed the religious establishment. This and the development of a larger Catholic middle class, at the same time as the growth of a very impoverished Catholic peasantry, along with the failure to fully integrate Presbyterian Ulster Scots, made the political situation inherited by the autonomous Irish Patriot Parliament much more unstable.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the growing imperial competition

between England and France, coupled to dynastic conflict, had provided a major stimulus for the parliamentary union with Scotland in 1707. However, it was the outbreak of the International Revolutionary Wave in 1789, which thoroughly destabilised the political situation in Ireland, and opened up new political possibilities. Many in the United Irishmen, inspired by both the US and then the French Republics, wanted to set up a new Irish Republic. They moved far beyond those who wanted to maintain and reform Grattan's Irish Patriot Parliament within the UK.

In the context of the International Revolutionary Wave, the outcome of struggle was decided internationally. The early retreat by the most advanced United Irishmen, from fighting for a much wider Universal Republic¹⁶⁴ which challenged all forms of oppression including chattel slavery, to becoming part of a Jacobin-led, then Directory-led, French state, Republican alliance, began to have a restraining effect. However, it was only under Napoleon that many advanced Irish Republicans came to better understand the imperial nature of the new French state.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the United Irishmen did develop their own 'Internationalism from Below' Republican alliance. This included the Radical wing of the Scottish Friends of the People, later the United Scotsmen, the London Corresponding Society and the Democratic Republicans in the USA.¹⁶⁶

With the backing of the UK state, this International Revolutionary Wave was suppressed in 1815, although there were continued ripple after-effects up until 1820. The UK state was the leader of an international counter-revolutionary alliance. It had a powerful navy, a growing army and an extensive spy network. There was draconian legislation in place to deal with any opposition. The state gave its backing to local reactionary forces, including the Orange Order and Irish Yeomanry. In the face of all this, it was neither a reformed Irish Patriot Parliament, nor an Irish Republic that was established, but something unforeseen. Thus, a new major development in the state covering these islands occurred under the 1801 Act of Union. The Irish Parliament was abolished, and the existing parliamentary unionist form of state was extended from England and Scotland to include Ireland, whilst the monarchical union with its useful Crown Powers continued.

Nevertheless, the English and Scottish sections of the British ruling class still viewed Ireland somewhat differently. The 1801 Union did not create a widened Great Britain, which would now include West Britons. The idea of

South Britons and North Britons had not been a great success. But the British ruling class realised that although the Catholic Irish, or 'mere Irish', held no political power, they still formed the overwhelming majority of Ireland's population. Therefore, it was better to maintain some distance. So, the new Union became the United Kingdom of Great Britain **and** Ireland.

Some Unionists did think that this divide could be overcome. Once the prolonged series of wars with Jacobin, Directory and Napoleonic France were over in 1815, the Tory government launched a major Anglicisation offensive in Ireland. One idea behind this was the hope that by converting Irish Catholics to Anglicanism they would eventually become British. This was linked to the belief that only an Anglican church, run as an agency of the state, could exert sufficient disciplinary power over society to uphold the existing social order. This was why the state-backed Anglican offensive was also put into operation in Wales and England, where Nonconformism was also seen as less reliable in enforcing loyalty and social discipline. Indeed, it was sometimes a source of opposition to the status quo.¹⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the Tories had long accepted a fallback 'fire and theft' policy for times of crisis. This meant that they had been prepared to provide financial and other backing for the Catholic hierarchy (and Nonconformist leaders), in those areas where they exerted considerable social influence and could be mobilised against more radical challenges. The first resort to this policy had been Lord North's 1774 Quebec Act, which recognised the Catholic Church and the feudal rights of the French-Canadian seigneurs, in the face of mounting opposition in the other North American colonies. William Pitt provided finance for Maynooth in 1795, in the face of the rising challenge of the United Irishmen. Pitt's promise to the Catholic hierarchy that he would back Catholic Emancipation, in return for their support for 1801 Act of Union, provides another example.

However, the very nature of the UK state at the time, with a monarchy still able to directly use its Crown Powers, a House of Lords that gave reactionary forces disproportionate power, and an established Anglican religion, undermined attempted deals with the Catholic hierarchy. Reaction, born out of the real fears the British ruling class held about maintaining their constitutional monarchist Union and Empire, dominated official British politics from 1799 to the late 1820s. This problem was accentuated because

the Tory government had also resorted to backing the brutally sectarian Orange Order to crush the United Irishmen, whilst their Act of Union left the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy in control of local law and order, including the magistracy and the yeomanry.

Castlereagh, a member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, became involved in wider UK politics at Westminster and transferred his main political allegiance to upholding the central interests of a widened British ruling class and the British Empire. His break with the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy parliament in Ireland led him to try and bring the Catholic hierarchy on board in support of the UK state. He was prepared to give them official state recognition, if the Pope's appointment of bishops was subjected to a UK government veto.¹⁶⁸ This was the Gallican principle, which the Papacy had accepted in several countries.

However, a new and originally minority opposition arose within the Irish Catholic Church. This signalled the beginnings of a wider right-wing Ultramontanism.¹⁶⁹ Ultramontanists did not want the UK state having a veto over the appointment of archbishops in Ireland. Later, after the defeat of the 1847-49 International Revolutionary Wave, and the Irish Confederation's attempted rising, Ultramontanism took the lead in trying to establish a Catholic-Irish 'nation'.

After the Catholic Society's relaunch in 1823, its leader Daniel O'Connell was greatly assisted in his rise to Irish Nationalist leadership by making an alliance with the growing Ultramontanists.¹⁷⁰ Together they exerted their own veto on any attempts to promote a secular Irish Nationalism. Unlike the extreme Ultramontanists, though, O'Connell did not see Ireland within British Empire as a base to promote Roman Catholicism in the wider UK or the British colonies. He recognised Protestant supremacy in Great Britain, and greatly admired the rising new liberal order there. He thought that a modernised Catholic Ireland could form a partnership with the already rapidly modernising Protestant Great Britain, both under the Crown.

Before and during the 1789-1815 International Revolutionary Wave (up until 1798 anyhow), there had been particular Christian denominations, or significant sections, including some Presbyterians, Unitarians and many smaller sects, which had been in the leadership of, or aligned with,

revolutionary democratic struggles. However, this particular revolutionary wave marked a transition to such struggles becoming dominated by the secular thinking. Such thinking had developed, particularly in the Radical Enlightenment, and the American War of Independence. From this point onwards, the leaderships of specific religions or denominations rejected revolutionary democratic struggles, seeing these as a threat to organised religion. However, many of their ordinary members were still prepared to join later revolutionary democratic struggles with secular leaders. Indeed, there were still sometimes religious leaders in such struggles, but they acted as individuals and not as representatives of their particular religious organisations.

Thus, there was a bifurcation in the Presbyterian revolutionary tradition. Those wanting to uphold the revolutionary democratic tradition became freethinkers or secularists. Those wanting to uphold their religious organisation's domination moved to the Right. Following the crushing of the United Irishmen in Ulster, and the 1801 Act of Union, the radical Republicanism, which had previously enjoyed widespread support amongst mainly Ulster-Scots Presbyterians, quickly retreated. The UK state had already encouraged this by increasing the regium donum, the money given to Presbyterian ministers to ensure their loyalty. A more limited liberal Presbyterianism, led by Henry Montgomery,¹⁷¹ occupied some of the political space occupied by the earlier radical Presbyterians. However, this was soon overtaken by a decidedly conservative Presbyterianism, led by Henry Cooke.¹⁷²

A wider Loyalist alliance continued the tradition established by the UK in its wars against the French Republic and its allies. When attempts had been made to mobilise the 'lower orders', this was in Loyalist organisations and 'king and country' mobs. People were seen as subjects of the Crown. Religion was still an important component of the state with an established church. Imperial supremacy, or 'Britain First', was hardwired into Unionism. These ideas were opposed to the modern idea of the nation, which had emerged in the 1789-1815 International Revolutionary Wave. The word 'nation' had a long history, but it meant different things in particular historical contexts. The modern idea of the nation involves citizens as participating members exercising the sovereignty of the people. In this sense, what we now understand to be a nation has been intimately linked to the rise of

democracy, particularly the extension of the franchise. Voting in elections is seen as the means to implement the sovereignty of the people.

Despite this modern idea of the nation coming forward during at this time, it took a long time to be realised in practice. In particular, the notion of women being independent citizens of the nation with a vote needed prolonged struggles before it was won. The same problem existed for black slaves, even after they had been emancipated. And many states, to this day, despite having procedures for the naturalisation of new citizens, are often reluctant to enact these for certain groups of people. However, even those states that negate political democracy by undermining or eliminating electoral choice or by restricting the franchise, usually still hold elections open to all those they deem to be citizens. These elections are held to obtain national legitimacy. Sometimes national referenda or plebiscites are resorted to in such states with the same purpose in mind. Before the emergence of modern nations and nation-states, earlier ruling classes would not have thought any resort to popular sanction necessary.

Modern nation-states' claims to be based on the 'sovereignty of the people' have ensured that any failures to recognise the full extent of the people, and hence a wider franchise, have been contested. Those states that failed or fallen short, in this regard, could no longer rely upon previously shared or accepted elitist and supremacist notions. Instead, attempts at state indoctrination, oppressive legislation and resort to repressive forces have had to be used to undermine popular sovereignty.

However, such measures have just highlighted these states' failure to create a more inclusive nation-state and placed them in an international spotlight. Furthermore, the early liberal idea of creating a peaceable new world order, based on free markets and free trade, backed by international diplomacy, have given way to competing national imperialisms. For just as a competitive capitalist system inevitably produces winners, who use their economic power to undermine any further competition, so the most successful states use their political power for the same purpose. When it comes to the big players, economic competition leads to monopoly; national political competition can lead to imperialism.

2. FROM THE SPRINGTIME OF NATIONS TO THE OLD ORDER REINVENTED

The expansion of hybrid British Unionism amongst the different classes in these islands; the challenge of the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave and its defeat; and alternatives raised but suppressed or marginalised

a) The impact of Industrial Capitalism on the British ruling class and the UK state (pp. 144-149)

Ironically, it was under the wider UK state that the Scottish and Irish nations finally emerged, and that the later Welsh nation would emerge too. This was because the new unified British ruling class, although able to forge a top-down British national identity for itself, did not create a new unitary British nation accepted by all the peoples of these islands – English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh. Neither did they create a unitary British state, which reduced an older Scotland and Ireland to mere historical terms, like Aquitaine or Normandie in France after the French Revolution.

Instead of becoming a fully unitary state, as happened when Wales became politically and administratively absorbed into England between 1535-42, the UK further developed as a unionist state. This unionism built upon the 1707 and 1801 Acts of Union, making adjustments for the changing socio-economic and political circumstances, the entry of new members to the British ruling class from England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and challenges from the 'lower orders'. Some attempts were later made to develop a wider British imperial unionism, beyond geographical Great Britain and Ireland but still under the UK state. This included moves to create a federal imperial Westminster parliament and Greater Britain for a short period during the heyday of High Imperialism in the late nineteenth century.

During the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries an economic transformation took place, in the English North and Midlands, South Wales, Scotland's Central Belt and north-east Ulster. The industrial economy originally grew within the interstices of the older agricultural and mercantile economy. Many of these industrial capitalists developed quite

close links to sections of the ruling class in the UK. The new industrial capitalist class was perceived at the time to be a middle class. The manufacturers had seen their businesses grow, often helped by government war contracts.

The UK state was involved in a whole series of wars against France and Spain, the tributary states of India, and the tribal peoples and slave rebels in North America and the Caribbean. These wars were mainly undertaken for the benefit of the larger merchants, including those in the state chartered East India and Hudson Bay Companies, and the plantation owners. The City also greatly benefitted. Adam Smith had described the Bank of England as, "not an ordinary bank, but a great engine of state."¹⁷³ As the new industrialisation took place in the English North and Midlands, South Wales, Scotland's Central Belt and northeast Ulster, London continued to develop as the UK's main commercial and financial centre.

The early manufacturers also benefitted from the state's protectionist measures. These were common to the mercantile capitalist powers of the day. However, once the new industrial capitalist class became more confident of their economic power, as they moved over to more productive and profitable stream-powered factory production, and the greater use of directly exploitable wage labour (replacing the indirect putting-out system), they began to push for an end to the existing state restrictions. These had been designed to buttress the older mercantile and landed capitalist order. These now seemed to act as a barrier to further economic progress.

The new industrial capitalist class demanded that free trade be fully implemented and old restrictions, such as guild regulations and tolls, be removed. They demanded the free sale of land. However, they also demanded 'free' labour – free from chattel slavery and other servile restrictions, but also 'free' from old minimum wage regulations and outdoor relief support. They were not to be free of a more disguised form of servitude - Wage Slavery. Instead, workers were to be 'free' to sell their labour, after they had been forcibly deprived of every other means of making a living.

As wealth based on Industrial Capital grew, sections of the Commercial and Landed Capital interests were brought into its economic sphere of influence.

So too were many professionals. With this increased political support, the middle class began to challenge entrenched 'Old Corruption'. Amongst the old aristocracy, many were strongly opposed to these new upstarts' economic, social and political ambitions. The UK's political set-up buttressed their 'Old Corruption'. There was a very limited franchise, rotten boroughs, an established church with legal discrimination against Nonconformists, Catholics and Jews, a House of Lords that retained its parliamentary veto over all laws except the annual budget, and a Crown that held the royal prerogative. The landed aristocracy strongly backed the Protectionist Corn Laws. They also supported the continued entailing of land, which helped to keep its possession in their hands.

Thanks to the pattern of economic development, which followed the Protectorate in 1653 and the return of the Three Kingdoms in 1660, the landed aristocracy held a particularly powerful position in the UK. Rich slave plantation owners had seats in the House of Lords. The Landed Aristocracy's position was also reinforced by their domination over Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This situation arose from the largely external imposition of capitalist relations in these areas. Some former clan chieftains adapted and welcomed their new role. They were recognised by the UK state as the sole owners of the lands they formerly held in the name of the whole clan.

Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a largely Plebian movement and the most advanced sections of the new Middle Class constituted themselves as Radicals. They conducted a prolonged campaign against 'Old Corruption'. The Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts of 1828, the parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 and the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1845 marked their progress. The rising Industrial Capitalist class developed its own links to the City of London, cemented through the 1844 Banking Act. These acts heralded the economic triumph of British Industrial Capitalism. The hegemony of the new extended British ruling class was finally sealed by the defeat of the 'lower order' challenges represented by the Chartist and Irish Repeal movements in the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave.

Thus, within the wider British ruling class, the economic power of Industrial Capitalism was making its weight felt. However, in the political arena, its liberal advocates abandoned one Radical principle after another – opposition

to Monarchy, the House of Lords and to Established or state-backed religions. Throughout the nineteenth century, despite successive extensions to the franchise, British governments continued to draw many of their ministers from the House of Lords. Many Industrial Capitalists had been Nonconformists. As a consequence, they had faced a number of political and social disabilities. However, once these disabilities were removed, most well-placed Nonconformists abandoned the earlier Radical demand for the creation of a Secular political order. These Nonconformists accepted the remaining political privileges of the Church of England, highlighted by the position of bishops in the House of Lords. They appreciated the role of the Church of England in promoting social obedience. Their remaining differences were more and more about the extent to which other churches should be recognised for their support in policing the 'lower orders'.

Nonconformists became a central component of the Liberal wing of the ruling class. They were still able to invoke a shared Protestantism with its conservative Anglican wing. Mobilising Anti-Catholic sentiment helped them to divert attention from their own Gradgrind social policies. It also helped the UK find the backing to maintain its control over Ireland. The Rightward moving Presbyterians in Ulster organised to prevent any Church of Ireland Disestablishment. Their leader, Henry Cooke wanted a wider Protestantism established as "the law of the empire".¹⁷⁴ This underlined the British Empire's role in winning support for British Unionism.

The new post-1845 Liberal dominated UK state enforced a regime of Free Trade Imperialism around the world. Nonconformists and their allies provided ethical reasons as a cover for further Imperial advancement. They argued for the end of Chattel Slavery, but also for financial compensation to the slave owners. Property was sacrosanct. Today, appeals to end Islamic Fundamentalism are invoked with the same end in mind. Death dealing 'Shock and Awe', followed by corporate appropriation of the invaded country's resources are the results.

After defeating 'Old Corruption', many amongst the middle class, upon joining the wider ruling class, supported first the Radical Liberals and then went on to build their own Liberal Party. The middle class's relationship with the wider Radical movement was always strained. This is explained by the challenges they faced, first from Radicalism's plebeian wing after 1815,

then from the new working class in the late 1820s and early 1830s, and later from the revolutionary democratic wing of the Chartists after 1837. These oppositional movements were seen as threats to the rule of property, whether it was in capital or in land.

Therefore, in the face of these challenges, those new politicians and their spokesmen, who represented the rising industrial order, increasingly allied themselves with the older members of the ruling class, representing the commercial and landed aristocracy. They ensured that when reform was introduced to allow Catholics to become Westminster MPs in 1829, it was accompanied by the disenfranchisement of the majority of Catholic voters in Ireland¹⁷⁵ When the franchise was extended in the 1832 Reform Act it was confined to the middle class and in England some amongst the 'lower orders' also lost their vote. The purpose behind such restrictions was the common defence of commercial, industrial and landed property.

The industrial capitalist class did not use its new power within the UK to promote a unitary British state in the manner of the French after 1789. They were much more cautious. The creation of a united British Nation and a unitary British State would have needed the further enfranchisement of the 'lower orders', to provide it with a wider base of support. This would have needed either the extension of the Establishment principle from Anglicans in England and Presbyterians in Scotland to Nonconformists in England, Presbyterian Separatists in Scotland, Catholics and Non-conformists in Ireland and Methodists in Wales, or the Secularisation of the UK state. When the new members of the ruling class resorted to the old unreformed legal systems to help them impose the untrammelled rule of capital over the 'lower orders', they also accepted the inherited Unionist nature of the UK state, and its coercive Crown Powers. The relationship they envisaged for the 'lower orders' could be seen in the names of the Master and Servants Acts of 1823 and 1867. These laws were passed to enforce employee subservience to the employers.

The now expanded British ruling class exerted its political power through its control of the Imperial and Unionist Parliament at Westminster with its Treasury, Home and Foreign Offices. Law and order and social discipline were maintained through their control of the UK and most aspects of the local state, two established churches, and grants to other denominations to

buy loyalty and through the creation of new police forces. British Imperial power was projected across the globe by the Royal Navy and by British and Colonial armies. All this was underpinned economically by the ruling class's ownership of industry and land, and the banks and trading houses of The City of London.

b) The emergence of a new Working Class and the challenges to the new Industrial Capitalist order and the UK State (pp. 149-159)

Nevertheless, the rise of this new Industrial Capitalist order did not go unchallenged. In the early nineteenth century a full-blown Industrial Capitalist order still did not exist. Attempts to enclose the commons, evict tenants, to impose generalised wage labour, to end customary prices for basic foodstuffs or the wages set for labour undertaken, and to abolish outdoor relief, were all fiercely resisted. Much of this resistance was based on the idea of upholding a 'moral economy'.¹⁷⁶ Major struggles involving the 'lower orders' broke out in the second decade of the nineteenth century. The Luddites, who were mostly hand loom weavers faced with the loss of their livelihoods, took to breaking the new power looms. Their activities, beginning in 1812, were mainly confined to Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. Thousands of soldiers were deployed to break the Luddites, more than were employed in Spain at the same time in the war against Napoleon.¹⁷⁷ Some Luddites were executed, and many others were transported. The ending of the wars brought a further loss of jobs, whilst rising food prices led to widespread misery. There was an attempted uprising in Pentrich in Derbyshire in 1817.¹⁷⁸

The localised and largely economically motivated resistance was extended and politicised in England by the public activities of Henry Hunt (the Orator),¹⁷⁹ the Hampden Clubs initiated by John Cartwright¹⁸⁰, and the conspiratorial activities of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists, including Arthur Thistlewood, James Ing, Robert Wedderburn, William Davidson and others.¹⁸¹ They looked to reform parliament and challenged the mounting state clampdown on any opposition through mass meetings, seditious papers, pamphlets, leaflets and banners. They also had to deal with the increased use of spies and agent provocateurs and the recruitment of counter-reform yeomanry.

The activities of the Hampden Clubs concentrated upon organising mass meetings and petitioning parliament, whilst the Society of Spencian Philanthropists sought more insurrectionary means to challenge the government. They were more concerned about the economic and social situation of the 'lower orders'. Robert Wedderburn¹⁸² and William Davidson¹⁸³ came from a mixed white/black (slave master and slave woman) background in Jamaica and opposed chattel slavery.

Both Henry Hunt and the Spencerian Philanthropists contributed to the Spa Fields Riots in London in 1816. The march of the Blanketeers in Manchester in 1817 and the mass meeting at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester in 1819 were inspired more by the Hampden Clubs. Many women were involved at Peterloo.¹⁸⁴ The regular Hussars and the Yeomanry cut down the demonstrators. This led to a turn to planned insurrectionary activity, which in England took the form of the Cato Street Conspiracy organised in 1820, by Thistlewood and other Spencerian Philanthropists. However, government spies had penetrated their organisation and Thistlewood, Davidson and three others were sentenced to high treason and executed, and the other five participants transported for life to Australia.¹⁸⁵

Subsequent protest action spilled over the border into Scotland. The west of Scotland, in particular, was undergoing an economic transformation, based primarily on the weaving of wool, but also manufacturing, including armaments. In the process, the western Central Belt, particularly Glasgow and lower Clydeside, replaced Edinburgh and the eastern Central Belt Scotland as the main economic and demographic centre in Scotland. The expanding workforce was drawn not only from the surrounding Lowland rural areas, but also from the Highlands and Islands and from Ireland. A new less religiously sectarian culture was able to develop, particularly amongst the well-educated weavers. This popular culture looked beyond the Highlanders and Irish old Jacobites' support for Stuart monarch legitimacy, to the outlaw traditions of hounded peasants and clansmen, and beyond the established Church of Scotland's pro-unionist Moderation to the tradition of the persecuted radical Covenanters.

Independent organisations, the Union Societies, grew in Scotland, modelled on the old Cameronian Societies.¹⁸⁶ They celebrated William Wallace and the radical Covenanters.¹⁸⁷ Robert Burns's, *Scots Wha Hae Wi Wallace*

Bled,¹⁸⁸ was sung at meetings, and became an international anthem like the later *Bandiera Rossa* (Davidson, the Cato Street conspirator sang *Scots Wha Hae* as he was being taken prisoner). The Societies were involved in military drilling.¹⁸⁹ For a brief period, before its suppression, they published the *Spirit of the Union* - the 'Union' being the organisation promoted by the Union Societies.¹⁹⁰ Radical Committees drew in wider numbers on a broader class basis. Speakers were also regularly brought up from England, including from the Hampden Societies.

In a spirited example of 'Internationalism from Below', the Radical Committees organised in solidarity with those cut down at Peterloo. The Paisley Radical Committee in Renfrewshire was their main centre. They organised a major protest meeting in September 1818, chaired by a local teacher, Alexander Taylor. Following this, the Radicals contested control of the Paisley for five days.¹⁹¹ Taylor was forced to flee to Canada, but the Paisley Radicals remained firmly in place, led by John Parkhill, their Commissary-General.¹⁹² The Radical Societies were also organised in Glasgow, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire and Fife. They planned for an insurrection, hopefully to be coordinated with action in England.

However, Kirkman Findlay, the Tory MP and Lord Provost for Glasgow, had already developed a spy system¹⁹³ in the aftermath of the 1813 Weavers' Strike.¹⁹⁴ He now coordinated with the government and his spies were able to penetrate the inner circles of the Scottish Radical Committee. The decision was taken to secretly arrest the committee members when they met and use spies to issue a *Proclamation by order of the Committee of Organisation for forming a Provisional Government, Glasgow, April 1st. 1820*, to provoke a premature rising, and lead isolated groups of insurgents into the waiting arms of the military.¹⁹⁵

The plans were successful in tricking two groups of armed Radicals to march towards the traps that had been set. The first group, led by John Baird and Andrew Hardie, marched towards Carron Ironworks, a major producer of weapons, near Falkirk. After a brief skirmish with the military at nearby Bonnymuir they were captured.¹⁹⁶ The second group was led from Strathaven in south Lanarkshire by James 'Purlie' Wilson, a veteran of the Radical wing of the Friends of the People. This contingent marched with the banner, *Scotland Free or a Desert* (sic),¹⁹⁷ an indication that Wilson was

moulded in the thinking of the Scottish component of the 1792-8 International Revolutionary Wave. They were warned of the trap waiting and dispersed, but not before Wilson was identified and captured.¹⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the authorities were not so prepared for the massive General Strike that broke out across the area, the largest in working class history to that time. Furthermore, the Paisley Radicals, already organising in expectation of an Insurrection, had printed their own Provisional Government of Scotland banknotes to buy arms and ammunition and the weavers had produced cartridge webs.¹⁹⁹ The army and yeomanry became involved in scattered actions to try and suppress Radicals who were openly defying the authorities across the western Central Belt. In Greenock a large group was able to force the release of prisoners, after an action which cost the lives of 18 people including an 8-year-old boy and 65-year-old woman.²⁰⁰

After the rising was suppressed, the government organised a special Royal Commission, with an imported English barrister (in defiance of the existing law) to conduct the trial.²⁰¹ 88 people were charged with treason. It was clear that there was widespread support for those charged, and one court refused to convict two weavers. The government retreated to making an example of three people. Wilson was found guilty at Glasgow and hanged and beheaded before a large crowd. Baird and Hardie received the same treatment at Stirling. A further 19 were transported to Australia.²⁰²

The level of the government response and their subsequent actions, once they thought that order had been sufficiently restored, showed the real significance of the 1820 Rising, the highpoint of the 'Internationalism from Below' challenge they faced at this time. In 1822 the Scottish high Tory, Sir Walter Scott organised the first royal visit for almost two centuries. King George IV's visit was designed to turn "some subjects away from the rebellious radicalism of the time".²⁰³ Scott tried to create a new hybrid Scottish-British identity, which united Jacobite royalist and aristocratic sentimentalism, based on kilted Highlanders, with the moderate Presbyterianism's deferential social order, based on the conservatively dressed Lowlanders. This new social order had been cemented under the Union.

Scott's early example of choreography and public relations produced

impressive results as far as the British ruling class was concerned. In 1990, Labour-led Glasgow City Council made a similar effort to erase the memory of 'Red Clydeside' in a year long cultural offensive as part of becoming the European City of Culture for that year.

Those amongst the 'lower orders' were still able to dismiss the 'King's Jaunt'. Nevertheless, after the 1820 Rising, the front-line of Radicalism moved elsewhere in the UK. George Kinloch from Dundee, who although on the more moderate wing of Radicalism, had been declared an outlaw and forced into exile to France from 1819-22, returned and eventually became an MP in 1832.²⁰⁴ In a more Scottish-British Unionist version of Radicalism, Kinloch joined Joseph Hume, a one-time Tory MP, who became a leading advocate of Radicalism across the UK.²⁰⁵

Others though did not return. A British soldier murdered Alexander Taylor, who had been forced into exile to Montreal, in what was then Lower Canada.²⁰⁶ However, another Scot, William Lyon Mackenzie, who had fled to Upper Canada at the same time,²⁰⁷ was to emerge as the leader of the Republican rising in Upper Canada in 1838.²⁰⁸

After 1820, the first phase of Radicalism, dominated by the 'lower orders' came to an end. Scotland entered a new era in which support grew for reform within the Union. New political and trade union organisations appeared, which extended across the UK. However, Ireland continued to have its own distinct forms of mainly agrarian 'lower order' resistance. The Ribbonmen were made up of Catholic tenants who struggled against the landlords, the local representatives of law and order and the Orange Order. They had contact with English and Scottish Radicals.²⁰⁹ "'Captain Rock' became the symbol for retaliation by 'an underclass which had nothing left to lose'" and organised resistance in the southwest of Ireland from 1821-4.²¹⁰

The middle class led Catholic Association (CA) was formed in Ireland in 1823.²¹¹ Daniel O'Connell emerged as the CA's leader. As a youthful law student in Dublin, he had not joined the United Irish Societies and had later condemned Robert Emmet.²¹² The CA mounted a mass campaign to end discrimination against Catholics. Westminster became divided, with the House of Commons accepting the need for reform. After all, this had been the promise made to Catholics for support of the Union back in 1801. But

King George III and the House of Lords, bastions of reaction, had successfully blocked this.

O'Connell organised what were later to be called 'monster meetings'. Given the turbulent nature of Ireland (with the Ribbonmen not far in the background), his campaign implied a possible resort to physical force, if its demands were not met. O'Connell never intended to use physical force though.²¹³ In the process, he created a new politics, the politics of the veiled threat, which has also been referred to as the politics of intimidation.²¹⁴ In 1829 the Roman Catholic Relief Act was passed. It removed most of the remaining restrictions placed upon Catholics taking office, including their right to take seats at Westminster, but also greatly reduced the Catholic electorate. O'Connell was elected though and became the first Catholic MP since 1678.

O'Connell's example was to motivate Belgian Catholics struggling for independence from the Dutch Netherlands in 1830.²¹⁵ O'Connell's methods were also to inspire middle class parliamentary reformers in Great Britain. From 1830, Radical sections of the middle class mounted their own campaign for parliamentary reform. They decided to copy O'Connell and mobilise the 'lower orders' to frighten Westminster. However, when the House of Lords rejected the Reform Bill in 1831, there were riots in Derby and Nottingham,²¹⁶ and rioters took over Bristol for three days.²¹⁷ The same year also witnessed the greatest challenge to authority - the Merthyr Rising in Wales.

The 'lower orders' had their own ideas, and these included a far wider franchise than the middle class leaders were prepared to accept. They also had a quite different idea of the kind of society they wanted to live in. Becoming wage slaves under the new 'millocracy' was not part of their vision. And there was still resistance from tenants in England who wanted to retain their old rights or jobs, as the 1830 Swing Riots showed.²¹⁸

The actions of the 'lower orders', at the time of the parliamentary reform campaign, were the biggest they had yet mounted against the state. Middle class Radicals became alarmed. The events in Wales, in particular, reflected the deep oppositional culture, which had emerged in the Welsh-speaking areas. Here there had been rapid changes both in the rural districts,

particularly with the enclosures, and in those districts experiencing a hothouse development of industrial capitalism. The two areas were linked by migration. Wales replaced Scotland as the cutting edge of this new phase of Radicalism.

Under the 1832 Reform Act, middle class Radicals were successful in gaining the vote for themselves, whilst also ending the vote enjoyed by better-off artisans and small shopkeepers in a few constituencies.²¹⁹ The middle class reformers' failure to seriously fight for the universal male suffrage wanted by the plebian 'lower orders' contributed to the growing split amongst Radicals. It would still take some time, though, before genuinely universal suffrage, with votes for women, became a political issue.

Furthermore, as soon as the rising industrial capitalist class had gained greater access to state power, they quickly turned this upon the 'lower orders'. Under the provisions of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, new poorhouses or 'bastilles'²²⁰ were designed to create such a climate of fear that working in a factory for low wages under appalling conditions would be the only real alternative. Today the Tories' imposition of Universal Credit has been designed for the same purpose. An additional way to create fear lay in the punitive sentences imposed for offences against property, including minor cases of theft. These could lead to hanging or transportation to horrific penal colonies.²²¹ The prison hulks holding those awaiting transportation were deathtraps. Today, the imprisonment of many of the most marginalised, and the detention of asylum seekers and 'illegal' immigrants, and the callous attempts prevent them crossing the Channel are the equivalents designed to create despair and fear.

In 1834, the six Tolpuddle Martyrs were transported to Australia following their attempts to organise an agricultural workers' union in Dorset.²²² Scottish law was no less harsh. In 1837, the leadership of the Glasgow Cotton Spinners' Strike was also sentenced to transportation. They spent three years on the prison hulks at Woolwich, before finally being given a reprieve in the context of a mounting Chartist challenge.²²³ A growing sense of betrayal amongst the artisans and elements of the new working class led to the formation of the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) in 1836. The *People's Charter*²²⁴ was drawn up and the Chartist Movement launched in 1838. Local Chartist organisations sprouted up around England, Scotland

and Wales, and to a lesser extent in Ireland too.

As in the 1829-32 period of political mobilisation, middle class Radicals made every effort to try and control 'lower orders' Radicals. They gave their support to the artisan initiated LWMA, in which Francis Place and William Lovett were prominent. This was because the respectable LWMA excluded many of the 'lower orders' from its membership, preferring to make overtures to the middle class Radicals. In response, George Julian Harney set up the more radical and popularly based London Democratic Association.²²⁵ Democratic Associations were later to appear across England and Scotland. They became the most politically and class-conscious section of the Chartist Movement. Their members were Revolutionary Democrats. The Democratic Associations also became the strongest advocates of internationalism, making links with revolutionary forces on the continent.

Harney made an alliance with the Northern Radicals led by Feargus O'Connor, a renegade Irish landlord.²²⁶ At the 1839 National Convention, O'Connor became the Chartists' overall leader. O'Connor already published the *Northern Star*, a title he deliberately took from the paper of the Belfast United Irishmen. The *Northern Star* was the most widely read paper published by the Chartists. Harney became a contributor, and later the editor.²²⁷ O'Connor was despised by the moderate middle class Chartists. He was a powerful orator. In some ways he anticipated later working class leaders, such as Jim Larkin, Arthur Scargill, George Galloway and Tommy Sheridan who demanded personal loyalty. O'Connor enjoyed widespread popular support amongst Chartists. When the National Charter Association (NCA) was formed in 1840 to unite the various Chartist organisations, the middle class moral force advocates were not able to take it over.

Moral force Chartists wanted to campaign only through constitutional means. They wished to confine demands to those of the Charter. This meant they often opposed any organisation around working class economic and social demands. They were against the disruption of the middle class Anti-Corn Law League meetings.²²⁸ Many working class Chartists saw the League as an essentially middle class body wanting to lower wages. Moral force Chartists were quite happy to leave the issue of Ireland to parliamentary deals between the Whig leaders and Daniel O'Connell.

The ranks of the physical force Chartists included people who resorted to extra-constitutional methods, and also those who wanted preparations for armed insurrection. In some areas Chartists acted to promote trade unionism.²²⁹ They organised workers in their workplaces and undertook industrial action. The most Radical wing drew Irish migrant workers into its ranks and supported the repeal of the Union. Underlying the differences between moral force and physical force Chartists was a division between those who advocated reform of the existing UK state machinery along with the completion of the liberal economic agenda, and those for whom the Charter meant bringing about political change to enforce economic and social reforms to benefit the 'lower orders'.

The Democratic Associations wanted a Social Republic. Elements of such thinking had already appeared amongst Babeuf's supporters in the French Revolution, whilst the French silk workers' take-over of Lyons in 1834²³⁰ had been the first workers' attempt to create a Social Republic. Given the brutality of the employers and state, middle class attempts to argue for purely constitutional methods were not able to persuade the majority amongst the 'lower order' NCA membership. This is why the purely moral force Chartists had to set up alternative organisations, such as the Complete Suffrage Association in 1842,²³¹ to undermine O'Connor and the NCA.

But the physical force Chartists were also divided. Some thought the politics of the veiled threat, suggested by the mere spectre of physical force, would be enough to achieve the Chartists' demands. Others thought armed uprisings would be needed. These issues came to the fore in 1839. When the House of Commons voted not to hear petitioners presenting the Charter's 1.3 million signatures, preparations were made to increase the pressure. These ranged from sending speakers to mass meetings around England, Wales and Scotland, to organising for a "sacred month" of general strike action, and on to plans for an armed uprising.²³²

These tactics came into collision when Chartist leader Henry Vincent was arrested in Monmouth on a speaking tour. Moral Force Chartists petitioned for his release, but the Monmouthshire Chartists planned to seize Newport. In November, miners and ironworkers marched on Newport. Once again Wales showed itself to be at the cutting edge of Radicalism. They hoped there would be joint action with Chartists in the north of England.²³³

However, Sir Charles Napier, the government's commander of the Northern District, had been given thousands of extra troops to maintain law and order there. In Wales, the Newport Chartists were unprepared for the troops waiting for them. Twenty-two Chartist supporters were shot and killed. Their leaders, John Frost, William Jones and Zephaniah Williams were sentenced to being hanged, drawn and quartered.²³⁴

In response to these threats, a five-man Chartist War Committee began preparations for a further rising. This committee included Major Bartlomiej Beniowski, a Revolutionary veteran from the 1830 Polish Rising and an associate of Harney.²³⁵ Preparations were made for an armed uprising in the North of England, including those made by Samuel Holberry and his wife Mary in Sheffield. Although these were betrayed and Holberry sentenced to jail and put on the treadmill, the government became concerned that the draconian sentences imposed upon Frost, Jones and Williams might precipitate further risings. Their sentences were commuted to transportation to Australia.

The impact of 'lower orders' Radicalism can be seen in the second Chartist petition of 1842, which added Repeal of the New Poor Law and 1801 Act of Union, Disestablishment of the Church of England, and a Pardon for the Newport prisoners. This petition, now with over 3 million signatures, was presented to Westminster and rejected.²³⁶ This coincided with an economic recession. Anti-Corn League factory owners in Lancashire were amongst those enforcing wage cuts. The struggles for parliamentary reform and in defence of wages began to merge.

Strikes took place in fourteen English counties, eight Scottish counties²³⁷ and one Welsh county (only at Merthyr²³⁸ in Glamorgan, due to the effect of the repression following the failed 1839 Newport Rising). Nearly half a million workers were involved in what became known as the Plug Riots (named after the actions of roving strikers who removed the plugs from the steam boilers powering the factories), making it the greatest strike action in the UK to that date. There was also armed drilling. The government mobilised more troops and had hundreds of Chartists imprisoned and dozens transported. A political difference opened up between O'Connor and Harney, although they continued to work together.

Both opposed the linking of the initially largely economically motivated strike action with armed risings. Although O'Connor enjoyed the support of many new industrial working class Chartists, his solution to end their misery was to provide them with land. His view of the future was based on a receding vision of an idealised past of small property owners. He was to become a strong opponent of the new Socialism, which Julian Harney, Bronterre O'Brien and others were beginning to advocate. After the defeat of the 1842 challenge, O'Connor was to put nearly all his effort into creating the Chartist Land Company.²³⁹

Harney, though, whilst supporting the strike, understood that the challenge made by the strikers in 1842 would be met by the full force of the state, and that isolated local uprisings would be defeated. He thought that it would be necessary first of all to educate the new working class about the conscious need for a new Red Republic. This required an independent class 'party' and a more disciplined organisation than already existed. The Democratic Associations were the embryo of such organisation. Harney spent the next few years touring extensively to promoting his ideas, using his editorship of the *Northern Star* to help him. But following the suppression of the 1842 Chartists' challenges, there was a relatively quiescent period in England, Wales and Scotland. This coincided with an economic upturn.

c) The 1837-8 Republican challenges in Lower and Upper Canada and their defeat followed by the 1840 Act of Union outside the UK (pp. 159-165)

The Chartists took considerable interest in the major rebellions in Lower and Upper Canada between 1837-8.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, the manner in which the UK government dealt with these rebellions was to have an effect on the constitutional future of the British Union and Empire. France had ceded both these areas of Nouvelle France to the UK in 1763. They became two British imperial provinces under a 1791 Act of Parliament. Lower Canada was made up of most of the former French colony of Nouvelle France (today Quebec). The UK Tory government's earlier recognition in 1774 of the rights of the French feudal seigneurial class and the Catholic Church had proved successful in preventing this colony from joining the Thirteen Colonies during the American War of Independence. Upper Canada was made up of

the more thinly settled Upper Country of Nouvelle France (today south Ontario). During the American War of Independence many fleeing United Empire Loyalists moved into this area.

The attempt in 1791 to set up the Church of England as the established church²⁴¹ (extended in 1824 to include the Church of Scotland²⁴²) throughout the two provinces caused resentment amongst French Catholics. However, UK state recognition was also given to the Catholic Bishop of Quebec.²⁴³ The pope could appoint the bishop subject to a veto by the Governor General. This was the model that Lord Castlereagh and others wanted for recognition of the Catholic hierarchy in the UK. Lower Canada's loyalty was retained during the war between the UK and USA in 1812. In Upper Canada, many United Empire Loyalists joined the local militia and provided their services assisting the UK forces.

Both Lower and Upper Canada, like the old Thirteen Colonies, had limited legislative assemblies. The UK government exercised real control through the Governor General. In Lower and Upper Canada, he also controlled the local militias. Lower Canada was under the local control of the Chateau Clique, an alliance of British merchants and the descendants of the French-Canadian seigneurial elite. They were also known as Tories, which reflected their domestic Canadian and British imperial outlook. Upper Canada was under the local control of the Family Compact, made up of Loyalist businessmen and professionals. A later British Governor General, the Earl of Lord Durham, was to call them "a petty corrupt insolent Tory clique".²⁴⁴

During the 1812 war, the Canadian Orange Order became a significant force, coming to exercise an equivalent position in Upper Canada to that of the Orange Order in Ireland, particularly in Ulster.²⁴⁵ (By the end of the nineteenth century, Toronto became known as the 'Belfast of Canada').²⁴⁶ The Upper Canadian militia, like the Ulster yeomanry, recruited from the Orange Order, which also had links to the local magistracy.

However, by the 1830s, there had been significant changes in both Lower and Upper Canada. Although both provinces had become homelands for United Empire Loyalists, here and elsewhere on the British North American/US border, there was not a clear-cut division between Canadians and Americans. Many maintained family relationships across the border and continued to

trade in defiance of both states' laws. In addition, many Americans had also moved over the border, outnumbering the original United Empire Loyalists. With the Chateau Clique and Family Compact, backed by the Governor General, continuing to rule locally in their own narrow self-interest, opposition began to develop to the existing political set-up.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Parti Canadien, which became the Parti Patriote from 1826, grew in Lower Canada. It was Republican and took inspiration both from the American and French revolutions. It adopted a Tricolore flag. The Parti Patriote was most strongly supported by the French Quebecois, but it also had American, Irish, Scottish and English born members.

One of the effects of the French Revolution had been to create support for secularism, which put the Parti Patriote against sections of the Catholic Church in Quebec. As in Ireland, the church leadership was taking an Ultramontanist turn. This was taking place under Jean-Jacques Lartigue, Bishop of Montreal and his assistant Ignace Bourget. They opposed the Parti Patriote.²⁴⁷ The party's secularism, though, helped it to attract non-French support in Quebec. The Parti Patriote could be seen as the sort of party, which the United Irishmen had wanted to achieve. It also became radicalised in response to both UK government and local Chateau Clique intransigence.

Louis-Joseph Papineau emerged as the leader of the Parti Patriote. In 1831, he was responsible for winning full political rights for Jews in the Lower Canadian Assembly (and this meant overcoming his own and earlier Party Canadien opposition to such a measure²⁴⁸). In 1834 he wrote the *Ninety Two Resolutions*, which was a list of grievances against the colonial administration. This was overwhelmingly passed by the Lower Canadian Assembly but ignored by the Governor General and UK government. From that point the Parti Patriote planned a rebellion. This was to be their '1798'. In 1837, the Parti Patriote, called L'Assemblée des Six-Comtés, sanctioned the setting up of an armed force, Société des Fils de la Liberté (named after the American Sons of Liberty from the American War of Independence). The Governor General moved to arrest twenty-five Parti Patriote leaders in November. Papineau and others fled across the border to seek American help and arms.

Meanwhile in Upper Canada another oppositional movement had developed. Following the 1812 war between the UK and USA, American settlers in Upper Canada were treated with increased suspicion. However, the corrupt use of the Family Compact made of their control of the Upper Canada legislature led to growing resentment from other new settlers too. William Lyon Mackenzie,²⁴⁹ born in Scotland, settled in Upper Canada in 1820, after fleeing the country following the attempted 1820 Rising.²⁵⁰ He became a leading figure in the opposition to the Family Compact and the Governor General. He was a committed secularist. Both the Canadian Orange Order²⁵¹ and the local Catholic Bishop of Kingston, Alexander MacDonnell²⁵² opposed him. Initially, Mackenzie was most influenced by the Reform movement in Great Britain.²⁵³

Mackenzie sought political reform of Upper Canada within the British Empire. Thus, he had arrived at the position similar to that originally advocated by Benjamin Franklin for the Thirteen Colonies.²⁵⁴ In 1832, Mackenzie travelled to England to work with the parliamentary reform movement and allied himself with the Radical MP Joseph Hume. Mackenzie went to Westminster seeking redress for the grievances of many colonists, including his own expulsion from the Upper Canadian Legislative Assembly by the local Tories.

As in the case of Franklin, UK government intransigence helped to radicalise Mackenzie. His Westminster ally, Hume, although a constitutional reformer in the UK, declared his support for Colonial Independence, won by Physical Force if necessary. In 1834 Mackenzie had this statement published in his influential journal, the *Advocate*.²⁵⁵ Prior to this, though, Mackenzie had already been influenced by the American Republican tradition. After a visit to the USA in 1829, President Andrew Jackson inspired him,²⁵⁶ whilst the many American settlers in Upper Canada would also have exerted their influence.

In the lead up to the 1836 Legislative Assembly election, the Family Compact/Tories, backed by the Governor General, made use of the Canadian Orange Order.²⁵⁷ They resorted to threats and violence to ensure victory for the Tory candidates. This prompted Mackenzie to publish a new newspaper, the *Constitution*, in 1837. He helped to form the Toronto Political Union (a name still inspired by the organisations formed to campaign for the 1832

Westminster Reform Act), whilst in practice moving to establish a Constitutional Convention, modelled on the American Continental Congress. This implied a complete break with the UK. Mackenzie began to see Tom Paine, who had made the transition from being an English reformer to becoming an American Republican, as his inspiration.²⁵⁸

Despite having a loyal Tory Upper Canadian Legislative Assembly, the Whig UK Prime Minister, Viscount Melbourne moved to restrict its powers even further. This prompted Mackenzie to plan an armed rebellion. It was at this point that the activities of Papineau and the Parti Patriote in Lower Quebec and Mackenzie and the Political Unions in Upper Canada coalesced. The Governor General had moved British troops out of Upper Canada to suppress the Parti Patriote rebellion in Lower Canada.

Mackenzie took the opportunity to try and seize control of Toronto. Others in the Political Union did not initially support Mackenzie's plans. A small force of local Loyalists dispersed Mackenzie's forces' first attack. However, they regrouped and fought in a longer encounter with British troops. But they were no match in numbers, weaponry or military skill. They were defeated, but most were able to flee and regroup once more on the border. Here they hoped to get official US government backing, but only received some supplies from American supporters. Meanwhile the British had captured three of their leaders. Two were executed and one died in prison. The attempt to launch another attack fizzled out and Mackenzie was imprisoned in the USA for a breach of the neutrality laws.

The rebellion in Lower Canada had been better prepared and lasted longer. After Papineau had escaped to the USA to avoid arrest, the Societe des Fils de la Liberte, led by Wolfred Nelson (originally from England), defeated a British force sent to capture other Parti Patriote leaders on November 23rd, 1837. They then also retreated across the border. After this, Lower and Upper Canadian rebels and their American Patriot allies planned two invasions. However, opposed by the British authorities, Canadian Loyalists and the US government, led by President Marten van Buren, these were quite easily contained.

In 1838 the Whig Earl of Durham was appointed Governor General and asked to report on the situation in Lower and Upper Canada. He set up

committees made up of those who were hostile to the Parti Patriote.²⁵⁹ Despite the Parti being led by the secular Republican Papineau and having many English, Irish, Scottish and American supporters, Durham chose to portray the 1837 Rebellion as a traditionalist French Catholic Quebecois uprising.

Durham proposed that Lower and Upper Canada be united into one Canadian Province. There should be a Legislative Assembly with equal representation from both, to give a disproportionate weight to English-speaking Protestant Upper Canada. This should be followed by large-scale immigration from Great Britain to Canada. The 1774 Quebec Act should be abolished to undermine the Catholic Church (whilst keeping the Established status of Churches of England and Scotland).

When the British North America Act was passed at Westminster in 1840, the first of Durham's proposals, the uniting the two colonies, was enacted with the creation of the Province of Canada. The new Legislative Assembly was given no new powers, and the official use of the French language was ended. From a British imperial perspective, the 1840 Canadian Union had much the same purpose as the 1801 Irish Union. This was to ensure that Catholics would remain a minority and the prospect of Republican self-determination was eliminated. But again, many reactionary Loyalists still opposed it. After the crushing of the 1798 and 1837 Rebellions, they saw no reason why they should not be left in firm control of their own local legislative assembly and use local yeomanry or militias and the Orange Order to enforce their rule.

The Act's provisions, undermining the previously protected Catholic Church, were not implemented. However, the very obvious pro-British and Protestant bias of the new Union, the official restriction on the French language, and the continued presence of the Orange Order as a significant force in Canadian politics contributed to the further rise of Ultramontane Catholic Nationalism in response. This was a similar situation to what was happening in Ireland. The Ultramontanists were very much opposed to Papineau's Secular Republicanism. The Bishop of Montreal, Lartigue and his successor Bourget, issued public statements in 1837 condemning Papineau. As in Ireland, the British authorities recognised the advantage in having such support as 'fire and theft' insurance to help them contain more radical forces.

In the eighteenth century, the struggle of 'freeborn Englishmen', and 'god-chosen' Scots and Scotch-Irish in the Thirteen Colonies, had led neither to a Greater English nor a Greater British kingdom, but to the creation of the US Republic by 'liberty loving Americans'. If Papineau and Mackenzie had been successful, then the Canada Bas/Lower Canadian Republic, and Upper Canadian Republic, would probably also have ended up becoming part of the US Federal Republic.

Papineau's and Mackenzie's defeats opened up the possibility though for the emergence of a new Canadian-British nation instead. A whole sequence of events had yet to take place before this took more root. Both the moral force and physical force wings of Chartism paid close attention to events in Canada. This was shown by Radical MP, Joseph Hume raising the issue at Westminster on a number of occasions, and by articles in the *Northern Star*.²⁶⁰

d) Wales - the advance to and retreat from the frontline of the challenge to the UK state (pp. 165-168)

In the process of mounting a new 'lower orders' challenge to the rising industrial capitalist class and their middle class allies, Wales had emerged from the political shadow. Until the Industrial Revolution, most of Wales bore a stronger resemblance to the Gaelic speaking Highland areas of Scotland and of Ireland, in being relatively marginal to the growing English, then British economy, with the cattle trade being its most important feature. Indeed, it was this relative marginalisation that allowed the Welsh language to be retained and spoken by the majority of people there. The recent transformation in Wales led to new textile manufacturing, metal ore mining and processing, slate quarrying, and then later large-scale coal mining and iron production. These developments massively disrupted the old social order.

The initial response to this took a Religious form. Welsh Methodism developed, first within the local Church of England, then as Nonconformism, culminating in the setting up of the Calvinist Methodist Presbyterian Church of Wales in 1823. This Religious Revival extended to the already existing Independent Baptist and Congregationalist churches in Wales too. These

Nonconformist churches helped to promote the Welsh language. Their activities were to contribute to the emergence of a new Welsh Nation within the existing UK state. It was from the ranks of these churches that a Welsh middle class leadership would develop.

However, there was another significant development. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the development of a new bardic or Cultural Nationalism in Wales. The promotion of the Welsh language was central. This move came initially from the London-Welsh community, where the effects of the clash between the old and new were felt most sharply. The new social conditions, which the London-Welsh faced, led them to a Radical reinterpretation of the past, the better to inform the future.

One of the leading lights was Edward Lewis, better known as Iolo Morganwg.²⁶¹ He organised the first druidic Gorsedd, or coming together of bards, on London's Primrose Hill in 1792. He joined with John Jones/Jac Glan-y-Gors,²⁶² Radical pamphleteer and poet, who also lived in London for a period. They were both supporters of the French Revolution. New Welsh language festivals or eisteddfodau were soon organised in Wales itself.

When the British government moved after 1792 to suppress Jacobinism, this had led to the radicalisation of the United Irishmen, the creation of the United Scotsmen from the radical wing of the disbanded Friends of the People, and a standoff with the London Corresponding Society. In Wales, however, there was no single Republican organisation. Richard Price²⁶³ and David Williams,²⁶⁴ supporters of the earlier American Colonists' challenge, initially welcomed the French Revolution. They backed off though once the Revolution entered its Jacobin phase. When the French Directorate sent a diversionary landing force to Fishguard in 1797, there was no local support.²⁶⁵

Nevertheless, a largely Welsh speaking Republican underground later developed amongst the 'lower orders'.²⁶⁶ Several of its leaders based their politics on the most radical version of Christianity to emerge at the time - Unitarianism. Freemasonry and bardic nationalism also took root. Liberty promoting eisteddfodau were organised in public houses.²⁶⁷ As the Industrial Revolution encompassed more of Wales, this Welsh speaking Republican underground extended its activities to the new manufacturing and mining

areas. The Welsh language also acted as a barrier to state intelligence gathering and policing. In the context of rapid population growth, the Welsh language came to be spoken by the largest number of people ever. This was a very different pattern compared to the fate of the Gaelic languages of Scotland and Ireland.

The 1820s witnessed growing unrest both in the rural and new industrial areas. The rural struggle against Enclosure led to the War of the Little Englishman in Ceredigion/Cardigan during the 1820s.²⁶⁸ Migrants transferred their rural oppositional traditions to the new industrial areas. The Scotch Cattle emerged.²⁶⁹ They took action against blacklegs. The 1820 Radical Rising in Scotland had brought about the most widely supported working class action seen in the UK up to that point. However, the Merthyr Rising of 1831 in Wales took this on to a different plane of opposition. This rising was the first occasion on which the Red Flag was flown.²⁷⁰ The rebels went on to take control of Merthyr for four days, despite the deaths of two dozen at the hands of the troops. The rebels disarmed the Swansea Yeomanry and forced back an ammunition train. Eventually troops were sent in to put down the insurrection. Dic Penderyn, a young miner and monoglot Welsh speaker, was captured, tried and executed.²⁷¹

For the next few years, Wales was to the forefront of challenges to local employers, local authorities and the UK state. South Wales became the most heavily garrisoned part of the UK. In 1834 the first Welsh working class paper, *Y Gweithiwr/The Worker* was produced.²⁷² Both southwest and mid Wales became Chartist strongholds. Chartists took over Llanidloes, a flannel-producing town in Montgomeryshire, for five days from 30th April to 4th May in 1839.²⁷³

But Chartism's greatest strength lay in the coalfields and iron producing areas of the South Wales valleys. During the 1839 Newport Rising, the Monmouth Chartists planned to link up with Physical Force Chartists in the north of England. This represented a new turn for 'Internationalism from Below'. They had ambitious plans to declare a Silurian Republic.²⁷⁴ For a brief moment, a Revolutionary Democratic alternative to the UK and Liberal Unionist Reform appeared. The Rebecca Riots,²⁷⁵ directed against the new toll roads, and the Welsh participation in the later surge of Chartist militancy in 1842, highlighted the continued volatility of Wales. However, the defeat

of the 1842 strikes led to Wales stepping back from the front line of the Chartist challenge to the UK state.

The Class Struggles that had developed in the first half of the nineteenth century, under the leadership of Plebian and Working Class Radicals in Wales, were to undergo a shift in leadership to Middle Class Liberals following the defeat of Welsh Chartism. They were to ensure that the emerging Welsh Nation took the form of a British Wales and an acceptance of the UK state. Furthermore, Welsh coal, iron and slate were to become significant exports to the Empire and USA. A growing shared Imperial economy helped to underpin this new Welsh-British Nation. This also led to some Welshmen becoming members of the wider British ruling class, e.g. the coal-owners, Samuel Thomas and William Morgan.

e) The lion that didn't roar - the 'lower orders' in Scotland begin to support a reformed Scottish-British nation within the UK and British Empire (pp. 168-172)

In 1820, the Scottish Rising and General Strike had marked the most significant challenge coming from the new working class to the UK state up to that date. Scottish artisans (mainly weavers) and wagedworkers in the new industries were part of a Radical 'Internationalism from Below' campaign. The 1820 actions were taken in response to the 1819 Peterloo Massacre in Manchester, which had been unleashed to crush the Radical movement.

However, as in Wales, religious thinking also contributed to social struggles in Scotland. Because of the domination of the pro-landlord, pro-government Moderates within the Established Church of Scotland, the issue of patronage continued to mobilise significant opposition. There were outright confrontations between local congregations and the ministers imposed by the patrons, on one occasion backed by armed troops.²⁷⁶ By 1800, 10% of the Scottish population was already members of a number of breakaway Presbyterian churches.²⁷⁷

From a ruling class point of view, the Established Church of Scotland was meant to perform the same social disciplinary role as the Anglican Church in England, Wales and Ireland. During the earlier phase of the International

Revolutionary Wave between 1792-8, the authorities had treated Secessionist Presbyterian churches with a lot of suspicion. The government had informers amongst their ranks.²⁷⁸ An Evangelical movement was growing inside the established Church of Scotland (as it had in England and Wales in the form of Methodism). This movement also opposed patronage, and the state's assumed supremacy over the Kirk. This was anathema to committed Presbyterians. However, this Scottish Evangelical movement was not a radical democratising movement, since, unlike the secessionist and, in effect, Independent churches, the Church of Scotland Evangelicals supported a state established church, albeit one which was in full control by its own leaders.²⁷⁹

The Evangelicals' leader, Thomas Chalmers,²⁸⁰ could see that the massive population shifts brought about by the Industrial Revolution had undermined the Kirk's old parish poor relief system. He argued that the desperate poverty to be found amongst the ever-growing urban working class was a reflection of them having too many children. He was a keen Malthusian, and when the great Irish Hunger occurred later, he also said this was god's judgement upon Irish Catholics! Chalmers wanted to cut back on poor relief, leaving it to voluntary charitable donations. In this he represented a Scottish version of those liberal politicians in England and Wales who had used their new power under the 1832 Reform Act to introduce the hated 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.

Although Chalmers was an opponent of Parliamentary Reform in 1832, he won a growing following from the Liberal middle class within the Church of Scotland. The Moderate dominated Church of Scotland was acting as a block to the ambitions of the liberal middle class, whether they were members of Secessionist kirks or still in the Church of Scotland. Thus, once the Chartist campaign took off, it coincided with a major struggle that had already begun within the Church of Scotland. This began in 1834 and led to the Disruption²⁸¹ in 1843, with the Secession of the Free Church of Scotland.

However, a new Scottish Radical culture drew on both Radical Covenanter and outlaw Jacobite traditions. Furthermore, the large-scale immigration of Irish workers to the industrial Central Belt brought over other traditions of rebellion. A Popular Secular culture was also found in Scotland. Robert Burns had earlier expressed this strong Anti-Clericalism in his *Holy Willie's Prayer*.²⁸²

With the marginalisation of Plebian Radicalism, following the defeat of the 1820 Rising, Middle Class Radicalism came to the fore. It was organised in Political Unions. The artisans and skilled trades were found in the Glasgow Committee of United Trades (GCoUT). They sought an alliance with middle class Radicals.²⁸³ Many working class Radicals did go on to join the Chartists, and some became local leaders, but they never displaced the middle class national leadership in Scotland.

Radicalism was increasingly organised on an all-Great Britain basis, whilst still acknowledging distinct national traditions. This contributed to the broadening of the base of a wider Scottish-British Unionist identity. A Scottish-British culture had also begun to take root amongst the artisans and new tradesmen. These people were still confident in the Scottish prefix of their hybrid identity. Within an otherwise shared Scottish-British Unionism, they were prepared to contest others, whether they were Tory or Whig. They upheld and celebrated their own historical traditions. Such thinking eventually contributed to the creation of a wider 'British Road to Progress' tradition. Later, the Social Democratic Federation/British Socialist Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain transformed this into the 'British Road to Socialism'. This continues today and is found amongst British Left Unionist Labour and Socialist supporters.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century was also the period when the basis for a united British 'Nation', which outgrew the inherited Unionist constitution, might have developed. Scotland could have been transformed over time into 'North Britain'. The politician who best represented this possibility was the middle class Radical MP, Joseph Hume. Hume was an MP continuously from 1818-55 and represented constituencies in England, Scotland and Ireland.²⁸⁴ At Westminster, he supported the Canadian Radicals and opposed the Orange Order, flogging in the British Army, impressment in the British Navy, and the Anti-Combination laws directed against trade unionists. He supported the right of skilled workmen to take work abroad. Thus, Hume and other middle class Radicals were able to gain support from artisans and skilled workers in Scotland.

In winning cross-class support, middle class Radicalism in Scotland faced fewer challenges compared to England and Wales, when the issue of

Parliamentary Reform came to the fore in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The middle class led Political Unions were able to prevent any major Plebian revolts. No resentful better-off artisans or shop keepers lost their vote under the 1832 Parliamentary Reform, since the franchise in Scotland had been even more restricted than in England. Middle class Radicals were able to maintain their hegemony over Reform Campaigns and their control over the large protest demonstrations organised around parliamentary reform. And significantly, following the experience of the recent defeat of the Radical Rising, the GCoUT, formed mainly of artisans, called on workers to reject the insurrectionary methods of 1820.²⁸⁵

When the Chartists were formed in London in 1837, local organisation was soon extended to Scotland. Here the middle class was again able to gain and retain the leadership. The draconian Poor Law Amendment Act, which contributed so much to the class divide in Chartism south of the border, did not extend to Scotland. The Scottish Chartist leaders placed a strong emphasis on pursuing a cross-class, Moral Force strategy. In Edinburgh they published the *True Scotsman*, aimed at "sober, industrious tradesmen".²⁸⁶ The Universal Suffrage Association (USA) was the main Scottish organisation behind the Charter, but it was largely Glasgow-based. Glasgow's new larger working class meant that the Moral Force Chartists sometimes had to adopt a more militant stance, and they published the *Scottish Patriot* to express this. Nevertheless, like the Edinburgh leaders, they were also Anti-Physical Force, and much influenced by religious dissent.²⁸⁷

However, Julian Harney was able to set up a more Radical inspired Democratic Association in Glasgow,²⁸⁸ which published the *Vindicator*. On its masthead was a quote from William Wallace - "Return and tell your masters that we come here not to treat but to Assert our Rights and set Scotland free."²⁸⁹ Harney thought that nearly half of Scottish Chartists had no church connections.²⁹⁰ Those of a religious persuasion were very much against Established Christianity, but they were to be disappointed at the lack of support from the Secessionist churches. As a consequence, they set up their own Chartist churches.²⁹¹ The *Chartist Circular*²⁹² an educational journal aimed at a Scottish working class audience, produced a series of articles on Robert Burns, George Buchanan and John Knox. To win over dissenting Presbyterian Chartists, it was pointed out that John Knox had been

"a zealous Radical reformer - a Democrat - a Republican and a physical force Chartist"!²⁹³

The dominant Moral Force trinity within Scottish Chartism consisted of John Fraser of Edinburgh, Abram Duncan of Glasgow and the Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley.²⁹⁴ Joseph Hume MP remained in the wings. His Moral Force, constitutional approach led him to suggest ditching Universal Male Suffrage in favour of a much more Restricted Household Suffrage in 1840.²⁹⁵ In 1837 he initiated the campaign for the Political Martyrs' monument in Edinburgh, commemorating the 1793 Friends of the People, and used its opening ceremony in 1843 to claim the Moral Force Chartists as their heirs.²⁹⁶

The two main spokesmen for the Physical Force wing of Scottish Chartism were Dr. John Taylor²⁹⁷ and Peter Murray McDouall.²⁹⁸ However, both these figures were more active in England. Julian Harney toured and was well received in Scotland. Mary Cameron, Harney's wife, was from Mauchline in Ayrshire.²⁹⁹ Harney was a good speaker and was even invited on lecture tours for the Moral Force USA, although he was disliked by the Scottish leadership for his Republicanism. Harney travelled further and spoke in the north-east of Scotland and Inverness. Further north, George McBean took the Chartist message in Gaelic to the Highlands and Islands.³⁰⁰ However it was to take some time before the crofters and fisherman found their own independent political voice.

The Scottish Chartist leadership maintained strong links with their Moral Force counterparts in England. Their moderation was also connected to their acceptance of the Union. This was shown in the Scottish Chartists' Convention opposition to the NCA taking up the issue of the Repeal of the Irish Union in 1842.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, there was strong opposition to this decision from many Scottish branches. There were local Physical Force advocates amongst the working class, including Irish immigrants. There was support for the 1842 strike action particularly in Clackmannanshire and Fife.³⁰² And O'Connor was also usually well received on his speaking tours in Scotland. But no equivalents of O'Connor ever gained such a prominent national position amongst Scottish Chartists.

f) The impact of the Irish Repeal campaign, the emergence of the Irish Confederation, and a comparison with the Chartist struggles up to 1848 (pp. 173-178)

After Scotland in 1820, and Wales from 1830-39, it was Ireland that was to move once more to the forefront of the challenge to the UK state, following the earlier challenge made by the United Irishmen in the 1790s. Furthermore, a new 'Internationalism from Below' alliance was to come about in the process.

In 1830, Daniel O'Connell, soon after his Catholic emancipation victory, set up the Repeal Association (RA),³⁰³ with the aim of ending the parliamentary union of 1801. He wanted a return to Grattan's old Irish Patriot Parliament. They both supported an Irish Parliament under the Crown, and both thought that Catholic representation based on property ownership would cement their ideas of social order. However, unlike Grattan, O'Connell lived in a period when liberal political economy was becoming more dominant. In line with British liberals, he strongly opposed chattel slavery.³⁰⁴ But equally, along with them, he supported the 'free trade', 'free land' and 'free labour' thinking of the new capitalist political economy. O'Connell saw himself as on the side of progress. He would be termed a moderniser today.

O'Connell thought the Irish Gaelic language as part the legacy of the past and he encouraged people to learn English.³⁰⁵ He associated Gaelic with the downtrodden Irish peasantry. He disliked the violent resistance they sometimes resorted to. He also opposed trade union strike action.³⁰⁶ A landlord dependent peasantry and wage dependent working class did not fit into his world view. In O'Connell's ideal Irish nation, professionals like himself would join with industrialists, commercial farmers and artisans - Catholic and English-speaking. He wanted a place for a Liberal Catholic Ireland, allied to a Liberal Protestant Great Britain under the Crown, within the new International Order based on Free Trade.

O'Connell made a political alliance with John McHale,³⁰⁷ the Archbishop of Tuam. Their shared vision of Ireland was of a Catholic-Irish 'nation' within the UK (although McHale did support the Gaelic language). In 1642 the Irish Confederacy had envisaged something similar. However, back then, there was a close relationship between the religion of the ruler and the established

religion of the state. This meant that few believed that supporting a different state-backed religion in one part of a kingdom was anything other than a tactic by the currently excluded to regain their religion's supremacy throughout the whole realm.

The UK's wars against the Jacobins, the Directory and Napoleon had seen the state giving support to Catholic powers, the Papacy and even old Jacobites. Therefore, the creation of a tolerant but Catholic dominated Ireland, alongside a tolerant Protestant dominated Great Britain within a United Kingdom now seemed more plausible. Furthermore, although McHale represented the growing strength of Catholic Ultramontaniam, the majority of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland was still more liberal at this time.

During the post-1829/1832 period, hopes had opened up in Ireland of the possibility of liberal reform within the Union, following the abolition of the old Anglo-Irish Ascendancy parliament at Dublin in 1801 and Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Wider social support for the Union had already been evident in Scotland, following the defeat of the 1820 Rising. At a Repeal meeting in 1836, O'Connell said that "The people of Ireland are ready to become a portion of the empire, provided they be made so in reality and not in name alone; they are ready to become a kind of West Britons, if made so in benefits and justice; but if not, we are Irishmen again."³⁰⁸

However, the first reform that would have been required to open up this prospect was the abolition of the tithes paid to the Anglican Church and the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. When this was not conceded a Tithe War³⁰⁹ took place. This brought the Ribbonmen back into action. O'Connell, in order to cement his alliance with the rising Liberals, refused to support the total abolition of tithes proposed by Radical Protestant MP for Dundalk, William Sharman Crawford.³¹⁰ In 1838, Melbourne's Whig government had to make concessions to end the violence. Yet Anglicanism still remained the established religious denomination in Ireland, causing continued resentment.

Furthermore, many of the Ascendancy landlords continued to rack-rent and oppress their tenants. They could depend on the local magistrates not only to back them, but to exonerate the brutal activities of the Orange Order, which intimidated Catholic tenants, artisans and workers. Unionists in the Irish

Metropolitan Conservative Society (backed by Loyalists in the Dublin Protestant Operative Society) also campaigned for the repeal of the Union. However, they coupled this to the repeal of Catholic Emancipation. Such views were quite common in Ascendancy circles. Clearly, any Loyalist version of repeal could only be imposed through a resort to large-scale repression of Catholics. The Orange Order was quite prepared to assist in this task.

In the 1832 Westminster election, RA candidates won 42 of the 103 Irish seats. For O'Connell, these MPs were there to act as a pressure group on the Whigs, and especially those who were to the forefront of pushing the liberal economic changes he also wanted. In 1835 he entered into the Litchfield House Compact, under which the RA MPs became, in effect, a subordinate wing of the Whigs. However, whereas the majority in the House of Commons, Tory and Whig, had supported Catholic Emancipation in 1829, any repeal of the Union, even under the Crown, was very unlikely to be conceded in the 1840s.

Ever since the crushing of Napoleon, the UK state was in triumphalist mode and seeking to build up the British Empire once more. Maintaining the new unity of the UK state was central to their vision. Repeal would get no backing from the Whigs. They thought the Irish should be satisfied with the concessions that had already been made, and just bide their time for future changes within the existing constitutional set-up.

Therefore, making no political headway, and facing the resentment caused by the continued oppressive and often repressive reality in Ireland, O'Connell decided to relaunch his Repeal campaign. In 1842 he set up the Loyal National Repeal Association (LNRA)³¹¹. As this title showed, he was no Republican and wished to retain the existing Crown in a shared kingdom. Following his rejection of the Radical MP, Sharman Crawford, he also strongly opposed any links with the Chartists,³¹² since he still saw the British Whigs as his allies.

O'Connell's continued belief in the politics of 'the Veiled Threat' was eventually to break the official LNRA campaign, despite its mass nature. The LNRA had a paying membership of three million, and organised a series of monster meetings, all conducted with impressive self-discipline. One

million people attended a monster meeting at Tara, by tradition the seat of the High King of Ireland. To deal with such threats, Robert Peel's Conservative government mobilised thousands of troops. In 1843, he banned a planned monster meeting at Clontarf. O'Connell backed down. He and the other organisers were put on trial and imprisoned. Peel had called O'Connell's bluff.

The British government, rather than recognising the need to reform the Union to meet the changing economic and political situation, fell back on an older policy. This was to court the Catholic hierarchy. It had already become obvious that, even in England, the Anglican Church could no longer be depended upon to maintain the social discipline over all the 'lower orders'. In 1845, the Conservative PM, Peel rewarded the Irish Catholic hierarchy for their support in opposing militant Repeal campaigning by making a threefold increase in the state grant to Maynooth.³¹³

Then the Great Hunger³¹⁴ descended upon the Irish countryside. Having just experienced large-scale Conservative/Tory government repression, the Irish were about to experience the application of Whig/liberal laissez faire economics. The potato blight hit most northern European countries, but their states usually responding by restricting exports of foodstuffs so they could be directed to the areas affected by famine. The new Whig PM, Lord John Russell, sent Charles Trevelyan to administer government relief. His attitude, though, was summed in his Evangelical Christian belief that, "The judgement of God sent the calamity to teach the Irish a lesson"!³¹⁵ By 1846, thousands were already dying of starvation and disease, soon many more would be evicted, with large numbers going overseas, often to die on the famine ships or in the migrant reception centres upon their arrival.

This was the context in which the Irish Confederation³¹⁶ was set up in 1847. During the early years of the LNRA, Young Ireland³¹⁷ had been formed by a number of more Radical Irish Nationalists. It included both Protestants, such as by Thomas Davis and John Mitchel and Catholics such as Gavan Duffy and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Young Ireland published *The Nation*, which had even more influence in Ireland than O'Connor's *Northern Star* had in England. Young Ireland, though, did not constitute an organised political group comparable to the Democratic Associations within the Chartists.

After the Clontarf climb down, the political gap between O'Connell and Young Ireland widened. As in the period following 1832, O'Connell was once more in political retreat. He was aware there was growing pressure for a more vigorous response in Ireland to the British government. To control this, he insisted that a new provision be placed upon LNRA membership. His Peace Resolutions rejected Physical Force altogether.³¹⁸ This ended the politics of 'the Veiled Threat', which had formed the basis of O'Connell's campaign before Clontarf. Yet, in the face of British government intransigence and repression, his new emphasis on Moral Force politics did not persuade many Repeal supporters.

O'Connell's political stance was now like that of the Moral Force Chartists, who had earlier tried to remove or bypass Feargus O'Connor as leader. Only in O'Connell's case he was openly rejecting his own earlier political strategy of 'the Veiled Threat'. The Moral Force Chartists had left to form their own smaller organisations. However, it was the 'Veiled Threat' and Physical Force supporters who resigned from the LNRA and set up the Irish Confederation.

The Irish Confederation was now seeking complete Irish Independence asserted by active defiance of the UK state, backed up, if necessary, by Physical Force. With the Great Famine entering its very worst year, 'Black 47', they also wanted immediate government legislation to prevent the export of food, to organise its proper redistribution, and to provide meaningful jobs.³¹⁹

The Irish Confederation was in an analogous position to the National Charter Association after the departure of the Moral Force challengers. It was an alliance of those advocating 'veiled threats' and those wanting to organise an armed rising. However, the wider political circumstances were more conducive in 1847 to building support in Ireland for the Irish Confederation, than for the NCA association after the defeat of the 1842 strikes.

The official LNRA's legacy of giving support to British Whigs became particularly exposed as Lord Russell and Trevelyan came to preside over Famine Ireland'. The supposed divide between Tory oppression and Whig liberty was looking pretty threadbare as the Whig government introduced the Crime and Outrage Act in 1847. In 1848 the Whig Lord Lieutenant, Lord

Clarendon went on to give unofficial behind-the-scenes permission to arm the Orange Order to put down any disorder.³²⁰

The British government's refusal to succumb to a campaign of 'Veiled Threats', coupled to their ratcheting up of repression, had pushed the issue of Physical Force to the fore for the Chartists too. Ireland now also experienced this, but in addition there was the pressure caused by the massive misery and destitution brought about by the Great Hunger. For Irish Confederation members like William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Meagher and John Mitchel, *The Nation* and its editor Charles Gavan Duffy, were not responding anything like vigorously enough. Mitchel began to publish the *United Irishman*, which advocated open rebellion.³²¹ In 1848 this paper was suppressed.

James Fintan Lalor stepped forward and published the replacement *Irish Felon*, in which he argued for an agricultural tenants' rent strike.³²² (Half a century later, two Scots-Irish born Socialists, John Leslie and James Connolly, were to see Lalor as founding the Social Republican tradition from which they developed their own politics.) The rent strike would provide popular backing for the insurrection he was planning with Mitchel, O'Brien, Meagher and others. Despite the strong opposition from the Catholic hierarchy, as during the 1798 Rising, there were individual priests who supported the Irish Confederation, particularly Father John Kenyon,³²³ a close friend of John Mitchel.

**g) The Democratic Association and the Fraternal Democrats'
'Internationalism from Below' alliance in the 1847-9 International
Revolutionary Wave (pp. 178-183)**

The earlier phases of Chartist challenge to the UK state, in 1839 and 1842, had not coincided with the first phase of the Irish Repeal activities. Indeed, the British government had seen Ireland as settled enough for them to send Irish troops to England and Wales.³²⁴ However, from 1847, and particularly in 1848, the interests of the Irish Confederation and the Chartists began to coincide. They were also now taking place in the shared context of a new International Revolutionary Wave.

O'Connell had had support from the Irish middle class and from the Catholic

hierarchy to try and keep the 'lower orders' in check. This was more difficult in England, Scotland and Wales, where many Irish migrants lived. Nevertheless, O'Connell had still used his formidable reputation and the influence of the Catholic Church to try to keep these migrants away from the Chartists. However, the best-known Chartist, Feargus O'Connor, was not only Irish, but also a one-time Connellite Irish Repeal MP.³²⁵ This encouraged many Irish migrant workers in England to join the Chartists. O'Connell's backing down at Clontarf in 1843, and his subsequent death in 1847, removed some of the remaining restraints upon Irish migrants joining the Chartists. In Ireland many, who were beginning to doubt the soundness of O'Connell's strategy, began to transfer their support to the new Irish Confederation.³²⁶

O'Connell had opposed chattel slavery but supported the liberal notion of 'free labour'. Those Irish migrant workers, who were usually given the harshest work on the lowest pay, found little difficulty in seeing 'free labour' as wage slavery. Meanwhile, thousands of Irish tenant farmers and their families were dying as a result of the British government's application of liberal laissez faire economics during the Great Hunger.

From 1847 the interests of the Chartists and Irish Confederation drew closer. There had been an Irish Universal Suffrage Association (IUSA) since 1841, with its main support in Dublin. Its name suggests it took its inspiration from the moderate Universal Suffrage Associations., but 'lower orders' pressure in Ireland pushed the IUSA considerably further. IUSA distributed the *Scottish Patriot* along with the *Northern Star*.³²⁷ It had seven demands. The IUSA added Repeal of the Union to the six demands of the 'mainland' Charter.³²⁸

However, O'Connell and the massive LNRA had been able to confine the IUSA's influence largely to Dublin. Patrick O'Higgins and William H. Dyott, the IUSA's two key leaders, were vigorously anti-sectarian and conducted a campaign directed at O'Connell's lack of concern for workers and the lack of democracy in the LNRA.³²⁹ Both O'Connor and Harney became members of the IUSA.³³⁰

The first signs of a new International Revolutionary Wave became apparent in 1847. Harney, ever keen to internationalise the activities of the Democratic Associations, had already helped to form the Fraternal

Democrats.³³¹ Its members came from Germany, France, Poland and elsewhere. They were travelling artisans, and migrant workers, or political asylum seekers and followers of Socialism/Communism. Harney came into contact with Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx who were in the process of forming the Communist League. Engels became a correspondent for the *Northern Star*.³³² When revolution broke out in Paris in February 1848, quickly spreading to Germany, this was to have a profound effect upon the Chartists and the Irish Confederates.

Up until this time, although there were considerable numbers of Irish migrant workers in the London, Lancashire and Scottish Chartist organisations, Chartism's influence in Ireland remained limited. Furthermore, the Irish Nationalist leadership of the Irish Confederation initially showed almost as much hostility to the Chartists as O'Connell had. In early 1847, one of its key leaders, John Mitchel said he wanted no links with the Chartists, because he was opposed to some of the Charter's demands.³³³ Mitchel rejected the 1848 revolutions on the continent and was more influenced by the White American Republican tradition.

However, the new International Revolutionary Wave inspired other Irish Confederation members, including Thomas Meagher and Michael Doheny. They were part of an Irish delegation to Paris sent to congratulate the new French republic. It was Meagher who first flew the Irish tricolour in Waterford on March 1st, 1848.³³⁴

Irish Confederation clubs were organised in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Liverpool, Airdrie and Greenock, and were later extended to Rochdale, Glasgow and Edinburgh.³³⁵ The Fraternal Democrats, led by Julian Harney, brought together the Irish Confederation and the Chartists in London.³³⁶ They soon became the Irish Democratic Federation, under the chair of O'Connor, because, as yet, the Dublin based Irish Confederation remained cool towards the Chartists.³³⁷

Along with O'Connor, Meagher and Doheny addressed a joint Chartist/Irish Confederation rally of 15,000 people in Manchester on March 21st.³³⁸ Brendan McCarthy, an Irish Democratic Federation delegate, attended the Chartist Convention in London, which opened on 4th April.³³⁹ Preparations were being made for the presentation of the third Chartist petition to

Westminster on April 10th. The repressive record of the Whig government meant that many Chartists at the well-supported Convention, or back in their localities, fully understood that the government would reject their petition.

Seeing the ongoing Revolutionary movements on the continent, Lord Russell moved on two fronts. Preparations were made to introduce even more repressive legislation, and to prevent the Chartists' proposed march from Kennington Green to Westminster. 85,000 special constables were recruited, 4000 regular police deployed and 8000 troops with artillery³⁴⁰ were held in reserve. The government aim was to intimidate in order to get the Chartist leadership to back down. This was a repeat of their tactics to defeat O'Connell at Clontarf in 1843. They were now answering O'Connor with their own version of 'Veiled Threat' politics. However, they had the military forces to back up their threat and would no doubt have used them. In contrast, O'Connor, who never moved beyond 'Veiled Threat' politics, had no plans to meet this eventuality.

A few Physical Force supporters, including the Black Chartist organiser, William Cuffay, wanted to defy the government on April 10th.³⁴¹ However the majority of Physical Force Chartists could see that they did not have the immediate resources needed to confront the formidable forces mobilised by the government in London. Instead, they wanted to go back to their localities and plan local risings. It was understood that these risings would be launched on the same day. The army and local police would find this united but dispersed challenge harder to deal with.

Although the Scottish delegates sent to the 1848 Chartist Convention were on its Moral Force or its 'Veiled Threat' wing, Aberdeen Chartists were considering an armed uprising. Even in usually Moral Force supporting Edinburgh, there was a demonstration of 10,000 on Calton Hill on the same day as the national petition was presented at Westminster.³⁴² Here a call went out for people to arm themselves. Soon afterwards another meeting was held on Edinburgh's Calton Hill to express solidarity with the Irish Confederation. This was a new development. Radical clubs had been formed in the city, with the Irish linked names - Emmet, O'Connor, Mitchel and Faugh O'Ballagh - and the Scottish linked names - Wallace, Burns, Gerrald, Muir, Baird and Hardie (and significantly not Robert the Bruce).³⁴³ This revealed a Plebian underground that could recall the Scottish Republican

'Internationalism from Below' legacy from 1792 to 1820.

However, Kennington Green represented O'Connor's 'Clontarf moment'. He was not looking for any risings. Therefore, the collapse of effective central organisation amongst the Chartists, combined with the national leadership of the Irish Confederation making their own independent preparations for a rising in Ireland, undermined any wider coordinated action. Furthermore, the government escalated its own response very quickly. They quickly introduced more repressive legislation - the Treason Felony Act, the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act and the Alien Removal Act. In response, local physical force Chartists in England began to organise joint activities with Irish Confederation supporters in London, Liverpool, Manchester and Bradford.³⁴⁴ Meanwhile the British authorities were drawing the noose ever tighter on the leaderships of both organisations.

Even John Mitchel could now see the need for cooperation³⁴⁵ and addressed a joint meeting with the IUSA in Dublin on April 24th supporting the Charter. The government was moving even faster over Ireland. Mitchel was put on trial before a packed jury under the new Treason Felony Act. He was sentenced and transported to penal servitude, first in Bermuda, then to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).³⁴⁶ Others in the Irish Confederation leadership thought it better to organise a rising before they too were arrested. There was no time to organise Lalor's proposed rent strike, which was meant to provide any rising with a mass popular base. In the absence of wider organisation, the prospect of a meaningful rising soon fizzled out. O'Brien, Meagher, Doheny and a number of others mounted a comic opera protest in Ballingarry, County Tipperary on July 29th.³⁴⁷

Physical Force Chartists and Irish Confederation members in England still planned for a coordinated rising on August 15th. The police knew about this through their spies and informers. They made many arrests throughout the country.³⁴⁸ Only in Ashton-under-Lyne did a joint Chartist/Irish Confederation force hold the town for a period, before the military overwhelmed them.³⁴⁹ Meanwhile, O'Brien and Meagher were captured, sentenced and also transported to Van Dieman's Land. Lalor had already been arrested following the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. When he was released later, he planned another small but unsuccessful rising in Cappoquin, County Waterford in September 1849.³⁵⁰ He died soon

afterwards.

Thus ended both the LNRA's attempt to Repeal the Union, and the Irish Confederation's attempt to break from the Crown altogether. However, the Great Hunger continued for another year. From 1845-9, over a million Irish people died and another million were forced into emigration. Today, there is no other nation in the world that has a smaller population than it had in 1845. The basis for the majority of Irish to become O'Connell's suggested 'West Britons' was brutally destroyed by the Great Hunger.

h) The UK in 1849 - the triumph of Industrial Capital and the defeat of the Revolutionary Democratic Republican challenges in Wales, Ireland and Canada help to consolidate the UK state, the British Empire and hybrid British Unionism (pp. 183-190)

The defeat of the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave, and its Chartist and Irish Confederate components in the UK, meant that the new extended British ruling class was now in the ascendancy. Although it took until 1859 before the Liberal Party was to be officially established, Liberal politics had been dominant since 1845. Back in 1839, the Whig, Lord John Russell, had used the word Liberal to describe the parliamentary alliance between himself in the House of Lords and the Radicals led by Richard Cobden and John Bright in the House of Commons.³⁵¹

Despite the middle class breakthrough in 1832 Reform Act and the subsequent 1833 Municipal Reform (Scotland) Act, the 1835 and 1840 Municipal Corporations Acts for England (with Wales) and for Ireland, the rising Industrial Capitalist class and their Liberal backers were not yet satisfied. The political, social and economic foundations for their desired new order had not been fully established. They still wanted some major reforms. The most important of these was repeal of the Corn Laws. Until they got their way, most Liberals still adhered to a middle class form of Radicalism. They appealed to the 'lower orders', also using their spectre to persuade the Tories to fall into line.

However, even before this, the Tories had already undergone their own significant changes. A key group could see that the 1832 Reform Act and the

political advance of the middle class meant that the clock could not be turned back, no matter what some old reactionary Tories thought. In 1834 Robert Peel drew up the *Tamworth Manifesto* and renamed the Tories the Conservative Party.³⁵² They accepted the change in the franchise and the need for some carefully managed top-down reforms of state institutions and the redress of pressing grievances, in order to conserve as much as they could of the existing social order. Radical Liberalism was not to be suppressed but tamed.

Peel and others also accepted that the state sponsored Second Reformation³⁵³ in Ireland had been a failure, and it ceased to receive state backing. The leading sections of the British ruling class now put more effort into winning the support of the Catholic hierarchy to add them to the other religious denominations exerting social control over the 'lower orders'.

The first thing was to get Liberals to accept the existing UK state. This meant bringing representatives of the new rising industrial capitalism class into some parts of the state and upper class society from which they were previously excluded. If cosmetic reforms of the institutions were indeed required, then these should be arranged by gentlemen's agreement in the Westminster committees and London clubs.

The old Tories could still be comforted by their continued domination of the House of Lords. Here its most reactionary members, particularly from backwoods England, Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, were still able to use their constitutional power to defend their interests. They still held near feudal control over the communities surrounding their country estates. Through their direct and indirect power over tenants, rural workers and shopkeepers, they could often run these constituencies as their personal fiefdoms. This gave reaction a disproportionate influence at Westminster. Some also maintained their contacts with remaining 'ultras' in the Anglican Church of Ireland and the Orange Order.

But even the Landed Aristocracy adapted to the new Commercial pressures. There was money to be made from turning a multitude of Rented Subsistence tenancies into large Commercial pastoral farms. This meant that the tenants could be evicted at will; a process made even harsher by a yawning cultural gap in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. This was highlighted by the

difference in language spoken - English speaking landlords and Gaelic speaking tenants. New rich English and Scottish capitalists, wanting to live an aristocratic lifestyle, also bought up Irish and Highland estates, welcoming the opportunity to lord it over the 'natives'.

The recent independent mobilisation of the 'Lower Orders' had proved unsettling for many Liberals. They were looking for a more stable order, and the institutions of the UK state provided that. The Conservatives won over the leading sections of the Liberals. Many were to be persuaded to drop any opposition to the House of Lords, Established state religion and wider British Imperial interests.

Robert Peel and his Peelite followers were well aware that the economy was still changing, under the pressures of the Industrial Revolution. They understood that further political changes would be needed to preserve as much as possible of the old order. Thus, despite Peel being a Conservative Prime Minister, he sided with the Liberals and voted the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1845.

After this there was a major political rapprochement. The Liberals found most of those Anti-Democratic features of the UK state useful, which they had once questioned as middle class Radicals. Worryingly for them, the Revolutionary Democratic alternatives provided by the Chartists and Irish Confederation had mobilised many. It took their defeat to create the wider socio-economic and political conditions to further extend support for the UK as a unionist state.

This process had already started in Scotland, following the defeat of the 1820 Rising. The Radical Liberals were firm advocates of Scottish-British Unionism. They were still prepared, though, to champion Scotland's own distinctive contributions to a Liberal and 'Progressive' Great Britain. Their accommodation to the existing political order became second nature, and they were to the forefront of the British Empire too, in their administrative, military, commercial and missionary roles.

In Wales, the crushing of the 1839 Rising at Newport, with its prospect of a Silurian Republic, created the political opening for the development of a Welsh-British Nation within the UK and British Empire. However, even this

option was to meet considerable opposition from the UK state and its Anglo-Welsh allies. Nevertheless, the Nonconformist church leaders and the more moderate politicians were active in trying to undermine Radical working class activity. Welsh middle class Radicals created a new social focus away from the pubs and into the chapels; and a new political focus, away from tempestuous working class Radicalism and into middle class led organisations. Eventually, these were to help develop the Liberal Party in Wales. In the process the Welsh middle class was to create a new Welsh-British Nation.

In Ireland, still suffering from the agonising effects of the Great Hunger, the failure to create a new Irish Nation and State was to leave behind a much more divided legacy. The Whig/Liberal government had given the Anglo-Irish landlords a new excuse for their heartless treatment of their tenants - 'laissez-faire' was god's will.

Such was the power the Liberals held over Ireland, after the devastating impact of the Great Hunger, that they passed the Encumbered Estates Act in 1849.³⁵⁴ This Act set up courts, which had the power to take over and sell off the land of willing landlords to new commercial investors. The existing tenants could be evicted at will, with the backing of the local Irish Constabulary, which had replaced the Irish Yeomanry in the Tithe War of 1834. In 2009, the Irish government was to take on similar powers to help the banks evict people who could no longer pay their mortgages after the crash the banks and property developers had helped to bring about. Today the Irish Garda can also be relied upon to assist in this process.

Furthermore, the Orange Order had been given a new lease of life, after Lord Clarendon, the Governor General, indicated his willingness to use it to counter the Irish Confederation and defend the existing political order in Ireland. One of the immediate effects of this rehabilitation of the Orange Order was renewed Sectarian intimidation. Regular marches along the 'Queen's highways', especially if they passed Catholic owned or rented property, were one way of marking out the territory of the Crown and Established Church.

And asserting this right could be done with arms if necessary. In July 1849, Orange Order supporters killed thirty Catholics at Dolly's Brae in County

Down.³⁵⁵ There had certainly been Catholic Ribbonmen activity, but the authorities always treated this far more severely than any Orange Order activity. The local magistrates often quietly condoned the Order's actions. No action was taken against those directly responsible for the murders, but the UK government did remove three Orange Order magistrates from office.

Despite the UK government passing the Party Processions Act in 1850, banning Loyalist (and Irish Nationalist marches), the Orange Order was able to maintain itself. The Orange Order considered itself to be the most loyal defender of the Irish-British within the UK and British Empire, ready to be called upon whenever needed. The continued Rightwards trend in Presbyterianism underpinned Protestant Reaction. Political Liberalism was already in decline after 1820. Belfast ceased to be a Liberal supporting city after 1832.³⁵⁶ The Liberals lost their last Liberal MP there in 1852. Another Liberal, was to be elected in MP in Belfast in 1862, but he aligned himself with the Orange Order.

On the religious front, Conservative Presbyterian leader, Henry Cooke was able to get the Liberals, led by Henry Montgomery, excluded from the official Presbyterian Church in 1830. In 1834, Cooke publicly announced the 'marriage' of the Presbyterian Church with the Anglican Church of Ireland at Hillsborough.³⁵⁷ In political terms this meant the Presbyterians made their peace with the Tory members of the Ascendency. Although Cooke never joined the Orange Order, many of his Presbyterian followers did.

Meanwhile, the Ultramontanists won control of the Irish Catholic hierarchy and hence its church in Ireland, when Paul Cullen became Archbishop of Armagh in 1849.³⁵⁸ He followed this up by organising the first Irish National Synod in Thurles in 1850. He then moved on to the more central Dublin diocese in 1852. Cullen was less interested in promoting an Irish Nation and welcomed the prospects the wider British Empire offered to extend the influence of the Catholic Church, particularly in Australia.³⁵⁹

The majority of Irish people had remained loyal to the Catholic Church in the face of much oppression, but most had not adhered to strict Roman Catholic observance. Cullen was determined to change this. From then on, a major attempt was made to ensure the Catholic hierarchy exerted strong social disciplinary control over their flock. Not all of this was entirely successful,

as the longer-term lack of success of Father Mathew's Total Abstinence Society³⁶⁰ highlighted. The Presbyterian North proved more able to place restrictions upon public drinking premises. However, there was to be less dancing at the crossroads or decorating ancient Pagan wells.

Cullen wanted a much more rigorous enforcement of the new orthodoxy, an interventionist priesthood, new religious orders and lay bodies. A massive building programme of new churches was started. Carefully orchestrated religious celebrations provided some immediate succour to the downtrodden, whilst a programme of confessions and penance opened the way to heaven, with the threat of hell for backsliders and heretics.

In contrast to Cullen, fellow Ultramontane, John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam, who had supported Daniel O'Connell, was very much a promoter of a Catholic-Irish 'Nation'. Back in the 1830s O'Connell had supported MacHale's opposition to Non-Sectarian National Schools.³⁶¹ McHale also opposed the prospect of the British government's Non-Sectarian university provision in 1848.³⁶² Both O'Connell and MacHale accepted that Great Britain was an established Protestant 'Nation' on the basis of history and demography. They wanted Ireland to be recognised as a Catholic 'Nation' on the same grounds.

The Irish Confederation's attempted Rising had been defeated and its supporters jailed or forced into exile. The Great Hunger had traumatised the Irish people. The way was now clear for the Catholic hierarchy to take the leadership of a campaign to create a new Catholic-Irish 'Nation' under the Crown.

O'Connell's conscious dismissal of the earlier Revolutionary Democratic tradition of the United Irish Societies, his rejection of more radical alliances, and the failure of his methods to deliver repeal of the Union, would often be airbrushed out of history. Instead, his commitment to a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' was emphasised. This Nation had just served its time 'on the cross'. Its rebirth would initially take the visual form of new churches, roadside statues and crosses. The physical territory of this new 'Nation' had to be marked out.

The attempt to create a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' could be seen as a particular

example of top-down Nationalism. This was also apparent in the attempts made by the Prussian Otto von Bismarck and the Piedmontese Count Cavour to create new German and Italian Nations, and to maintain their Dynastic Kingdoms at their centre. This was their Conservative backhanded compliment given to the Revolutionary Democratic attempts from 1847-9 to bring about a new 'Springtime of Nations'.

Bismarck later called for 'Blut und Eisen' (blood and iron) and Cavour for 'Risorgimento e Statuo' (unification and a constitution). These were their answers to the Revolutionary Democratic 1848 call for 'Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite'. The reactionary 'Faith, Family and Fatherland' response did not quite fit the situation in oppressed Ireland. Here the upholders of 'Anglicanism, King and Country' ruled over the Catholic-Irish 'Nation'. So 'Holy Mother Ireland', still in the process of being created, seemed more appropriate.

Only in Canada did the renewed threats arising during the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave, as well as the very real attraction of the neighbouring US Republic, produce a more Liberal British ruling class response in the political arena. In 1848, the Canadian Provincial Legislative Assembly, established in 1840, was given greater responsibility. The restrictions on the use of the French language were removed. In 1849 a new Provincial government also granted an amnesty to the 1837 rebels.

This provoked a Loyalist riot, which led to the burning down of the Assembly buildings in Montreal, and attacks on both Canadian Provincial politicians and British Imperial officials.³⁶³ Although far more violent and destructive than the 1837 Republicans' actions, those Loyalists, including Orange Order members, were treated very leniently in comparison. Nevertheless, the Canadian Provincial and UK governments did not back down on their amnesty for the 1837 rebels. Both Mackenzie and Papineau were to return to Canada and become elected to the Provincial Assembly³⁶⁴ However, they were to remain Radical outsiders.

Papineau's and Mackenzie's earlier defeats had opened up the possibility for the emergence of a new Canadian-British 'Nation'. However, this Canadian-British 'Nation' was constituted outside the territorial framework of the UK. This had two effects. First, it provided a Liberal Reformist and

Constitutional Monarchist model for other British Colonies, particularly those in Australia. However, it was also to influence the First Home Rule proposals for Ireland in 1885. Secondly, and over a much longer time period, the two poles of the hybrid Canadian-British identity would slowly be reversed and eventually in the late twentieth century, following a continued decline of the British Empire and a substantial wave of non-British immigration, many more would consider themselves to be members of a Canadian Nation, dropping the British prefix altogether.

i) The 1854 Eureka Stockade rebellion - the Victorian colonial aftermath of the International Revolutionary Wave and the legacy of the Chartists, Irish Confederation and the Red Republican challenge in Australia (pp. 190-194)

There was however a late ripple after effect of the International Revolutionary Wave. This took place in Victoria, Australia in 1854. This involved Chartists, Irish Confederation members and Republicans from Canada, Germany and elsewhere. The Province of Victoria had been created between 1836 and 1843 through the dispossession of Aboriginal land. This led to a situation where 240 wealthy Europeans, who were called squatters, held all the land.³⁶⁵ They mainly worked it with ex-convicts.

A British Act of Parliament provided Victoria with a constitution in 1850. This gave these wealthy squatters control of the new Legislative Council in Melbourne set up in 1851.³⁶⁶ Victoria was experiencing a new goldrush at the time. Bendigo and Ballarat, in particular, became major gold mining centres, whilst the new Provincial capital, Melbourne, experienced boomtown conditions. The squatter dominated Legislative Council ensured that money raised from licensing gold miners became the major source for Victoria's finances.

The goldminers had no political representation. Because of the corrupt nature of the Victoria administration, public finances were in a mess, so the authorities stepped up the pressure on the miners by trebling the license fees. They also greatly increased the hated non-licence holder hunts conducted by the police.

There was opposition in Bendigo, where thousands of miners, who formed part of the Anti-Gold Licence Association, wore red ribbons in June 1853 to protest against the new harsher licensing conditions.³⁶⁷ However, it was at Ballarat in December 1854 that the most momentous events occurred. James Bentley, ex-convict and disreputable owner of the Eureka Hotel murdered popular Scottish miner, James Scobie, on 7th October. A corrupt local magistrate acquitted Bentley. This led to a miners' riot on October 17th, in which the Eureka Hotel was burned down.³⁶⁸ This was followed on October 23rd by a meeting of 4000 miners protesting at the arrest of two miners for their role in these events. It was here the Diggers' Rights Society was formed, which drew up a petition of grievances.³⁶⁹

A key figure was Henry Ross, who had arrived in 1852 from the recently rebellious province of Upper Canada. He became involved in the production of the Australian Republican flag, the Southern Cross,³⁷⁰ (which may have had some influence over the design of the Starry Plough, the later flag of the Irish Socialist Republican Party). On 11th November, 10,000 miners took part in the formation of the Ballarat Reform League (BRL).³⁷¹ The BRL adopted the first five principles of the Chartists. It was also influenced by the Australian League (AL), which had been set up by the Scottish-born Presbyterian minister, John Dunmore Lang, in 1850.

Lang's earlier political involvement in New South Wales was very much in the Sectarian Presbyterian tradition, which could have led him at the time on a Rightward political trajectory similar to the Irish Presbyterians under Henry Cooke. However, Lang had become influenced by Chartism, and as an individual, not as a representative of the Presbyterian Church, he formed the AL along with others. However, the Sectarian methods he had developed within this organisation meant he soon fell out with others in the AL.

The AL campaigned for full male suffrage (as the Revolutionary Democratic wing of the Chartists consistently did), a Federation of the Australian Colonies and a Republic. Lang also adopted the Irish Confederation's demand for Ireland to leave the Union. He still retained some of his Anti-Catholic baggage, thinking that Ireland leaving the Union would reduce the influence of Roman Catholicism in Britain; but nevertheless, through this he gained the support of many of the Irish in Victoria.³⁷² The influence of the AL can be seen in the decision of the Ballarat meeting "to secede from the

United Kingdom if the situation did not improve."³⁷³

The more immediate demands of the BRL included a call for the trial of Bentley, the release of those arrested for burning his hotel, the abolition of the license fees, and miners' representation in Victoria's Legislative Council through an extension of the franchise.³⁷⁴ The meeting decided to send a delegation, led by former Welsh Chartist, John Basson Humffray from Montgomeryshire to meet the new Lieutenant Governor, Sir Charles Hotham, in Melbourne.³⁷⁵ Humffray was a Moral Force advocate and believed the Lieutenant Governor could be persuaded of the miners' case.

However, Hotham despite being aware of the diggers' concerns and showing some public sympathy, had been given orders by the British Whig Colonial Minister, the Duke of Newcastle. Using his experience as an ex-naval officer, Hotham resorted to strong disciplinary measures.³⁷⁶ He had been given a remit to assert control of Victoria and ensure that the administration paid its way.³⁷⁷ The gold exported from Victoria to the UK paid all the country's foreign debts and massively contributed to British Imperialist commercial expansion.³⁷⁸ Hotham turned down the miners' petition.

There were other members of the BRL who held to a different view of how to pressurise the authorities. Peter Lalor was the brother of Fintan Lalor, the Social Republican, Irish Confederation member and leader of the attempted 1849 Cappoquin rebellion. Peter advocated an armed challenge to the authorities. Other physical force advocates included Henry Ross, Tom Kennedy, a Scottish Chartist and Frederick Vern, a German Red Republican.³⁷⁹

On December 1st, Lalor organised a military challenge, following the mass burning of licenses. Brigades were formed and captains appointed, and a fortress to become known as the Eureka Stockade was constructed, with the Southern Cross flying over it. The password was "Vinegar Hill", a key battle in the Irish rising of 1798.³⁸⁰ The authorities sent the police backed by two English regiments, 276 in all. They caught the rebels by surprise at 3.00 am in the morning. 22 miners, mainly Irish, were killed and a further 12 were wounded.³⁸¹ 6 soldiers and police also died. Ross was amongst those killed whilst Lalor, also shot, was badly wounded, but survived and escaped after being hidden. Women were also involved. One unnamed woman was killed trying to protect her husband.³⁸²

120 miners were arrested and 13 were brought to trial, charged with high treason. Their multi-ethnic character was shown with seven from Ireland, a black Jamaican and a black American, a Jewish Scot, an Italian, a Dutchman and a native-born White Australian from Sydney making up their number. However, the people of Melbourne were also heartily sick of Victoria's government. The jury returned a verdict of "not guilty". There were cheers from the 10,000 who had come to hear the verdict.³⁸³ However, Henry Seekamp, the editor of the local *Ballarat Times*, which strongly supported the gold miners' actions, was sentenced to six months imprisonment in 1855. There was a public outcry, and his wife Clara took over the editing of paper and also organised a petition. He was released three months early.³⁸⁴

When the Royal Commission into the miners' grievances reported, it advocated the cancellation of gold licenses, to be replaced by an annual export fee based on the value of the gold actually mined, a cut in the police force (no longer required to hunt license evaders). A downside was the restriction of Chinese immigration, particularly given the multi-ethnic nature of the rebellion.

However, Victoria's Legislative Council was expanded to allow representation from the goldfields, with an extension of the franchise on a considerably wider basis than was the case in the UK. Both Humffray and Lalor were to be elected in 1855.³⁸⁵ These events gave momentum to further Democratic Reform. Secret ballots were gained in 1856 (it took until 1872 for this to be achieved in the UK); complete manhood suffrage was gained in 1857 (it took until 1918 in the UK); and triennial parliaments were gained in 1858 (it took until 1911 before even five year parliaments were achieved in the UK - to be immediately nullified by the First World War).³⁸⁶ Women gained the vote in all the Australian states between 1895 and 1908 (although Victoria was the last to do so), again well before the UK in 1918 (and still with its age and property restrictions).

Although a wider Australian-British identity was to evolve over the rest of the century and beyond, this never led to the idea of Australia becoming part of the Union, or support for sending members to an Imperial Parliament (which was advocated by Imperial Federalists at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries). If the Australian colonies had joined

the Union or the later Commonwealth of Australia had joined the Imperial Federation, this would have resulted in the loss of the democratic rights they had already gained.

Although they did not win a Democratic Federal Australian Republic, the 1854 Eureka Stockade Rebellion meant that neither joining the Union, nor an Imperial Federation, became political possibilities. The participation of those from a Chartist, Irish Confederation or Red Republican background ensured that as Australian-Britishness developed, it was outside either of these two political frameworks. Later this led to the Australian prefix of its hybrid British identity becoming more important. The Southern Cross continues to be associated with an Australian Republican tradition, which has returned as a political movement.

j) How contemporary Communists and Red Republicans viewed the UK state and the future of the nation/s on these islands and how they supported Revolutionary Democratic asylum seekers (pp. 194-196)

How did Communists and Revolutionary Democrats understand developments in the UK state in the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave? Marx and Engels of the Communist League were enthusiastic supporters of the Chartists and the Democratic Associations. They were particularly friendly with Julian Harney. Nevertheless, Marx argued that Revolutionary Democrats should concentrate their attentions on the English proletariat, whose actions in liberating themselves could also bring about Irish liberation.³⁸⁷

William James Linton, originally a Moral Force Chartist, was pushed into more Radical positions during the International Revolutionary Wave.³⁸⁸ He became a Revolutionary Democrat. He designed a green, white and blue flag for the English Republic. But Linton equated England with Britain and he was hostile to the Scots.³⁸⁹ He became a contributor to Harney's *Red Republican*. Like Marx and Engels, Linton thought that the Irish should fall behind the Revolutionary Democratic struggle in England.³⁹⁰ At this time, he was looking to the National Unification struggles in the fragmented states of what would become Italy and Germany. He probably thought that Wales, Scotland and Ireland, already part of the UK, would merge into his proposed

Republic through a process of widening Democratic Struggle centred upon England.

Linton had become part of the Left wing of a wider Radicalism, which looked forward to the ending of the old national distinctions and the creation of a United British (or in Linton's case, English) Nation. Few Radicals saw the existing UK state, with its constitutional relics, as a likely long-term survivor in the Victorian world of Progress. Even many Liberals, who would never contemplate Revolutionary Democratic struggle, thought that, over time, and through the advance of education, the UK's outdated constitutional features would disappear. This would complement the process of continued economic integration and growing social intercourse, partly brought about by internal migration. Together, these would provide the basis for transcending the existing Unionist state, leading to a new Unitary British (or English) state.

Few could have anticipated the creation of new Nations within the UK state framework. Nobody anticipated the further development of the Unionist form of the British state, or the ability of the British ruling class to maintain the essential features of its Anti-Democratic, Crown-in-Westminster constitutional set-up.

Therefore, it is to Julian Harney's credit that, as early as 1840s, he appreciated the centrality of the Irish Revolutionary Democratic struggle. He promoted active solidarity with Ireland amongst both the Chartists and the Democratic Associations. He was a key figure in bringing about that 'Internationalism from Below' alliance of the Chartists and the Irish Confederation during the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave. Nevertheless, following the defeat of this revolutionary wave, the independent Social Republican, Democratic Associations, and the wider plebian and working class Radical groups, went into decline.

A small number of Socialists continued the National Charter Association, but Chartism was no longer a mass movement. Julian Harney went on to publish the *Red Republican*. It was in its pages that the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Scottish-born Helen Macfarlane, and published in 1850.³⁹¹ The journal did not last long. The Socialist wing of the Chartists, and the Communist League, in which Marx and Engels had been involved, also became casualties of the 1848-9 defeats.

The UK, London in particular, became a refuge for asylum seekers fleeing from the continent after the failure of the National Democratic revolutions there. England also acted as a transit point for revolutionary exiles going on to the USA. Some Chartists joined them. After the Irish, Germans were the largest single immigrant group to be found in Great Britain. There had long been itinerant German craftsmen and other workers and traders. Some of their numbers had joined the Communist League and the Fraternal Democrats in the run-up to the 1847-9 revolutions. Marx and Engels had been key figures in this German revolutionary diaspora. To their numbers were now added those who fled from Prussia and the other German states, followed after the rise of Napoleon III, by French revolutionary exiles such as Victor Hugo³⁹² who settled in Guernsey.

The rapid demise of Revolutionary Democratic politics in the UK, following the collapse of Chartism, meant that the exiled revolutionary milieu was now more isolated. Its members concentrated their attentions mainly on events in their original homelands. However, English Republican Socialists continued to provide support. Harney worked with French Socialists exiled in Jersey.³⁹³

Meanwhile. Marx and Engels, now making their permanent home in the UK, began to draw up a political balance sheet of the experience of the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave. In March 1850, they wrote their *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League*,³⁹⁴ which advocated revolution in permanence. When the Communist League collapsed into petty infighting, as a result of the exiles growing isolation, Marx and Engels devoted a lot of their time to deeper theoretical analysis. This eventually led to the publication of the first volume of *Capital - A Critique of Political Economy*³⁹⁵ in German in 1867.

3. THE BRITISH ROAD TO PROGRESS, THE SUMMER OF THE UNION, BUT AN IRISH CLOUD ON THE HORIZON

The British Empire continues to underpin hybrid British Unionism; the problems promoting an Irish-British Nation; the emergence of Welsh-

Britain as the fourth Nation within the Union; the continued support for a Scottish-British Nation; and Irish mass migration, European asylum seekers and the response of the First International

a) The triumph of Free Market Capitalism and Liberal politics following the defeat of the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave (pp. 196-202)

After the defeat of the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave, a full commitment to an Industrial Capitalist, Free Market economy became mainstream politics. From 1850 a long economic upturn took place. The UK was now clearly the most powerful state in the world. A triumphalist British ruling class celebrated with the 1851 Great Exhibition at the Crystal Place in London. For almost three decades, Liberal Political Economy was to dominate, whether under the Whigs, Peelites or the Liberal Party itself. Robert Peel as Conservative Prime Minister had broken with his party by voting for the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1845. After his death in 1850, the Radical Liberals and Whigs went on to form the new Liberal Party in 1859. Viscount Palmerston, another leading Conservative, joined them. His main concern was to marginalise any remaining Radical ambitions and to ensure that British Imperial interests continued to be protected. This meant undermining the Pacifist wing of the Liberal party.

Palmerston had already made considerable headway in this, by persuading the more pragmatic 'Free Traders' that their global interests were best served by a little Gun Boat Diplomacy, if or when necessary, by the repression in the Colonies (the Indian Rebellion in 1857), and by selected wars to open up trade (the Second Opium War from 1856-60). In both the transition to, and in the period following the official establishment of the Liberal Party, it was former Conservatives, Robert Peel (1841-46), Earl of Aberdeen (1852-55) and Viscount Palmerston (1859-65) who led the Liberal governments. Even the Liberals' later much-vaunted leader, the 'People's William' Gladstone, had been a Peelite Conservative.

Like Peel, Gladstone had joined the ranks of the special constables to intimidate the Chartists at Clerkenwell Green in 1848,³⁹⁶ and like Palmerston he was keen for the UK to support the Chattel Slavery-upholding Confederate states in the American Civil War in 1861.³⁹⁷ It took a massive

political campaign to prevent this from happening. This campaign included many Lancashire cotton workers who, in a magnificent act of International Solidarity that threatened their immediate livelihoods, demonstrated against any government support for the Confederates.³⁹⁸ Like Palmerston, Gladstone's main aim was still to dilute Radical Liberal and other challenges. He was only doing now as a Liberal what he had earlier done as a Peelite Tory in alliance with the Whigs. The Peelite/Palmerston/Whig alliance, followed by the Gladstone/Whig dominated Liberal Party, continued to have the political effect of taming one-time Radical Liberals and converting them into mainstream Liberals.

The defeat of the Chartists had a major effect on the earlier middle class Radicals. They became more and more committed to Westminster and its traditional set-up, long established by the Aristocracy, Merchant Companies and the City of London. The Whigs, who had very much been part of this group, remained a disproportionately large group within the Liberal Party leadership. Later when Gladstone became leader, adopting the role of the 'People's William', he was able to command the Radicals' loyal support, whilst continuing to prioritise the appointment of old Whigs and Lords to government positions.

In the process, the Radicals' opposition to privilege within the UK's political set-up receded further, as they dropped or diluted one principle after another. They proved very unwilling to break with Gladstone, despite his continued support for the old Whigs. 'Lower orders' support became more necessary following the extension of the franchise in 1867 to small businessmen, larger tenant farmers, artisans and skilled workers. But many of these Radicals remained decidedly lukewarm towards the enfranchisement of unskilled workers, small tenant farmers and landless labourers, and especially to the 'benighted' Irish.

It was also in this period that new Provincial cultures emerged. These developed partly from earlier County cultures, which had been mainly focussed upon the county towns and their surrounding artisan manufacturing and/or agricultural and processing areas, e.g. Lancaster in Lancashire and York in the East Riding of Yorkshire, or upon ports, such as Bristol, Southampton and Newcastle. However, the Industrial Revolution transformed the human geography, bringing new towns, canals and railways

to previously marginal locations, such as the Pennines and South Wales valleys, the Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Ayrshire moorlands and the lower Lagan valley. New cities grew from previously much smaller towns such as Manchester, Sheffield, Glasgow and Belfast, and they came to form the core of wider conurbations.

The 1832 and 1868 Reform Acts ensured that control of the majority of cities and industrial towns lay in the hands of the 'middle class'. Within these conurbations, strong Civic Cultures developed. They were presided over by Local Councils housed in grand city and town halls. They were responsible for water supplies, sewage disposal, public markets and parks, some types of schooling, including technical institutes. There were other city and town focussed institutions, including new universities, halls, galleries and other facilities, often built or sponsored by major local capitalists, eager for their contribution to society to be recognised.

Middle class hegemony was not maintained though by civic institutions alone. Each Board of Poor Law Guardians and Poor Law Union ensured that the conditions of relief were so meagre that there was always a desperate pool of labour willing to work for the lowest wages under the poorest conditions. And for those who defied the law, each city and borough, in England and Wales, or burgh in Scotland, had its own police force, court and prison.

In England, at a broad level, there was some recognition of a Cultural divide between the North, and to some extent the West Country and the Midlands, and the South. However, in the North, the new or greatly expanded cities and urban areas of Lancashire, the West and South Ridings of Yorkshire, and of Tyneside and Wearside, and in the Midlands, those of north Warwickshire and the coalfields of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, were more important in creating new Provincial identities. These were also moulded by different Christian denominations, and later, in some places, by Secular traditions.

Most Liberals, including their Radical wing, still recognised the UK state's Unionist form, and that Scotland and Ireland provided a more distinct overall Cultural and Political identity than either the North, the Midlands or West Country of England. Whether Scotland or Ireland were now Provinces of the UK, like the English Provinces, or whether they were Nations, would still be

contested. However, to add to the ambiguity, strong Provincial identities also developed within Scotland and Ireland. Industrial Glasgow and Clydeside outgrew commercial and administrative Edinburgh - Scotland's capital city. In Ireland industrial Belfast and Laganside outgrew commercial and administrative Dublin - Ireland's capital city.

As for Wales, there was no capital city. This reflected the fact that constitutionally Wales was still considered part of England. Similarly, there was no archbishopric of Wales. All six Welsh dioceses were subordinate to Canterbury. The early incorporation of Wales into Unitary England had led to its own Regions focusing upon Bristol or other English border cities. Now though, following the Industrial Revolution, the major new industrial area of South Wales, straddling Glamorganshire and western Monmouthshire, emerged as a distinct Province. The iron making and coal mining town of Merthyr Tydfil, at the head of one of the South Wales valleys, was the largest urban centre in Wales until 1881 and it remained over 50% Welsh speaking until 1911 – a remarkable example of a Celtic urban culture not found in either Ireland or Scotland. But there were no recognised cities, other than the ancient ecclesiastical centres of Bangor, St. Asaph and St. Davids - a small town and two large villages.

The drift from an earlier Radicalism to mainstream Liberalism also affected the wider working class. The overwhelming majority no longer struggled for a new social order, with the ending of wage slavery. Instead, many sought opportunities for personal advance within the UK or wider British Empire. Their energies became devoted to building New Model Unions.³⁹⁹ These unions largely accepted that wages would rise and fall according to market conditions. Union leaders supported the Free Market, Free Trade and 'Free Labour', along with 'fair' profits for the employers and 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work' for the workers. They hoped to create effective bargaining arrangements with the employers, usually at a local level, and remove the most disadvantageous laws restricting their activity.

This was also a period when workers developed cooperative retail and wholesale societies, partly spurred by their opposition to the employers' truck system of payments in goods at inflated prices. Libraries and halls for workers' own educational and organisational purposes were built in many cities and towns. A wider working class culture also emerged, partly

moulded by the new emerging Provincial and Urban identities. The promotion of Association Football helped to bolster new Urban identities amongst the working class.

However, the collapse of 'lower orders', especially working class independent political organisation after 1849, also opened the doors to Racism. Going back to the Middle Ages, there had been a long history of Xenophobia throughout Europe, including against internal migrants and external immigrants in England and Scotland. Since then, different migrant communities had grown, declined or been integrated. In the nineteenth century, though, the main source of growth of inward migration to England, Scotland and Wales was from Ireland. This was accentuated by the calamitous impact of the Great Hunger. Indeed, for the first time, migrant communities were to form a significant proportion of the population in some Urban industrial areas. In the absence of self-organisation, linked to an alternative vision of the future, such as had existed amongst the Chartists, it became much easier to whip up Racial/Ethnic divisions. These also reworked earlier religious prejudices against Catholics, extending this to a newer Racist prejudice against the Irish.

Outside of Ireland, the Orange Order and other Loyalist organisations also developed deeper roots, in Liverpool, other parts of the North, Glasgow and the Central Belt. There was a major Anti-Catholic riot in Stockport in 1852, once a stronghold of Chartism.⁴⁰⁰ Such conflicts, sometimes resulting in deaths, formed a pattern for the next three decades, until challenged once more by new political organisation. The Conservative Party seeking to broaden the basis of its electoral support, as the franchise was extended, also resorted to Anti-Irish and other Anti-'Alien' sentiment. This helped them secure a presence in the new industrial city and borough/burgh local government.

The Liberal Party now acted as the political vehicle, which united many industrial employers and the majority of enfranchised workers. The working class abandoned any attempt to create its own political party. They looked to the Liberal Party to bring about gradual reforms under the existing UK constitution. Skilled workers joined with small businessmen and tenant farmers and artisans in the Radical Liberal wing of the party. The election of trade union-sponsored Lib-Lab MPs from 1868 continued this

accommodation to the mainstream Liberals.⁴⁰¹ This followed from their shared acceptance of the existing UK constitutional set-up and their belief in the Liberal Capitalism it upheld.

Furthermore, the Liberal Party also reflected particular historical traditions in Scotland, Wales and Ulster (although shrinking rapidly here). They retained some ambiguity over whether the Scottish and Welsh traditions were National or Provincial. There would be Liberals and Radicals who believed that the economic transformation brought about by the now linked Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, greatly improved transport and communications links, more internal migration and increased social interaction, would lead to more people thinking of their Nationality being British. There would not be any need for hybrid National British identities as Scotland, Wales and hopefully eventually Ireland too, settled down as Provinces like those found in England. Ulster was clearly a Province, but whether one of Ireland's four Provinces (there was also Leinster, Munster and Connaught), or just another Province of the UK like the English North, Midlands and West Country, was not so clear.

Those major commercial landlords and merchants who had backed the Whigs continued to disproportionately dominate the Liberal Party leadership, because of their longstanding position in society and at Westminster. The newly industrial capitalist class was able to win some leadership positions in the party, but in the process became less distinct. Many wealthy Liberal businessmen were able to marry into the old aristocracy, or work with the titled on Royal Commissions and other Parliamentary bodies. Some also gained a place in the House of Lords.

The Radical Liberal MPs, though, saw their own less elevated but still eminently respectable economic and social position as putting down a marker for the rest of their class. Victorian 'Progress' would gradually trickle down. In as far as a minority looked beyond capitalism, they usually did so in religious terms of creating 'New Jerusalem's' either in the more distant future, or in select utopian communities in preparation for 'heaven above'. Nevertheless, resistance still emerged in the here and now, which had a considerable effect upon the UK state's Unionist set-up. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Ireland, which was growing increasingly adrift from the dominant mainstream politics, and where a shared Britishness found it

harder to take root.

b) Ireland - the growing conflict between the Protestant Irish-British and the Catholic-Irish and attempts to create an Irish Republic (pp. 203-210)

The immediate issue facing many traumatised tenants in Ireland, following the Great Hunger, was the impact of the Encumbered Estates Act. This Act threatened evictions, and even Protestant tenants in Ulster feared that the Ulster Custom, which compensated tenants for improvements undertaken, would be ended. The Repealer, Gavan Duffy united with William Sharman Crawford (whom Daniel O'Connell had shunned) of the Ulster Tenant Right Association to form the Tenant Right League (TRL).⁴⁰²

The TRL was committed to the 3Fs - fair rents, fixity of tenure and free sale (the ability of tenants to buy their land). In 1852, forty-eight TRL MPs were elected to Westminster, under Irish or Liberal colours. They constituted themselves as the Irish Independent Party (IIP).⁴⁰³ However, the attempt to link the tenant rights issue with the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act (directed against Catholic bishops) led to the loss of Protestant tenants' backing. The careerism of two IIP leaders, John Sadler and William Keogh, also undermined much support. Meanwhile the Catholic hierarchy put pressure on, both inside and outside the IIP, to try and narrow it to the aim to creating a Catholic-Irish 'Nation'. In the process the IIP became known as the Pope's Brass Band.⁴⁰⁴ In 1857 it was reduced to 19 MPs. It had disappeared by the 1859 election.

However, in 1858, some of the younger participants in the 1848 Rising formed the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).⁴⁰⁵ A key figure was James Stephens, who had escaped to France in 1848. The IRB was a secret organisation, which believed that Irish freedom could only be won through an armed rising. The IRB promoted the notion of an independent Irish Republic. This was to be formed by uniting Catholics, Protestants (Anglicans) and Dissenters as the Irish-Irish in an independent Irish Republic, and not as 'West Britons', Irish-British or Catholic-Irish within the UK and British Empire. The IRB campaigned for landlord-held land to be taken over by tenant farmers to provide a wider social base for their democratic Irish Republic.⁴⁰⁶

To begin with, IRB members scorned participation in the institutions of the UK state, particularly Westminster. They saw such activities as being led by better-off Irish Nationalist careerists who were undermining the struggle for an Irish Republic. The IRB drew much of its support from urban artisans, who did not have the vote. They became involved in distributing the IRB paper, the *Irish People* and in clandestine drilling. Proportionally, the IRB exerted a greater political weight amongst Irish migrant communities. The IRB had organisers for Scotland, and the North and South of England. However, its greatest overseas strength was in the USA, where John Mahony, another 48er, headed the IRB's sister organisation, the Fenian Brotherhood (FB).⁴⁰⁷

The IRB became involved in a vicious political struggle with the leading Irish Nationalists, including many now chastened former Irish Confederation leaders, who were backed by *The Nation*, Archbishop Cullen and the rest of the Catholic hierarchy. The British authorities also strongly opposed the IRB. The Dublin Castle administration and the Irish Constabulary (which was to be given the Royal prefix in 1867 for its role in suppressing the IRB⁴⁰⁸) were also central to this suppression.

The issue that brought the IRB into greater prominence was the American Civil War. The leaders of Catholic Irish Nationalism largely supported the Southern Confederacy. This was the private position of the Papacy and the public position of ex-Irish Confederation leaders, Father John Kenyon⁴⁰⁹ and John Mitchel.⁴¹⁰ Their close friendship constituted a somewhat bizarre union of Catholicism and Presbyterianism, against the background of a continued widening division as the leaderships of these two denominations moved to the Right in their own distinctive ways. Mitchel and Kenyon argued that the American Union was the equivalent of the UK. Thus, they saw figures such as Abraham Lincoln, Richard Cobden and John Bright as representing rampant Industrial Capitalism. In contrast, they saw the Conservative Confederate South as equivalent to a more traditional Pre-Capitalist Ireland.

The fact that there was a stronger resemblance between the slave-owning Confederate plantation owners and the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy did not figure in Mitchel's and Kenyon's thinking. To many Irish Nationalists, black Chattel Slavery was at best invisible, or thought to be better than Wage

Slavery. This represented a retreat even from the ideas of Daniel O'Connell. Rising Irish Ultramontanist backed the shrinking Papal States, which, in turn, sought support from the most reactionary quarters. Furthermore, mainstream Irish Nationalism also had the support of many recent Irish migrants in the USA. Here they had become the victims of Anti-Catholic Irish prejudice and discrimination. But many Irish migrants feared competition from emancipated black slaves. These Irish migrants were to participate in the 1863 New York Anti-Draft Riots,⁴¹¹ which turned into an Anti-Black pogrom.

In the face of this, it took some time before the majority of IRB leaders came to support the American Republicans and the Federal Union. The armed training, which they desired, could have been obtained in either the Union or Confederate armies. However, some IRB members had past links with continental, Secular Republicans opposed to slavery, particularly in France. Most had been involved in prolonged disputes with other Irish Nationalists and the Catholic hierarchy, which was more pro-American Confederate.

But perhaps the IRB was best served by the fact that many in the British government, supported by Palmerston and Gladstone, wanted to back the Confederates. Cobden and Bright's Liberal internationalist politics (an extension of their unfettered global Free Market ideology) never became dominant in the British Liberal Party. Palmerston had been successful in ensuring that. Furthermore, US Secretary of State, William Seward was willing to string along the FB in the USA with the promise of US military support against the UK, after winning the Civil War.⁴¹² This would involve an invasion of Provincial Canada and perhaps other British North American colonies. This helps to explain the choice the majority of IRB leaders made.

Not all the older Irish Confederation leaders, who had held aloof from the younger members of the IRB, sided with the southern Confederates. Thomas Meagher (who had flown the first Irish Tricolour, highlighting his European Republican sympathies) was Anti-Slavery and formed the famous Irish Brigade in the Union Army in 1861.⁴¹³ Thus, many Irish were to get their military training in the Union Army.

In 1861, the IRB pulled off a major propaganda coup by arranging the return from the USA and the public burial of the body of exiled '48er Terence

Bellew McManus. 150,000 people attended his funeral at Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin.⁴¹⁴ This helped IRB recruitment in Ireland. Once the American Civil War was over in 1865, the FB and IRB made plans for a Rising in Ireland. However, the UK state had already penetrated the IRB. The authorities moved in to close down the *Irish People*, arrested most of the IRB leadership⁴¹⁵ and, after suspending habeus corpus, hundreds of its activists too. Another rising was planned for 1867. The IRB published a remarkably advanced Social Republican and 'Internationalism from Below' proclamation in the *London Times*:-

"We therefore declare that, unable longer to endure the curse of Monarchical Government, we aim at founding a Republic based on universal suffrage, which shall secure to all the intrinsic value of their labour.

The soil of Ireland, at present in the possession of an oligarchy, belongs to us, the Irish people, and to us it must be restored.

We declare, also, in favour of absolute liberty of conscience, and complete separation of Church and State...

Republicans of the entire world, our cause is your cause. Our enemy is your enemy. Let your hearts be with us. As for you, workmen of England, it is not only your hearts we wish, but your arms. Remember the starvation and degradation brought to your firesides by the oppression of labour."⁴¹⁶

With Stephens in flight, a new IRB leader, Thomas Kelly planned the 1867 Rising. The authorities soon came to know of these plans and the IRB's organisation was poorly coordinated. This resulted in a number of sporadic incidents in England, in Dublin, Cork and Limerick cities and in Kerry, Tipperary and Limerick counties.⁴¹⁷ The 1867 risings proved as unsuccessful as the attempted 1848 risings.

Following this, there were two badly executed attempts to rescue imprisoned IRB members in Manchester⁴¹⁸ (which led to the killing of a policeman) and Clerkenwell⁴¹⁹ (where a bomb explosion led to the deaths of twelve people and the injury of a hundred and twenty others). However, the probable state

framing and execution of the three Manchester Martyrs, William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin and Michael O'Brien, and of Michael Barrett, the man arrested for the Clerkenwell bombing, led to the formation of a widely supported Amnesty Association for the jailed 1867 Rising participants.

William Gladstone began to give his serious attention to the Irish Question. Ireland had been changing in ways not anticipated by the triumphalist forces of law and order following the defeat of the attempted 1848 Rising. Despite the mass depopulation of Ireland, resulting from the Great Hunger, the Catholic Irish remained the overwhelming majority outside northeast Ulster. Landlords, having evicted many of their poorest tenants, now rented their land to a more prosperous rising class of Catholic farmers, including graziers. As the franchise was extended these farmers and their urban allies were able to get politicians elected to look after their own class interests. Catholics were also able to take more of the lower and middle level jobs in the UK's Irish Devolved Administration.

Gladstone became Liberal Prime Minister in 1868. Once elected he declared that, "My mission is to pacify Ireland".⁴²⁰ Although the British government had seen off the recent attempted IRB Risings, the FB still represented a threat on the US/Canadian border.⁴²¹ Gladstone's main strategy for dealing with Ireland was the introduction of top-down reforms to preserve as much as possible of the existing order. He understood that the Catholic hierarchy's longstanding role in suppressing more Radical challenges needed rewarding, if their support was to be guaranteed in the future.

In 1869, Gladstone was able to get the Irish Church Act passed through both Houses,⁴²² despite an initial Conservative-led Anti-Popery campaign in the 1868 general election, and their threats to block the Bill in the House of Lords. The final Act disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland and placed the three major churches - Roman Catholic, Church of Ireland and Presbyterian - on a more even legal footing, and without any state support.

Gladstone then looked to the minimum concessions he could make on land reform. His first port of call was the major landlords, including the Liberal peers, the Duke of Argyll and Lord Granville, to see how far he could go. He posed the problem in Ireland as "the only real danger to the noble empire of the Queen."⁴²³ The 1870 Landlord and Tenants Act extended the Ulster

Custom to the rest of Ireland. This provided compensation to tenants for the improvements they made. This provided little benefit for the majority of Irish tenants.⁴²⁴ The UK government's attempts to remove remaining impediments to the Irish people's advance were always too little, too late.

Protestants continued to retain the highest posts in the Dublin Castle administration, the Irish regiments, the RIC and the magistracy, but they were in retreat in many lower and middle posts. Many Protestant businessmen, academics, clergymen and even some landlords, could see that the days of the old Anglo-Irish Ascendancy were numbered. The old regium donum, awarded to Presbyterian ministers, and the repeal of the Test Acts, directed against Nonconformists, had already helped to undermine the earlier more exclusive Anglican, Anglo-Irish identity.

More far-sighted Irish Unionists led the attempt to create an Irish-British nation within the UK and British Empire. A concerted effort was made to form a new Irish-British identity. Protestant Irish Unionists developed an Irish historiography, which provided them with a longer historical pedigree by claiming that the old Irish Celtic Church had been proto-Protestant! However, such an approach highlighted a problem. If championing Irish-Britishness was articulated in Protestant versus Catholic terms, this made it difficult to win over Irish Catholics.

Therefore, a political divide opened up amongst the Irish-British. The majority remained wedded to a Conservative Irish Unionism, which saw its main role as holding on to privilege and preventing Irish Nationalist advance for as long as possible. These Conservative Irish Unionists gave strong support to the existing UK state, the Monarchy, the House of Lords, the Protestant establishment (despite the fact it no longer extended to Ireland after 1869) and to British Imperialism. This was also a milieu in which very Reactionary and Anti-Democratic forces could also find sustenance, not least the Orange Order, which had extended its base beyond the original Anglican supporters of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy.

As the old Ascendancy lost its on-the-ground control over much of Ireland, the Orange Order, whom it served, also went into retreat in these areas. Here the landlords had to look elsewhere to protect their interests. The ranks of the RIC were overwhelmingly Catholic. They were provided with

accommodation in barracks and had higher wages than the earnings of the poor tenants in the areas where they lived. This ensured that the RIC could be depended upon to serve the landlords' interests, particularly when it came to evictions.

A minority group amongst the Protestant Irish-British, though, could see that any longer-term security for an Irish-British nation would require something more. There would need to be some form of political recognition for Ireland within the UK set-up. They agreed that this should take the form of Irish Home Rule. Political Devolution was now needed to supplement the Administrative Devolution, which had, up to now, underpinned the political basis of the Unionist state.

These liberal Unionists also realised that they would have to come to some accommodation with Catholic-Irish Nationalists, if they were ever to win their allegiance. To this end, the former Irish Conservative, Isaac Butt, and the former Young Irelander, William Shaw,⁴²⁵ both Protestants, approached various Irish Nationalists to form the Home Government Association (HGA) in 1870. The timing was good, since the insurrectionary road supported by the IRB had failed. Butt, who was a lawyer, approached key IRB leaders behind the scenes and gave his public support to the Amnesty Association.

The first MP to be elected for the HGA in 1871 was another Protestant, John Martin.⁴²⁶ He was a former imprisoned Irish Confederation member, ITL organiser and friend of John Mitchel. In 1873, the HGA became the more broadly supported Home Rule League (HRL).⁴²⁷ It then went on to win 57 seats in the 1874 Westminster election, not only replacing the Liberals as the main party, but also becoming the majority party in Ireland.

However, the majority amongst the Irish-British Unionists saw the prospect of Irish Home Rule leading to the end of the control they still held over all the highest posts in the Irish administration. There was still a division amongst Irish Conservatives and Irish Liberals. But this was narrowing as both parties, following the 1867 extension of the franchise, had been overtaken by the HRL. They both now saw the HRL as the main threat. Despite the success of the HRL in most of Ireland, as yet the idea of Irish Home Rule enjoyed little support amongst either the Conservative or Liberal Parties. Most Radical Liberals were also hostile, seeing the existing UK state

and a 'British road to Progress' as the best way of bringing economic and social reforms to that 'benighted province'.

Franchise extension, however, had also widened the base for Conservative Anti-Home Rule Unionism in northeast Ulster. Back in 1857, the Conservative Presbyterian leader, Henry Cooke encouraged Roaring Hugh Hanna to preach on the streets of Belfast in defiance of the local magistrates.⁴²⁸ Widespread riots ensued. After Cooke's death, Hanna further developed his Reactionary Presbyterian Loyalism. This Presbyterian Loyalism was the tradition from which Ian Paisley's politics was to emerge in the following century, something he himself acknowledged.⁴²⁹

In 1867, William Johnston organised a march of 30,000 Orangemen in County Down in defiance of the 1850 Party Processions Act.⁴³⁰ These numbers show that the Orange Order had maintained itself. Many Loyalist-supporting magistrates had turned a blind eye. Johnston was briefly imprisoned before being elected as an Independent Conservative MP for Belfast in 1868. However, the Orange Order and Conservative Party link was further cemented, after the repeal of the Party Processions Act in 1872.⁴³¹

From then on, the Orange Order remained a legal organisation. It was always able to mobilise Reactionary forces in support of Conservative Unionism. It was nominally headed by Unionist aristocrats, and later by Unionist big businessmen. But the local lodges retained their autonomy and were quite prepared to resort to threatening actions without, or if necessary, in defiance of their 'respectable' leaders. Hanna's political rise coincided with his opposition to the Irish Home Rule movement.

c) Wales - the emergence of a new Welsh-British nation and the beginning of a political struggle for its recognition (pp. 210-212)

One significant difference between Wales and both Ireland and Scotland was that the number of Celtic language speakers increased during the Industrial Revolution. Merthyr Tydfil, an iron and coal centre, at the head of the River Taff in a South Wales, became the largest town in Wales. For the whole of the nineteenth century, it was a majority Welsh-speaking town and continued

to be until 1911.

In 1847, the British government had commissioned *An Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*. This was the state's response to the extremely turbulent period it had just experienced in Wales. Large sections of the 'lower orders' had seemed beyond any effective control. The commissioners' investigations had been largely confined to the Anglo-Welsh elite, who supplied them with a long list of their own class prejudices. The report concluded that the Welsh were "ignorant, lazy and immoral"⁴³² and that the Welsh language was a major contributory factor.

One reaction to this state hostility was the decision taken by Welsh Congregationalist minister, Michael Daniel Jones, to found a Welsh colony, Y Wladfa, in the Chubut Valley in Argentinian Patagonia.⁴³³ The idea was to find a place distant enough to maintain a Welsh-speaking and Nonconformist community. The first settlers, who were mostly workers from South Wales, landed in 1865. They faced considerable hardships, since they were not acquainted with farming, especially in such arid conditions. The local Tehuelche people helped them, and the Welsh settlers went on to enjoy much better relations with these original inhabitants than the Argentinian state authorities. They also learned how to practice irrigated farming and became very successful at it. Initially they were self-governing, with both men and women over 18 having the vote.⁴³⁴

Other settlers came to the Chubut Valley, particularly from Italy, and the Welsh communities were eventually brought under the Provincial Government of Argentina.⁴³⁵ However, a Welsh-speaking community still exists in the Chubut Valley today. Although other attempts were made in the nineteenth century to form distinctive religious colonies in distant lands, such as the Mormons in Utah and European Jews in Ottoman Palestine, the Chubut Valley Colonisation was perhaps the most determined effort made to maintain a threatened language.

Other Welsh speakers were less despondent than Jones and began to organise politically in Wales. There was now a significant Welsh speaking middle class, who had the vote. Under the old order, the Welsh speaking 'lower orders' could just be ignored, whilst the English-speaking Anglo-Welsh gentry ran Wales. Now this new socially confident, recently enfranchised,

Welsh speaking middle class found itself placed in a similar position to the Irish Catholic middle class. Their culture had been officially disparaged - but worse, it was equated with that of the recently rebellious Welsh working class. The Welsh middle class response to the government enquiry was quick. They soon labelled it, *The Treachery of the Blue Books*.⁴³⁶

They took the opportunity provided by the formation of the Liberal Party in 1859 to organise politically. In Welsh-speaking Wales, Henry Richard became the Welsh Liberals' leading light. He was on the Radical wing of the party, a Congregationalist (with strong Calvinist Methodist connections), a Free Trader, an internationally known Pacifist, an Anti-Slavery advocate, and a promoter of Secularism within the state. He was elected Liberal MP for Merthyr in 1868,⁴³⁷ after the further extension of the franchise. However, despite his own sincere middle class Radicalism, his commitment to constitutionalism represented a quite different politics to the Plebeian Radicalism found in Merthyr in 1831 and Newport in 1839.

The new Welsh Liberal challenge advanced on all fronts. Campaigning for the provision of education, including in the Welsh language, and the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, were central. The electoral struggle gave Liberal Nonconformists their own heroic tradition. Newly enfranchised tenants faced eviction for defying their landlords' voting instructions. The answer from these communities was to ostracise anyone attempting to take over the tenancies.⁴³⁸ The Liberal Party in Wales became a major contributor to the building of a new Welsh-British nation. Their struggle was largely directed against the old Anglo-Welsh, their Anglican church and the Conservative Party. They hoped to break these Conservative forces between the hammer of the Welsh Liberals in Wales and the anvil of the British Liberals at Westminster.

Gladstone had already managed to get Westminster to implement the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. However, Gladstone had only done this because he feared more Radical forces in Ireland, and he needed to keep the support of the Catholic hierarchy there. He knew that, unlike the Catholic hierarchy, Welsh Nonconformists would always back the Liberal Party over the Conservatives. So, he did not initially support the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales.⁴³⁹ This, though, did not lead Welsh Liberals to break with the party, but to push harder within it.

Their particular commitment to Welsh-British Unionism remained strong.

d) Scotland - the further development of the Scottish-British Nation (pp. 213-215)

In Scotland, the Central Belt, with its coal, iron, steel, shipbuilding and heavy engineering, became an industrial powerhouse both for the UK and British Empire. The very British vision of the new industrial capitalism in Scotland could be seen in the revival of an earlier term - North British. The North British Railway opened in 1850 and completed the rail link from Edinburgh to London. The North British Rubber Company was formed in 1857, and soon was producing for the wider British Empire and US markets.

In Scotland, English was the language of the overwhelming majority, although still largely spoken in Scots dialect forms. Once public-school education replaced private education at home, upper class Scots began to speak in the same accents as their English counterparts, with whom they often intermarried. The less privileged business families sent their children to Scottish private schools and developed their own Anglo-Scottish accents in Morningside in Edinburgh and Kelvinside in Glasgow.⁴⁴⁰ Some of these people switched to the Scottish Episcopalian Church, which was in communion with the Church of England. It already had a disproportionately large upper class membership.⁴⁴¹ Episcopalianism was more likely to vote Conservative, or later Conservative and Unionist.

However, no significant Anglo-Scottish political grouping developed, since the Scottish ruling class had been able to make its own independent deal with the English ruling class in 1707. This included recognition of the Church of Scotland as the established church. Yet, by 1851, the Church of Scotland was only attended by 32% of churchgoers, whilst 59% attended either the Free Church of Scotland or other Presbyterian Secession Kirks.⁴⁴² These all promoted the notion of Scottish-Britishness and this contributed to the prevention of the development of an Anglo-Scottish identity.

The Scottish British were confident in the specifically Scottish contribution to the Union and Empire. Scottish Liberals drew on Scotland's distinctive Presbyterian tradition to create their idea of a Scottish-British Nation. They

saw this as a major contributor to the creation of the UK and as a beacon for progress in the Victorian world. The middle class now enfranchised, used their newfound power to extend their control over city and burgh councils. The Liberal Party became the political vehicle for their ambitions. The Liberals dominated Scottish representation at Westminster until 1900, and even then, it took the defection of the Liberal Unionists to end that domination.

The Gaelic speaking areas of the Highlands and Islands were largely excluded from Industrial development, although not from the detrimental effects of an Externally Imposed Capitalism. This brought the Clearances, extensive sheep farms and later deer forests for the exclusive sport of the rich. As the result of emigration, there was a decline in the population in these areas. This contributed to the further undermining of the Gaelic language. Pressures also grew for families to bring up their children as English speakers in expectation that they would be migrating for work.

This though was only part of the story. The secession of the Free Church of Scotland had its greatest effect in the Highlands and Islands. As a consequence of the huge disruption and uncertainty brought about in the crofting communities and the population resettlement on the barren coasts in the new fishing villages, Evangelicals had already won many adherents.⁴⁴³ Moreover, their religious campaigns had often been conducted in the Gaelic language.

For the first time since the demise of the old clan order, a new Gaelic speaking leadership emerged. Up until this time, Protestant churches, whether in Ireland or Scotland, had been to the forefront in trying to eliminate Celtic languages. In contrast, the Catholic Church had been prepared to accept the everyday language of its members. Now though, the Secessionist Presbyterian churches in the Highlands and Islands also helped to maintain the Gaelic language. In this respect that was similar to the role of the Calvinist Methodist and other Independent churches in Wales in preserving the Welsh language.

Most crofters and fishermen, who formed the Free Kirk's Gaelic speaking base, after the Disruption in 1843, did not have the vote. There were also faced with the extremely inegalitarian system of land ownership. This placed

great power in the hands of the landlords - power backed by the state. Tenants were driven off the land, and landlords refused to sell land for new Free Kirk buildings.⁴⁴⁴

Thus, there was a stoic and heroic element to the Disruption in the Highlands and Islands, as there was with the evicted, mainly Calvinist Methodist tenants in Wales. As in Welsh-speaking Wales, the Liberal Party also became the party of the 'lower orders' in the Highlands and Islands, once the franchise was extended to them. The Liberal Party in Wales united Welsh-speakers with the increasingly English-speaking South Wales and the Welsh Borders. The Liberal Party in Scotland also united Gaelic language speakers, but with the long-standing majority English-speaking Scottish Lowlands and Borders.

In 1852, Joseph Hume MP, the veteran Radical, had a second Scottish Martyrs monument constructed at Nunhead in London,⁴⁴⁵ to emphasise Scotland's role in creating a 'Progressive' British Union. When a campaign was started to build a monument to William Wallace at Stirling, it drew support from Liberals and Conservatives (as well as from Garibaldi).⁴⁴⁶ This highlighted the political spectrum, which could embrace the new Scottish-British Nation. Wallace, the Scottish knight, could enter the pantheon of British heroes, now that the old England versus Scotland wars were a thing of the past. The monument was completed in 1869.

Furthermore, even amongst the old Tories, there were those wanted to emphasise their Scottishness, whilst also strongly supporting the UK state. Leading Scottish Tory, Sir Walter Scott, had written novels drawing on both the Jacobite (*Waverley*)⁴⁴⁷ and Covenanter (*Old Mortality*)⁴⁴⁸ traditions. Whilst showing some sympathy with both, he thought that the creation of the UK had put such conflicts firmly in the past. A new united Scottish-British Nation could be created within the UK.

In Scotland, the Conservative and Liberal parties' acceptance of the existing Unionist state further underpinned the development of the Scottish-British Nation. This had been going on since 1820, with relatively little challenge, compared to Ireland and Wales. The Liberal Party was crucial in maintaining support for the Union in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. In the first two nations the party remained overwhelmingly dominant throughout the rest of the nineteenth century but was to go into rapid decline in Ireland from 1874. A

century later the Labour Party was to perform the same role in maintaining the Union.

e) The UK in the 1870s - the growing divergence between Ireland and England, Scotland and Wales (pp. 216-220)

In 1829, following Catholic Emancipation, Daniel O'Connell had raised the challenge at Westminster of bringing about the reforms, which could change the Irish into 'West Britons'. That prospect had evaporated in the Great Hunger. By the late 1870s there was a different political line-up in relation to the UK state and National identities. The struggle for an Irish Republic, raised in 1848 and again from 1865-7, had been defeated and driven underground. In its place, the position of a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' had made considerable gains.

This had happened despite Archbishop Cullen's coolness towards the creation of an Irish Nation. In 1870, Cardinal Cullen was a leading figure at the First Vatican Council, which established Papal Infallibility.⁴⁴⁹ The Council took place as the Papal States finally succumbed to those forces wanting to bring about Italian Unification. It was as if the Papacy, having lost its remaining Secular power, opted instead for total social control over its flock. From this base the Papacy, backed by an Ultramontanist hierarchy, looked to new ways to be more effective in the wider Secular world. Ireland provided a good testing ground.

In contrast to Cullen, Archbishop John McHale⁴⁵⁰ and later Archbishops Thomas Nulty⁴⁵¹ and Thomas Croke⁴⁵² were strong advocates of a Catholic-Irish 'Nation'. McHale supported the Gaelic language. Both Nulty and Croke backed the later Irish National Land League, whilst Croke became a sponsor of the Gaelic Athletic Association. The 'lower order' origins of many in the Irish Catholic hierarchy, compared to many of their continental counterparts, helped to broaden the base of the Irish-Catholic 'Nation'. The Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869 marked a further stage in the advance of the Irish-Catholic 'Nation'. The Catholic hierarchy had skillfully used its ability to restrain and marginalise more Radical social and political challenges to the UK state, in order to get successive British governments' acceptance of the build-up of Clerical power within Ireland.

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy was now in the descendancy. Even the Orange Order was backing a more broadly-based Irish-British, Conservative, Protestant Unionism. However, Irish Conservatives were in geographical retreat. When the franchise was extended, they lost their last MP in Dublin (except for Trinity College, a bastion of Ascendancy privilege). The Orange Order, though, deepened its hold over Ulster, the north-east in particular. Here there was a wide base of Protestant artisans, tenant farmers, and later also a working class who wanted to protect their privileges. These people could be appealed to as the franchise was extended.

Irish Conservatives were aware, though, that their position could only be maintained by the UK state, and particularly by the defence of its most reactionary features. Despite the continued advance of Irish Catholics through the institutions of the UK's Administratively Devolved state in Ireland, all the senior executive posts remained in the full control of the British government, including the Lord Lieutenant, senior civil servants running Dublin Castle, the judiciary and the senior officers of the RIC. To keep it that way, Irish Conservatives looked for support from the House of Lords, senior military officers and the most Reactionary section of the British Conservative Party.

However, another section amongst the Irish-British was now contemplating its own political solution to the rise of Irish Nationalism. They proposed Irish Home Rule. This new Liberal Unionist policy was first advocated by the Home Government Association in 1870, then by its successor, the Home Rule League in 1873. Despite the HGA's origins amongst better off Irish Protestants, the HGA/HRL was to achieve something that both O'Connell's post-1834 Repeal MPs and the post-1850 Independent Irish Party were unable to do. The HGS/HRL retained its organisational and political independence from the Whigs/Liberals. It was out of the HRL that the later Irish Parliamentary Party was to develop. The HRL's winning of 54 MPs in the 1874 Westminster general election signalled the end of the UK's two-party system.

At this stage, the Irish Home Rule had little support from either of the two main UK-wide parties. Nor had it the backing of the kind of extra-parliamentary forces in Ireland that could make Westminster think again. Yet, there was a place, which ever since the Quebec Act of 1774, had

provided a testing ground for constitutional experiment, and this was Canada. It was in Canada that the UK state's back-up 'fire and theft' insurance policy of seeking support from the Catholic hierarchy was first pioneered. The British ruling class realised how beneficial this had been in the American War of Independence, in the 1812 war with the USA, and the Lower and Upper Canada risings of 1837, as well as in combatting the United Irishmen after 1795, the Irish Confederation in 1848 and the IRB from 1858.

There had long been tensions between the USA and British Empire along their extended North American frontier. Even when their respective governments came to an arrangement, this did not satisfy many, particularly on the US side of the border. They wanted to bring the British North American colonies into the US Republic. Cross border patriotic Republican cooperation had featured in the 1837 Risings. The 1850 Union of Upper and Lower Canada, partly designed to limit the influence of the Catholic French speakers was, in this respect, similar to the intention of the 1801 Irish Union. When the disestablishment of the Anglican Church of Ireland was conceded in 1869, this was modelled on the deal made in Canada in 1863, following Gladstone's consultation with the Bishop of Montreal.⁴⁵³

The Fenian Brotherhood (FB) in the USA had hoped to complement a planned IRB rising in Ireland with a cross border invasion of Canada. Indeed, two such invasions took place in 1866 and 1870.⁴⁵⁴ Both were unsuccessful. There was no US government support. After the heavy loss of life in the American Civil War, US Secretary of State, William Seward did not want a war with the UK, despite the 'promises' he had made earlier to the FB to win their support. In order to be still seen as a supporter of extended US control over North America he arranged instead for the purchase of Alaska from Tsarist Russia in 1867.

Gladstone recognised the appeal for many Radicals in the UK of the US with its Republican and Secular constitution, more extensive Franchise and vigorous Local Government. Gladstone, though, only moved into action when such ideas mobilised forces that threatened to destabilise the existing order. For the most part, the advanced notions held by British Radicals did not do so, whilst the immediate American and FB threats on the Canadian frontier and IRB planned insurrections did.

Even before the American Civil War was over in 1865, reopening the possibility of renewed US expansion, and/or continued FB activity on the border, Gladstone pushed for a new and larger Canadian Union than that established in 1850. The 1867 British America Act created the Dominion of Canada, bringing in the Province of Canada and the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, followed by Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873.⁴⁵⁵ As a concession to the French Canadians, the Province of Canada was once more divided, with the old Lower and Upper Canadas now forming Quebec and Ontario. The addition of the new Protestant dominated provinces made the need for a united province of Canada redundant, in maintaining overall British Protestant control.

In effect, the new Dominion of Canada amounted to extensive Home Rule within the British Empire. John Alexander Macdonald, the first Canadian Prime Minister, believed that he had helped to create a fourth Kingdom of the Union. The Colonial Office quickly disabused him as being "premature" and "pretentious".⁴⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the British North America Act helped to create a wider Canadian-British identity, although not in Quebec.

One person who was persuaded by these developments was Thomas D'Arcy Magee, an Irish Confederation leader who escaped to the USA after the 1848 Rising. In 1844 he had written that, "Either by purchase, conquest, or stipulation, Canada must be yielded by Great Britain to this Republic".⁴⁵⁷ By 1851, though, he had become a supporter of Ultramontane Catholicism and moved to Montreal. He became Minister in the Province of Canada Legislative Assembly and a strong advocate of wider Canadian Confederation. In this role he strongly opposed the Fenian Brotherhood (FB) who had invaded Canada in 1866. He was assassinated by the FB in 1868.⁴⁵⁸

Peter Lalor, another ex-Irish Confederation member, followed a similar political trajectory in Australia to Thomas D'Arcy Magee in Canada. Lalor rejected his earlier Revolutionary Democratic politics, becoming a landowner and company director, who attempted to use Chinese as strike-breakers in the Clunes mining dispute. With the extensive franchise in the Australian provinces, he was forced to give up his Ballarat seat in Victoria's Legislative Assembly.⁴⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the existence of the Dominion of Canada and the Legislative Assemblies in the Australian provinces provided an alternative model for the UK government - Home Rule within the British Empire. If the one-time Irish Confederation member, more recently Irish Catholic Nationalist, McGhee had been won over by the Canadian example, and one-time Irish Confederation member, more recently Conservative politician, Lalor, had been won over by the Victoria Legislative Assembly example, could this prove useful to the UK government? Before that could happen, Gladstone would need to be persuaded that intransigent Conservative Unionism was itself a real threat to the Union in Ireland, and that support could be found for a stabilising Liberal Unionist alternative, which could better preserve the Union.

In the meantime, throughout the post-1848 period, both Scotland and Wales had been developing further as hybrid-British Nations within the UK state. The Liberal Party had been the main political vehicle promoting this in both countries. The Radical wing of the party was, if anything, even keener on promoting the idea of the UK as a Victorian 'Beacon of Progress'. They promised that, after some suitable reforms, to extend this model to the 'benighted' parts of the UK and later of the British Empire.

Many Conservatives, particularly in Scotland, upheld their own version of a Scottish-British Nation within the UK state and British Empire. In both Scotland and Wales, the aristocracy placed particular emphasis on local loyal regiments, especially following 'heroic' overseas Imperial battles. They were paraded before crowds assembled on the lords' estates, or in the county towns from where they were recruited. Whilst the Liberals had continued to take the actions needed to uphold British imperial interests, they liked to hide behind the pretence of promoting a peaceful policy of international Free Trade consistent with their principles. The Conservatives, though, became more and more strident in their celebration of British Imperialism and their attitudes to the Union were very much affected by this.

f) How the First International reacted to the new political developments in Ireland and to Irish mass migration and European asylum seekers (pp. 220-222)

If Gladstone had been moved to change his thinking as a consequence of the

attempted IRB and FB risings and activities, then Marx and Engels too changed their ideas. Furthermore, this was done in the context of the First International or International Working Men's Association (IWMA), which was set up in 1864. The IWMA was united in promoting international organisation from below. This was their answer to the employers' support for an international free market in labour, and their use of imported labour to break strike action.

The IWMA had to counter those, including Orange, Loyalist and other Xenophobic or Racist groups, who mounted physical attacks to intimidate and expel migrants. No calls were made by the IWMA for the UK state to establish immigration control, or selective labour controls, because it was clearly understood that the state would use these to buttress the employers and to promote division amongst the working class. Such a level of international solidarity has not been re-established to this day. This despite the IWMA working in a UK state that had no immigration controls, and where inward migration to England and Scotland (from Ireland) was on a much greater scale than has ever occurred since.

At this time, the Revolutionary Democratic challenges represented by the IRB and immigrant Irish workers were to the forefront of the political concerns in the UK. This made Marx reassess his earlier views. When it came to Ireland, Marx specifically rejected his stance in the 1847-9 International Revolutionary Wave. Then he had looked to the English working class to emancipate the Irish. He now wrote, though, that, "Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* until it has got rid of Ireland".⁴⁶⁰ He had arrived at the position adopted by Julian Harney, who took a leading part in the earlier Democratic Associations and the Fraternal Democrats.⁴⁶¹

Marx now went on to write that, "Previously I thought separation from England impossible. Now I think it is inevitable, although after separation there may come *federation*".⁴⁶² A few years later, Marx favoured political unity but not "the present forced union (i.e. the enslavement of Ireland)", but rather "*equal and free confederation* if possible."⁴⁶³ He also went on to make his best-known general statement about the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed - "Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains."⁴⁶⁴

Marx's daughter, Jenny, took a leading part in the Amnesty Association campaign to secure the release of IRB leader O'Donovan Rossa. He was to win the County Tipperary constituency in a by-election in 1869, although this was declared invalid because of his continued imprisonment.⁴⁶⁵ He was released a year later, on condition that he did not return to Ireland. Engels also went on to make extensive notes for a history of Ireland, which he unfortunately never got the time to finish. Interestingly though, his researching led him to the old Irish bardic or Cultural National tradition and the blind harpist, Carolan. This prompted him to begin a *Preface to a Collection of Irish Songs*.⁴⁶⁶

However, Marx and Engels soon found that, even in the IWMA, they were facing a Left British Unionist tradition that remained deeply entrenched amongst Radicals. That earlier English Republican, William Linton, had his successor in John Hales, an English IWMA delegate. Hales, argued that "the International had nothing to do with liberating Ireland."⁴⁶⁷ In reply Engels stated that, "The position of Ireland with regard to England was not that of an equal, but that of Poland with regard to Russia... It is sanctioning a belief only too common among English working men, that they were superior beings compared to the Irish, and as much an aristocracy as the mean whites of the Slave States considered themselves to be with regard to the Negroes."⁴⁶⁸

Engels appreciated the different position of Irish migrant workers and their descendants, who formed a significant part of the unskilled working class in Great Britain. Many of the most committed amongst their ranks gave their support to the IRB. Engels' political stance was linked to attempts to win over the politically advanced sections of the working class, by winning their support for the unskilled, particularly Irish migrant workers. Radicals, backed by Lib-Lab trade union leaders, were being drawn instead into confining their support to the 'respectable' working class, enfranchised by the 1867 Reform Act.

However, it is indicative of the different trajectory of the emerging Irish Nation within the UK, compared to the Scottish-British and Welsh-British Nations, that both Marx and Engels saw no need to acknowledge Scotland's or Wales' existence. They still used the words 'England' and 'English', when

it is clear that 'Great Britain' and 'British' would have been more appropriate. And at this time, the official name of the First International, the International Working Men's Association, shows that its members were still using the word 'men' to include women'.

PART THREE (pp. 224-363)

GROWING TENSIONS IN THE UNION AND EMPIRE UNDER HIGH IMPERIALISM AND THE RECOGNITION A FOURTH NATION WITHIN THE UK

1. NEW BREEZES AND THEIR IMPACT UPON THE FOUR NATIONS OF THE UK AND THE WHITE SETTLER COLONIES

The transition from Liberal led Free Trade Imperialism to Conservative led New Imperialism; the impact of the Land and Labour Movement; a new Social Republican challenge in Ireland creates a wider 'Internationalism from Below' alliance in Scotland, Wales, England, USA, and Australia; the rise of Irish Nationalism and its compromises with the Catholic hierarchy; the continued advance of Scottish and Welsh Britain; the Liberal wing of the British ruling class responds with Home Rule reform of the UK state and the Conservative Unionist counter-attack; and the triumph of High Imperialism

a) The ending of Free Trade Imperialism and the rise of New Imperialism

The period from 1849 up to the mid-1870s could be characterised as the heyday of Free Trade Imperialism. The UK state took a leading role in trying to enforce its own rules for international capitalist competition upon the rest of the world. The removal of the traditional state tariffs to protect trade had been central to this. Also important were the major breakthroughs in technology. Barriers to the exchange of commodities were broken down through major improvements in transport and communications, particularly with the rapid growth of new steam powered railways and shipping and the telegraph. Furthermore, the application of technology to arms manufacture, coupled with improved military and naval training, gave Imperial powers a huge advantage when imposing their will on less economically developed

societies.

However, New Imperialism emerged in the mid-1870s. There was a return to Protectionism, including the seizure of new overseas territories for exclusive trading. New Imperialism emerged from the political situation created by the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, the beginning of the Long Depression from 1873, and the ending of Reconstruction in the USA in 1877. The conservative manner in which the latest phase of nation-state formation in Western Europe had developed by 1871 (and the USA from 1877 after the defeat of Reconstruction) contributed to this New Imperialism. By 1895 this New Imperialism had given way to the full-blown High Imperialism, which was eventually to lead to World War I.

Some of the features of New Imperialism had already been established within the British Empire. The period of Free Trade Imperialism has been characterised by some apologists as one when the British Empire expanded in a fit of absent-mindedness - not by the conscious actions of government, but through the private activities of explorers, missionaries, slavery abolitionists, traders and individual colonists seeking land. Bibles and trade goods, not threats and guns, were seen to be the principal agents in this Christian promoted 'Free Trade' world. However, as Palmerston had realised, and as others soon concluded, a little gunboat diplomacy, and the forced acquisition of certain useful territories could, nevertheless, provide greater security for British commerce.

British naval and military forces developed a much increased and more effective reach, whenever there was resistance to Imperial intervention. Public celebration of their 'feats' assisted the domestic promotion of jingoism. This buttressed an increasingly Racist clamour designed to unite the 'lower orders' behind the ruling class. This was the period when a new 'Scientific Racism', which replaced or added to earlier 'Biblical Racism', began to take root. Robert Knox, a surgeon originally from Edinburgh who moved to London, following his exposure as the buyer of corpses for anatomical purposes from the notorious Burke and Hare, wrote *The Races of Man* in 1850.⁴⁶⁹ This book was to have considerable influence.

What was new about the New Imperialism, which developed from the 1870s, was that a greater number of European states, including France, Netherlands

and Belgium made more systematic attempts to extend their existing colonial territories or establish new ones around the world. This increasingly destabilised the international order. These new colonies required military and naval protection. Later the new Prussian Germany, Meiji Japan, USA and Italy also joined this Imperial Scramble. Tsarist Russia continued to expand to its east and south in Asia. As the New Imperialism spread worldwide, it took two long-established forms of oppression to new levels. First, there was large scale ethnic cleansing for the benefit of White settlers. Secondly, there was the suppression of indigenous people's way-of life, the better to exploit them. The abolition of Chattel Slavery in the USA in 1863 (and Brazil in 1888) led to the use of other forms of super-exploited labour particularly in the Colonies, e.g. Corvee and Indentured. This was so that industrial capitalists could still get cheap raw materials and foodstuffs.

The British Liberal model of championing Free Trade and non-annexationist policies had previously held ideological sway amongst its would-be emulators around the world, even if such beliefs were not always upheld in practice. However, the increased desire of capitalists, in countries such as Germany and the USA, to develop their own industries and markets, led them to promote a different economic approach. The formation of trusts and cartels in the USA, along with merging of Banking and Industrial Capital in Germany, greatly increased their economic strength and power. They used this to buy political influence and to persuade domestic politicians to bow to their demands for greater measures of economic Protection. New competitors were no longer prepared to accept that 'Britain ruled the waves', began to challenge British capitalism.

Bismarck's government moved to greater economic Protection for Germany in 1879.⁴⁷⁰ France, faced with the additional cost of war reparations, following defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, began its retreat from a Free Trade commitment in 1881.⁴⁷¹ President Harrison was elected in the USA on a Protectionist ticket in 1888, leading to the McKinley Tariff of 1890.⁴⁷² These capitalist states also promoted New Industries, such as chemicals, petroleum and electronics, and adopted more Modern Production techniques.

This put increased economic pressure upon the older, longer-established British industries. UK manufacturers turned to the growing British Colonies and the American West. Here British investment took place to obtain cheap

raw materials and foodstuffs to help undercut the industrial labour costs of their rivals. As a result of Colonial and US competition, agriculture became the worst affected economic sector within the UK during the Long Depression. This was to have a particularly severe effect in Ireland.

Although British capitalism now faced increased economic competition, the powerful City of London still had a strong interest in maintaining global 'Free Trade', so forces demanding economic Protectionism in the UK remained relatively weak. However, the policy of no Colonial annexations, the other main plank of the old Free Trade ideology, began to be abandoned even by its previous Liberal supporters. In practice it had often been quietly jettisoned before, whenever commercial advantage could be obtained.

b) The changeover from Liberal to Conservative hegemony amongst the British ruling class

If Liberalism dominated UK politics under Free Trade Imperialism from 1846 to 1874 (with Whig, Peelite or Liberal led governments for 25 of those 28 years), then Conservatism dominated UK politics from 1886-1905, with Conservative led governments for 16 of those 19 years. New Imperialism had first emerged in the 1870s and gave way to the High Imperialism of 1895-1916. However, when a Liberal government finally took office again in 1905, it proved to be as fully committed to High Imperial politics, as the Peelite Conservatives had been to the earlier Liberal political economy with its commitment to Free Trade Imperialism. It was under a Liberal government that the UK entered the First World War.

Just as in the period from 1846 to 1874, when former Conservatives, such as Peel, Palmerston and Gladstone ended up in the Liberal camp, so from 1886 key Liberals, such as the old Whig, the Marquis of Hartington and the Radical Liberal, Joseph Chamberlain, became Liberal Unionists, supporting the Conservatives. The Liberals and Conservatives shared acceptance of the need to maintain the UK as a Unionist and Imperialist state mightily helped in this transition; as did their shared support for its key institutions - the Crown, House of Lords and established Protestantism in England (with Wales) and Scotland. Prior to this, from 1874 to 1886, there was a transitional period in UK politics, which marked the beginning of New Imperialism. In this decade there was first a Disraeli-led Conservative

government, then a Gladstone-led Liberal government.

Disraeli was quick to appreciate the new Imperial requirements of British capitalism. Since the American Civil War, and the ending of cheap imported slave-produced cotton, Egypt had become a major source of this raw material. The Suez Canal, completed in 1869, had also become a vital link on the route to India, the most profitable of the British colonies. In 1875, Disraeli personally authorised the purchase of the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the canal to give the British government a controlling interest.⁴⁷⁴ The Khedive faced mounting debts so, despite a famine killing thousands of his subjects forced to pay these debts, he heavily taxed the fellahin (peasantry) in order to pay the interest payments demanded by the British bondholders.

Thus from 1874-80, Disraeli further developed Palmerston's earlier strategy. The working class was to be invited into the British 'Nation', provided they accepted the Unionist and Imperial project of the British ruling class. In return for working class support for the existing institutions of the UK state and for British Imperialist ventures, a carefully managed top-down programme of reforms would be implemented on their behalf.

To achieve this, Disraeli was very aware of the need to create a wider British populism to reach across the classes. As part of this culture, the latest 'Scientific Racist' theories were more widely popularised. In 1876 Disraeli had Queen Victoria elevated to an Empress.⁴⁷⁵ Victoria was also "possibly irritated by the sallies of the republicans, the tendency to democracy, and the realization that her influence was manifestly on the decline."⁴⁷⁶ She changed her image and was seen in public a lot more. Queen Victoria's royal reviews of British regiments returning from colonial wars were well publicised. This was the first of several later monarchical image makeovers, which have recently included attempts to promote different members of the royal family, to counter the strains of the current crisis-ridden UK state.

The promotion of Jingoism was very much part of this renewed British Imperial offensive. The later nineteenth century was the period in which a more populist press and culture, including the music hall, took greater root. The British navy and regiments were eulogised. Imperialist conquests were celebrated. Again, this has become a continuous feature of UK politics, with the celebration of British military exploits over the centenary years of the

First World War, and a desire to return post-Brexit to the 'glory days' of the British Empire.

In the late nineteenth century, the loss of lives and disablement of those recruited to the armed forces were initially relatively low. This reflected the commanding technical superiority of British naval and military forces. Disease was more of a problem than deaths in combat. It was only when wars of Imperialist conquest gave way to wars of Inter-Imperialist competition, culminating in the First World War in the twentieth century, that the full costs of Imperialism became clearer in the UK. Before this, British military losses were overwhelmingly among the 'lower orders', and disproportionately from Ireland and Scotland. And in the British Empire most losses were experienced by the 'lesser races', something that could be ignored or celebrated.

In 1880, though, Gladstone became the leader of a new Liberal government. In his celebrated Midlothian Campaign, Gladstone had strongly attacked the Conservatives for their Jingoism over Afghanistan, the Zulus and the Transvaal, as well as criticising their takeover of the Egyptian administration. However, once The City demanded the full repayment of debts with interest, it became permissible to the Liberal conscience, for Egypt to be annexed. Their conscience was always constrained by an overriding concern for the rights of property (which is why a younger Gladstone had believed that British slaveholders should be compensated).

Gladstone's most recent equivalent is Gordon Brown, who thought massive amounts of public money should be given to The City bankers, who had so massively contributed to the 2008 Crash. And under Brown and beyond until 2015 the Treasury was still paying off the debt incurred to compensate UK slaveholders!⁴⁷⁷ In the 1980s, Labour's growing 'Dented Shield' accommodation to the rise of Neo-Liberalism, under Michael Foot and Neil Kinnock, was paralleled by their support for Thatcher's Falklands War and Bush's First Gulf War. This anticipated New Labour's own full-blooded Neo-Liberalism and pro-Imperialism under Tony Blair. The transition was almost seamless, with the remnant Labour Left putting up the by now same tokenistic opposition as the Radical Liberals had to Gladstone's increasingly pro-Imperial trajectory.

And there was now a threat to British property 'rights' from a new Egyptian Nationalist movement, led by Colonel Ahmed Arabi.⁴⁷⁸ He challenged the Khedive's British/French-backed stooge government, which had imposed so much misery. In 1882, Gladstone sent in British troops to crush this resistance. They first shelled Alexandria, and then defeated an Egyptian army at Tel- el-Kebir. John Bright, the last of the Liberal 'Free Traders', reluctantly resigned his government office.⁴⁷⁹ However, by this time, a much wider Liberal/Tory consensus had been formed over the need to uphold the British Empire.

Gladstone did attempt, though, to promote one last major Liberal policy, Irish Home Rule. This was to be bitterly opposed by the Conservative Party and a major section of his own party. Why did he do this? The answer lay in a major new challenge to the UK state in Ireland. Just over a century later, New Labour too was forced to take up the issue of Home Rule, now called Devolution, when faced with significant political pressure.

c) Social Republicanism and the land struggle in Ireland pushes Gladstone's Liberals into promoting the First Irish Home Rule Bill

The major new challenge to the UK state came from the Irish National Land League (INLL), which was set up in 1879.⁴⁸⁰ This decision stemmed from the 'New Departure',⁴⁸¹ agreed between key leaders from the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Ireland and the Fenian Brotherhood in the USA. The 'New Departure' followed the doldrums in Irish Republican politics after the defeat of the 1867 rising. The INLL put forward the immediate demand of lowering rents and the long-term aim of replacing landlord ownership with peasant proprietorship. The INLL brought the mass of Irish tenant farmers into active politics. The majority of the previously politically excluded 'mere Irish' became the basis for an Irish-Irish Nation.

Michael Davitt, who had been released from Portland Prison in 1877 for his IRB activities a decade earlier, became a leading figure.⁴⁸² He sought popular democratic control over the Ireland's natural resources, especially land. In contrast to the majority of INLL leaders, Davitt supported land nationalisation. His concerns went beyond the tenants to the landless, agricultural and other workers. Davitt's political approach was Social

Republican. Sometimes called 'Left Republicanism', Social Republicanism better describes Davitt's transition on the road to Socialist Republican politics, as he extended the INLL's combined socio-economic and political challenge to the UK state on an 'Internationalism from Below' basis, to the rest of the UK, and the USA and Australia.

The Anti-Imperialism of the INLL was also very evident in the leaflet distributed at its first meeting in Irishtown, County Mayo, and headed *The West Awake*. "From the China tower of Peking to the round towers of Ireland, from the cabins of Connemara to the kraals of Kaffirland, from the wattled homes of the isles of Polynesia to the wigwams of North America the cry is 'Down with the invaders! Down with the tyrants! Every man to have his own land - every man to have his own home.'"⁴⁸³ Unlike so much of the British Radical tradition, this Republican internationalism was not confined to the white settler colonists.

By 1881, the INLL had a thousand branches in Ireland with about 200,000 members. There were as many members again in the rest of the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia. Davitt, against the wishes of many, also supported the setting up of the Ladies Land League. Fanny and Anna Parnell proved to be far more militant than their brother, Charles, or than the 'Ladies' in their organisation's title suggests.⁴⁸⁴ Another INLL organiser, Thomas Brennan, anticipated James Connolly's later well-known critique of the 'green flag' Nationalists. Brennan said, "As long as the tillers of the soil are forced to support a useless indolent aristocracy your federal parliament would be a bauble and your Irish republic would be a fraud".⁴⁸⁵ This represented a critique of both the Home Rule League's (HRL) proposed Devolved Parliament and of the Irish Republic proposed by the remaining physical force IRB members who opposed the 'New Departure'.

The INLL developed the boycott tactic. This was used against the landlords, their agents and anyone who attempted to take over evicted tenants' land. The tactic was named after County Mayo landlord, Captain Boycott, who was shunned by the local population. The Orange Order set up the Orange Emergency Committee and sent Boycott fifty labourers to try and break the action. This was in addition to the thousand RIC members and a regiment of Royal Hussars.⁴⁸⁶ Nevertheless, in the process of an escalating Ireland-wide struggle, the INLL became "in truth, nothing more nor less than a provisional Irish government, stronger because popular suffrage."⁴⁸⁷

This dramatic new situation first impacted on the Home Rule League (HRL). For some time, Charles Parnell (an atypical Protestant landlord), and his ally Joseph Biggar (Belfast merchant, former Presbyterian but now Catholic convert) had formed a Radical opposition within the HRL to Isaac Butt and his successor William Shaw. Butt had died recently, and Shaw opposed the INLL. The mass movement created by the INLL provided the impetus for Parnell to take over the leadership of the HRL. With the backing of INLL supporting members, the HRL increased its number of MPs in Westminster from 60 to 63 in the 1880 General Election.

In the run-up to the 1880 general election, Gladstone floated the idea of 'Home Rule-all-round', for Ireland, Scotland and Wales.⁴⁸⁸ However, this was little more than the sort of empty promise British Unionists were to make on later occasions (most recently by Gordon Brown in 2014 and by then Scottish Labour leader, Richard Leonard in 2018). Instead, Gladstone's government prepared a land reform law. Meantime it continued with the coercive policies of the UK state in Ireland.

The new Liberal Irish Chief Secretary, William Forster, gave his backing to the local Irish courts, manned by pro-landlord magistrates, to push through tenant evictions. He supplemented this by new repressive legislation. The old and new Radical Liberals, John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, after initially opposing, soon backed down. A woman was shot dead, and a young girl bayoneted at Grawhill in County Mayo.⁴⁸⁹ In Ireland, 'Buckshot Foster' became the name by which the Irish Secretary was known.

Realising that INLL leaders would be the targets of British government repression (the 1795, 1843, 1848 and 1865/7 precedents were well known), Davitt and others began to prepare for a 'No Rents' campaign.⁴⁹⁰ The INLL sent some leaders abroad to avoid arrest and to help the organisation from afar. It also brought the Ladies Land League into a more central role. The British government quickly arrested Davitt, Parnell and other INLL leaders. However, resistance continued, and in the absence of direction from the now jailed leaders, there was resort to an older underground 'Captain Moonlight' tradition.

The Liberal government became increasingly alarmed. As a result, Gladstone made the Kilmainham {Jail} Treaty with Parnell. Tenants' rent arrears were

annulled and the jailed INLL leaders released. In return for this, Parnell promised he would "cooperate cordially for the future with the liberal party".⁴⁹¹ What this meant became clear upon his release. The INLL was to be marginalised. Parnell's first attack was upon the Ladies Land League led by his sisters.⁴⁹² However, this was just part of a longer-term plan to demobilise the mass movement and bring it in behind his proposed new Irish National League (INL).⁴⁹³ This was to be a new Constitutional Nationalist party, taking over from the old HRL.

In the run-up to the INL's founding conference in 1882, Parnell ditched Davitt's more Radical policies, including recognition for the Gaelic language and his Democratic proposals for the party. Careerist acolytes and key sections of the Catholic hierarchy backed Parnell. They created a new more populist Irish Nationalist party, or as Davitt was later to write, the INL "represented the complete eclipse, by a purely a parliamentary substitute, of what had been a semi-revolutionary organisation. It was in a sense, the overthrow of a movement and the enthronement of a man."⁴⁹⁴ Parnell, the 'uncrowned king of Ireland', became the new successor to Daniel O'Connell.

The Liberal government's 1881 Irish Land Act and the promises made under the Kilmainham Treaty did increase tenant security, but this was another case of too little, too late. The INL, backed by the majority of Irish tenants, now wanted a tenant buyout of Ascendancy-owned land. The INL also supported Irish-owned industry and continued the old HRL policy of promoting Irish Home Rule. However, government repression continued, culminating in the wrongful hanging of Myles Joyce, a monolingual Gaelic-speaking small tenant farmer from Connemara.⁴⁹⁵ Parnell urged a political U-turn. He recommended voting for Conservative candidates (including an Orange Order member in Glasgow!⁴⁹⁶) in the 1885 general election.

For this, Parnell faced considerable internal opposition in the INL. The electoral franchise had been extended, and now included a considerably greater number of Irish tenants and artisans. Davitt proposed an alternative Radical Land and Labour alliance, linking the new INL with Radicals in England, Scotland and Wales.⁴⁹⁷ He advocated a programme of elementary workmen's compensation, old age pensions, taxation of land values, reformed local government, the abolition of the House of Lords and the democratisation of the House of Commons.

Davitt's continued Internationalism was impressive. He thought an Irish candidacy should be reserved for Dabadaí Naoroji, a supporter of Indian Self-Determination.⁴⁹⁸ When it came to the actual election, Davitt also backed Helen Taylor, the unofficial write-in Women's Suffrage candidate for Camberwell.⁴⁹⁹ She was on the executive of the Social Democratic Federation. This highlighted Davitt's position on the cusp of Social Republican and Socialist Republican politics, with the impetus for the latter coming from his work in Scotland, England and Wales, whilst his support for Social Radical policies for Ireland was shown by his support for land nationalisation heavily influenced by Henry George's advocacy of land taxation.

Parnell got his way though, at the founding INL conference, backed by parliamentary careerists and the Catholic hierarchy. The number of MPs who were elected in 1885 was 86, an increase from the 63 HRL MPs in 1880, reflecting the extension of the franchise. The Liberals remained the largest party in the UK, with a majority of exactly 86 over the Conservatives. The INL would now prop up a short-lived Conservative government, under the arch-imperialist, the Marquis of Salisbury.

It was at this point that Gladstone, who had always shown a ruling class sensitivity to real threats, came up with his 'Hawarden Kite'.⁵⁰⁰ This was a calculated press leak to announce his newfound support for Irish Home Rule. Following this announcement, Parnell shifted the INL's support back to the Liberals. Initially, Gladstone had hoped to get the same support from the Conservatives that he had eventually managed to obtain over the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. However, Salisbury and Tory populist, Randolph Churchill, were leading proponents of the New Imperialism. They were opposed to any new Liberal constitutional experiments. These could weaken the UK state and British Empire, in the new more competitive Imperialist world.

The form that Gladstone's First Irish Home Rule Bill took was revealing.⁵⁰¹ For it did not amount to Home Rule within the UK, but Home Rule within the British Empire. This was the model first pioneered in Canada, which Thomas D'Arcy Magee had supported. It is possible that Gladstone thought that by adopting Home Rule outside the UK, but under the Crown and within the British Empire, he was meeting the old O'Connellite demand for Repeal

of the Union. However, a lot had changed since the passing of the 1801 Union. Many Irish Home Rulers still wanted their voices to be heard in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. They did not want any Irish Legislative Assembly reduced to the peripheral role of the White Settler Colonies.

However, this questioning about the type of Home Rule was nothing compared to the opposition to the very idea, whipped by the Tories, Loyalists and Presbyterian demagogues. The formation of the Ulster Unionist Anti-Repeal League (UUARL)⁵⁰² marked the new ascendancy of northern Protestant business interests within Irish Unionism. They now exerted considerably more influence than the southern landlord-based Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union.⁵⁰³

William Johnston, of the Orange Order and previously Independent Conservative MP for Belfast, was moved from the margins to the centre of Conservative politics in Ireland. He worked with another Conservative and Orange Order MP, Colonel Saunderson.⁵⁰⁴ A gung-ho Churchill, Secretary of State for India and recent promoter of the British conquest of Burma, addressed a meeting of the UUARL where he said that "the Orange card would be the one to play."⁵⁰⁵

When Gladstone looked for support for his new Irish Home Rule policy amongst Liberal MPs and lords, he found that the influence of the New Imperialism had penetrated his party to such an extent that he faced a major revolt. Old and New Radical Liberals led by John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, and Whigs led by Lord Hartington, broke with the party and formed the Liberal Unionists.⁵⁰⁶ At first Chamberlain hid behind a defence of support for Gladstone's earlier 'Home Rule-all-round' suggestion.⁵⁰⁷ In 1880, this suggestion had amounted to nothing but window-dressing for Gladstone. In 1885, it served the same purpose for Chamberlain. He soon retreated to 'Unionism-all-round'.⁵⁰⁸ He joined the Conservatives in voting down Irish Home Rule at Westminster. The Liberal Unionists went into an electoral alliance with the Conservatives for the 1886 general election.

And those Loyalist plebian forces, prepared to act independently of their more genteel Orange Order leaders, went on a three-day rampage in Belfast.⁵⁰⁹ Thirty-one people were killed according to the official report. Roaring Sam Hanna, the Presbyterian street demagogue, long a figure stoking up Sectarian hatred, had been working at this throughout the summer. Henry

Cooke had earlier promoted Hanna, but Hanna went further than Cooke's Presbyterian/Anglican Conservative religio-political alliance to fully embrace the Orange Order.

Instead of adopting Parnell's parliamentary alliances with the Liberals or Conservatives, Davitt had argued for the INL to lead an 'Internationalism from Below' Land and Labour alliance, backed by extra-parliamentary action. But when his proposals were defeated in the INL, Davitt accepted party discipline over this approach to Ireland. So, he and his allies went on to spend much of their time promoting Land and Labour alliance beyond Ireland. This involved him in frequent visits to England, Scotland and Wales.⁵¹⁰

However, the low point in Davitt's political career came when he sided with the Clericalist faction, after the Parnell/Kitty O'Shea Scandal in 1891, which led to a major split in the INL. Parnell held on to support in Dublin, now backed by the IRB.⁵¹¹ Davitt though gave his support to the Catholic hierarchy-backed Irish National Federation, with its support elsewhere in Ireland, particularly in those more socially conservative areas, where the hierarchy's hold was strongest.

Davitt pursued this course because he still saw the Liberal Party as the only vehicle for getting Irish Home Rule on to the statute book. He usually pushed for this, though, along with more effective Land and Labour organisation, combined with mass extra-parliamentary mobilisation. However, in the run-up to the 1892 general election, where the issue of Irish Home Rule would once more be on the political agenda, Davitt was politically disorientated, following the downfall of Parnell. Nevertheless, the legacy left by his 'Internationalism from Below', Land and Labour alliance would be important.

d) The Land and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance extends to Scotland helping to push Scottish Home Rule on to the political agenda

Michael Davitt had countered the British ruling class's UK 'internationalism from above' alliance with a Land and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England. In 1884 Davitt's ally, the

American, Henry George, a supporter of land value taxation, toured England, Scotland and Wales. He aroused the ire of the Liberal Duke of Argyll, whom Gladstone had consulted over the 1880 Land Law (Ireland) Act.⁵¹² Argyll became the leading promoter of the Liberty and Property Defence League.⁵¹³ George, already author of the best seller, *Poverty and Progress*, answered Argyll with *The Prophet and the Peer*.

With Davitt's support, the Scottish Land Restoration League (SLRL) was set up in 1884.⁵¹⁴ John Murdoch,⁵¹⁵ a veteran Land and Gaelic Language campaigner and an Anti-Imperialist, chaired the meeting. Murdoch had been the publisher of *The Highlander*, which had received INLL money. Another Davitt ally, Edward McHugh,⁵¹⁶ a recent member of the INLL and member of the Irish Home Rule Association in Glasgow, became the SLRL secretary. George and McHugh visited Skye, where crofters, inspired by the INLL, had been taking action against their landlord at Glendale.

The Liberal government's response was to send in the Glasgow police and naval marines. The Highland Land League (HLL)⁵¹⁷ was set up in Dingwall. Although there was no equivalent of the INLL's Ladies Land League, women were to the forefront of the confrontations with the authorities. Mairi Mhor nan Oran⁵¹⁸ (Big Mary of the Songs) became the HLL's bardess. A divide emerged between the HLL's moderate Edinburgh-based Liberal Party and Free Church leaders and its more Radical, London-based, émigré Highlander secular leaders.⁵¹⁹ The Moderates wanted to improve relationships with the landlords, opposed 'Irish methods' and emphasised denominational differences. The Radicals wanted to abolish landlordism altogether, uphold the Irish connection and adopt a non-sectarian approach.

Gladstone, now concerned about the opening up of another front directed against the government's continued coercion, set up the Napier Commission to dampen down crofter resistance. However, many crofters saw the Commission as legitimising their grievances and hostility towards the landlords. They became involved in the Crofters War. An HLL conference, held in Portree on Skye, went on to take the momentous decision to stand candidates against both Liberals and Conservatives in the Highlands and Islands. They were to be supported by SLRL candidates on Clydeside.

The HLL-backed candidates won four of the five seats they contested in 1885.

G.B. Clarke, former member of the First International won Caithness. The election of Donald MacFarlane, a Catholic and recent Irish HRL MP, in overwhelmingly Protestant Argyleshire, highlighted the ability of the Crofter Party to overcome Sectarianism. However, the Free Church-led wing of the HLL sabotaged Angus Sutherland's Radical campaign in Sutherland. He was a former member of the INLL's Glasgow branch.⁵²⁰

It was in the context of the land struggles in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands and Islands that the demand of Scottish Home Rule took on an organised political form. The Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA) was set up in 1886. Its early members included G. B. Clark, Robert Cunningham Graham, J. Murdoch, miners' leaders Keir Hardie and Robert Smillie, and John Ferguson, another Davitt ally in Scotland.⁵²¹

This was also the year of the general election held after the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. Angus Sutherland campaigned again in Sutherland, but now as a Radical Liberal, fighting on a platform of land nationalisation and Home Rule for Ireland and Scotland. He won the seat this time. In the same election, Robert Cunningham Graham stood as a Liberal candidate in the coalmining constituency of North West Lanarkshire on a Socialist platform of the Nationalisation of Land and Mines, an 8 hours Day and Scottish Home Rule. Once elected to Westminster, Cunningham Graham relentlessly championed workers' struggles, being imprisoned for his part in the 1887 Trafalgar Square demonstration on behalf of the unemployed; getting thrown out of the House of Commons for his protest over the conditions of chain makers in 1888; getting expelled from France in 1891 for a revolutionary speech; and raising the issue of the 8 hours day in Westminster⁵²² - all this whilst still nominally a Liberal MP!

By the mid-1880s, an independent Socialist movement had developed in the UK. It included many former 'Real Radicals', who dismissed those in the Liberal Party as 'Sham Radicals'. The Social Democratic Federation (SDF) had been set up in 1884.⁵²³ In Scotland, both the SDF and the 1885 breakaway Socialist League campaigned as the Scottish Land and Labour League (SLLL).⁵²⁴ Some Scottish Socialists started to campaign for an independent Labour party. They were inspired by the success of the Crofter Party. Trade union activists, particularly in coal and oil shale mining areas, could see the link between Land and Labour. The fact that many miners were

migrant workers from Ireland and the Highlands and Islands also helped to consolidate this connection.

William Small,⁵²⁵ a Lanarkshire miners' leader and SLLL member, worked with Ayrshire miner, Kier Hardie,⁵²⁶ Radical Liberal, SHRA member, and editor of *The Miner*, the paper of the newly founded, Scottish Miners National Federation.⁵²⁷ Hardie was eventually persuaded to stand as an independent Labour candidate in Mid Lanark in 1888. He supported the 8 Hours Day, Votes for Women, and Irish and Scottish Home Rule. Although Parnell backed the official Liberal carpetbagger candidate, Davitt's allies in Scotland, John Ferguson and Edward McHugh, campaigned for Hardie.⁵²⁸ Hardie was not elected, but the political momentum continued.

This led to the setting up of the Scottish Labour Party (SLP)⁵²⁹ in 1888. Murdoch chaired the preparatory meeting, and Cunninghame Graham became the first president, whilst the co-presidents were Shaw Maxwell of the SLRL, G.B. Clark, and John Ferguson. The SLP supported Irish and Scottish Home Rule. Several leading figures came from the SHRA, which had been formed two years earlier.

Gladstone, who in Scotland had raised the prospect of 'Home Rule-all-round' in his 1880 election campaign, had retreated to a measure of Administrative Devolution. Shortly before losing office, the Liberal government created a Scottish Secretary of State in 1885.⁵³⁰ This was a Conservative Unionist measure, highlighted by the support given by Conservative MPs.⁵³¹

With the election of a Conservative and Liberal Unionist government in 1886; Arthur Balfour became Scottish Secretary of State. Balfour used his powers to send warships to Tiree and Skye to suppress the crofters.⁵³² This experience prepared him for this next job in 1887 as Irish Chief Secretary. Here he earned the name 'Bloody Balfour'.⁵³³ Later, as Conservative Prime Minister, Balfour went on to promote the UK's first specifically Racist legislation, the anti-Jewish Aliens Act of 1905,⁵³⁴ and as wartime Foreign Secretary, was responsible for the disastrous Balfour Declaration in 1917.⁵³⁵

After his defeat in 1885, Gladstone came to realise that his promotion of Irish Home Rule within the British Empire, rather within than the Union, had not only cost him the support of many in Ireland, but also in Scotland. The

Liberals let it be known that they now supported 'Home-Rule all-round' within the Union.⁵³⁶ However, as far as Gladstone was concerned, this was never meant to be official Liberal government policy. It was there to get Scottish Liberal support for the Second Irish Home Rule Bill.

Moderate Liberals ensured that despite formal Scottish Liberal support for Scottish Home Rule since 1888, the SHRA remained relatively marginal.⁵³⁷ SHRA statements started to distance Scottish Home Rule from Irish Home Rule, and Scotland from 'Irish methods'. Later SHRA statements would bemoan the Gladstone's lack of concern for Scotland, because the government seemed more willing to bow to such methods!⁵³⁸ Scottish Home Rule was excluded from the Liberal manifesto for the 1892 general election. The alternative 'promise' of Church of Scotland Disestablishment was not delivered either when Gladstone took office.

When Gladstone's Second Irish Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1893, he resigned to be replaced by the Scottish Liberal Imperialist, Lord Roseberry. He did not last long, and the Conservatives and their Liberal Unionist allies returned to government in 1895 for ten years under the Arch-Imperialists and Racists, Salisbury and Balfour. After High Imperialism triumphed, Home Rule disappeared from the UK's immediate political agenda. In Scotland, the SHRA went into decline. The Conservatives had passed Local Government Reform for Scotland in 1889 and would do so for Ireland in 1898. Today, attempts to thwart greater Regional Democracy in England can be found amongst Labour and Conservative MPs. Now though, they push to give power to city mayors working closely with big business.

Many Scottish Conservatives still considered themselves to be a part of the Scottish-British Nation. Furthermore, the Orange Order in Scotland supported the established Church of Scotland and the Conservative Party. This reflected the trajectory and the lead given by rightward moving Presbyterian Loyalism, which was challenging Anglican Unionism in Ireland. This Presbyterianism became the most significant component in the Orange Order on both sides of the North Channel. The Saltire was flown on Orange parades, either as a distinct flag, or within the Union Flag.

One consequence of this was that opposition to Irish Home Rule became linked with opposition to Scottish Home Rule.⁵³⁹ However, it was only in the Khaki Election of 1900, at the time of the Second Boer War, that the Liberals

finally lost their overall majority of Scottish MPs at Westminster, first achieved as early as 1859. They had been the main political force behind the continued development of a Scottish-British nation within the UK and British Empire.

e) The Land and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance extends to Wales, leading to the UK state's growing recognition of Welsh-Britain as the fourth Nation within the Union

The Welsh middle class and their Liberal Party had slowly but tenaciously been building their Welsh-British nation - Welsh speaking, Nonconformist and sober - within the framework of the UK state. To achieve this, they saw their alliance with the all-UK Liberals, particularly under Gladstone (whose wife came from Hawarden in Flintshire) as central. The first piece of specifically Welsh legislation to be passed at Westminster was the 1881 Sunday Closing (Wales) Act.⁵⁴⁰

Michael Davitt first came to Wales in 1886. He spoke on a platform in Flint with G.B. Clark of the HLL. Michael Jones, one of the founders of the Welsh Chubut Valley colony, was involved. Evan Pan Jones, a Radical Calvinist Methodist minister, who had founded the Cymdeithas y Ddaer i'r Bobi (the Welsh Land Nationalisation Society) in 1883, also attended. Helen Taylor of the SDF toured Wales in support of this campaign. When Davitt spoke in the slate-quarrying town of Blaenau Ffestiniog, David Lloyd George made his first public political speech.⁵⁴¹

Welsh Liberals were very aware of the parallel between the struggles in Wales and those in Ireland. It was already obvious that the Irish had achieved far more than the Welsh. The Disestablishment of the Anglican Church of Ireland had been won in 1867, and the first Irish Land Act in 1870, the second in 1881. There was always a tension amongst those Welsh Liberal leaders who looked somewhat jealously at these achievements, whilst trying to ensure that 'Irish methods' used to gain them were not resorted to in Wales. The moderate Liberal and Calvinist minister, Thomas Gee, tried to subordinate all Welsh struggles to the interests of the Liberal Party, to prevent any such outbreak. In 1886 he set up the Welsh Land League in Rhyl. It had a similar Liberal Party and Calvinist supporting leadership to the moderate wing of the HLL.⁵⁴²

Whilst many landlords quietly reduced rents to avoid conflict, the biggest, Lord Penrhyn, both a Conservative and Anglican, following the example of the Earl of Argyll, set up the North Wales Property Defence League. Gee's politics focused on opposition to Penrhyn's Anglicanism. He set up the Anti-Tithes League. Much to Gee's alarm this led to a full-scale riot in Mochdre in Flintshire, where fifty civilians and thirty-four police were injured.⁵⁴³ The growing range of struggles in Wales kept Gee busy. In 1887, Gee united the two leagues into the Welsh Land, Commercial and Labour League (WLCLL). It took him until 1890 though before this organisation was fully absorbed into the North Wales Liberal Federation. With regard to Welsh Home Rule, Gee remained a Conservative Unionist, whilst remaining in the Liberal Party.⁵⁴⁴

Nevertheless, in 1885, following the extension of the franchise, a new batch of Liberals entered Westminster, including Thomas Edward Ellis for Merionethshire. He organised the newly elected Welsh MPs and some London Welsh into a Liberal pressure group, Cymru Fydd (Young Wales).⁵⁴⁵ They campaigned for the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, for a Welsh University, a Welsh Secretary of State (following the recent Scottish example), and for Welsh Home Rule.

Although Cymru Fydd's leaders were obviously influenced by events in Ireland, they never went on to form their own independent party. They still worked to get the British Liberal Party to adopt their policies. Furthermore, their first demand, the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, overrode everything else.

Cymru Fydd did meet up with the SHRA in 1890.⁵⁴⁶ Gladstone was wooing Welsh and Scottish Liberals with the prospect of Home Rule-all-round, to ensure their support for Irish Home Rule. However, he knew their immediate concerns lay elsewhere, particularly the issue of Disestablishment. So, although the majority in both organisations supported 'Home Rule all-round', they left it to Gladstone to prioritise policy.

Despite the Irish National League's recent split, it was clear that the two resulting parties would still be present in Westminster in significant numbers, acting independently of the Liberals when necessary. Indeed, in the 1892 general election, their combined number of seats was 81, only four down from 1886. In contrast to Ireland, where the Liberals now had no representation, the Liberal Party had maintained its domination in Scotland

and Wales. They had taken over the leaderships of the SHRA and HLL, and the WLCLL was now fully part of the Liberal Party. So, Gladstone, once more differentiated between the challenges coming from effective organised social forces and the wishful thinking of internal pressure groups. He only put Irish Home Rule into the Liberals' election manifesto.

After the Liberals' 1892 election victory, Cymru Fydd gained little. They got a Welsh University (by merging the three existing ones) and a Royal Commission on Land, but this led to no new legislation.⁵⁴⁷ Their main demand, Disestablishment, just petered out, producing an ineffective and short-lived protest from four of the Cymru Fydd Liberal MPs, including Lloyd George, first elected as a Liberal MP in an 1890 by-election.⁵⁴⁸ In the long run, the Liberal Party turned out to be more effective at further 'britishing' Welsh Liberals, than Cymru Fydd did in advancing Welsh Home Rule within 'Britain'. Lloyd George ended up as the British War Coalition Prime Minister in 1915.

Nevertheless, these Welsh political campaigns were a reflection of something deeper. From earlier in the nineteenth century, an unofficial Welsh Nation had been in the process of being formed, under the political leadership of Welsh Nonconformist Liberals. They pushed for an immediate amelioration of injustices, whilst also praying for a Welsh 'New Jerusalem' in the future. Welsh-Britain was in the process of becoming the fourth Nation of the UK. It had its own distinctive cultural features - the Welsh language, Independent churches, and its own press and eisteddfodau (which were now much tamer events). From 1865 until 1922 Wales had an absolute majority of Liberal MPs.

Many working class trade union, cooperative and community leaders were moulded in this tradition. The classic example was William Abraham, known by his bardic name, 'Mabon'.⁵⁴⁹ He was a lay preacher, an official within the Cambrian Miners Association and became a Lib-Lab MP for Rhondda in 1885. He used the pulpit to preach "the identity of interests of capital and labour". As a union negotiator, this was expressed in his support for the sliding scale of wages, by which wages rose and fell in line with the price the coal owners could get for their coal.

However, Wales was undergoing further demographic and social change. The population of the South Wales valleys continued to grow. This region

attracted much more inward migration, not only from other areas in Wales, but from England, Ireland, Italy and Spain.⁵⁵¹ The Welsh language was still in a strong enough position that some of these migrants became Welsh speakers with surnames like "Millward, Reeve, Bianchi, Diez... Hennessey and Murphy".⁵⁵²

Nevertheless, beginning in the south-east in Monmouthshire, but spreading north and westwards, English became the main language in the South. The same process occurred in the industrial North-East of Wales. And the Welsh speaking rural heartlands continued to experience population decline. Yet, as late as 1890, 50% of the population of Wales still spoke Welsh,⁵⁵³ and the language was spoken in many Welsh working class communities in the South. Although the Welsh Liberals were divided between the North Wales and South Wales Liberal Federations, both Welsh-speaking and English-speaking chapelgoers considered themselves to be part of a new Welsh-Britain within the UK.

f) The rise of the New (trade) Unionism and the Second Irish Home Rule Bill

One consequence of Davitt's 'Internationalism from Below', Land and Labour alliance was the contribution it made to the New (trade) Unionism, heralded by the London Matchgirls' Strike in 1888. Annie Besant and Eleanor Marx, who had been active in support of Irish Self-Determination, were key supporters of this strike. When it came to the formation of the National Union of Dock Workers (NUDL) and the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers (NUGW&GL), following the dockworkers' and gas workers' strikes, key leadership positions were taken by those had been involved in the Irish and Scottish Land and Labour struggles, and/or those who had supported Irish and Scottish Home Rule.

This was clear in these trade unions' national and local leaderships with James Sexton, Davitt's Irish-Scottish lieutenants - Richard McGhee and Edward McHugh - and Hugh Johnston, all in the NUDL; and Peter Curran in the NUGW&GL. In addition, Robert Cunninghame Graham, a Socialist Liberal MP (an unusual hybrid very much a product of politics in transition), Helen Taylor⁵⁵⁴ of the SDF provided valuable support. Jim Connell, who had been a member of the IRB in Ireland, the Irish National League of Great Britain Executive, then the SDF when he moved to Poplar in London, wrote

the *Red Flag*, partly influenced by the 1889 London Dock Strike.⁵⁵⁵

New Unionism also spread to Ireland. The Dublin District Secretary of the NUG&GL was the Socialist, Adolphus Shields; the National Organiser was the Nat-Lab advocate, Michael Canty, whilst a key activist was IRB member, Frederick Allen. Although some of Davitt's younger supporters became involved in New Unionism, he remained more cautious, preferring arbitration and seeing strikes as a last resort, not as a weapon to conduct class war. His politics were still influenced by his experiences working with Radical and Lib-Lab supporters. Nevertheless, Davitt went on to found the Irish Democratic, Trade and Labour Federation, which organised agricultural labourers.⁵⁵⁶

It had taken the experience of the Irish Land War for Gladstone to seriously address the issue of Irish Home Rule in 1885. In the lead up to the 1892 general election, Gladstone was now also confronted by New (trade) Unionism and the emergence of independent Labour candidates. Gladstone ensured that the Liberals Party's 1891 national conference in Newcastle devised measures to derail these new challenges.⁵⁵⁷ The new general election manifesto included increased employer liability for industrial accidents, some unspecified reduction in working hours, and the payment of MPs. He hoped these would undermine the effects of New Unionism and independent Labour candidates.

Gladstone, though, prioritised one issue for his Liberal government, and that was delivering Irish Home Rule. He hoped that this could bring about Irish loyalty and give an Irish-British Nation a firm footing. However, Gladstone also realised that his 1885 attempt to bring about Home Rule outside the UK, but within the British Empire, had been misguided. He now advocated Home Rule within the UK. The Liberals won the 1892 general election and the post-split, pro- and anti-Parnellite Irish Home Rulers still managed to retain 81 seats. Although three independent Labour MPs were also elected, two of them quickly took the Liberal whip.

Furthermore, upon taking office, Gladstone's government disappointed those to whom he had made promises. As far as labour was concerned, a government Royal Commission kicked any reform into the long grass. In 1893, two miners were shot dead and six injured by troops at Featherstone in Yorkshire.⁵⁵⁸ It was now the turn of the working class to face repression. The

Liberal Home Minister, 'Assassin Asquith', was added to the pantheon, which included an earlier 'Buckshot Foster' responsible for the 1881 events at Grawhill, and Conservative 'Bloody Balfour' responsible for the 1887 Mitchelstown Massacre.⁵⁵⁹ Meanwhile, the employers had begun their counter-offensive, and the heroic days of the New Unionism gave way largely to top-down control by general secretaries.

Gladstone had prepared the grounds for his second attempt at Irish Home Rule more carefully than he had for the first bill. The Liberals dangled the prospect of 'Home Rule-all-round' to dilute the more Radical longer-term implications of Irish Home Rule. This concern was probably motivated by Parnell's 1885 speech, when he had declared that "No man has the right to fix the boundary of a nation".⁵⁶⁰ The possible prospect of 'Home Rule all-round' emphasised the all-UK nature of constitutional reform and was meant to act as a constraint upon any Irish ambitions.

The Irish Unionists remained bitterly opposed and could not contemplate the creation of a shared Irish-British Nation, which would treat Catholics as equals. Instead, they held a convention in Belfast in 1892, to oppose Irish Home Rule, under the slogan of "One with Britain heart and soul; One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne."⁵⁶¹ However, this was no bid for Ulster Home Rule, as another banner, 'Erin Go Bragh', highlighted. Ulster Unionists saw themselves as the shock troops to prevent Home Rule being implemented anywhere in Ireland. This was also the view of the southern Irish Unionists, led by Edward Carson, elected as Liberal Unionist MP for Dublin University in 1892.

Those Irish Unionists who opposed Irish Home Rule fully understood that they could not do this on a democratic basis. Instead, it would need a resort to the anti-democratic features of the UK state, particularly the reactionary House of Lords and the Crown Powers. Under these, the Irish Chief Secretary, based in Dublin Castle, appointed Senior Civil Servants, whilst the local military and judicial forces were not subject to any Democratic scrutiny. Furthermore, the Irish Unionists were also prepared to resort to extra-constitutional means and mobilise the sectarian Orange Order, with its brutal record.

Unlike in 1885, Gladstone did win a majority in the House of Commons for his Second Irish Home Rule Bill in 1893.⁵⁶² However, the House of Lords

was able to perform its longstanding role in providing support for its hybrid-British class cousins in other parts of the UK. Thus, to aid the Irish-British landlords, and the new big industrialists of North-east Ulster, the House of Lords voted down the Bill in 1893. This coincided with the TUC Congress held in Belfast. Orange mobs celebrated by attacking a Catholic flute band which had been hired along with a Protestant one, and by an attack on Lib-Lab MP, John Burns.⁵⁶³

The Irish Home Rule challenge was seen off. Home Rule-supporting Liberals had long shown they were more concerned to demobilise those social forces, originally released by the INLL, and also to be seen in the growth of New (trade) Unionism, than they were to seriously confront a Conservative/Liberal Unionist alliance, quite prepared to resort to extra-parliamentary methods. In 1895 Gladstone retired, and the Whiggish, Lord Rosebery took over, forming a new Liberal government, which included six lords and two knights.⁵⁶⁴ However, this government was short lived, and the 1895 general election saw the return of Salisbury's arch-imperialist Conservatives, backed by the Liberal Unionists. Furthermore, it also signalled the end of any further Liberal commitment to Irish Home Rule until the second decade of the twentieth century.

g) The UK State following the defeat of the Second Irish Home Rule Bill

Ireland had proved to be the Achilles' heel of the UK state. The wider the franchise that was gained in Ireland, the more untenable the existing political, social and economic set up, fronted by the UK state, became. Daniel O'Connell had once raised the possibility that the UK state could make 'West Britons' out of the Irish. When that prospect disappeared, under the tragic impact of the Great Famine, some of the more astute Irish Unionists could see that if they were to retain their position in a more democratic Ireland, with a wider franchise, then new attempts had to be made to create an Irish-British Nation. In the long run, this could not be done by preserving the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, which supported continued minority rule over the Catholic Irish majority.

The Home Rule League, under the Protestant leaders, Isaac Butt and William Shaw, had managed to displace the Liberal Party in Ireland in 1874, but this had little effect upon Westminster politics. It was only when Irish Home Rule became linked with the mass social movement represented by the Irish

National Land League that the British ruling class was forced into a reassessment about the best way to keep Ireland within the Union. Under the Radical Protestant landlord, Charles Parnell, the HRL became the Irish National League in 1882. Gladstone, sensitive of the need to make changes in the face of real pressures, adopted Irish Home Rule. This meant putting in place a new Liberal Unionist, Political Devolutionary settlement in Ireland. This went beyond the Conservative Unionist, Administrative Devolutionary measures that had held Ireland within the UK up to that time. The intention of Liberal Unionist reform, though, was also to reinforce the Union and British Empire.

Under the pressures of New Imperialism, politics in the UK had reached a crossroads. In order to prevent any Democratic Reform of the UK state, the Right had created a broad Conservative and Reactionary Unionist alliance. They were prepared to combine the use of Westminster with the oppressive institutions of the state, military officers and bigoted magistrates, with a mobilisation of extra-constitutional and deeply Reactionary forces, including the Orange Order. Gladstone's Liberal Party had no answer to the lengths the Conservatives were prepared to go in order to defeat Irish Home Rule. The growing penetration of New Imperialist thinking within the Liberals' own ranks also undermined their attempt to promote an alternative Liberal Unionist, Political Devolutionary path to counter Conservative Unionist support for the status quo. This weakness paved the way for the Conservative and Liberal Unionist alliance in 1885.

Arthur Balfour and Joseph Chamberlain came up with the alternative strategy of Constructive Unionism, or "killing home rule with kindness."⁵⁶⁵ Lord Ashbourne opened up the prospect of peasant proprietorship, with his 1885 Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act.⁵⁶⁶ In 1887, Arthur Balfour went further with his Irish Land Act⁵⁶⁷ in his attempt to counter the INL's new Plan of Campaign, which was designed to confront absentee and rack-renting landlords.⁵⁶⁸ However, in a return to British governments' long-standing, back-up 'fire and theft' insurance policy, Balfour also sought the support of the Catholic hierarchy. Because even some senior Irish churchmen gave their support to The Plan of Campaign, this meant going to the highest level and getting a Papal Encyclical to condemn the action.⁵⁶⁹

Furthermore, coercion was always there in the background. Following the

example of the private initiatives taken by the Scottish Whiggish Liberal, the Duke of Argyll, and the Anglo-Welsh Conservative, Lord Penrhyn, in setting up property defence leagues, Balfour provided state backing to the Anglo-Irish Conservative, Baron Barrymore to break the Plan of Campaign.⁵⁷⁰ The Irish Coercion Act was also passed in 1887, ending trial by jury, and making the INL illegal. A hundred people, including 20 MPs, were imprisoned, and armed police and soldiers were used to evict tenants. The Conservatives' 'kindness' was on display in Mitchelstown in 1887, when three tenants were killed. Brute force remained part of the government's armoury.⁵⁷¹

Another feature of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist counter-offensive was an increasing resort to the latest forms of Racism. This Racism had become central to the wider Imperialism they upheld. The long-standing Class and Sectarian Anti-Catholic prejudices of Irish Unionists were now supplemented by the Racist Teutonic/Anglo-Saxon Supremacism and Anti-Celtic prejudices of the British Unionists.

The triumphant response of the arch-imperialist, Marquis of Salisbury to the defeat of Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill, highlighted the latest Racist thinking underlying much Conservative Unionist thinking. "You would not confide free representative institutions to the Hottentots... self government... works admirably when it is confined to the Teutonic race."⁵⁷²

However, such attitudes were also to be expressed by recent Liberals after the defeat of Gladstone's Second Irish Home Rule Bill. In 1895, the Scottish Liberal Unionist, Thomas Sinclair opposed Scottish Home Rule. He said, "It is just as if it were proposed to transfer the interests of shipbuilders and manufacturers of Glasgow from the Imperial Parliament to the control of a legislature swamped by the crofters of the Highlands."⁵⁷³ Margaret Thatcher's notorious use of the word 'swamped' to describe the effect of Commonwealth Asian immigration in her speech in 1978⁵⁷⁴ has a long pedigree.

Thus, many Scottish Unionists replicated the Racist Anglo-Saxon supremacist and Celtic inferiority thinking found amongst many English and Irish Unionists. They argued that Lowland Scots were descendants of the Anglo-Saxons/Teutons and Highland Scots were descendants of the Celts. Such thinking was mainly directed at Highland crofters and Irish migrants, after their recent political challenges. Another Liberal Unionist, Sir John Ure-

Primrose became the honorary president, then chair of Rangers Football Club,⁵⁷⁵ as it went through the transition from being a local Glasgow to a Protestant sectarian club.

By 1895, despite the defection of the Liberal Unionists to the Conservatives, High Imperialism came to dominate the Liberal Party too. An open Liberal Imperialist wing emerged, which floated the idea of a Greater British Imperial Parliament at Westminster, with direct representation from Legislative Assemblies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the White Colonies.⁵⁷⁶ Cecil Rhodes, a Liberal Imperialist, and co-owner of de Beers' diamond company, saw 'Anglo-Saxons' as "the first race in the world" and "the more we inhabit the better for the human race".⁵⁷⁷ Rhodes was responsible for the introduction of a hut tax to force Black Africans to work in the gold and diamond mines.⁵⁷⁸ He put into place one of the key elements of the later South African Apartheid labour system.

Rhodes had courted Charles Parnell⁵⁷⁹ and was admired by Cymru Fydd member and Liberal MP Thomas Edward Ellis.⁵⁸⁰ Parnell was an Irish Protestant landlord, and a distant relative of the British royal family - in other words just the sort of person Rhodes was looking for to rule over the 'native Celts'. Ellis still insisted on the importance of the Welsh language, so he never gained Rhodes' favour. He had to settle for making friends with members of the Social Imperialist, Fabian Society.

However, Rhodes was unable to get wider support in the White Settler Colonies for the idea of a Greater British Imperial Parliament. The political leaders of the Dominion of Canada first set up in 1867; of the six British colonies which went on to form the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901; and of the British colony that became the Dominion of New Zealand in 1907, preferred to develop more powers outside the UK, whilst still remaining within the British Empire. They did not want to become marginal elements within a British Imperial Parliament at Westminster.⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, despite Rhodes getting the war and British imperial troops he wanted to crush the Boer republics, the Union of South Africa, set up in 1909, followed the same political path as the other Dominions. It pursued greater home rule outside the UK. This included putting into place electoral systems designed to exclude or marginalise non-Whites.

When addressing the Irish Question, upholding the Union and British Empire had always been Gladstone's real concern. This was also the aim of Rosebery and the Liberal Imperialists. Gladstone had used the idea of 'Home Rule-all-round' to provide cover for other policies, and many Liberal Imperialists used the idea of an Imperial Federation for the same ends. Despite Rhodes' own support for Irish Home Rule, within an Imperial Parliament, Rosebery repudiated the Irish case.

Even those Conservative Unionists, who vehemently opposed Home Rule or Political Devolution to the UK's constituent nations, still went along with further special legislation and Administrative Revolutionary measures. George Goschen, after leaving the Liberals and joining the Liberal Unionists, became a Chancellor of the Exchequer in Salisbury's government.⁵⁸² He had been a leading light in The City, a director of the Bank of England and a key person in negotiating the Khedive of Egypt's debts. His political move was an indication of a continuing shift in The City's political allegiance towards the Conservatives. He went on to join the Conservative Party in 1895.

One of Goschen's first jobs as Chancellor though was to create the Goschen Formula in 1888.⁵⁸³ This determined the relative allocation of government expenditure between England (including Wales) and Ireland and Scotland. Just as the 1974-9 Labour government, facing national pressures in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, had to devise the Barnett Formula⁵⁸⁴ in 1978, so ninety years earlier, the Unionists had to consider the realities of administering a Unionist state. Political conflict was becoming more polarised around Political or Administrative Devolution. This further accentuated the existence of three, later four Nations within the UK state, and blocked the emergence of a Unitary British Nation and State, or the possibility of any political parties advocating such a course of action.

h) The retreat of New (trade) Unionism and its leaders' limited political response to the development of Multi-Nation struggles in the UK

Activists from the INLL played a significant part in the major outbreak of class struggle in the UK, which led to the rise of New (trade) Unionism. Another related stream, which led to New Unionism, flowed from the Highland Land League (HLL) and the UK's first independent labour party, the Scottish Labour Party⁵⁸⁵ (SLP) in 1888. The Scottish Shale Miners' Strike, the year before, also contributed to the formation of the SLP. Police and

troops were used to evict miners from their tied cottages. Comparisons were openly being drawn between these methods and those concurrently being used against The Plan of Campaign in Ireland.⁵⁸⁶

However, it was the impact of post-1889 New Unionism, prefigured by the 1888 Matchgirls' Strike, which provided new and much wider opportunities as well as challenges. Several of the leaders and organisers in the New Unions, e.g. the dockers' (NUDL) and the gas workers' (NUG&GL) unions, had experience in the Irish National (INLL) and the Highland Land Leagues (HLL). They included people with Radical, independent Labour and Socialist politics.

The Multi-Nation nature of the struggles, which were occurring, reflected the different forms the UK state and economy took in its Constituent Nations. Davitt understood the significance of this. He was cautious about the development of British-based New Unionism in Ireland.⁵⁸⁷ He felt that Irish sections of the New Unions could be drawn into unsustainable action. However, as well as considering such practicalities, Davitt's thinking also reflected his commitment to a Nat-Lab perspective. This tied the unions to the fortunes of the Irish Nationalist parties.

Davitt, though, was more prepared to accept New (trade) Unionism, independent Labour politicians and even Socialists in England, Scotland and Wales, because these nations had a more developed industrial economy. His earlier 'Internationalism from Below' Land and Labour alliance had seen him campaign in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England. At the time of the outbreak of New Unionism, he was involved in the publication of *Labour World* in London.⁵⁸⁸

However, the lack of large employers in Ireland meant the scope for new mass unions was limited. Nevertheless, both the NUG&GL and NUDL initially made considerable gains in Ireland. Some of Davitt's lieutenants were far more optimistic than he was about New Unionism's prospects in Ireland.⁵⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Davitt was far from being opposed to the extension of trade unionism to the unskilled and was instrumental with others in organising agricultural workers. He set up the Irish Democratic Labour Federation in Cork in 1892.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, to compensate for the fragmented nature of union organisation where small employers dominated, and for the lack of large union branches, trades councils played a significant

role. They had even developed in small town and rural Ireland, e.g. Kanturk and Dunhallow Trade and Labour Associations in County Cork.⁵⁹¹

Organising in Ireland also brought people up against the state and repression more quickly and more harshly than elsewhere in the UK. Both the Liberal Foster and the Conservative Balfour as Chief Secretaries had resorted to the use of military forces in their attempts to suppress the INLL. This had resulted in deaths in Ireland at Grawhill and Mitchelstown. There were also cases of judicial murder in Ireland highlighted by the execution of Myles Joyce and John Twiss.⁵⁹² Naval forces were also used to suppress the HLL, since Scottish crofters were also seen as being outside the ranks of the 'real' British and more akin to the Irish.

Such methods had rarely been used against workers' organisations in Great Britain since the days of the Chartists. But, following the more militant worker challenges brought about by the rise of New Unionism, Conservative and Liberal governments began to use troops more frequently. In 1890, the Conservative Home Minister used them to help evict striking railway workers from their tied homes in Motherwell in Lanarkshire.⁵⁹³ Troops were used in the Manningham Mills dispute in Bradford, which involved five thousand, mainly women textile workers.⁵⁹⁴ The Liberal Home Minister also used them against miners at Featherstone in Yorkshire in 1893. Two people were killed and six injured.

But such brutal repression was still rare within Great Britain itself. The police and judiciary were able to handle most disputes. The main problem facing the New Unions was the employers' resort to Combines and Federations to stymie union action through the use of strikebreakers, with the backing of the Police and the Judiciary. This was a development of the methods used by the earlier, mainly landlord-based property defence leagues, such as those organised by the Earl of Argyll in Scotland and Lord Penrhyn in Wales, or the Orange Order's support for Captain Boycott in Ireland.

In anticipation of the later role of the Ulster Unionist Council in 1905, formed to oppose the Conservative government's resort to Conciliation and Constructive Unionism in Ireland,⁵⁹⁵ many gung-ho British employers refused to accept Conciliation and Arbitration in industrial relations. They were feeling the pressure of overseas competition, particularly from the USA and Germany. Prefiguring the employers' later attitude, when mounting

Imperialist competition led to war, the working class was expected to make the sacrifices. In the late 1890s and early 1900s, these sacrifices were to be made in terms of less job security, lower pay and worse conditions at work. During the First World War they were to be made through death, injury and mental breakdown on the frontline of battle.

In the face of the employers' counter-offensive, which was able to take on and defeat one of the best-organised, older skilled unions, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in the 1897-8 Lock Out,⁵⁹⁶ many of the New Unions lost members. This was particularly stark in Ireland. Here William Martin Murphy, a major Irish Nationalist businessman and newspaper owner courted the Nat-Lab skilled union leaders on Dublin Trades Council to help oust New Unionism from the city.⁵⁹⁷ The New Unions were all but wiped out in Ireland.

In 1898, the particularly belligerent South Wales Coalowners' Association⁵⁹⁸ used a poorly prepared strike by a number of small local miners' unions to launch a major lockout. The employers rejected Arbitration.⁵⁹⁹ Troops were also brought into the mining valleys to coerce the miners.⁶⁰⁰ The South Wales miners received financial support from the Miners Federation of Great Britain (MFGB), despite not being an affiliated union. Speakers came from the ILP, including Keir Hardie, and from the SDF.⁶⁰¹ Nevertheless, the miners were defeated.

William 'Mabon' Abraham, Cambrian Miners Association (CMA) leader and Lib-Lab MP had supported the employer-backed sliding scale wages.⁶⁰² His old Moderate trade unionist approach was undermined, and other younger more Radical union members challenged his methods. 'Mabon' was forced into a similar position to the Welsh Liberal, Thomas Gee,⁶⁰³ constantly trying to find ways of holding back more Radical change. 'Mabon' took over the leadership of the new South Wales Miners' Federation (SWMF), which replaced his defeated CMA. 'Mabon' had to accept SWMF affiliation to the MFGB, which exposed it to more Radical militant miners. He did this to better marginalise this challenge from within, something he was successful at for a few more years.

In 1900, the major North Wales landowner, Lord Penrhyn, who had earlier taken on the Welsh Land League on his estate, tried to break the North Wales Quarrymen's Union (NWQU). This led to an epic three years long strike.⁶⁰⁴

The quarrymen enjoyed the overwhelming support of the local community, and much wider sympathy from the trade union movement, and many Independent Labour and Socialist figures visited Bethesda. ⁶⁰⁵ Three travelling choirs from Bethesda raised £38,000, a considerable sum in those days. ⁶⁰⁶ Penrhyn treated those living and working on his estate and in the nearby towns, mostly Welsh speaking Nonconformists, much as the Anglo-Irish landlords had treated the 'mere Irish' Catholics. He was able to call on police from Liverpool and Birkenhead and troops stationed in Carnarvonshire. The quarrymen were defeated.

The Highlands of Scotland also witnessed two prolonged industrial disputes at the Ballachullish Slate Quarries in Argyleshire. The first was a twelve-month lockout from 1902-3. ⁶⁰⁷ The employers' attitude was similar to that of Lord Penrhyn at the Bethesda slate quarries. In this case, though, it was the strength of local support (where there was also a Crofters' and Cottars' Highland Land League tradition ⁶⁰⁸), rather than any wider Labour or Socialist solidarity that made its impact felt and led to a victory for the slate quarriers. The second dispute in 1905, conducted in more difficult economic circumstances ended in a compromise. ⁶⁰⁹

The culmination of the employer counter-offensive was the High Court's Taff Vale Judgement in 1901. This ruling went against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) and made any union liable for the employers' losses when they took action. ⁶¹⁰ Although two of the judges were split over the ruling, significantly the House of Lords upheld the decision. Whether over Home Rule or Workers' Rights, the Conservative Right and their allies were utilising every anti-democratic feature of the UK state, with the House of Lords playing a key role. When it came to dealing with the challenge posed by the rise of the New Unionism, Conciliation was already being abandoned. This is why, following the employers' attacks on the South Wales miners' unions and NWQU, the Taff Railway Company, decided to try and break the rail workers' union.

Some employers though, looking to the longer term, thought that a suitable negotiating framework was still required. Things should not be left to the unpredictable outcomes of company-by-company, or industry-by-industry disputes. The post-1889 New Unions did not so readily accept Free Market capitalism. Workers were becoming less deferential and more questioning of

the 'Free Market'. They looked far more to government regulation, particularly over the length of the working day. An Eight-Hour Day, the establishment of Minimum Wage Rates and Compensation for Injuries were their most pressing aims. It was the Conservative government, which introduced a new Conciliation Act in 1896. Conciliation and Arbitration were to be voluntary rather than compulsory. In other words, there was a fallback if the employers got into future difficulties.

Despite a succession of defeats, the impact of New Unionism did lead to a new political situation. Before 1889, it was usually only the skilled unions, best placed in the market for labour, which survived and gained recognition. Mining unions also had some success in areas where there was a more buoyant market for coal, or where their members' numerical strength, wider community organisation, and ability to get some political representation through Lib-Lab MPs, had been a factor. However, other unions, which had tried to organise the unskilled, had proved ephemeral.

Yet, even after the defeat inflicted on the miners by the Coalowners' Association, a new more organised South Wales Miners' Federation (SWMF) was able to grow. From being one of the least well organised areas, clinging to the employers' sliding scale of wages, South Wales eventually came to be seen as the vanguard of the MFGB. The New Unions were also more able to raise Strike Funds for their members, and to give Solidarity Payments to other workers in dispute. Such effective support prompted the independent Scottish ASRS to merge into the ASRS of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland in 1892,⁶¹¹ and the SWMF to affiliate to the MFGB in 1899.⁶¹²

The new unskilled and general unions were usually much larger than the craft unions, but they also became more bureaucratic. Their leaders tightened control over the membership in the face of the employers' counter-offensive. This was later to become a bone of contention between general secretaries and union officials on one hand, and the rank-and-file membership on the other. Those unskilled workers organised under the banner of New Unionism were more combative than the skilled workers in the Old Unions, but a large majority were not Socialists. Most were still looking for improved pay and conditions within the UK state and British Empire. Nor did their notions of solidarity usually extend to the most recent migrant workers, nor often to women workers either.

A growing focus upon the work of trade union HQs, often located in England, also meant that the specific interests of workers in Ireland and Scotland were ignored or marginalised. A consequence of this was the formation of the Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC) in 1894⁶¹³ and the Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC) in 1897.⁶¹⁴ One of the reasons given by both was a pale echo of that of many Liberal Home Rulers. Just as Westminster did not leave enough time for specific Irish and Scottish legislation, so the TUC did not pay enough attention to the specific concerns of workers in Ireland and Scotland. Therefore, the creation of the STUC also led it to a stronger commitment to Home Rule.

In Ireland, though, the British headquartered and mainly craft trade unions retained a strong influence, so the ITUC adopted a policy of 'No politics' to accommodate Unionist supporting workers in North-East Ulster. The political distinctiveness of the Irish-British, Scottish-British and Welsh-British within the UK, ensured that trade unions had to make organisational adjustments and adopt some policies to address this situation. An example of such thinking was demonstrated when Yorkshire MFGB sponsored, Lib-Lab MP, Ben Pickard welcomed the accession of the SWMF as "a very important step towards the Federation of the Miners of England, Scotland and Wales."⁶¹⁵

i) How Social Republican, Labour and Socialist organisations viewed the UK state

Although the still unresolved Land Question and the new situation brought about by the rise of New Unionism were clearly linked with issue of greater Irish, Scottish and Welsh Self-Determination, a more successful working class politics to express this clearly had not been developed by the early 1890s. A mixture of old Radical Liberal, Lib-Lab, and Nat-Lab politics, New (trade) Unionism and Socialist Propagandism tended to pull workers' organisations in different directions.

Davitt's old IRB background ensured that his support for Irish Home Rule would not serve British Imperial interests. He would probably have agreed with Parnell's statement, "No man has the right to fix the boundary of a nation", meaning he saw Irish Home Rule as stage in the process of creating an Irish Republic. Although Davitt was to go on to show sympathy for Socialist organisation in the rest of the UK, he remained committed to a Nat-

Lab perspective in Ireland. He tried to get Nat-Lab candidates adopted first by the INL, and later by the INF. In effect, he was copying the tactics of those British trade unionist leaders who put forward Lib-Lab candidates, even if he was prepared to support more militant tactics in Ireland over both the land and agricultural labourers' issues.

Both the INL and INF-backed Nat-Lab MPs supported the Second Irish Home Rule proposals put forward in 1893 by Gladstone. Later, Irish-Scottish SDF members, John Leslie and James Connolly, whilst regretting Davitt's retreat into the arms of the INF, following the Parnell/O'Shea Scandal, and his siding with the Catholic hierarchy, also recognised the major contribution he had made to the social struggle in Ireland.⁶¹⁶ Davitt was on the cusp between Social Republican and Socialist Republican politics.

However, there also were considerable limitations with politics amongst the first of the new wave of Socialists to emerge in the UK. These were a reflection of the longstanding Radical acceptance of the UK as a 'Beacon of Progress' in the world. Such thinking was reinforced by the rise of New Imperialism and the hold these ideas gained throughout society. These limitations were very evident in the leader of the SDF, Henry Hyndman. He did not support Republicanism and remained attached to a vision of a potentially Progressive British Imperialism. As with so many holding to such politics, his internationalism was circumscribed.

Nevertheless, by the 1880s, after witnessing the quasi-revolutionary INLL struggles and the reactionary forces mobilised against these by the UK state, many Advanced Radicals and Socialists had become prepared to give their support to Irish Home Rule. Some were prepared to challenge Hyndman's limitations. Belfort Bax, editor of the SDF paper *Justice* (personally owned by Hyndman), looked at the issue of Irish Home Rule through Anti-Imperialist spectacles. Bax clearly stated that, "Everything which makes for the disruption and disintegration of the empire to which he belongs must be welcomed by the socialist as an ally."⁶¹⁷ (Bax's political limitations lay in vocal defence of another feature of society at the time - male supremacy.)

John Morrison Davidson, who was an independent Radical, Republican and self-declared Communist, held perhaps the most advanced conception of the relationship between Home Rule-all-round and future society. He was on the political borderline between the Social Republicanism advocated by Michael

Davitt, and a Socialist Republicanism, which had yet to be formed. Davidson had walked out of the first Democratic Federation (the predecessor to the SDF) meeting in protest at Hyndman's opposition to Republicanism.⁶¹⁸ He had been an organiser of the Anti-Coercion of Ireland demonstration in Hyde Park in 1881 and stood as a Scottish Land Restoration League (SLRL) candidate for Greenock in 1885.

In taking up the call for a Federal Republic, consisting of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, Davidson wrote, "Nay, I go further, and affirm that the day is approaching when the commune, township or parishes cooperatively organised for the purpose of production and distribution, will be recognised as of more consequence in the social and political world than the nation itself. In the 'process of the suns' the nation may wither, but the commune will be more and more."⁶¹⁹

The Scottish Socialist Federation (SSF) formed in 1888, included both Social Democratic Federation (SDF) and Socialist League (SL) members.⁶²⁰ They had organised in Scotland as the Scottish Land and Labour League. Their members had strong Anti-Imperialist credentials and a good record of solidarity with the Irish land campaigners in the face of UK state repression. The SSF also played a major part in ensuring that there were only two non-competing independent Labour slates for the 1892 general election.⁶²¹ This was when the significant electoral challenge, based on the New (trade) Unionist upsurge, was mainly centred on England.

The Scottish Labour Party (SLP), in which some SSF members participated, supported, "Home rule for each separate nationality or country in the British Empire, with an Imperial Parliament for Imperial Affairs."⁶²² In immediate terms this meant support for Irish and Scottish Home Rule. Support for an Imperial Parliament was very much a Keir Hardie formulation. Where Hardie differed from Liberal Imperialists, like Cecil Rhodes and Lord Rosebery, is that he could conceive of such a parliament eventually having representation from Non-White colonies like India.

The Second International was formed in 1889, on the initiative of the Marxist-led, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The Second International's commitment to an international campaign for the 8 Hours Day had a big influence on trade unions. It was this campaign and the associated commemoration of the Chicago Haymarket Martyrs on May Day,⁶²³ which

provided Socialists in the UK with their first major avenue into the trade unions. However, self-professed Marxist, Hyndman, sceptical about trade union struggles and genuine Internationalism, tried to sabotage the formation of the Second International.⁶²⁴ In contrast, the Scottish Labour Party (SLP) sent Keir Hardie, Robert Cunninghame-Graham and John Ogilvy (a former Dundee Radical who had been converted to Socialism by Socialist League leader, William Morris) as delegates to Paris.⁶²⁵

When the SLP dissolved into the Independent Labour Party (ILP), set up in 1893, Home Rule for Ireland and Scotland (and later for Wales) became the policy of the new party. However, the SLP's narrow rejection of the proposal that the ILP should form a Scottish Council⁶²⁶ placed Home Rule in a similar position in that party to that it had held in Gladstone's Liberal Party. It would be the party leadership that decided whether or when Home Rule became a campaigning issue or manifesto proposal.

Thus, a Left British Unionism (itself a reflection of the British Imperial legacy) in England, Scotland, Wales and Belfast, accommodated to the UK state by advancing the notion of a 'British Road to Socialism'. The Fabian Society and Clarion Clubs, the ILP and SDF put this idea forward in different ways. These all amounted to the old Radical Liberal Britain - the world 'Beacon of Progress' - dressed up in Left colours. Left British Unionists could often be as blind to the real significance of struggles in Ireland, as they were to Anti-Imperial struggles by Non-Whites and in many cases, to Women's Struggles too.

The UK state's Unionist structure marginalised Ireland and Irish trade unionists, independent Labour members and Socialists. After Engels' visit to Dublin in 1891,⁶²⁷ he acknowledged that the UK was made of four distinct Nations - England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales and he advocated a Federal Republic.⁶²⁸ Engels became a member of the SDF, SL and later the SDF again. He could see the leading role many INLL, HLL and SLRL members had played in the rise of the New (trade) Unionism from 1889. He also recognised the role of Davitt in developing trade unionism amongst unskilled agricultural workers in Ireland.⁶²⁹

Engels' death was to coincide with the onset of High Imperialism in 1895. The last two members of the 'Marx Party', Eleanor Marx and her talented but

decidedly unsavoury partner, Edward Aveling, died in 1898.⁶³⁰ Both Eleanor and Aveling had visited Ireland at the height of the New (trade) Unionist breakthrough. Eleanor went to Derry in 1891 to get women shirt makers signed up as an autonomous branch of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers.⁶³¹ Aveling was to join the new Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP), shortly before he died.⁶³²

James Connolly set up the ISRP upon his departure from Edinburgh to Dublin in 1896.⁶³³ He took with him his experience of being raised in Edinburgh's 'Little Ireland', serving in the British Army in Ireland, working in the new carters' union and Edinburgh Trades Council, being active in the SSF then SDF, and the SLP then the ILP. He developed a Socialist Republicanism consciously built upon Davitt's Social Republican legacy, taking up its Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Unionism and support for Women's Suffrage.

Whilst still in Edinburgh, Connolly had contributed to the SSF's local paper, the *Edinburgh and Leith Labour Chronicle*, which had as its masthead, the French revolutionary Camille Desmoulin's saying, "The great only appear great because we are on our knees. Let us rise."⁶³⁴ He also contributed an article to the SDF paper, *Justice*, attacking the Master Bottlemakers' Association in Portobello, Edinburgh, for refusing to meet striking workers because they had German migrant workers among their number.⁶³⁵ Such Internationalism was a hallmark of Connolly's politics.

Although, Internationalism was to gain a greater base in Ireland, it was pushed to the periphery of trade union, Labour and Socialist politics in Great Britain. Here Social Chauvinist and Imperialist politics carried far more weight, as demonstrated in the TUC's support for the Boer War from 1899-1902 and for Balfour's Aliens Act in 1905; and the later support of the TUC, New Union leaders, such as Ben Tillett and the Labour Party, and Socialists such as Henry Hyndman, Robert Blatchford and Robert Cunninghame Graham, for the First World War.

With the election of a Conservative and Liberal Unionist government in 1886; Arthur Balfour became Scottish Secretary of State. Balfour used his powers to send warships to Tiree and Skye to suppress the crofters.⁴⁶⁹ This experience prepared him for this next job in 1887 as Irish Chief Secretary. Here he earned the name 'Bloody Balfour'.⁴⁷⁰ Later, as Conservative Prime Minister, Balfour went on to promote the UK's first specifically racist

legislation, the anti-Jewish Aliens Act of 1905,⁴⁷¹ and as wartime. Foreign Secretary, was responsible for the disastrous Balfour Declaration in 1917.⁴⁷²

After his defeat in 1885, Gladstone came to realise that his promotion of Irish Home Rule within the British Empire, rather within than the Union, had not only cost him the support of many in Ireland, but also in Scotland. The Liberals let it be known that they now supported 'Home-Rule all-round' within the Union.⁴⁷³ However, as far as Gladstone was concerned, this was never meant to be official Liberal government policy. It was there to get Scottish Liberal support for the Second Irish Home Rule Bill.

Moderate Liberals ensured that despite formal Scottish Liberal support for Scottish Home Rule since 1888, the SHRA remained relatively marginal.⁴⁷⁴ SHRA statements started to distance Scottish Home Rule from Irish Home Rule, and Scotland from 'Irish methods'. Later SHRA statements would bemoan the Gladstone's lack of concern for Scotland, because the government seemed more willing to bow to such methods!⁴⁷⁵ Scottish Home Rule was excluded from the Liberal manifesto for the 1892 general election. The alternative 'promise' of Church of Scotland Disestablishment was not delivered either when Gladstone took office.

When Gladstone's Second Irish Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1893, he resigned to be replaced by the Scottish Liberal Imperialist, Lord Roseberry. He did not last long, and the Conservatives and their Liberal Unionist allies returned to government in 1895 for ten years under the Arch-Imperialists and Racists, Salisbury and Balfour. After High Imperialism triumphed, Home Rule disappeared from the UK's immediate political agenda. In Scotland, the SHRA went into decline.

The Conservatives had passed Local Government Reform for Scotland in 1889 and would do so for Ireland in 1898. Today, attempts to thwart greater Regional Democracy in England can be found amongst Labour and Conservative MPs. Now though, they push to give power to city mayors working closely with big business.

Many Scottish Conservatives still considered themselves to be a part of the Scottish-British nation. Furthermore, the Orange Order in Scotland supported the established Church of Scotland and the Conservative Party.

This reflected the trajectory and the lead given by rightward moving Presbyterian Loyalism, which was challenging Anglican Unionism in Ireland. This Presbyterianism became the most significant component in the Orange Order on both sides of the North Channel. The Saltire was flown on Orange parades, either as a distinct flag, or within the Union Flag.

One consequence of this was that opposition to Irish Home Rule became linked with opposition to Scottish Home Rule.⁴⁷⁶ However, it was only in the Khaki Election of 1900, at the time of the Second Boer War, that the Liberals finally lost their overall majority of Scottish MPs at Westminster, first achieved as early as 1859. They had been main political force behind the continued development of a Scottish-British Nation within the UK and British Empire.

2. THE INDIAN SUMMER OF THE UK AND BRITISH EMPIRE, NEW CHALLENGES AND THE RETREAT TO UNIONIST INTRANSIGENCE

The era of High Imperialism from 1895-1916; Conservative and Liberal responses; the continuing Irish challenge and the failure of the Constructive Unionist response; the competition between the Irish-British, Catholic Irish and Irish-Irish Nations; whilst the Scottish-British and Welsh-British Nations follow a different pattern to Ireland

a) High Imperialism and Conservative and Liberal politics from 1895

The nineteenth century had witnessed several conflicts between major European powers. These included the Crimean War between the UK and France on one side, and Tsarist Russia on the other from 1853-6; the Austro-French War in 1859; and the wars between Prussia and Denmark in 1864, and Austria in 1866, and then France in 1870. However, the economic and political dynamics behind these wars differed from those that came about as a result of the impact of the New Imperialism. This period commenced in the mid-1870s, and then morphed into the High Imperialism of 1895-1916. The new conflicts mainly stemmed from the growing Imperialist competition to obtain new colonies..

The period without wars between the major European powers, from 1870 until 1914, lasted even longer than that from 1815-53. However, the uncertainties arising from the weaknesses and potential collapse of the Ottoman, Persian and Chinese Empires did threaten to produce unpredictable wars between the European powers. At the 1878 Congress of Berlin,⁴⁷⁷ a great deal of effort was put into finding an accommodation between Russia, Austria-Hungary and the UK, without precipitating the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. As late as 1900, British, German, Russian, Japanese, US, French, Austro-Hungarian and Italian Imperialists were able to cooperate to defeat Boxer Rebellion,⁴⁷⁸ a challenge to the Qing regime in China, which had failed to stand up to Imperialist aggression. The Imperial powers' aim was to divide China between them.

As long as there were still large areas of the world not under the direct control of one Imperial power or another, then colonial wars could be confined to these territories. Potential Inter-Imperialist conflicts over colonial spoils could still be addressed through negotiations, such as the 1884-5 Berlin Conference, which was organised to divide up Africa.⁴⁷⁹ The most intense Inter-Imperialist rivalry lay between the major European powers. This is why the then more peripheral Japan and the USA were able to get away with the seizure of extensive Chinese and Spanish Imperial territories in 1894-5⁴⁸⁰ and 1898⁴⁸¹ respectively, without drawing in other powers.

Engels, perhaps the most prescient Socialist alive in the last decade of his life, even anticipated the First World War in 1888. "No war is any longer possible for Prussia-Germany except a world war and a world war indeed of an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of. Eight to ten million soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done."⁴⁸²

However, the first real threat of Inter-Imperialist war, involving the major European powers, was between the UK and France. This came about through the Fashoda Incident in Sudan in 1898.⁴⁸³ A deal was patched up though. Despite the continued long-standing British/French Imperial antagonism, highlighted by this incident, a leading section of the British ruling class became more concerned about the rising economic and military might of Prussia-Germany. German support for the Boers during the Second Boer

War from 1899-1902, in which an Irish Nationalist contingent also fought, hardened Anti-German feeling amongst many of the British ruling class.

An Anti-German, 'War Party' emerged amongst the British ruling class. This became strongly represented amongst leading members of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Imperialists. Former Liberal PM Lord Rosebery, Herbert ('Assassin') Asquith and Earl Grey formed the Liberal League, with the express intent of ditching Irish Home Rule. This was done to make Unionist and Imperialist cooperation with the Conservatives easier.⁴⁸⁴ As well as the Liberal Imperialists, Rosebery, Asquith, and Grey, the Anti-German group included the Conservatives, Arthur Balfour, Prime Minister from 1902-5, Leo Amery MP, Lord Robert Cecil, Marquis Curzon, Viceroy of India, and Viscount Milner, Governor of Cape Colony. It also included John Fisher, First Lord of the Admiralty, Frederick Roberts, former Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Military Staff Office Commandant, Henry Wilson and Viscount Esher of the influential Committee for Imperial Defence. Edward VII acted as a go-between.⁴⁸⁵

Through the Relugas Compact in 1905, the 'War Party' plotted to take over a new Liberal government when it became clear that Balfour's Conservative government was on its last legs.⁴⁸⁶ The purpose behind this was to promote a behind-the-scenes, seamless, shared Unionist and Imperial strategy. The intentions of the Relugas Compact did not come to fruition in 1905, but had to wait until 1908 and the death of non-insider, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had become the Liberal PM. The 'War Party' later drew others from outside their immediate ranks into support for their aims. These people included Winston Churchill, David Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, Walter Long, one-time Conservative Chief Secretary for Ireland and member of the Loyalist Ulster Defence League,⁴⁸⁷ and Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative Party from 1911 and the united Conservative and (Liberal) Unionist Party from 1912.

The 'War Party' also had the support of the Harmsworth owned British press (with 40% of morning and 45% of evening paper circulation), which pursued a virulently anti-German line.⁴⁸⁸ This helped the 'War Party' in its endeavours. There were also elite backed and well-financed pressure groups such as the British Empire League⁴⁸⁹ and National Service League.⁴⁹⁰ They too saw Germany as the main enemy.

Such shared thinking enabled the UK to build up a series of alliances. Seeing rising Japanese Imperialism as a potential subordinate partner that could contain Russian ambitions in the Far East, Conservative Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902.⁴⁹¹ This probably gave the Japanese government the confidence to launch its devastating war against Russia from 1904-5. The 'War Party' then encouraged a badly mauled Russia to look to other less threatening avenues of expansion, particularly in the Balkans. However, the 'War Party' was also aware that a significant section of the French ruling class wanted to avenge the Franco-Prussian War defeat. Together France and Russia could be brought into an alliance to counter the German and Austro-Hungarian alliance.

This is why the Anti-German section of the British ruling class pushed for growing rapprochement with their two old adversaries, France and Russia. In 1904, the Liberal Unionist, Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne negotiated the Entente Cordiale with the Germanophobe, French Foreign Minister, Theophile Delcasse.⁴⁹² In 1907, the Anglo-Russian Convention followed, then the Triple Entente later that year, involving all three powers.⁴⁹³ The new Liberal Foreign Secretary, Earl Grey took responsibility for this. The public announcement of these arrangements masked secret agreements. These involved preparations for war against Germany. Meetings involving senior French military and naval officers were organised.⁴⁹⁴

By now, the traditional Liberal ideological underpinning of foreign policy had long been abandoned. Upholding British Imperial interests overrode any international projection of the need for a 'Progressive' Constitutional Monarchy against either the vulgar populist, French Republic or the despotism of the 'Russian Bear'. Imperial Republics and Imperial Dynasties were now welcome partners in Imperial alliances and plots.

The Conservatives did not feel the need for such ideological underpinning. 'King and Country' had always been sufficient. When they opposed Tsarist Russia, it was not its Despotism they bothered about, but its threat to that imperial 'Jewel in the Crown' - India. As for France, many Conservatives could now welcome the rise of anti-Jewish Right following the anti-Dreyfus campaign.⁴⁹⁵ Those in the know were also well aware that King Edward VII

had been a habitu  of the Paris brothels.⁴⁹⁶ Republican France had its upsides!

b) The Second Boer War - British opposition to the 'wrong sort' of Imperialism

In the UK, there appeared to be some initial opposition to the slide towards gung-ho Imperialism that marked the period from 1895-1914. This occurred in response to the Second Boer War, which was launched in 1899.⁴⁹⁷ The Conservative and Liberal Unionist government had been pushing for war against the South African Republic (Transvaal) in order to advance the interests of the Randlords, the mainly Cape Colony-based gold and diamond magnates. They also wanted to open up a continuous belt of British colonial territories from the Cape to Cairo.

Although Liberal Imperialists had dominated the Liberal Party since Lord Rosebery had taken over in 1894, an opposition to the war emerged from old-style Gladstonian Liberals led by John Morley.⁴⁹⁸ The rising Liberal star, David Lloyd George and his supporters also opposed the Boer War.⁴⁹⁹ Some Welsh Liberals saw the White Calvinist Boer farmers as being akin to the White Calvinist Welsh farmers. Lloyd George first attacked the government's war aims, then the horrific results of the General Kitchener's scorched earth policy and concentration camps, in which 26,000 Boer women and children died.⁵⁰⁰ Although 20,000 Black Africans were also to die in separate British concentration camps,⁵⁰¹ their plight never aroused the concern of Liberal war critics; nor did the victims of another British Imperial war, against the Ashanti of the Gold Coast (what is now Ghana), which was being conducted at the same time.⁵⁰²

Others opposing the Boer War included the prominent Lib-Lab, John Burns,⁵⁰³ as well as ILP leader, Keir Hardie, who became an MP for Merthyr in 1900 in the Khaki Election.⁵⁰⁴ To those Anti-War members of the Liberal Party, ILP, and some Socialists, Boers were seen as fellow Whites who, like those workers in Australia, should be supported. The Boers' racism was just ignored, since many holding Liberal or Social Imperialist assumptions had little regard for the 'lesser races'. Others thought that the UK and British Empire represented a global 'Beacon of Progress,' which might finally bring enlightenment to its benighted dark-skinned subjects.

Furthermore, as the Anti-Racist SDF member, and *Justice* editor, Belfort Bax, pointed out, Cecil Rhodes' invasion of Mashonaland and Matabeleland had resulted in many African deaths.⁵⁰⁵ So, support for the British in the Boer War could not seriously be equated with a pro-Black African position. Significantly, in pointing this out, he was directing his criticism against SDF leader, Henry Hyndman, who was seen to hold a somewhat ambiguous position when it came to opposing British Imperialism.

How did Anti-War activists explain the outbreak of the Second Boer War? Many viewed this as the result of an unprincipled alliance between Lord Milner, British High Commissioner in South Africa, Joseph Chamberlain, Liberal Unionist and British Colonial Secretary, and gung-ho Imperialist, Cecil Rhodes of de Beers diamond mining company, backed by Jewish financiers, particularly Alfred Beit and Lionel Phillips. In a climate of growing anti-Jewish feeling in much of Europe, such people often placed the ultimate blame for war and other problems upon Jewish financiers. They were seen to have manipulated greedy British capitalists. Although some commentators went little further than noting a connection with specific Jewish financiers, others, like Henry Hyndman linked their comments with a conscious anti-Jewish Racism. Hyndman used *Justice*, which he owned, to claim that Jewish financiers were behind the war, prompting an exasperated Belfort Bax to make a reply.⁵⁰⁶

For some British Socialists. the Boer War was an affront to their idea of the UK and British Empire as an international 'Beacon of Progress. In 1905, ILP member Ramsay Macdonald was to express this view concisely. "The best way to get rid of Jingo Imperialism ... is to awaken the workers to a nobler sense of imperialism of which they are the masters."⁵⁰⁷

However, other Socialists supported the Boer War. The Fabian Society upheld the vision of a 'Progressive' British Empire. Robert Blatchford, publisher of the most widely read Socialist paper, *The Clarion*, also supported the Boer War.⁵⁰⁸ A pamphlet on the Boer War, signed by eighty three trade union executive officers, claimed that, "the capitalists who... hire the Press in both South Africa and in England to clamour for War are largely Jews and foreigners."⁵⁰⁹ With such widely held Social Imperialist, Social Patriotic and Racist views, it is not surprising that many people soon

airbrushed out the role of the British state for any real responsibility for the war.

c) The Second Boer War - Irish Nationalist support for 'our kind' of Anti-Brits

Opposition to the Second Boer War was probably strongest amongst the Irish Nationalists. This war coincided with an attempt to bring together the three fractious post-Parnell components of Irish Nationalism - the remnant Irish National League under John Redmond, the Irish National Federation under John Dillon, and the Irish Peoples Rights Association under Timothy Healy. By 1900, the United Irish League (UIL)⁵¹⁰ had become a vehicle to reunite parliamentary Irish Nationalists.⁵¹¹

Redmond, the new leader of the united Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), was an avowed Imperialist. He took a keen interest in political developments in Australia.⁵¹² He wanted to widen the 'shareholding' in the British Empire to include Ireland and the White Colonies. He probably knew that Jan Smuts, now a Boer War leader, had started out as an ally of Rhodes.⁵¹³ Smuts had wanted to promote a shared White South Africa within the British Empire.

Redmond's support for the Boers can be seen as promoting his own desire for an Imperialist alternative to the Conservative and Unionists' exclusivist and gung-ho vision of the Empire. In 1909, despite the Boers' defeat, Smuts went on to become an important figure behind Asquith's Liberal government's promotion of the Union of South Africa.⁵¹⁴ Smuts also became leader of the Union Defence Force in the First World War and joined the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917.⁵¹⁵ Thus, it is possible to see in Smuts' South Africa the sort of trajectory that Redmond would have liked a Home Rule Ireland to take within the Empire, but with the difference that it would also remain within the Union.

For many other Irish Nationalists, though, the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State were seen, like Ireland, as being Small Farmer 'Nations', and victims of British perfidy. Furthermore, the Boers were putting up a spirited resistance to the British, at a time when the political openings for Irish Nationalism had receded. This situation was enough, even for the most Catholic Irish Nationalist, to overlook the Boers' own Calvinist 'chosen

people' traditions. And, just as for the Liberals, Lib-Labs and many Socialists opposing the war, the Boers' treatment of the native African inhabitants warranted little consideration.

Anti-Jewish feeling was less a motivating factor amongst anti-Boer War Irish Nationalists than it was for some British trade union, Labour and Socialist supporters. Nevertheless, Arthur Griffith, co-editor of the *United Irishman*, did blame Jews for the war. In 1904, Griffith went on to support the Limerick Boycott of Jewish shops initiated by Father John Creagh. Creagh was to be disowned by his own Order,⁵¹⁶ and his actions condemned by O'Brien of the UIL and by Davitt (who had already written *The True Story of Anti-Semitic Persecutions in Russia* in 1903).⁵¹⁷

John MacBride, a member of the IRB, was perhaps the most committed supporter of the Boers. Along with the Irish-American John Blake, he formed the 500 strong Irish Transvaal Brigade. Michael Davitt went to visit the brigade.⁵¹⁸ James Connolly and the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) had also given their support to the Boer Republics.⁵¹⁹ However, they placed their resistance in the context of wider Anti-Imperialist struggles in India and China. In 1898, Connolly had already lambasted British hypocrisy, denouncing Imperial 'hero' General Gordon and the butchery of the Battle of Omdurman.⁵²⁰ Closer to home, in 1902, James Connolly had also challenged anti-Jewish activity in his election address for the Wood Quay ward of Dublin City Council, published in Yiddish.⁵²¹

d) Constructive Unionism and Destructive Unionism – different ways to see off Irish Home Rule

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Conservatives and Liberal Unionists took a hardline stance against Irish Home Rule. They saw their holding on to the reins of political power in Ireland as part and parcel of maintaining the British Union and Empire. Nevertheless, there had been a growing government understanding that the economic grievances of the Irish tenants would have to be addressed, if the demand for Irish Home Rule was to be derailed. The original INLL campaign from 1879-81 had been followed by the INL's Plan of Campaign from 1886-93.⁵²² It became clear that neither the earlier concessions, made under the Conservatives and Liberal Unionist government's 1885 and 1887 Land Acts, nor continued

coercion, were going to end the turmoil in the Irish countryside.

After 1890, some pressure on the government was removed when the Plan of Campaign began to fall apart due to the split in the INL over the Parnell affair. The Congested Districts Board (CDB), created by the Conservative and Liberal Unionist government in 1891, was designed to address some of the economic problems in the West. One former Irish Nationalist MP thought, though, that the Catholic hierarchy had been given too much control of the CDB's local bodies and was holding back economic development.⁵²³ This looks like another UK government reward to the hierarchy for helping to keep a lid on things.

Gladstone's last Liberal government replaced that of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists in 1892. It was pledged to a Second Irish Home Rule Bill. After the Bill was defeated in 1893, the Liberals struggled on, under their replacement leader, Lord Rosebery, before a Conservative and Liberal Unionist government was returned in 1895. In the context of High Imperialism, they held office for ten years, first under the Marquess of Salisbury up to 1901, then under Arthur Balfour, up to 1905. The Conservative and Liberal Unionist governments upgraded their earlier 'killing Home Rule with kindness' strategy with a more rounded Constructive Unionism - albeit again supplemented with coercion as necessary.

In 1896, the Conservative and Liberal Unionist government gave its support to the Recess Committee. This included landlords and businessmen, northern and southern Irish Unionist and Irish Nationalist politicians, the Grand Master of Belfast Orange Order and a Jesuit scholar. Such a political spread meant the Committee had to ignore any political reform. It concentrated its attention upon agricultural development. The southern Irish Unionist, Sir Horace Plunkett, founder of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS),⁵²⁴ which promoted cooperatives, was key to the establishment of the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction (DATI), which came out of Recess Committee's proposals.⁵²⁵

In 1898, the government bit the bullet and turned to political reform. It introduced the Local Government (Ireland) Act.⁵²⁶ It was that hoped this limited Administrative Devolutionary measure would be sufficient to meet Irish Nationalist demands for greater Self-Determination. It placed local

Irish affairs under more democratic control, whilst still leaving the upper levels of government, the RIC and Dublin Metropolitan Police firmly under the control of Dublin Castle. The Act ended the detested landlord dominated grand juries. This was a significant sign that the British Conservatives were no longer prepared to back the old Anglo-Irish landlord class hold over land come hell or high water. However, as in the case of the slave owners in 1833, the British ruling class worked hard to ensure their class cousins in the Anglo-Irish landlord class were to be well compensated for any loss of property.

1898 was also the year that the United Irish League (UIL) was created, under the slogan 'The Land for the People'.⁵²⁷ Longstanding land activist, William O'Brien, became its leader. Significantly, Michael Davitt also gave his support. The UIL held its founding conference in Westport, County Mayo, where the INLL had been founded in 1879.⁵²⁸ The UIL was set up as an independent campaigning organisation. Any elected representatives were meant to be accountable. This reflected the disillusionment with the antics of the IPP, which had split three ways.

In the 1899 local elections, the UIL won the majority of county, urban and rural council seats in Ireland.⁵²⁹ In County Cork, the Irish Land and Labour Association⁵³⁰ (ILLA) (building on Davitt's wider class concerns), had been set up by Daniel Desmond Sheehan, the editor of *The Southern Star*. It gained council seats in central County Cork. Land protests continued, and thirteen MPs were imprisoned, whilst the 1902 Crimes Act was passed to suppress resistance in nine counties.⁵³¹ Coercion continued to be an adjunct of Constructive Unionism.

Continued challenges pushed the government, under George Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland, into proposing the 1903 Land Purchase Act.⁵³² The preparations they made were significant. Lord Lansdowne, the Foreign Secretary ensured that Sir Antony MacDonnell, an Irish Catholic, was appointed Under Secretary for Ireland.⁵³³ This was the highest position a Catholic had reached in the UK's Irish Devolved Administration. He had served in India under Lord Curzon. Despite, or perhaps because of his impeccable Imperial credentials, Conservatives and Ulster Unionists felt uncomfortable. MacDonnell was known to be favourable to some form of Irish Home Rule within the UK or British Empire.

However, for some more far-seeing British Conservatives and a number of southern Irish Unionists, awarding such a senior to a Catholic was the best way to ensure Ireland's and their own future position within the Union. Under the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, Tony Blair and New Labour made a similar calculation over Northern Ireland by ensuring that an Irish Nationalist should have the position of Depute First Minister in the revived Stormont.

Wyndham and McDonnell organised a Land Conference in 1902.⁵³⁴ Lord Dunraven, a southern Unionist and Thomas Russell,⁵³⁵ the Liberal Unionist MP for South Tyrone and head of the Ulster-based Farmers and Labourers' Union, were invited. Under the conditions of ongoing agricultural decline, as British industrialists looked overseas for cheaper produce, significant sections of the old Ascendancy landlord class could see the writing on the wall. They accepted Wyndham's new Land Purchase Act. The Irish Landowners' Convention described the terms of its buyout as, "by far the largest and most liberal measure ever offered to landlords and tenants by any Government in any country."⁵³⁶ In other words, the landlords were very well compensated, just as the slaveowners had been in 1833.

However, the most significant participant at the Land Conference was William O'Brien, the founder of the UIL. Between 1903-9, 200,000 Irish tenants became landowners.⁵³⁷ O'Brien and his allies now saw possibilities for pushing an extension of Constructive Unionism. The Irish Reform Association⁵³⁸ had been established in 1904, mainly backed by some southern Irish Unionists. With their support, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Dudley, came up with a scheme of limited Political Devolution.⁵³⁹ This meant more powers for Irish Local Councils and setting up an Irish Council responsible for further domestic affairs. Dublin Castle would still be in overall control.

O'Brien, previously very much an advocate of extra-parliamentary action, had come to the position that the UK set-up in Ireland was now capable of being reformed and that Constitutional methods were the best way forward. The Conservative and Liberal Unionist government's rolling back of Unionist control over local administration in 1898, and their major concession over land in 1903, led O'Brien to support the Irish Reform Association's

Devolution proposals. O'Brien saw these as another step on the road towards Irish Home Rule.

O'Brien was also growing increasingly wary of the leaders of the IPP, led by John Redmond, and behind him John Dillon.⁵⁴⁰ Just as Parnell had done with the INLL, Redmond was now doing with the UIL. He was subordinating it to the parliamentary party and diluting its original social aims. In addition, just as Parnell had done in the INL in 1882, when he gave overtly Catholic politicians and clerics a prominent role, Redmond was now doing in the IPP.

In 1904, Joseph Devlin was made General Secretary of the UIL. He was the Belfast Grand Master of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a Catholic Sectarian organisation modelled on the Orange Order. From then on, Devlin, backed by Dillon, without public opposition from Redmond (who was more pro-conciliation in private), used all their influence to marginalise any opposition, including O'Brien and his supporters, both in the IPP and UIL. They used the argument that any economic concessions under Constructive Unionism, or Conciliation, might undermine the support for Irish Home Rule and bolster the Unionists. In reality, many IPP leaders now represented more conservative farming and business interests. They wanted to be the main beneficiaries whenever Irish Home Rule was introduced. Empowering the 'lower orders' before its enactment worked against this.

O'Brien, however, was keen to win Irish Home Rule throughout the island with the support of prominent Protestants, by a strategy of Conference, Conciliation and Consent.⁵⁴¹ O'Brien's political approach was not that of a Sectarian Catholic Nationalist, but of a National, Secular, Social Reformer. He looked not for a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' but to a Non-Sectarian Irish Nation within the UK and British Empire. However, it was no longer the southern Irish Unionists who called the shots within the Irish Unionist Alliance (IUA),⁵⁴² but the Ulster Unionists. And within the Ulster Unionists, industrial capitalists, particularly in Belfast and the Lagan Valley, had become more important than the old Unionist landlords.

The IUA had been formed in 1891 to unite Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.⁵⁴³ In effect, it united these two parties in Ireland, twenty-one years before they were to unite in the rest of the UK. In 1905, the IUA created the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) to fight the Irish Reform

Association proposals. The UUC was a nine-county body. 25% of its members were in the Orange Order.⁵⁴⁴ The UUC, a component part of the IUA, was headed by Colonel Saunderson, landlord, Orangeman and Conservative MP for North Armagh.⁵⁴⁵ Furthermore, the most significant Unionist figure from the south, Sir Edward Carson, IUA MP for Trinity University, in Dublin, gave his support to the UUC⁵⁴⁶ and certainly not to the moderate southern Unionists in the Irish Reform Association.

Carson wanted the UUC to act as the shock troops to defend Unionist Ireland as a whole. Both the UUC and the majority of British Conservatives saw the Irish Reform Association's devolutionary proposals as a 'Trojan Horse' for full Irish Home Rule⁵⁴⁷ (which indeed was how O'Brien viewed them). They turned on Wyndham and had him ousted from the Irish Chief Secretary's job.⁵⁴⁸ The government replaced him with the hardline British Unionist, Walter Long, who became Irish Unionist MP for South County Dublin between 1906 and 1910.⁵⁴⁹ He was a friend of Colonel Saunderson, and upon his death replaced him as chair of the IUA in 1906. Constructive Unionism under the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists had come to an end.

However small letter, constructive unionism had an afterlife when the Liberals under Henry Campbell-Bannerman took office in 1905. Back in 1895, the Liberal Party under Lord Rosebery had become nearly as opposed to Irish Home Rule as the Conservative and Liberal Unionists. Furthermore, after the massive majority the Liberals gained in the 1906 general election, they had no intention of reviving Home Rule. They now accepted Conservative Administrative Devolution as an adequate framework for Irish politics.

So, from 1906 the Liberal government adopted its own version of Constructive Unionism. The government passed the Labourers (Ireland) Act, which had been advocated by O'Brien of the UIL and Sheehan⁵⁵⁰ of the ILLA. This Act provided state finance for rural housing.⁵⁵¹ Over the next few years, over 40,000 people were to benefit.⁵⁵² This complemented the Wyndham Land Purchase Act.

The parallel with the Conservatives' Constructive Unionism went further. In 1907, O'Brien and Sheehan pushed for the Irish Council Bill.⁵⁵³ Its purpose was very similar to the earlier failed proposals from the southern Unionist

Irish Reform Association. Again, O'Brien and Sheehan saw this as an instalment on full Irish Home Rule. This time, though, it was not the IUA and the British Conservatives, who took the lead in seeing off such a measure, but the IPP under Redmond.⁵⁵⁴

The IPP leaders had a strong reason to oppose this bill. With Irish business and big farmer backing, social reform was being pushed much further down the IPP's agenda. The IPP was also acting to promote its Catholic-Irish 'Nation' within the UK and British Empire. This was in a wider context of papal reaction under Pope Pius X,⁵⁵⁵ who had taken office in 1903. He stepped up the pressure within the Catholic Church, including his 'Ne Temere' decree⁵⁵⁶ of 1907, which put major restrictions on mixed marriages.

Redmond, backed by Devlin, leader of the AOH and now MP for West Belfast, persuaded the Liberal Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, to drop the bill. He had Plunkett removed from the head of the DATI. Cooperative farming represented a threat to IPP big farmer interests. Ulster Liberal Unionist, Thomas Russell, who worked with O'Brien on the Recess Committee and had supported Constructive Unionism, also ensured that the annual grant given to the IAOS was ended.

There was to be little more 'big C' or little c' constructive unionism, although O'Brien and Sheehan were to make continued 'constructive nationalist' overtures, in the teeth of opposition from the IPP. Devlin mobilised the AOH to crush any remaining anti-sectarian challenges within the party. This culminated in O'Brien being driven out of the IIP at the 1909 Baton Convention in Dublin.⁵⁵⁷ Sheehan had already been suspended but resigned his seat to win it again in 1906 as an Independent Nationalist Labour MP.⁵⁵⁸

However, there was an unwitting consequence of the Conservative, Liberal Unionist and Liberal Parties' resort to new Administrative Devolutionary measures to see off Political Devolution, or Irish Home Rule. This was to further reinforce the national differences within the UK's Unionist set-up. Furthermore, despite both the British ruling class and the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists' continued ability to thwart any more Irish access to higher political office in Ireland, they were unable to prevent the further widening of the social basis of an Irish nation. Their intransigence undermined any possibility of Ireland taking on a Non-Sectarian Irish-British form. Instead,

competition was developing between those wanting an Irish-Catholic 'Nation' within the UK and British Empire, and those advocating an independent Irish-Irish nation. And this conflict was taking place within the shell of an increasingly divided UK state.

e) The significance of the Irish Cultural Renaissance in the emergence of an Irish-Irish nation

The Conservatives, Liberal Unionists and Michael Davitt (who lived on to 1906) were agreed on one thing. Peasant proprietorship would encourage social and economic conservatism. In this they were proved to be correct. However, despite the positive gloss the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists placed upon peasant proprietorship, they were to be as disappointed with its political results as Davitt, albeit for quite different reasons.

Irish farmers' economic and social conservatism did not lead to their growing acceptance of the existing UK state, quite the opposite. It gave them greater confidence in pushing for more effective National Self-Determination. Although only a small minority agreed with the IRB's Irish Republic, for the immediate future, far more gave their support to Irish Home Rule, at least for now. They had come to think of themselves as part of a seven-hundred-year struggle against 'English' oppression. Therefore, they could appreciate Parnell's long-term open-ended vision of creating an Irish Nation.

One factor behind this desire for greater Self-Determination was the impact of the Irish Cultural Renaissance or Revival.⁵⁵⁹ Such developments often occur following major defeats on the political front. Black USA was to see the Harlem Renaissance⁵⁶⁰ after the setbacks for the prospects of Black Liberation following the end of the 1916-21 International Revolutionary Wave. Scotland was to undergo two periods of Cultural Renaissance,⁵⁶¹ the first also after the defeat of the hopes raised in that International Revolutionary Wave; the second after the defeat of the 1979 Scottish Devolution referendum. Such cultural revivals often contribute to wider social changes, which then become an important component in later political challenges.

There were many aspects to the Irish Cultural Renaissance, but a key one was the setting up of Conradh na gaelige/Gaelic League (GL) in 1893,⁵⁶² two

years after the major split in the INL. Douglas Hyde,⁵⁶³ son of a Church of Ireland rector from County Roscommon, was its founder. Its leading members included Eoin MacNeill,⁵⁶⁴ a Catholic from a working class background in County Antrim; Thomas O'Neill Russell, son of a Quaker farmer in County Westmeath; and Eugene O'Growney,⁵⁶⁵ a Catholic priest and scholar from County Meath. Its most famous member, Patrick Pearse,⁵⁶⁶ was from a Unitarian family background, but was educated by the Christian Brothers. MacNeill and Pearse were to become prominent in the Irish independence struggle.

The GL provided an extensive network of cumman or branches throughout Ireland, and organised fheis or festivals in a similar manner to the eisteddfodau in Wales. The GL actively involved many women.⁵⁶⁷ It was avowedly Non-Sectarian and looked to build not an Irish-British nor a Catholic-Irish, but an Irish-Irish nation. In the long term, the GL hoped that this Nation would become Irish speaking. This would be done through education. Although many of its members had their own political ideas of how to bring about an Irish-Irish nation, the GL remained a non-party body, hoping to unite Catholics and Protestants, or Irish Nationalists and Liberal Irish Unionists. The GL's slogan, 'Sinn Fein, Sinn Fein amhain' or 'Ourselves, ourselves alone',⁵⁶⁸ was later to inspire a new political organisation, Sinn Fein.

Another and even more significant body, which formed part of the Irish Cultural Renaissance in its widest sense, was the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). The GAA was formed in Thurles, County Tipperary in 1884 to promote specifically Irish sports. Michael Cusack was a key member, but Michael Davitt and Charles Parnell became patrons, along with Thomas Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel and Emly, who was also an early supporter of the INLL and INL.⁵⁶⁹

The GAA was to be very successful in creating a thirty-two counties network (and indeed further afield too) of sporting clubs. They became very popular. GAA clubs were to go on and adopt names that reflected the full pantheon of Irish Nationalist politics, including Republicans. In large parts of Ireland, the GAA clubs became the main form of organised leisure activity. Although again Non-Sectarian in intent, in many areas GAA supporters attended games after going to their local Catholic church on a Sunday. The GAA gained little support from Protestants in the more sabbatarian north. However, one

of the GAA's leading lights, Sam Maguire, was a member of the Church of Ireland in West Cork.

However, unlike the GL, control of the GAA was politically contested. The IRB became involved⁵⁷⁰ and viewed participation in Irish sports, particularly hurling, as providing a good training for physical combat. They also welcomed the decision of Cusack, who held Irish exclusivist politics, to prevent members participating in what he saw as English sports. One of the results of the earlier split in the IRB/FB, following the New Departure in 1878⁵⁷¹ between those promoting the primacy of social methods and those promoting the primacy of military methods, had been the abandonment by the remnant IRB/FB of both the Class politics and the Internationalism which had characterised these organisations in the 1860s.⁵⁷² Thus, following the more recent development of Nationalist politics in Europe and the USA, the IRB/FB leaders increasingly adopted a narrower, more exclusive Irish Nationalism. There was though an immediate practical purpose behind the IRB's support for Cusack's stance. The IRB wanted a body that could not be easily penetrated by the British authorities.

One of the GAA's greatest successes lay in helping to create a distinct Irish-Irish Nation. This was eagerly taken on board by many of the new farm proprietors, whom the Conservatives thought would support their Irish-British nation. The GAA also had the support of many Irish town dwellers. Although not so widely supported, the GL also contributed to many people, including women, becoming less Irish-British and more Irish-Irish.

f) The Scottish-British and Welsh-British Nations continue to develop within the UK

The period of High Imperialism saw the further development of the Scottish-British and Welsh-British Nations. However, in Scotland, this took place within the long-established Administrative Devolutionary framework. There was now also separate legislation to cover Wales, but as yet no special Administrative Devolutionary arrangements. Ireland had its own extensive Administrative Devolutionary arrangements, some of which, when supplemented by Westminster legislation, were aimed at maintaining British oppression. Home Rule or Political Devolution was very much a political

issue in Ireland. Irish Nationalism versus Conservative Unionism was the most significant expression of this political divide. This was reflected in the competition between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Irish Unionist Alliance, quite visible even in Westminster - the public political forum for the British ruling class.

Home Rule in Scotland and Wales had a far lower priority in the thinking and activities of the Liberal, Independent Labour and Socialist parties. The 1892 independent Labour challenge had been seen off by 1895, leaving the Liberal Party without any opposition from the Left at Westminster in England, Scotland or Wales. The Liberals also bowed to the pressure from a large section of the British ruling class and the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties, by ditching their earlier commitment to Irish Home Rule. Support for Scottish and Welsh Home Rule had largely grown as a by-product of the struggles for Land Reform and Irish Home Rule between 1879 and 1893.

Despite the appointment of a Scottish Secretary in 1886, this led to no major innovations in the Scottish Office. It presided over the Boards for Education, Health, Agriculture, Fisheries and Prisons. The opportunity was not taken to reverse the impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which ended the limited Gaelic medium education that had existed in some parts of the Highlands and Islands. The new system led to pupils being physically punished for speaking Gaelic in classes.⁵⁷³ Unlike Wales, the Celtic language (in Scotland's case Gaelic) was largely confined to the 'lower orders', with far fewer middle class speakers or advocates. So, Gaelic failed to receive much committed support within an overwhelmingly English-speaking, middle class, Liberal Party in Scotland.

Independent Crofter candidates had successfully challenged the Liberals in 1885. Gladstone's government passed the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act in 1886. This had not quelled crofter resistance. The Highland Land League had continued to organise. From 1886, Balfour, the new Conservative Secretary of State, first resorted to state coercion. However, the Conservatives' Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889 allowed Highland Land League supporters to gain councillors. By 1897, a Balfour-led Conservative and Liberal Unionist government decided to take up their earlier more conciliatory attitude again. They set up the Congested Districts Board,⁵⁷⁴ based on his 1891 Irish model, to assist with economic

development in the Highlands and Islands.

In Wales, neither the Welsh Land and the Anti-Tithe Leagues, nor their successor organisation, the Welsh Land, Commercial and Labour League (WLCLL) had been initiated by independent Labour figures or Socialists. Thus, it was easier for the WLCLL to be fully absorbed into the North Wales Liberal Federation (NWLFL). Cymru Fydd's achievements had been very modest. It merged with the North Wales Liberal Federation in 1895,⁵⁷⁵ already an indicator that its interests were largely confined to Welsh speaking North Wales. However, the NWLFL was soon to come up against the issues raised by the economic and social development of South Wales.

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, Welsh Liberals still used whatever was at hand to build their Welsh-British Nation within the UK. Thus, once the Conservative government had implemented the 1888 Local Government Act, the new county councils in Welsh-speaking areas ensured that instruction in primary schools was in Welsh.⁵⁷⁶ Meanwhile, those Liberals in the English-speaking areas in Wales pressed for greater educational provision, leading to the Intermediate Education Act, implemented by the Conservatives in 1889. This provided free intermediate education twelve years before this happened in England.⁵⁷⁷ As well as providing a more educated layer for local industrial and commercial management and government administrative posts, this provided an avenue to better jobs in England and the British Empire.

The North Wales/South Wales divide reflected a deeper problem when it came to the creation of a united Welsh nation. In overwhelmingly industrial South Wales, a different sort of Welsh Britain had been developing for some time. This region, with its rapidly growing population was becoming more English speaking. English-speaking Liberals increasingly challenged the Welsh-speaking and more chapel-going Liberals. In Central and most parts of North Wales, the population grew more slowly, or was in decline. The economic and communications links between North and South Wales were much weaker than these regions' links either to the nearby major cities in England - Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Bristol - or with London and the Empire. Wales did not have a capital city.

Wales' first national institution was the National Museum set up in 1905.

However, Cardiff shared the University of Wales with Bangor and Aberystwyth, which also got the National Library in 1905 - a victory for Welsh-speaking Wales, because Cardiff was not considered to be Welsh enough.⁵⁷⁸ And in many ways, Cardiff and its immediate hinterland looked more to the Empire. Cardiff was a major coal exporting port. It was by now the largest urban centre in Wales, having overtaken still largely Welsh-speaking Merthyr Tydfil in 1881, but only became a city in 1905 – the first in Wales (discounting the three tiny ecclesiastical cathedral cities, which had no independent political representation)

Reflecting these economic and social changes, the Liberal Party in Wales became increasingly dominated by the South Wales Liberal Federation (SWLF). In 1896 at the Welsh Liberal AGM in Newport, the SWLF dismissed the proposal from the NWLF for a merger on the Cymru Fydd programme, which included a commitment to Welsh Home Rule. The Cambrian Combine coal owner, David Alfred Thomas (later Viscount Rhondda) dominated the SWLF. Although born to Welsh speaking parents, he had been brought up as an English speaker to encourage his upward mobility in a UK and British Imperial context. He was vehement in his opposition to the NWLF proposals. After the Newport AGM, Cymru Fydd collapsed. Lloyd George, its leading figure, was howled down at the AGM. Very ambitious, he made a rapid U-turn, first to all-UK then later to wider British Imperial politics.⁵⁷⁹

Furthermore, the demographic weight of the working class in industrial South Wales was already creating the conditions for another Welsh-British nation to emerge, which competed with the Welsh-Britain promoted by the SWLF. The transition was gradual at first, with Welsh Labourism growing out of Welsh Radical Liberalism. When Hardie stood as the LRC candidate, he had the key Welsh Liberal demand, the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, in his election manifesto.⁵⁸⁰ When Hardie was elected in Merthyr, it was alongside coalmine owner and Liberal MP, David Thomas, in this two-seat constituency. And with the exception of Hardie, the early Labour MPs in Wales came out of the Lib-Lab tradition, not the ILP tradition. This was a big difference compared to Clydeside in Scotland. But Hardie remained on the Liberal-accommodating wing of the ILP. Nevertheless, a distinctive Labour Welsh-Britain was emerging in South Wales. This was to be based on the miners' lodge, the coop, the pub and rugby, albeit with one foot still in

the chapel or the choir.

Whilst there was still some pressure in Scotland, from the Young Scots in the Liberal Party, to press ahead with Scottish Home Rule, the issue Welsh Home Rule all but disappeared from the Liberal Party in Wales. It was not even necessary for Conservative Unionists to leave the Liberal Party and become Liberal Unionists, as many had done in Scotland in response to the issue of Irish Home Rule. In Wales the Liberal Party remained quite happy with further Administrative Devolutionary measures. The Conservatives were prepared to cooperate in this. In 1905, the Conservative government adopted a watered-down Constructive Unionism for Wales. It was under the Conservatives that the National Library at Aberystwyth and the National Museum at Cardiff were set up.⁵⁸¹ So even the Conservatives were beginning to abandon their Anglo-Welsh identity and accept the existence of a Welsh-British nation within the UK.

But there was still some resistance from the Anglo-Welsh wing of the party, especially when it came to the Welsh language. The new Racism, which asserted the superiority of Teutons/Anglo-Saxon over Celts, informed their attitudes. However, it would still take some time before non-Conservative politicians from the increasingly English-speaking South Wales were able to show open contempt for Welsh language speakers. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, a Welsh language culture could not be dismissed so easily. It was still strong in some areas of South Wales, particularly in the western the northern parts of the coalfield.

Keir Hardie fought and won the Merthyr constituency, as a Labour Representation Committee (LRC) candidate in the 1900 general election.⁵⁸² He had a close friend in Thomas Evan Nicholas/Niclas y Glais, a Radical, Welsh speaking preacher, who became converted to Socialism, and joined the ILP in 1905. Niclas wrote poetry, books and pamphlets in Welsh, which sold well. He translated *The Internationale* into Welsh. He became Hardie's election agent in 1910, and in 1911 was made the editor of Hardie's new *Merthyr Pioneer*. He also maintained the Welsh Home Rule tradition, which he took very much as a minority position into the Communist Party of Great Britain, which he joined in 1920.⁵⁸³

The *Merthyr Pioneer*, which included articles supporting Welsh Home Rule,

came to perform a similar function in Wales, as *Forward* did in Scotland. *Forward* was set up in Glasgow in 1906 by ILP member, Tom Johnston, and Young Scots Society leader, Roland Muirhead (leader in 1906). It also performed a similar role to the *Irish Worker*, which was set up in Dublin by the Irish Transport & General Workers Union under Jim Larkin and James Connolly in 1911. All three papers were politically ecumenical in their contributors and enjoyed a wider readership.

Robert Blatchford's *Clarion* founded in Manchester in 1892 also performed this role in England, but its Social Imperialist politics were shown in its support for the Boer War and the First World War. It also opposed Women's Suffrage.⁵⁸⁴ These stances contrasted with the politics of the editors of *Forward*, the *Merthyr Pioneer* and the *Irish Worker*.

g) New (trade) Unionist, Labour and Socialist responses to the demand for greater Self-Determination in the Constituent Nations of the UK under the conditions of High Imperialism

Although the first independent Labour electoral candidates were put forward in Scotland, New (trade) Unionism provided the impetus for three independent Labour candidates to win English seats at Westminster in the 1892 general election - Keir Hardie in West Ham, John Burns in Battersea, Havelock Wilson in Middlesborough, whilst Ben Tillett did well in Bradford, in the aftermath of the Manningham Mills Strike.

However, both Burns and Wilson then went on to take the Liberal whip. In 1893, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) was set up, with the backing of the Scottish Labour Party (SLP) and the Bradford Labour Union.⁵⁸⁵ In the context of the High Imperialism, the defeat of the Second Irish Home Rule Bill, and the mounting employer counter-offensive, the ILP made no electoral advances in the 1895 general election. Indeed, it lost Hardie, its only remaining MP.

After initial opposition, the TUC eventually backed independent Labour candidates and the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) was formed in 1900. Hardie became its secretary. Two LRC candidates were elected in the 1900 general election, Hardie and Richard Bell of the ASRS.⁵⁸⁶ However, such steps did not mark a clear break with the Liberal Party. Both Hardie and

Bell were elected through agreements with the local Liberal Party. Bell, elected in Derby, became a Liberal MP in all but name.⁵⁸⁷

Hardie had been involved in developing an independent Labour press. He had published *The Miner* for the Scottish National Miners' Federation in 1887. This was renamed the *Labour Leader*, when it became the paper for SLP in 1888, then for the ILP in 1893.⁵⁸⁸ Wales also saw the publication of the bilingual *Llais Llafur - Welsh Labour*, in 1898, in the context of the South Wales miners' dispute. It also went on to give its support to the North Wales quarrymen.⁵⁸⁹

There was considerable ambiguity as to the political nature of the ILP. Edward Bernstein of the Marxist, Social Democratic Party of Germany addressed its founding conference in Bradford. A Scottish Labour Party delegate argued that the new organisation should be called the Socialist Labour Party; but this was rejected in favour of the Independent Labour Party.⁵⁹⁰ Although there were members within the ILP prepared to openly call themselves Socialists, what this Socialism amounted to remained decidedly vague. The ILP became more of a campaigning organisation to persuade trade unions to support independent Labour candidates for Westminster and Local Councils.

The creation of the LRC greatly increased the role of trade unions, and particularly their powerful general secretaries, in independent Labour politics. This led many to see Labour's role as being a projection into the political realm of the trade union employer negotiations on pay and conditions. In the process, the Labour Party (the name the LRC was to take on from 1906) became more and more accepting of the existing UK State. This was seen as an adequate political framework for the reforms Labour sought.

The new Labour Party was to the fore in creating a new type of Social Democracy. Democracy was no longer equated with a Republic, but with British Parliamentaryism and Westminster.⁵⁹¹ The fact that the UK was based not on Popular Sovereignty, but on the Crown-in-Parliament, became of less and less significance. Another way of viewing the Labour Party would be to see it as a British, Social Nationalist party, which also includes Social Imperialists.

In Scotland, Wales, and in Belfast in Ireland, Left British Unionism could take on hybrid characteristics. This was shown in the publication in 1906 of the broadly based ILP, Fabian Society, Radical and Socialist supported, Glasgow based *Forward*.⁵⁹² But for the ILP and Labour in Scotland, Wales and Ireland (in reality Belfast) the pre-hyphenated sections of their British names formed subordinate parts of their British 'Internationalism'. They still adhered to the Victorian notion of the UK as an international 'Beacon of Progress.' Such thinking unconsciously reflected the nature and extent of the UK (and for some the British Empire). This often made them blind to the anti-democratic Unionist and Imperialist nature of the UK state.

The creation of the LRC, then the Labour Party, led to the marginalisation of the more Local Democratic and Cooperative aspects of ILP politics. Labour's trade union official backers looked for an extension of the role of the state, particularly through Nationalisation and Welfare Provision. A combination of the build-up of successful trade union negotiations covering the workplace, and of political reforms for workers won at Westminster, would bring about Socialism by stealth. ILP leaders argued there was no need to 'frighten the horses' by openly declaring Socialism as an aim. The largely middle class, managerialist Fabian Society and many trade union leaders, still with Liberal sympathies, were influential in encouraging this approach.

There were problems too with the specifically Socialist organisations at this time. The Social Democratic Federation (SDF) had split in 1885, leading to the formation of the Socialist League (SL). Both were involved in a number of major demonstrations over coercion in Ireland and unemployment. A large demonstration held on Bloody Sunday, November 13th, 1887, led to the death of a young demonstrator.⁵⁹³ After his foray into street politics, the SDF turned mainly to electoral politics. In the process, its leader Henry Hyndman (later followed by others) also began to accommodate to the UK state.

This did leave the SDF with a political focus for its activity, whereas the SL became split between those such as William Morris who fell back on an Abstract Propagandist, Anti-Parliamentarian politics (upholding the example of the Paris Commune),⁵⁹⁴ and those Anarchists who wanted Deeds not Abstract Propaganda. The SL ceased to act as cohesive political organisation after 1887.

The emergence of New Unionism proved to be a particular challenge to the SDF and SL. First, their political split left behind a Sectarian legacy, which proved unattractive to many workers. Furthermore, Hyndman was dismissive of trade union struggles. He held a similar view to the German Patriotic Socialist, Lassalle. He had argued that strikes were a waste of time, and that capitalism imposed its own 'Iron Law of Wages',⁵⁹⁵ which ensured that any gains in wages were lost through a rise in prices. This type of thinking led many in the SDF to concentrate their attention on elections. Many of those who came from the SL, as well as being opposed to electoral work, also rejected economic struggles for better wages and conditions, because these did not challenge Wage Slavery.

There were some though, in the SDF or from an SL background (especially in the SSF in Scotland), who welcomed New Unionism. They arrived at this position for a number of reasons. Some thought New Unionism would be a more effective vehicle to bring about much needed reforms. Others thought trade union activity could act as schools of struggle. Many of those taking the first view were drawn to the ILP, whilst many of those taking the second view, also saw the need for an openly Socialist Propagandist organisation to supplement trade union activity. The Socialist Propagandist version of the party, whether accompanied by electoral or trade union activity or not, was to have a considerable influence and led to several splits.

The SDF split again with the creation of the Socialist Labour Party⁵⁹⁶ in 1903, which then itself became divided over the relationship between party and trade union organisation.⁵⁹⁷ In 1904, the Socialist Party of Great Britain⁵⁹⁸ also seceded, ignoring trade union work and concentrating upon a Socialist Propaganda, including participating in general elections.

Difficulties arose for Socialists over the role of economic and political activities, or more narrowly, over working in the trade union and parliamentary arenas. Disputes arose over whether or not to participate in struggles for Reforms or to make Socialist Propaganda. These problems were accentuated for many trade unionists, independent Labour and Socialist supporters by different attitudes to oppression, and especially to Male and National Chauvinism and to Racism.

The period of High Imperialism coincided with the intensification of struggles against many forms of oppression. Despite the early close connections between the ILP and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, set up in 1897, the reluctance of many party supporters to back votes for women weakened this link, leading the NUWSS to follow a different political path.⁵⁹⁹ And the SDF had the male chauvinist Ernest Belfort Bax.

The development of more advanced politics made more progress in Ireland. The political situation, brought about by the Irish National Land League (INLL), had led to a major advantage compared to that brought about by the New Unions. Despite the differences in Ireland between the West, South, the Midlands and the North, a shared tenant status brought greater unity amongst the majority of those drawn into struggle. This still left conflict between the tenants and the landless agricultural workers, but Davitt, Sheehan and others had managed to create a Land and Labour alliance to try to overcome this. This differed compared to more differentiated statuses found amongst the workers in England, Scotland and Wales. There were a large number of trades, skilled and unskilled, men and women, permanent and casual, and considerable 'National' (Irish or Irish-British) and Regional disparities. These differences contributed to sectionalism and chauvinism.

The INLL's displacement of the old moderate Home Rule League leadership of Butt and Shaw happened far more quickly and was more comprehensive than that managed by the New (trade) Unionists and linked independent Labour campaigners in relation to the Liberal party. They were up against the leaders of the old craft unions, Radicals and Lib-Labbers, and initially the TUC. Labour's political breakthrough took much longer, whilst Socialists remained relatively marginal. As a consequence, there were many unresolved issues and unsatisfactory compromises. Some accepted the New Unions but remained Lib-Labbers or Radicals; whilst others were Radicals, or became Socialists, but rejected or downplayed trade union struggles.

Despite Davitt's advanced politics, which had contributed much during the days of the INLL, his continued accommodation to the Irish Nationalists, highlighted the limitations of his own Social Republican and Radical and Nat-Lab approach. However, the specific version of Social Democratic politics that motivated the ILP and LRC had less grasp of the real nature of

the UK state, and was more prone to accommodate to National Chauvinism, Racism and Sexism. This led the New (trade) Unionist and other struggles along divergent paths, undermining the possibility of a coordinated all-islands wide, Socialist response to the Conservative and Unionists' and the employers' counter-offensive in the days of High Imperialism.

h) Imperialism, new migration, the growth of distinct ethnic and multi-ethnic urban areas in England, Scotland and Wales and alternative Socialist links between Ireland, Scotland and the USA and the Fabian support for Regions to challenge Provinces (pp. 289-294)

The Irish had arrived in England, Scotland and Wales in large numbers particularly after the Great Hunger from 1845-9 (although there had long been seasonal migration, particularly for harvesting work, and an earlier spurt of permanent migration between 1821-3 when there was another potato crop failure⁶⁰⁰). By 1861, there were 601,634 Irish immigrants living in England and Wales,⁶⁰¹ and 204,083 in Scotland.⁶⁰² These numbers were large enough for distinct Irish residential areas to develop in industrial urban areas. Coatbridge with its iron industry, and Croy with its coal mining, both in Lanarkshire, provided two examples in Scotland. Liverpool's Scotland Road, near the Mersey docks, provided an example in England.

Once the franchise had been extended, the number of Irish voters became significant enough to tip the balance in some parliamentary and local council elections. The most remarkable case was Liverpool's Scotland constituency where the Irish dominated to such an extent that it had an Irish Nationalist MP, T. P. O'Connor (IPP) from 1885-1929. Even Belfast in Ireland wasn't able to sustain an Irish Nationalist MP in the West Belfast constituency throughout this period.

However, the rapid growth of the economy, in the period of New Imperialism and High Imperialism, attracted new migrants from overseas, although not on the scale of the earlier Irish migrations. The main source for this new migration consisted of asylum seekers, as well as economic migrants, from areas of the Tsarist Russian Pale (including what would later become Poland, Lithuania, Byelorussia and Ukraine). Here Jewish people were usually confined to city ghettos or small-town shtetls and were subjected to discrimination and sometimes pogroms.

Major waves of Jewish migration followed the pogroms of 1881-4⁶⁰³ and 1903-6.⁶⁰⁴ In the East End of London, Cheetham in Manchester and the Leylands in Leeds, the number of Jewish migrants also became large enough to create distinctive, although still mixed communities. Where the numbers were not so large, Jewish migrants tended to move into already mixed communities such as the Gorbals in Glasgow, with its Irish and Italians.

Another type of mixed ethnic community emerged in the port cities and towns, with their shipping and docks. These places had become central to the UK's imperial economy dependent upon imported foodstuffs and raw materials, and upon exported raw materials (like coal) and manufactured industrial products. These communities included Toxteth in Liverpool, Limehouse in East London and Butetown/Tiger Bay in Cardiff, and in South Shields on Tyneside. Here migrants worked in the shipping trade or took jobs on the docks. They included Lascars (mainly from India), Chinese, Yemenis and Somalis from colonial and overseas trading ports. Their numbers never approached those of the Irish, Jews or even Italians. However, the Chinese, in particular, became a second major target of attack, despite their official number in England, Wales and Scotland being only 805, compared to over 40,000 Tsarist Empire born Jewish born and 632,129 Irish born migrants.⁶⁰⁵

The Anti-Jewish Racism, which had been directed against rich Jewish financiers during the Boer War, was also directed towards a very different group of Jewish people - those refugees trying to escape the Anti-Jewish pogroms and poverty in Tsarist Russia and Poland. As a result of the growing impact of Imperialism, belief in the superiority of 'Britain' was widely held in trade union, Labour and Socialist circles. The 'working class' was often understood as being made up of English/British/Teutonic, White, Male, Manual, Organised workers.

The extent to which Racism had become more deeply rooted, even amongst those calling themselves Socialists, is highlighted in the case of Keir Hardie. He does not seem to have been dragged into the Anti-Jewish Racism so obvious amongst other British trade unionists and amongst Socialists like Hyndman. But this is only because in the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire coalfields he was brought up and worked in, it was not Jewish migrants he

came across. The main migrant groups in these coalfields were Lithuanians and Poles.

"Hardie, in his evidence to the 1899 House of Commons Select Committee on emigration and immigration, argued that the Scots resented immigrants greatly and that they would want a total immigration ban... According to Hardie, the Lithuanian migrant workers in the mining industry had 'filthy habits, they lived off 'garlic and oil, and they were carriers of 'the Black Death.'"⁶⁰⁶ And fellow ILP member and Scottish Miners Federation ally, Robert Smillie campaigned in North-East Lanarkshire in 1901 to keep Polish miners out.⁶⁰⁷

The British Brothers League,⁶⁰⁸ a proto-Fascist organisation, supported by Conservative MP, Major Evans-Gordon, was set up in London's East End, in 1902, mainly to exclude Jewish migrants from the UK. This organisation campaigned for 'England for the English'. The earlier Aliens Act of 1793 and the Removal of Aliens Act of 1848 had both been relatively short-lived, and primarily directed against European Revolutionary Democrats. As soon as the particular International Revolutionary Waves, which formed the context for the implementation of these acts, had passed, they were repealed. However, Balfour's Aliens Act of 1905,⁶⁰⁹ passed under the pressure of the British Brothers League, and with the backing of the TUC, signalled the era when anti-migrant legislation became a permanent feature of the UK state.

After the Liberal Party/Labour Representation Committee deal, brokered by Herbert Gladstone and Hardie for the 1906 election, a campaign was directed against Chinese labour. In Manchester East, the Liberal, Thomas Horridge ousted the Conservative PM, Arthur Balfour, who had been responsible for the Aliens Act. However, Horridge clearly thought that Balfour had not gone far enough! He thanked Labour, saying, "East Manchester is essentially a Labour constituency and the great Labour party has supported my candidacy very thoroughly and very loyally." The constituents "have returned me, I take it, first to uphold free trade, next to deal with Chinese labour."⁶¹⁰

Much of this Anti-Chinese prejudice was directed against their use as labour in the British colonies, particularly South Africa. This, though, just reflected the widespread belief that the British colonies were for the exclusive use of British settlers. When Arthur Henderson, Labour MP, speaking in Belfast in

1907, said we are "one unbroken imperial family", this did not include the overwhelming majority of the non-White population of the British Empire.⁶¹¹

Furthermore, as well as a growth in Social Imperialist, Chauvinist and Racist feeling directed against those born outside the UK, a quasi-Racist contempt for Celts, or for those who would not assimilate to the British Unionist and Imperial order, would develop in Labour circles too. These people played on British workers' dependence upon employment in industries exporting to or importing from the Empire. English was the language of the owners and managers of the factories, mills and dockyards.

Anti-Celtic prejudices and job discrimination was found in North-east Ulster, Liverpool, the Central Belt of Scotland, whilst antagonism was also promoted between English and Welsh speakers in Wales. Virtually every Celtic resident or migrant in the industrial centres either also spoke or learned English, but they sometimes retained their original language for communication with family and friends, or they attended their own Denominational churches. Liverpool had Welsh Nonconformist, Scottish Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches, the latter mainly attended by Irish migrants and their families.⁶¹² Their cultural distinctiveness remained.

However, there was another consequence of migration. As well as distinct ethnic minority communities developing in most major cities and some industrial towns and villages, distinct forms of political organisation emerged amongst these communities. The most numerous included the overseas branches of the Irish Home Rule League (IHRL), then the Irish National League (INL) and later the United Irish League (UIL). The Irish National Land League (INLL) had branches in England and Scotland. The Radical wing of the Highland Land League (HLL) had a leadership based in London.⁶¹³ The Indian National Congress (INC) had a London branch from 1886.⁶¹⁴

The presence of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster provided focus for many of these organisations. More Radically inclined and Anti-Imperialist IPP MPs such as Michael Davitt, Alfred Webb and Frank Hugh O'Donnell,⁶¹⁵ and the Radical Liberal MP, Dadabhai Naoroji⁶¹⁶ provided links between members of these various organisations. O'Donnell helped to set up the British Council of the INC,⁶¹⁷ whilst Webb attended the INC annual meeting

in Bombay.⁶¹⁸

Webb also helped to set up the world's first Pan-African Congress in London in 1900,⁶¹⁹ which was attended by, amongst others, leading African-American Civil Rights activists and by the scholar, William du Bois.⁶²⁰ However, many of these MPs came up against the entrenched Racism found at Westminster and in Liberal and trade union organisations. This meant they often cast the eyes further afield, linking up with Socialists such as SDF member, John Scurr⁶²¹ (a friend of George Lansbury), whilst Naoroji also joined the Second International.⁶²²

However, there was wider organisation beyond that with a Westminster focus, both in London and elsewhere in the UK. There was an Irish National Club in London.⁶²³ London branches of the Gaelic League (GA)⁶²⁴ and Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA)⁶²⁵ were established in 1896 and 1899. These bodies were found to other cities with Irish migrant populations too. Glasgow was a particular centre, which had its own Irish branches organisations, such as the IHRL, INLL, INL and UIL. These had changing relations with organisations such as the Liberal Party, the Scottish Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the HLL and the SHRA.

Michael Davitt's supporter, John Ferguson, was central to many of these links.⁶²⁶ The GL and GAA also had cumann in Glasgow, and their activities inspired some Gaelic language activists in Scotland, such as Ruairidh Erskine who founded the magazine, *Guth na Blaidhna* in 1906.⁶²⁷ Tom Johnston and Roland Muirhead's Glasgow-based, Non-Sectarian Socialist journal, *Forward*,⁶²⁸ attracted non-ILP writers, such as James Connolly and John Maclean and circulated in Scotland and Ireland.

There were also emigrants from all four nations of the UK to the USA (as well as to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). Emigration from the Celtic lands of Ireland, the Scottish Highlands and Islands, and North and Central Wales, or from the most poverty-stricken industrial and mining communities, led to alternative contacts and links, which did not centre upon London. The Irish were found in considerable numbers in most industrial and mining cities and towns, including Butte, Montana, the most Radical city in the USA.⁶²⁹

James Connolly and Mary 'Mother' Jones⁶³⁰ were two towering figures involved in the Industrial Workers of the World. Connolly and Carstairs Matheson, amongst others, ensured that Socialist Labour Party journals from the USA, provided an alternative to both the London based *Justice*, and the Manchester based *Clarion*. The *International Socialist Review*, published by Charles H. Kerr⁶³¹ in Chicago, was more widely read than the official publications of the Second International (SI), because of language difficulties involved in reading the SI's main publications, unless articles were specifically translated for British papers.

The one immigrant group, which included members, who could usually read German, was the Jewish migrants in east London, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Dublin. Their ranks included Socialists, who could follow the debates of the SI. However, as Jewish migrants moved to and around the UK and USA, they also made contacts with English-speaking Socialists. They probably constituted the most internationally aware and best-connected group of Socialists anywhere. And, they were on the front line of the rising Racism associated with the New Imperialism, which had penetrated deeply into British trade unionism. Jewish trade unionists produced a leaflet *A Voice from the Aliens*, addressed to the 1895 TUC held in Cardiff.⁶³² They were not successful and in a few years the TUC was campaigning for Balfour's anti-Jewish Aliens Act.

With the USA at the cutting edge of the latest capitalist developments, many Socialists, particularly in Ireland and on Clydeside, had New York, Chicago or Butte, Montana as their international focus, rather than Berlin or Paris, or even London. This was to have important consequences when the First World War broke out in 1914. Furthermore, once the next International Revolutionary Wave surged forth in 1916, and with greater force from 1917, these alternative National and International connections helped many Socialists/Communists to bypass or develop alternatives to the more conservative Social Democratic, Labour and trade union leaderships, with their links more confined to the Imperial metropolises in a top-down fashion to the Provinces and Colonies.

j) James Connolly and the emergence of Socialist Republicanism (pp. 295-299)

The Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP),⁶³³ formed by James Connolly and others in 1896, developed the most advanced politics in the UK. Setting out to consciously create a politics, which placed Ireland's specific economic, social and political struggles in their international context, Connolly wrote a series of key articles to differentiate Socialist Republicanism from other political forces.

In his *Irish Socialist Republic - To the Irish People*,⁶³⁴ written in 1896, Connolly outlined the need for the ISRP to take on the "reactionary Tory Party" then in office, the "treacherous and corrupt" Liberal Party, and the "worthlessness and incapacity" of the Home Rule Party. In *Erin's Hope - The End and the Means*⁶³⁵ a pamphlet written in 1897, Connolly developed an analysis of Irish history. This was partly based on the work of his old Edinburgh SDF comrade, John Leslie, who had written, *The Irish Question*.⁷³⁰ *Erin's Hope* began with pre-conquest Ireland and built up to the contemporary situation the ISRP faced, with his critique of *Home Rule - Its Meaning*.

Connolly saw his Socialist Republican politics as being the genuine Left or Revolutionary Social Democratic wing of Social Democracy and the Second International in Ireland. Left Social Democrats insisted on a Socialist prefix to Democracy (i.e. an adherence to a Republic). For the Right, Social Democracy increasingly meant support for Parliamentarianism (and in the UK, support for the Crown in Westminster). But in the changed political circumstances that Connolly prepared the ground for in the 1916 Rising, the Social in Socialist Republicanism could act as a transition to International Socialism (or after his death Communism).

Like other Left Social Democrats, Connolly was involved in the struggles of the parties of the Second International. Along with them, he threw himself into the struggles with the Right or Reformist wings through his activities in the SDF, ISRP. SLP (Great Britain), SLP (USA), but upon his return to Ireland in 1910 placed more emphasis on the Irish Transport & General Workers Union (IT&GWU) and a more Syndicalist politics. He abandoned promoting the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI) as a public political force in

1914, leaving it more to the Syndicalism of the IT&GWU to conduct such struggles.

But Connolly saw it as vital; that Left Social Democrats took the lead of the struggle for Irish Self-Determination too, but as Socialist Republicans. In *Independent Labour Party of Ireland: Appeal to the Irish Working Class*, he wrote that “As Socialists, we have ever taught that National Freedom could not be won by a population resigned to industrial slavery; and as believers in National Freedom we have ever taught that the real re-conquest of Ireland necessarily implied the redemption of the Irish worker from the slavery of the capitalist system.”⁶³⁶

However, this dual role for Social Democrats, taking the lead of economic and social struggles (as other Left Social Democrats did) and taking the lead over the issue of Irish Self-Determination was part of Connolly’s politics from the formation of the ISRP, even if his political vehicle for achieving this changed,

Back in the early days of the ISRP, the struggle for Irish Self-Determination was focussed on Home Rule. This meant as early as 1897, Connolly saw the necessity of working with Irish Republicans, because of the importance of the National Question in Ireland. He used an essay, *Socialism and Nationalism*, in *Shan Van Vocht*, to outline conditions for United Front work during the 1798 centenary. In the immediate lead up to the 1916 Rising, he did the same in *What Is Our Programme*, in the *Workers Republic*.⁷⁴³

Connolly pointed to the class limits of Irish Home Rule and the necessity for the working class to adopt a Socialist Republican alternative. Connolly also realised that he would have to challenge the limitations of the IRB. This was another political organisation which opposed the Irish Home Rulers, advocating a military uprising against the UK state. Connolly did this in *Physical Force in Irish Politics*,⁶³⁷ written in 1899. He did not dismiss the need for physical force, but it was "principles first, methods afterwards," and like the true men of '98' {we} place ourselves in line with the most advanced thought of our age and drawing inspiration and hope from the spectacle presented by the world-wide revolt of the workers."⁷³²

Connolly also realised he had to confront Social Democrats, Right and Left in the UK, with their entrenched Left Unionist attitudes. In *The Language Movement*⁶³⁸ written in 1898, Connolly defended his support for the Irish Gaelic language, boldly stating that, "Nations which submit to conquest or races which abandon their language in favour of that of the oppressor do so, not because of altruistic motives, or because of a love of brotherhood of man, but from a slavish and cringing spirit."⁷³³

In this, even if unwittingly, Connolly was returning to those in the United Irishmen who championed the Irish Gaelic language. They organised the Belfast Harp Festival in 1792 and published *Bolgan tSolair* in 1795.⁷³⁴ With his continued historical research, Connolly was deeply aware of the Social Republican wing of the United Irishmen and the pointers to a Socialist Republican future they provided. Connolly's resort to a Social Republican argument was used to offer a way to a contemporary transition to Socialist Republicanism. This political legacy included Thomas Drennan, Henry Joy, Robert and Thomas Emmet, Jemmy Hope, Betsy Gray and Mary Ann McCracken. Later, Fintan Lalor and Michael Davitt were to play an important role in Connolly's arguments about the transition from Social to Socialist Republicanism.

In addressing more contemporary issues and struggles Connolly showed he was no narrow Nationalist. He also championed Yiddish and Esperanto for international communication between workers.⁷³⁵

By 1900, Connolly was publishing an oppositionist paper, *The Socialist*, in Scotland; targeted at the SDF such had been the accommodation of its leader Hyndman to British Imperialism and Racism. He recognised another growing problem amongst Social Democrats. As the SDF became more and more UK state orientated, Socialism became equated with State Nationalisation. He countered this trend with *The New Evangel - State Monopoly versus Socialism*, written in 1899. "Socialism properly implies above all things the co-operative control by the workers of the machinery of production; without this co-operative control the public ownership by the State is not Socialism – it is only State capitalism."⁷³⁶ State capitalist views were very pronounced in the Fabian Society and were to form the basis of what later became National Labourist politics.

Connolly was opposed to Political (and Religious) Sectarianism. He was more than prepared to work with others for immediate objectives. One reason for clarifying the ISRP's politics was to ensure that when they worked with others, it was on what would later be understood as United Front principles. Connolly was adamant that the ISRP should maintain its own independent political stance within any such alliances.

The ISRP took a leading part in the Anti-Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee rally in Dublin in 1897. The preparations involved advanced Nationalists and Republicans, including the IRB. The rally was organised under the slogan, 'Down with the Monarchy: Long live the Republic'. Predictably, the police attacked it. The ISRP produced a leaflet, *Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee*, using for its heading, "The great only appear great to us because we are on our knees"⁷³⁷ (from the French revolutionary, Desmoullins, and which Connolly had also used to head the SSF's *Labour Chronicle* in Edinburgh.)⁷³⁸ He led a funeral procession in Dublin headed by a black coffin entitled 'British Empire'. Inscribed upon it were the numbers who had died in the Famine, emigrated, or been evicted during Victoria's reign.⁷³⁹

Connolly put a great deal of effort into making sure the ISRP had its own press - the *Workers Republic*.⁷⁴⁰ It was open to people outside the party. Maude Gonne was a contributor. Connolly wrote under both the pen name of Spailpin (wandering landless labourer) and Setanta (the legendary Cuchulainn's infant name). He began a series of historical articles, which would be published in an extended pamphlet a decade later as *Labour in Irish History*.⁷⁴¹ It was Social Republicans, such as Fintan Lalor and Michael Davitt, the latter spurred by the International Land and Labour struggles, whom Connolly saw as two Socialist Republican antecedents. Davitt was already well along the transition.

Connolly was a strong Internationalist. The ISRP was represented at the 1900 Second International Congress in Paris, against the wishes of the SDF. Here the ISRP's two delegates, with Connolly's strong approval, took a principled stance against French Socialist, Alexander Millerand who had joined a government, which included General Galliflet, the butcher of the Paris Commune. And, as has been shown, the ISRP took a wider Anti-British Imperialist stance towards the Boer War, which was more in line with the initial 1879 INLL leaflet *The West Awake*.⁷⁴² Connolly's approach contrasted

with that of many British Radicals, trade unionists, Fabians, Socialists and Irish Nationalists at the time.

The ISRP remained a small organisation, with continuous branch activity confined to Dublin, and only short-lived branches in Cork, Belfast and Limerick. The ISRP was fighting against the rising tide of gung-ho Imperialism, hard-line Unionism, the retreat of New (trade) Unionism (indeed its virtual collapse in Ireland) and growing British Socialist accommodation to the UK state. Under these overwhelming pressures, the ISRP was to fragment. One problem was that with fewer members the remaining workload became even more onerous. As a consequence, Connolly became involved in a number of acrimonious personal disputes directed at individuals who could not match his total dedication.

Connolly and his family, living in abject poverty, had to leave for the USA in 1903 (just as he had had to leave Edinburgh seven years before). Nevertheless, Connolly's time in the ISRP was not wasted. He created a new political legacy, that of Socialist Republicanism.

However, Connolly gave up the fight within the Second International after its capitulation in the face of the First World War. This was to have negative effect, as a new Left Social Democracy eventually merged around the Zimmerwald Left. Connolly played no part in this. But as the struggle around the First Irish Republic emerged, then Connolly's successors became involved once more in struggles with the leadership or membership of the IRB, Cumann nan Bann, IT&GWU, Irish Citizens Army and Republican wing of the First Irish Republic. The possibilities of a transition from Social Republican to Socialist Republican/Communist politics became important once more, just as other Left Social Democrats tried to win over Left Social Democrats to Communism. And Socialist Republicans won some over to Communism.

3. THE LATE AUTUMN CHILL OF EMPIRE AND UNION

British Unionist intransigence undermines the prospects for Catholic-Irish, Non-Sectarian Irish, or Irish-British Nations within the UK and British Empire; different visions of an Irish-Irish nation; and the

continued drive to Inter-Imperialist War

a) Conservative and Unionist and Liberal Party divisions but more fundamental agreements in the face of growing Imperial rivalry (pp. 300-303)

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the British ruling class had become increasingly concerned about new challenges to their domination of the world Imperial order. The Conservative and Liberal Unionist governments of the Marquess of Salisbury and of Arthur Balfour had pursued a series of Colonial Wars so the British Empire would remain at the top. Financing Wars and extending the Colonies lined the pockets of the City bankers and of many company shareholders looking for profits from super-exploited labour. The Conservatives promoted gung-ho Jingoism as a way of winning working class support. This followed Disraeli's initial response to the extension of the franchise. Military and naval parades, royal celebrations, a populist press and music hall culture gave the Conservatives a broader political base.

When Joseph Chamberlain took the Radical wing of the Liberal Unionists into coalition with the Conservatives in 1886, he had initially hoped to join up with Tory populist, Randolph Churchill, to lead a Radical Unionist government.⁶³⁹ He also thought that working class loyalty to Crown, Union and Empire should be rewarded by some top-down managed reforms. However, Salisbury preferred to link up with Whig wing of the Liberal Unionists, and a Chamberlain/Churchill led Radical Unionist government never came about.

Therefore, to re-establish the Imperialism/Reform link, Chamberlain later tried to persuade the Conservative Party of the need for Protection in the form Imperial Preference (trading within the British Empire). He thought this could stave off growing foreign competition and help finance the reforms he sought. This presented him with a problem since, from 1845, Free Trade thinking had become deeply embedded within the way British businessmen and economic thinkers viewed the UK economy and the wider world. This was particularly true of The City, which acted as the organising centre for much of the global economy at the time. Therefore, Chamberlain faced an

uphill task in trying to get the Conservatives to adopt Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform). He found strong resistance both within the Conservative government, and outside from former Chancellor, Goschen, with his City links.

Chamberlain, though, won over the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, the Conservative Working Men's Association and Conservative press.⁶⁴⁰ Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform also obtained support from the Fabian Society, Robert Blatchford, editor of the weekly paper, *The Clarion*,⁶⁴¹ and some other Socialists. Using this pressure, Chamberlain was successful in getting the Conservative and Liberal Unionist alliance to fight the 1906 general election on the issue of Tariff Reform.

This resembled the Tory Right's ability to persuade David Cameron to fight the 2015 election on a promise of holding an EU referendum. Some British orientated Socialists also backed Brexit. Back in 1906, though, the balance of forces and the outcome were quite different. The Liberals successfully persuaded many that if new tariffs were to be introduced then food costs would rise. They won the election by a landslide, seeing off the Tariff Reformers. This was a time when Britannia did "rule the waves" and "could have its cake and eat it too". British industrialists were able to take advantage both of trade within largest empire that had ever existed, and of The City's continued wider global dominance of finance and commerce.

Following the 1906 general election, despite the divide over Protectionism and Free Trade, a deeper underlying continuity would still be found between the Conservative and Liberal Unionists under Arthur Balfour (1902-5), and the Liberals under Herbert Asquith (from 1907). They both agreed about the need to protect the British Empire and shared a belief that Germany was now the main Imperial competitor and would probably have to be confronted militarily at some time.⁶⁴² Attempts were made to further widen support for an Anti-Germany and Austria-Hungary alliance. The Cartagena Pact of 1907,⁶⁴³ involving the UK, France and Spain, even survived British military intervention of Spain in 1910, after the Monarchist regime there invaded the new Portuguese Republic.⁶⁴⁴ Portugal and its Empire amounted to a semi-colony for the British Empire. Tsarist Russia had also been brought into the Triple Entente with the UK and France in 1907.

Tsarist Russia was the main force behind the Balkan League of 1912,⁶⁴⁵ which immediately went to war against the Ottoman Empire, stymying both Austro-Hungarian and German ambitions in this area, whilst greatly increasing local National and Inter-Imperialist antagonisms. Italy, although a member of the Triple Alliance, was allowed by the Triple Entente to get away with its own war upon the Ottoman Empire in 1911.⁶⁴⁶ If Italy's Imperial ambitions, could be redirected - particularly against Germany's ally Austria, as Tsarist Russia's had been - then there was still a possibility of weaning Italy away from the Triple Alliance, if the price was right.

The UK's longstanding strategy of bolstering the Ottoman Empire was in the process of being abandoned, in favour of a Russian/British/French Imperial carve-up, to which other states like Italy and Greece would later be invited to take part as a reward for their military support. After the Liberal government secured access to Gulf oilfields, through a Spheres of Influence deal with Tsarist Russia in Persia in 1907, Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, looked to the oilfields of Ottoman Mesopotamia in 1911 as a source of fuel for the new Dreadnought battleships.⁶⁴⁷ The UK stood by France in the standoffs with Germany over Tangiers in 1905⁶⁴⁸ and Agadir⁶⁴⁹ in 1911. All the time, the Royal Navy was being modernised and expanded, whilst the British Army was being reformed following its poor showing in the Second Boer War.

The major competing Imperialist states all had their own 'War Parties' making plans for a forthcoming Imperial showdown. They would be assisted by the over-representation of the warmongers amongst their military commands and in the upper bureaucracies of states that were still far from democratic. A vociferous yellow press also promoted Jingoism. The various 'War Parties' main problem was hiding their intentions and covering their tracks and finding a pretext for manoeuvring their domestic governments into further war preparations. The secret agreements and behind-the-scenes diplomacy set the pattern.

In the end, it was the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914,⁶⁵⁰ which ignited the various touch papers that led to the breakout of a much wider conflagration a month later. During the recent First World War centenary events, attempts have been made to show how this war could have been avoided at the time, or to attribute

responsibility to a particular state. However, the impact of High Imperialism made it all but inevitable that war would eventually break out on some pretext or other. The key position of 'War Parties' in all the warring states meant that responsibility for war would be shared.

b) Labour, Socialists and the challenge of New Liberalism (pp. 303-308)

When the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) had been formed in 1900, the Independent Labour Party was its major political backer, but with the leaders of various trade unions also providing the other significant support. By 1906 the LRC had become the Labour Party, the name given to the 29 MPs elected under the secret Macdonald-Gladstone Pact, made between the ILP and Liberal Party.⁶⁵¹ Despite the ILP's leading role in the formation of the Labour Party, a tension emerged which reflected two different strands of politics.

In many ways, the ILP represented a continuation of Radical and Lib-Lab politics. These had developed deep social roots in the second half of the nineteenth century. Friendly societies, later the New Model unions, cooperative retail and wholesale societies, sanatoria for the sick, residential halls for conferences and outdoor recreational activities, local halls for lectures and social activities (often musical and teetotal) with reading rooms and libraries, were often organised and democratically run. ILP members were also often members of non-Established churches, or in other areas, of Secular Societies. These were some of the many institutions, which formed the basis for an independent working class culture that developed within the interstices of a wider capitalist society. The ILP was able to root itself in this milieu, as well as develop its own version of some of these institutions, for example, the Labour churches, or to work within other new bodies, such as the Clarion Clubs.

The ILP adapted itself to distinct Provincial and National traditions. In London, a more Secular milieu prevailed, whilst in West Yorkshire, Methodism was still strong. The ILP in Belfast was largely confined to the Protestant working class, with its all-UK rather than Irish orientation. This reflected an earlier split amongst the working class between support for Ulster Liberalism and Irish Nationalism. The ILP on Clydeside was able to develop a hybrid Presbyterian/Catholic character, united more by a sense of

Toleration than by any strong Secular commitment. The ILP in South Wales reflected the culture of the non-Established, Calvinist Methodist and Baptist churches, with their teetotalism and choirs.

The distinction between the National and Provincial was highlighted by the Scottish and Welsh ILPs' support for Home Rule. However, the ILP also reflected and promoted distinct Provincial identities within Scotland and Wales. And beneath these, in the major cities and towns, the ILP developed a strong commitment to Municipal Socialism, with Local Council provision of parks, libraries, gas, electricity and tramways. Municipal Socialism was able to utilise the openings provided by major Local Government reform, first for the urban areas in 1882,⁶⁵² then the counties in England and Wales in 1888,⁶⁵³ Scotland in 1889⁶⁵⁴ and Ireland in 1898.⁶⁵⁵

However New Liberalism⁶⁵⁶ emerged to counter this independent Labourist challenge. New Liberalism questioned the previously dominant Liberal ideology of individualism, laissez faire economics and a minimum role for the state. Instead, New Liberals supported an increased role for the state, particularly in the welfare arena. When the Liberals were able to take office in 1906, with the support of the Labour Party, what was in effect Social Liberalism became government policy. The new government introduced pensions,⁶⁵⁷ unemployment and sickness benefits.⁶⁵⁸ These were financed by state run insurance contributions, increased taxes on high earners, increased death duties and new taxes on luxury items.

New Liberalism provided a much stronger focus on the UK state to achieve its reforms. Pressure to win State Reforms had previously been the province of Radical Liberal or Labour organisations. Asquith's Liberal government put the embryo of a new Welfare State into place. Many Labour MPs, especially those who came from a New Union background, with its increasingly bureaucratic domination by all-UK or all-British general secretaries and officials, equated Social Progress with a further strengthening of the UK state. Indeed, what became the dominant form of Labourism, National Labourism, during and in the aftermath of the First World War, was but an extension of this earlier Social Liberalism. Labour's post-1945 Welfare State represented a further development of the New Liberal's post-1906 state-strengthening reforms (the Liberal Lord Beveridge's 1942 Report acted as the bridge between the two).

A further consequence of this rise of National Labourism was that its advocates increasingly accepted the existing features of the existing UK state, the British Empire, Union and the existing Westminster set-up, based on the sovereignty of Crown-in-Parliament. The ILP, though, had retained some of the older features of Radical Liberalism, including a more critical, if somewhat naive reformist attitude towards the Empire, hostility to War, a desire to update the Union through Home Rule for Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and a wish to reform Westminster, particularly the House of Lords. But as the pressures of Social Liberalism made themselves felt, the ILP's early Anti-Monarchism became more muted.

However, Socialists only needed to look at the slippage of that one-time 'Anti-Imperialist' opponent of the Boer War, and now Social Liberal, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, to see the problems associated with the strengthening the UK state. Because another pressure was also pushing this accommodationist direction and that was Imperial competition with Germany. So, from 1909, along with increased spending on Welfare, Lloyd George, also increased spending on Warfare preparations, including Dreadnought battleships,⁶⁵⁹ the Trident of their day.

The attitude of the TUC to the Boer War in 1900 had already highlighted a significant pro-imperialist current in British working class politics, which very much contributed to this alternative state focused National Labourism. Furthermore, many of those advocating such a course, found they could make common cause with Conservative Social Imperialists. They backed National Protectionism and found Racist controls over migrant labour attractive. The majority of the TUC's member unions were able to influence the Labour Party to push a pro-British imperialist and National Labour policies further.

New career opportunities were becoming available in those state bureaucracies created by the Liberal government's Welfare Reforms. Richard Bell, recent general secretary of Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and one the first two LRC MPs to be elected in 1900, took a job in the Employment Exchange branch of the Board of Trade in 1910.⁶⁶⁰ David Shackleton, general secretary of the Textile Factory Workers Association, and one-time chairman both of the TUC and Labour Party, elected Labour MP in 1902, joined the Civil Service, at Winston Churchill's invitation in

1910.⁶⁶¹ Belfast ILP member, William Walker of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (challenged by James Connolly for his Municipal Socialist and Unionist approach in Belfast), took a job with the National Insurance Commission in 1912.⁶⁶²

There was still a wider Left, including sections of the ILP, which was concerned about Labour MPs' growing accommodation with the Liberal government, and their lack of concern about wider working class Democratic principles. The election of the maverick Socialist, and ILP member, Victor Grayson in the 1907 Colne Valley by-election in Lancashire, highlighted this.⁶⁶³ Similar tensions were revealed again in 1911, when several branches of the ILP joined the new British Socialist Party, which was initiated by Hyndman's Social Democratic Party.⁶⁶⁴

However, the strained relationship between leading ILP and Labour Party MPs was usually resolved in favour of the latter. New non-ILP Labour MPs did not go on to join the ILP; whereas existing ILP MPs tended to downplay or give up their party membership when it came to making a choice between pursuing the logic of Social Liberal, National Labour or older Radical Liberal politics. The ILP was unable to effectively counter the rise of Conservative and Reactionary British Unionism and Imperialism. Furthermore, such was the strength of these forces in British politics, that once the First World War was declared, it was not only ILPers like George Barnes who resigned the party to remain as a war-supporting Labour MP (soon to be a War government minister), but also former critics like Cunninghame Graham, Grayson and Hyndman, leader of the now well-named British Socialist Party, supported the war.

There is a parallel with the 2016-19 rise of Jeremy Corbyn-led Labour, and the revival of Left Social Democratic politics. Just as New Liberalism followed a prolonged period of Right Liberalism, so Corbynism followed a prolonged period of Right Labourism. But Corbyn also adapted to the politics of today's inheritors of the old Conservative and Liberal Imperialist Tariff Reform Protectionists - the Brexiteers. However, the UK state and British economy is in a considerably weaker state today than it was in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Today Labour remains just as tied to Imperialism, albeit now US-led. Labour supports NATO, the equivalent of upholding pre-First World War British naval supremacy on the world's seas.

Labour remains committed to renewing Trident, the equivalent of building more Dreadnoughts.

Corbyn had no policies to democratise the UK, since he did not see this state as being a major obstacle to his Left Social Democratic policies. Having a parliamentary majority in the House of Commons and making vague appeals for support outside are seen to be enough to counter the UK's Anti-Democratic, Crown Powers, the senior leaders of the armed forces, police, judiciary and civil service (whose loyalty is to the Crown not Parliament) and the City of London. Corbyn also accepted membership of NATO. Yet NATO brings together US senior officers and the British High Command, with their military bases and security offices (some no doubt secret) located across the UK. Under Corbyn successors, Sir Keir Starmer, Labour will also continue its support to the existing Union, following the lead given by his predecessor Ed Miliband in 'Better Together' during the 2013-14 Scottish independence referendum campaign, Miliband's 2015 general election and Corbyn's 2017 and 2019 general election campaigns.

This legacy, largely unquestioning of the UK state, had already become entrenched within the pre-First World War British Labour Party. In so far as there were more Radical (albeit still limited) challenges to the UK state, e.g. moves to curtail the power of the House of Lords, these were initiated by the pre-war Liberal Party, with Labour support. And today, the main pressures to reform the UK constitution come not from Labour but from the SNP, Plaid Cymru and Sinn Fein, with Labour struggling to come up with its own Liberal Unionist defence of the UK, leaving it largely in the hands of Conservative and Reactionary Unionists.

Before the First World War, Social Liberalism provided the bridge to what became Labour's British Welfare State. Furthermore, Lloyd George, New Liberalism's leading representative, was not at all averse to using the language of Class warfare, as demonstrated in his 1909 Limehouse speech.⁶⁶⁵ Many of those self-declared Socialists in the BSP also held to a version of National Labourism, which was a projection of the then Liberal government's Social Liberalism. This made it harder for them to distance themselves from a government preparing itself for war.

Recently, we have also witnessed self-declared Socialists, who saw Corbyn's reforms as a bridge to their own version of an essentially Nationalist, UK or

Britain-wide, Socialism. They represent an alternative Social Democratic way of upholding the capitalist system and maintaining the UK state in a period of crisis.⁶⁶⁶ Looking to the existing UK State as the main vehicle for their reforms means defending it against any challengers. The logic of such thinking was anticipated by Rebecca Long Bailey, Corbyn's successor on the Labour Left. When interviewed about her 'defence' policy she said, "she'd be prepared to use nuclear weapons"⁶⁶⁷ Where does that leave Socialists who accept a national Social Democratic road to their Socialism?

c) The response of the exploited and oppressed - the impact of Syndicalism and the new Women's Suffrage campaign on the development of a new Socialist Republican 'Internationalism from Below' alliance (pp. 308-313)

When the Liberal government took office in 1906, its ILP, Fabian Society and Irish Nationalist apologists did not go unchallenged. 1904-7 marked the years of an International Revolutionary Wave, of which the best-known event was the first Revolution in the Tsarist Empire. It extended considerably wider than Russia itself, with some of the most militant actions in the Baltic States and Finland, as well as the establishment of the three-year Gurian Republic in Georgia.⁶⁶⁸

At the level of any challenge to the state, nothing quite so remarkable took place within the UK. However, 1905 did mark the end of a decade of Conservative and Liberal Unionist rule, during which a major employer counter-offensive had stripped back many of the gains made by New (trade) Unionism. Where the New Unions had been able to survive, it was often by falling back on the more conservative methods associated with Old Unionism. There was also a greater emphasis on centralised bureaucratic control, especially by union general secretaries - Havelock Wilson (NS&FU), Ben Tillett (DWR&GLU), Will Thorne (NUGW&GL) and James Sexton (NUDL).

With the exception of Wilson, though, the New Union leaders pressed for independent Labour representation, in the face of continued Old Union, Lib-Lab and Liberal opposition. Lord Rosebery's earlier retreat to open Liberal Imperialism and its ineffective opposition to gung-ho Conservatives (a bit like Tony Blair's New Labourism with its support for the US/British

imperialist alliance), had put the trade union old guard on the back foot. The 1901 Taff Vale decision, which made trade unions liable for the costs to the employers of industrial action, also contributed to this.⁶⁶⁹ More trade unions began to affiliate to the Labour Party, culminating with the MFGB in 1909, taking its 11 Lib-Lab MPs⁶⁷⁰ with it (although without much change in their pro-Liberal politics).

Some more far-sighted Lib-Labbers had already begun to accept independent Labour representation as a logical extension of New Liberalism. When 29 Labour MPs were elected in 1906, the Trades Disputes Act soon followed. This overturned the Taff Vale Judgement. This Act merely restored the position that existed in 1901, prior to the height of the employers' counter-offensive. Since the days of Old (trade) Unionism, Liberals had accepted the legality of trade unions and their right to take industrial action, although this had not stopped them falling back on the police and judiciary when major industrial conflicts developed. Nevertheless, the new Labour MPs impressed some of the older Lib-Lab MPs, and union general secretaries, with their ability to defend union organisation,⁶⁷¹ and also to establish minimum wages through trade boards.⁶⁷²

However, in the context of the heightened political awareness brought about by the wider international events from 1904, a new wave of working class militancy emerged in the UK from 1907. This challenged not only the Old Unionist/Lib-Lab/Liberal alliance, but the growing limitations of the New Unions (sometimes termed the Amalgamated Unions) and the new Labour MPs too. The reactionary House of Lords made its Osborne Judgement in 1909, which prevented trade union funds being used for political purposes.⁶⁷³ Asquith's post-1910 Liberal government was quick to pass a law giving MPs a salary for the first time. The government was very appreciative of the restraining role of trade union officials who were often Labour candidates.

There were still large groups of unorganised workers, unskilled and women, particularly in Ireland, where the initial New Union upsurge had not reached or else had been largely repulsed. A new Syndicalist inspired wave of trade union militancy arose in the UK. This followed the example set by the quasi-Revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), formed in Chicago in 1905. The rapid growth of major corporations in the USA had sucked millions of migrant workers into employment in the new large mines,

factories, mills, docks and railways. There was a big space in which to build the IWW and its affiliated unions. The new Syndicalism went beyond the earlier New Unionist advocacy of large General or Amalgamated Unions and pushed for One Big Union. It also went further in rejecting the old Craft Unions support for "A fair day's wage for a fair day's pay." Instead, the IWW called for the "abolition of the wage system."⁶⁷⁴

The IWW consciously sought to organise all workers, including women, migrants and African Americans. The IWW's founders included Big Bill Heywood, Eugene Debs, Daniel de Leon, Lucy Parsons, 'Mother' Jones and James Connolly. It adopted the slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all".⁶⁷⁵ This was translated into the organisation of sympathetic strike action. The IWW was also able to create a wider working class culture, relating to different migrant groups (e.g. Finns, Germans and Irish). It had its own publications in several languages, and produced composers of popular songs, such as Joe Hill and T-Bone Slim.

IWW ideas were transmitted to the UK through imported papers and booklets, as well as through personal contacts. Many families had members who migrated to the USA. However, social and political conditions were different in England, Scotland and Wales due to the prior existence of both the new General (e.g. DWR&GLU, and NUGW&GL) and the Amalgamated Unions (e.g. ASE, ASRS and MFGB). Furthermore, most British workers had been schooled in a shared history. This emphasised the progressive nature of the UK state. The new migrant workers in the USA held far fewer illusions about the US state, with its continuous and brutal resort to Federal and State government force. American employers also regularly employed hired gunmen. Often these turned labour disputes into bloody events.

So, in the UK, instead of full-blown Revolutionary Syndicalism, the more common experience was support for such ideas from individual union office bearers, such as Tom Mann, and the formation of Syndicalist caucuses within existing unions. They were selective in what they took from the IWW. The IWW's "an injury to one is an injury to all" tended to be drawn more narrowly. Many trade unionists, including Larkin whilst still living in Liverpool, were opposed to foreign workers, particularly the Chinese.⁶⁷⁶

In Ireland conditions were different again. The major retreat of the New

Unions did leave much space to recruit unskilled workers. Furthermore, the one New Union to retain a foothold, the NUDL, was mainly organised in Ireland by Jim Larkin. However, he found himself up against the bureaucratic conservatism of NUDL general secretary, James Sexton. Despite Larkin's own advocacy of Syndicalism, including support for 'One Big Union', in the process of struggle he eventually helped to create a major New Union-type trade union, but for Irish conditions - the Irish Transport & General Workers Union (IT&GWU). In this, he overcame many of the failures in Ireland of the first wave of New Unionism. Larkin and the IT&GWU also took up the IWW's message of sympathetic action to great effect.

Larkin had been born in an Irish migrant family living in Liverpool, which paralleled Connolly's Edinburgh Irish background. Larkin became involved in Socialist politics in Liverpool in the 1890s, loosely associating himself with the ILP.⁶⁷⁷ He avoided the Sectarian politics of the self-declared Marxist organisations. This was in contrast to Connolly, who had initially worked to bring the SDF and the old Socialist League together in the Scottish Socialist Federation; and who later vigorously threw himself into the growing disputes inside the SDF. These led to Connolly's supporting the formation of a British affiliate of the Daniel De Leon's US based, Socialist Labour Party (SLP).

Connolly thought that Socialist clarity should precede effective organisation, whether for trade union action, working in cooperatives, electoral campaigning, or later for planning an insurrection. When Connolly helped to found the IWW in the USA, he still saw the need for an independent political party. De Leon's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) initially performed this role for him.

However, Connolly soon learned that the SLP's doctrinaire version of Marxism, and its desire to keep a tight control over the IWW, acted as a barrier. Connolly thought that effective unions should operate as workers' schools of struggle. Returning to his earlier experience of trying to unite Socialists in Scotland within the SSF, he tried to do the same with the Irish Socialist Federation (ISF) in the USA. He set up the ISF in 1908, and published *The Harp*.⁶⁷⁸ By 1909, though, Connolly had broken completely with the sectarian SLP and opted for the Socialist Party of America (SPA).⁶⁷⁹

The SPA was a considerably larger and a more open party, but with a right-wing section. It was largely an electoralist party but allowed its IWW members to participate in the school of struggle. Connolly was drawn to the SPA Left, led by Eugene Debs, a leader of the Pullman Strike in 1894,⁶⁸⁰ and also to key IWW activist, Big Bill Haywood,⁶⁸¹ who rarely shied from taking militant industrial action.

Where Connolly and Larkin drew close, was in their growing view that Syndicalism represented a new way of constructing a future society under modern economic conditions. Connolly had worked with the old Socialist League members, who had placed a big emphasis on the Socialist precedent, set by the Paris Commune. However, this aspect of the Commune had now been largely forgotten. Even the appearance of Soviets in the 1905 Revolution in Tsarist Russia did not revive the politics of the Commune (that did not occur until their re-appearance in 1917, recognised by Lenin when he wrote *State and Revolution*).⁶⁸²

So, in the absence of a wider societal commune model, a more narrowly economic understanding of Socialism developed. This was based on workers taking over the organisation of industry already achieved by the capitalist trusts. Furthermore, given the particularly advanced form of capitalism developing in the USA, Syndicalism appeared to be at the Socialist cutting edge. Connolly went on to theorise this in *Industrial Unionism and Constructive Socialism*.⁶⁸³

In the UK, there was an absence of sizeable organised migrant workers' groups, apart from the longer established Irish communities in England, Scotland and Wales (which, as the experience of Jim Larkin showed, had absorbed some of the racial prejudices of British workers). Although Connolly and others combatted Hyndman's Racism, racist attitudes were common in British trade unions. Those Jewish Socialist and Labour organisations, which had directly experienced the effects of rising Anti-Jewish Racism, only formed a partial exception.

Unlike the more limited impact of migrant workers, though, the growth of the Women's Suffrage movement did have a major impact upon the Syndicalism found in the UK. Initially, the Women's Social and Political Union, founded

by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903, was closely aligned with the ILP. Keir Hardie was particularly supportive. However, just as many Socialists found some of the traditional social conservatism of the ILP restricting, so too did many Women Suffragists. On becoming politically organised, they started to make wider challenges to the male dominated society of the time. But whereas Emmeline began to look to a militant, but cross class-based Women's Movement, resorting to 'the propaganda of the deed', her daughter, Sylvia, emphasised the role of Socialists, women workers, and also class struggle.

Influenced by the rise of Syndicalism, a major wave of working class opposition occurred. This period of class conflict was heralded by Larkin's unionisation campaign in Belfast in 1907 and culminated in the Dublin Lock-Out of 1913. Whereas the earlier 1890's New Unionism had dragged Ireland in its tow, prompting Michael Davitt's cautionary approach, Ireland was to the fore of the post-1907 wave of industrial struggle in the UK. And, as in the period of New Unionism and the Second Irish Home Rule Bill, this Syndicalist inspired challenge took place alongside a renewed challenge of Irish Self-Determination.

But now Socialist Republicans began to win over Social Republicans just as they had with Davitt. This support stretched out to workers too. Both Connolly and Larkin appreciated the significance of Democratic struggle against the state. However, the narrower economic focus of many Socialists in England, Scotland and Wales meant they failed to see this. This led to future problems.

d) John Maclean and James Connolly - differences and similarities before the First World War (pp. 313-319)

A distinction could be seen between the approach of the Socialist Republican, James Connolly, who developed his politics from Ireland's earlier Social Republican and 'Internationalism from Below' experience, and the approach of John Maclean of the SDF, whose strengths as a Socialist educator and workplace orientated activist were offset by his economically determinist version of Marxism and a 'British road to Socialism'.

In 1903, John Maclean joined the Socialist Democratic Federation (SDF) in Glasgow. This was after James Connolly, who left the SDF in 1896, had formed the ISRP in Dublin. Connolly had already transferred his internationalist allegiance from the SDF (part of the Second International in Great Britain to the (US-based) De Leonist SLP breakaway (but also affiliated to the Second International).

In 1901, Connolly, published a paper, *The Socialist*, aimed primarily at dissident SDF members, throughout Great Britain, but primarily in Scotland. His ally in the Leith SDF, George Yates (who had also worked in Dublin), took over the running of *The Socialist*, before being expelled and joining the new (British) Socialist Labour Party. Later that year, Connolly left Dublin and went on to join the SLP in the USA. But he later joined the Socialist Party of the America (SPA), identifying with its Syndicalist influenced Left wing. But Connolly also organised the Irish Socialist Federation within the SPA,⁶⁸⁴ still emphasising the significance of the National Question and migrant workers, central to his work in the ISRP.

In contrast, up until World War One, Maclean remained loyal to the SDF and its successors. The SDF became the Social Democratic Party in 1908, before changing its name to the British Socialist Party (BSP) in 1911. Maclean still looked up to its leader, Henry Hyndman.

Despite the political differences between Connolly and Maclean up to this point of time, these were still expressed within the parties and politics of the Second International, either as Socialist Republicans or Left Social Democrats.

There was a significant difference between Hyndman and Maclean though. Maclean shared an orthodox Marxist and economic determinist view of capitalism with Hyndman. But for Maclean this went along with a belief in the power of human agency, developed in everyday struggles informed by Socialist education.

It was Maclean's visit to Belfast and his meeting with James Larkin, during the Dockers Strike' in 1907, which pushed him towards a recognition of the strength of Syndicalism, but he still coupled this to an economic determinist view of struggles.⁷⁸⁹ Maclean's economic determinist 'Marxism' led him to

think that the Belfast workers' united strike action meant the days of Protestant/Catholic antagonism were a thing of the past.⁷⁹⁶

At the same time, Maclean's approach also led him to believe that the days of major Inter-Imperialist war were over too. He argued that the owners of the massive new international capitalist combines, with economic interests in several major imperial states, would not permit such a property-damaging war to start.⁷⁹⁷ Another seven years were to pass before Maclean came to realise that the dominant leaders of British Imperialism were quite prepared to go to war with Germany. A further four years were to pass, before Maclean began to appreciate the nature of the UK state's deeply Reactionary Unionism, and its effects particularly in Ireland, and then Scotland. Until this point, he had yet to develop an appreciation of the need for political or Democratic struggle to combat the UK state.

But Maclean was not attracted to the fatalistic Marxism of the SLP's leading Scottish theoretician, John Carstairs Matheson. Although of Gaelic-speaking Highland origins, Matheson supported the Clearances because the dispossession of the crofters created an industrial proletariat for the Central Lowlands and elsewhere.⁷⁹⁰ In contrast, Maclean, whose family came from Mull, used his Scottish Notes in *Justice* to support the crofters' struggles. He thought that both landlords and, as he termed them, factory lords, acted as agents of capitalism. This led him to support Crofters' and Industrial Workers' struggles.

As it turned out, the closer James Connolly got to De Leon, the more the SLP's fatalistic or economic determinist Marxism repelled him too. This was highlighted in Connolly's controversy with De Leon over the latter's support for the idea of the 'Iron Law of Wages'.⁷⁹¹ This notion underpinned the thinking behind the American (US and Canada) SLP's industrial front organisation, the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, and its failed attempt to take over the IWW. For De Leon, workers needed to be constantly reminded that wage struggles were of limited use, and that it was their workplace organisation that prefigured the future Socialist organisation of society. In the meantime, workers should be voting for SLP candidates in elections. In contrast, Connolly, like Maclean, saw workers' economic battles as one arena of Socialist schools of struggle.

Both Connolly and Maclean were supporters of cooperation. They viewed cooperative production and distribution in a similar way to which they viewed trade unions - as arenas of struggle. Both were aware that cooperatives acted in a capitalist environment and were subjected to pressures to adjust to this reality. But this was also their view of trade unions. This is why they emphasised the need for Socialists to become involved and provide an alternative vision for the future based on cooperation and workers' control.

The ITG&WU HQ at Liberty Hall provided some limited cooperative facilities.⁷⁹² But Connolly also appreciated George Russell's (AE) commitment to agricultural cooperation. This provided a more progressive future than the gombeen dominated rural economy found in much of Ireland at the time. And in Scotland, Maclean wrote that "just as trade unionism is playing its part, so also must cooperation in the great human impulse towards... the world-wide Cooperative Commonwealth."⁷⁹³ This was Maclean linking cooperation to Socialism, just as Connolly had in *The New Evangel – State Monopoly versus Socialism*.

Maclean, along with most of the Left in Scotland from the ILP to the (British) SLP, supported Irish Self-Determination. At the time of the birth of the Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Socialist Federation (SSF) (which included SDF and Socialist League members) in 1888, support for Irish Home Rule had also been linked with support for Scottish Home Rule. The two were connected by the ongoing Land and Labour alliance and struggles.

Connolly became a member of the SSF, the Scottish Labour Party, then the ILP, but never made his own view of Scottish self-determination clear. By the time Connolly joined the SSF and SLP alliance, the Land and Labour alliance was in retreat. Scottish Home Rule was to become associated with the Young Scots group in the Liberal Party. Opposition to the Liberals was the hallmark of Socialists. They were up against the ILP and other Labourists, who were accommodating to the Liberal government. So, although support for Scottish Home Rule remained strong in the ILP, many Socialists, particularly in the SDF/SDP/BSP became indifferent, or in the case of the SLP, hostile.

Again, it was Matheson of the SLP who provided a 'Marxist' economic determinist reasoning, which ignored the anti-democratic Unionist nature of the UK state, and the impact this had upon economic, social and political developments. He argued that "the political and economic development of Scotland, particularly after the Union of 1707 Union was practically identical with that of England."⁷⁹⁴ In effect, Matheson was an early Left Unionist theoretician of a 'British road to Socialism'. Through its former Scottish SLP members, such thinking was later to have a strong influence upon the early CPGB.

Although in many ways an advocate of a Radical Socialist politics, which would usually have led a party like the SLP to condemn National Self Determination struggles, De Leon held a different attitude towards Ireland. Great Britain was still a dominating dynastic imperial power which held back Ireland's further economic development. Therefore, unlike for Scotland, he saw a separate history of struggle to break free politically. However, some SLP members, particularly if they had a non-Irish background, failed to see this distinction as Imperial pressure grew. This included Connolly's initial close comrade Carstairs Matheson,

As a member of the SDF/SDP/BSP, Maclean adopted these parties' own ambiguous Left Unionist stance. He did acknowledge Scotland's distinctive position within the UK. He used the pen name 'Gael' when writing *Scottish Notes* for the BSP paper, *Justice*. He wanted a Scottish committee for the BSP.⁷⁹⁵ He also championed the SDF/SDP/BSP as an openly declared Socialist organisation. He contrasted this with the ILP, which was continually diluting Socialism with a less clear Labourism, which in turn accommodated to Liberalism, particularly after its adoption of Social Liberalism.

This Social Liberalism is an example of the Right being associated with a Social prefix to prettify unacceptable politics e.g. Social Imperialism, Social Chauvinism, Social Unionism.

Both Connolly and Maclean fought against the Social Labourism found in the ILP. Social Labourism grew in strength as the welfare measures introduced as Social Liberalism, associated with David Lloyd-George, took deeper root. To persuade Socialists in the ILP to unite with the SDF/SDP/BSP, Maclean took his arguments into *Forward*, the influential Glasgow-based ecumenical

Socialist paper. Connolly was also to write for *Forward* using it as his second paper to the IT&GWU's *Irish Worker*.

At this stage Connolly was far more attuned than Maclean to the nature of the UK state links between England, Ireland and Scotland. Despite falling out with the SLP in the USA. Connolly maintained contact with the SLP in Scotland, appreciating its more flexible approach to Syndicalism, and its support for Irish Self-Determination. until some questioned this.

It is therefore to the credit of Maclean, that when the First World War did break out, he strongly opposed it both in words and deeds. However, Connolly's long-standing opposition to the UK State and British Imperialism meant he was more prepared for the outbreak of war. He had supported the Second International's plans to oppose Inter-Imperialist War. Yet, when these failed to transpire, Connolly was quick to make preparations for another way to combat the British imperialist warmongers. He was soon planning action to break up the British Union and Empire.

It was the subordinate position of Ireland within the UK that provided Connolly with the greater understanding of the political challenge of the Union and the need to break with British parties. He was therefore less surprised by the collapse of the British parties and the collapse of the Second International in the face of the First World War.

But, unlike Connolly, Maclean lived long enough to witness the highpoint of the International Revolutionary Wave between 1919-21 with the birth of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (bolsheviks) (RSDLP-b), the early Soviet Union, and the Third International. The 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave ushered in the possibility of International Socialism/Communism. Maclean's struggles against the UK State and British Empire extended Connolly's 'break-up of the UK' from Ireland to Scotland, as the International Revolutionary Wave surged forward. But, as the International Revolutionary Wave ebbed, so did this immediate possibility.

But today, thanks to the efforts of Connolly and Maclean, we can see that a successful strategy to achieve a Global Commune would include Self-Determination for Scotland and Wales and a United Ireland, fought for on the basis of 'Internationalism from Below'. The growing significance of the role

of Connolly and Maclean will be analysed, particularly in the new wave of class struggles from 1906.

e) The new wave of class struggles from 1906 and the Great Unrest from 1910-14 (pp. 319-327)

1906 heralded an upsurge first of tenant farmer revolt in Ireland. Laurence Ginnell was elected as UIL/IPP MP for Westmeath North in 1906. Unlike most in the IPP, who now focused their attentions on wheeler-dealing with the Liberal government, Ginnell saw this as an opportunity to launch a third phase of the land struggle - the Ranch War. Wyndham's Land Act had brought little relief to the landless and small holders in the Irish Midlands, where large, usually Irish owned cattle ranches dominated the local economy. The IPP led by Redmond, opposed Ginnell. The IPP now represented Irish cattle grazers and other significant business interests.

Ginnell went ahead and organised the Ranch War from 1906-9. This involved driving cattle from their grazing land. He was jailed for his efforts, although in Ireland this usually provided good credentials when standing in future elections! The Liberal Irish Secretary, Augustine Birrell made some concessions in 1909, and opened up more land for sale. Ginnell was expelled from the IPP, but was able to retain his seat in 1910, but now as an Independent Nationalist.⁶⁸⁵

Scotland also witnessed another period of tenant struggle. Occasional land raids had continued following the unsatisfactory Crofters Holdings Act of 1886. This had not provided new land for existing crofters or the landless cottars. However, the tempo of struggle increased following the election of the Liberal government. In 1906 Land Raiders took over land on Vatersay. Over the winter of 1906-7, the Highland Crofters and Cottars Association, which linked the tenants and the landless, was formed. In 1907 there was a land raid on Mingulay. In 1908 the Vatersay raiders were jailed. Nevertheless, the government, through the Congested Districts Board, was compelled to buy the island.⁶⁸⁶ As in the case of the Irish Ranch War, action had produced results. However, the Liberal government took a similar attitude to Gladstone's Liberal government in 1886, going for the minimal legislation, which it hoped would end the actions. In 1911 The Small Landholders' Act was passed.⁶⁸⁷

The Highland Land League (HLL) was relaunched in 1909.⁶⁸⁸ The new HLL president was G.B. Clark, leading member of the first HLL, a former Crofter MP, and one-time member of the First International. The HLL vice-president was Thomas Johnston, an ILP member; its treasurer was Roland Muirhead, of the Liberal affiliated, Young Scots, who, along with Johnston, produced the influential journal, *Forward*. *Forward* provided extensive and supportive coverage of the Highland land struggles. Johnston broadened out the issue of Scottish landlordism, in his exposure of *Our Noble Families*, serialised in 1909. John Maclean, writing under the pseudonym 'Gael' in *Scottish Notes* column of *Justice*, wrote extensively on the land raids and the grave limitations of the Crofting Holdings and Small Landholders Acts.⁶⁸⁹

The Scottish Land and Labour struggles of the 1880s had done much to connect the struggles of the Highlands and Islands with the Central Belt. The migration of many crofters to the cities, particularly Glasgow and the industrial towns of the Central Belt, reinforced this. Here they mixed with a larger migrant group, the Irish. The Irish 'sectarian' divide (in reality a reflection of the UK state-promoted divide between the British-Irish and the Irish-Irish) was also imported. This could be reinforced in Scotland, by long-standing Scottish Presbyterian Anti-Catholic antipathies. However, Socialists struggled valiantly to overcome these. Maclean wrote regular notes addressing this problem.⁶⁹⁰

Nevertheless, when struggles broadened out throughout the UK to include industrial workers, it was Belfast, which provided the initial impetus. In 1907, the Belfast dockers in the NUDL became involved in a major struggle, which drew in many groups of workers in the city, particularly the unskilled, who were disproportionately Catholic, and hence previously unorganised. Jim Larkin, a NUDL official, was central to this struggle. He did not accept union general secretary, James Sexton's bureaucratic conservatism and his indifference to the needs of Irish dockers.

Larkin took inspiration from the Syndicalism of the IWW and particularly the potential of sympathetic action. This could help overcome the industrial weakness of unskilled workers. He used sympathetic action in his drive to organise the Belfast dockers.⁶⁹¹ He won support from the carters and coalmen, drawing in workers from both sides of the Nationalist/Unionist

divide. When the employers resorted to playing their usual 'Orange card', Larkin, known to be a Catholic (although non-sectarian and married to a Protestant), offered to stand down in favour of Alexander Boyd, a Protestant, Socialist and trade unionist. Boyd refused saying, "Men of all creeds were determined to stand together in fighting the common enemy".⁶⁹²

Some gains were made, but Sexton imposed a poor settlement on the dockers. This sowed the seeds of future doubt in Larkin's mind about the continued usefulness of British-based, bureaucratically led, trade unions with little interest in the unskilled Irish working class.

Such was Larkin's impact in 1907 that Belfast members of the RIC had come out on their own strike! Furthermore, the Independent Orange Order, originally set up as a hardline sectarian, Protestant Loyalist organisation in 1903,⁶⁹³ also gave its support. Troops were brought in to replace the police, leading to the shooting of two men on the largely Catholic Nationalist Falls Road. Victor Grayson, newly elected independent Socialist MP for Colne Valley, Robert Cunninghame Graham, the first openly Socialist MP, both went to Belfast. John Maclean, the talented Scottish workers' educator from the SDF, had his first direct experience of major class struggle, when invited over to speak by the Belfast Socialist Society.⁶⁹⁴

The Syndicalist message of militant action and wider solidarity began to permeate workforces and rank and file trade unionists throughout the UK. The spread of such thinking coincided with the growing questioning of Labour MPs, many of whom were leading trade union officials. Richard Bell, of the railworkers' union (ASRS) and an MP for Derby, had sold out a strike of his members in 1907; Arthur Henderson of the Friendly Society of Iron Founders (FSoIF) and MP for Barnard Castle in County Durham, opposed the eight hour working day; David Shackleton of the Textile Factory Workers' Association (TFWA) and MP for Clitheroe, supported the use of child labour; whilst Will Thorne of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers (NUG&GL) and MP for West Ham, urged the government to use troops against strikers in Ireland.⁶⁹⁵

Although there was growing trade union activity throughout the UK from 1906, it was not until the re-election of the Liberals in 1910, that the Great Unrest, which lasted until 1914, really took off. Under Lloyd George, the Liberals had conducted their own 'class war' against the arrogant landed

aristocracy and their House of Lords. However, the working class saw the owners of industry as their main problem. In real terms, workers' wages had declined 10% since 1900, and the last four years of Liberal government had done nothing to reverse that.

Whilst the Liberal government might have overturned the Taff Vale Judgement, trade union officials had shown no great enthusiasm to use this opportunity to organise action. The new Conciliation Boards had brought little real benefit, especially when some employers continued to block union recognition.

One of the earliest manifestations of the post-1910 Great Unrest was the response of miners to a lockout imposed by the Cambrian Combine run by D. J. Thomas. He had been a Liberal MP who, until recently, had held one of the two Merthyr seats (the other was held by Keir Hardie). His combine represented an attempt to limit competition in the industry in South Wales and to lower wage costs.

The miners at Penycraig in the Rhondda resisted this. When locked out, they called a wider strike in November 1910. This was extended to the rest of the 30,000 miners employed by the Cambrian Combine. The miners marched from pit to pit to close them all down. The manager of the last remaining open pit Llwynypia, near Tonypany, brought in sixty scabs. A hundred police from Swansea, Cardiff and Bristol protected them. When miners stepped up their picketing, several hundred more police were then sent from London, followed by the 18th Hussars. A battle ensued, in which one miner was killed. Ten thousand miners marched through the valley. Women joined the battle in large numbers. This strike finally ended in August 1911, after the effects of hunger forced the miners to back down and accept the original small increase negotiated by SWMF leader, and now Labour MP, William 'Mabon' Abraham.⁶⁹⁶

During this dispute, the Unofficial Reform Committee (URF) was formed in 1911. In 1912, they went on to produce *The Miners' Next Step*, a document very much influenced by the Syndicalism of the day. But it wasn't a new union the URF sought but a reform of the existing MFGB, using the now battle-hardened SWMF as a base to achieve this. Noah Ablett,⁶⁹⁷ checkweighman at Maerdy Colliery, was a key contributor. Although the SWMF had been defeated, the deaths of three moderate Executive Council members, and the resignation of a fourth, led to the election of four more militant miners to fill their posts.

The SWMF was able to build up the pressure to force the MFGB to conduct a ballot for action to establish a minimum level of earnings. Members voted 4:1 for strike action. A million miners took part in the strike that started in March 1912. *The Times* declared the strike to be, “The greatest catastrophe that has threatened the country since the Spanish Armada”⁶⁹⁸ In panic, Asquith's government forced a Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act through parliament. A few days of concerted action had achieved far more than miners' Lib-Lab and Labour MPs had gained over the previous decade.

Another major dispute arose on the railways. Rail workers endured some of the longest hours and highest death and injury rates. Like the old mining union leaders, railway union leaders had been amongst those most wedded to Old (trade) Unionism and the Liberal Party. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS), led by Richard Bell MP, even internalised the forelock-tugging attitude in its name, inherited from the ruling class's nineteenth century masters and servants' view of the world.

However, local independent (unofficial) action in August 1911 led to a delegate conference of the four main railway unions, which called for a national strike. There was disagreement within the government about the approach to take. Churchill quickly mobilised 58,000 troops and sent them to localities throughout England and Wales. He recruited unpaid special constables, just as the government had done in the face of the Chartist challenge at Kennington Green in 1848.⁶⁹⁹ However, once the strike started it retained solid support.

Following the Cambrian Combine dispute, South Wales was again to the forefront. At Llanelli (then Llanelly), a tin-pate producing town in eastern Carmarthenshire, pickets stopped trains on the tracks. Troops were sent in on August 18th. On the following day two people were shot, one a mere bystander in the confrontation between pickets and troops.⁷⁰⁰ This led to a full-blooded riot in which four others died in an explosion.⁷⁰¹ Since things were already slipping out of government control, the craftier Lloyd George was brought in. With the help of the new ASRS general secretary, Jimmy Thomas and Labour MP, Ramsay MacDonald, he negotiated a government commission to look into railway workers' grievances. Two other Labour MPs, Keir Hardie and George Barnes (one of the first two Labour MPs elected in Scotland in 1906) went to South Wales to persuade the workers to accept this.⁷⁰²

The results of the commission's enquiry fell far short of rail workers'

expectations. The new Conciliation apparatus was designed to promote Sectionalism.⁷⁰³ However, as in the case of the South Wales miners, this was not experienced as a defeat, but as providing a lesson for the struggles of the future. In 1913, three of the unions, including the ASRS, amalgamated to form the National Union of Railwaymen. Membership increased from 180,000 to 273,000. Nevertheless, the state and employer promotion of Sectionalism led to the engine drivers and firemen's union (ASLEF) refusing to join up.⁷⁰⁴

Liverpool emerged as another major centre of struggle, with a rolling general strike. The city has been described as, "the New York of Europe', spawning more millionaires than any other city outside of London, and the tarnished former Slave city, that contained slums and underground dwellings, more like Gateways to Hell for the brutalised and casualised poor that inhabited them. On top of that, religious sectarianism and 'intra-class conflict' was more bitter and chronic than anywhere else except Belfast. So, it was unsurprising that Liverpool was described by a union official as 'an organiser's graveyard' and bouts of underemployment were structured into the very fabric of work and community life."⁷⁰⁵

In June 1911, sailors (NS&FU), stewards and other shipping staff (USSCB&B), and the dockers (NUDL) took joint action leading to union recognition and wage increases. Over the next few months, railway workers, tramway workers, electric power station workers and scavengers, women in Mayfield sugar works, and in what became Dunlop's rubber works, as well as women tailors, were all involved in a rolling general strike. The belligerent Churchill once more headed the government response, sending in not only troops, but also a gunboat to the Mersey. On August 13th a major demonstration was organised with Orange bands from Garston, Everton and Toxteth Park and Catholic bands from Bootle and Scotland Road. The police charged and 186 people were hospitalised. On August 15th, following a disturbance, troops opened fire killing two, a young carter and docker⁷⁰⁶ (this was two days before the shootings in Llanelli).

Nevertheless, in the course of these events all groups of workers, except the tramway workers, gained concessions, some quite significant. Despite Jim Larkin no longer living in Liverpool, there were quite strong similarities with the action he had helped organise in Belfast in 1907. Once again, the impact of Syndicalism can be seen, despite the NS&FU having Havelock Wilson and the NUDL having James Sexton's NUDL as their general secretaries. The

rank-and-file members had their own independent organisation, and as early as June, Tom Mann, a prominent advocate of Syndicalism, was involved in the joint Strike Committee. Furthermore, women workers, who were increasingly frustrated at the male chauvinism displayed by many union leaders, became organised in the National Union of Women Workers.⁷⁰⁷

Salford was another city that experienced a rolling general strike, which started in June 1911, with two of the same unions as in Liverpool, the NS&FU and the NUDL, but with the addition of the carters.⁷⁰⁸ Again, the members organised independently of the officials. Salford was a centre of Syndicalism. Tom Mann founded the Industrial Syndicalist Education League (ISEL) in nearby Manchester and published *The Industrial Syndicalist*. The ISEL was chaired by Salford activist, A. Purcell, and was supported by miners, railway workers, tramway workers, carters and general labourers.⁷⁰⁹ Soon dockers became involved in the joint organisation.

When the strike began in June, seamen's and dockers' wives provided active support. Troops were sent in, but neither they nor the police could break the strike.⁷¹⁰ All three of the unions involved made gains. However, this was followed by another wave of strike action in the city in August. Engineering labourers won a pay increase. Salford railway workers, like those in Llanelli, took concerted action during the national strike. Miners also took part in their national strike. Once more troops were sent in.⁷¹¹ Nevertheless, other groups of workers took confidence from the successes of the seamen, dockers, carters and miners and organised strikes. They included workers in smaller factories and sweatshops. In addition, women workers in the flax mills, employees with some of the worst pay and longest hours, organised themselves into a Flax Workers' Union, at the prompting of the Women's Trade Union Council. When the owners refused to negotiate, they occupied the mills.⁷¹² Once again gains were made.

The role of women in precipitating the Great Unrest was shown in the Chain Makers' Strike of 1910. Like the Matchgirls' Strike, which preceded the New Unionism of 1889, the chain makers' action preceded the wider Great Unrest. Mary Macarthur, an ILP member and organiser for the National Federation of Women Workers, recruited 400 women workers at Cradley Heath chainworks in the Black Country. They went on strike, winning a lot of support, including internationally. They gained a substantial pay increase and the NFWW membership at Cradley Heath grew from 400 to 1700.⁷¹³

The NFWW also helped to organise cotton thread workers during strike and

lockout in Neilston in Renfrewshire in 1910; workers at the United Red Turkey dyeworks strike in Alexandria, Dunbartonshire in 1912; and the longest women's strike of all in Kilbirnie, Ayrshire, from April to September 1913, which won improved pay and conditions.⁷¹⁴

Another place where women played a significant role was in the Singers' Strike in Kilbowie, Clydebank in 1911. Singers' sewing machine factory was American owned. It represented one of the most the most up-to-date capitalist production facilities to be found anywhere in the world. As well as being on the technological front line, the owners used the latest 'scientific management' techniques to control labour, anticipating what would become known as Taylorism. Work was reorganised both to increase the rate of production and to cut wage rates.

This 'little island' of US corporate production created the ideal conditions where the IWW could reproduce itself on Clydeside. An Industrial Workers of Great Britain (IWGB) branch was set up, and alongside this there was branch of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). SLP members discussed organisation, strategy and tactics, which were taken to the union membership. They began preparing meticulously. When twelve women cabinet polishers resisted reorganisation of their work, this precipitated a strike in which the vast majority of 11,000 workers, both female and male, took part. John Maclean provided an account in *Justice*.⁷¹⁵

Singers went on a counter-offensive, resorting to tactics that had not been witnessed before. As a transnational corporation, having factories in several European countries, they threatened to move production abroad. They then sent individual ballot papers to worker's homes, telling them to vote and accept the conditions or lose their jobs. The IWGB was workplace based and did not have the means to rapidly counter this tactic. It is interesting to speculate what the outcome might have been if the strike had been organised by the NFWW, where women's mutual home links supplemented their workplace organisation. But the mainly male strike committee at Singers had to concede defeat. Four hundred workers, including all the strike leaders, were sacked.

However, even this considerable setback was taken in its stride. SLP and other activists viewed this as a learning experience, as they were dispersed across Clydeside to shipyards or engineering works. They further developed rank and file union organisation, ready to act in defiance of officials and to take solidarity action. A leading figure in this was Arthur McManus of the

SLP.

f) The climax of the Great Unrest - the 1913-14 Dublin Lock Out and the impact of the Syndicalist, Labour and Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance (pp. 327-333)

However, the climax of the Great Unrest was the Dublin Lock-Out from August 1913 to January 1914. Despite NUDL general secretary Sexton's antipathy following the Belfast strike in 1907, Jim Larkin, continued to organise dockers for the NUDL in Irish ports. He led a victorious carters' strike in Dublin in 1908.⁷¹⁶ He was suspended from his post in December, and took the momentous decision to organise the Irish Transport & General Worker Union (IT&GWU) in January 1909.⁷¹⁷ No longer hampered by Sexton's NUDL's bureaucratic conservatism, Larkin was able to apply key Syndicalist principles to the work of the IT&GWU, particularly 'an injury to one is an injury to all', with its advocacy of sympathetic action. Sexton plotted with the employers to get Larkin jailed. A campaign secured his early release.⁷¹⁸

1911 was spent increasing IT&GWU membership from 5000 to 18,000.⁷¹⁹ When the Great Unrest engulfed England, Wales and Scotland, IT&GWU members blacked goods handled by scabs, and provided strike pay for Irish members of the NS&FU.⁷²⁰ This wave of strike action then extended to Ireland, with disputes in Limerick bacon factories, and amongst Cork council workers and Belfast dockers,⁷²¹ where James Connolly, having recently returned from the USA, was now an IT&GWU organiser.

But perhaps it was the 3000 women workers at Jacobs biscuit factory in Dublin who took the most significant action in Ireland that year when they struck in August.⁷²² At the prompting of Delia Larkin, many joined the autonomous Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU), a section of the IT&GWU. The IWWU operated out of the IT&GWU's Liberty Hall, and Delia wrote the women's column in *The Irish Worker*.⁷²³

The rapid growth of the IT&GWU threatened Dublin employers, and in particular, William Martin Murphy. He was the owner of the Dublin United Tramway Company, Clery's department store, the Imperial Hotel, a major shareholder in the B&I line and controller of the *Irish Independent* and two other newspapers,⁷²⁴ as well as having business interests in South America

and Africa.⁷²⁵ He was no British Unionist though, but a prominent Irish Nationalist, a former INL MP, who became an anti-Parnellite. But he lost his Dublin St. Patrick's seat to the Nat-Lab candidate William Field in 1892 and was now a supporter of William O'Brien's All-for-Ireland League, despite its more Secular leanings. But the intricacies of Irish Nationalist parliamentary politics contributed to various often temporary shifting alliances.

With an immediate prospect for Irish Home Rule, now the Liberal government depended on Irish Nationalist support, Murphy wanted to ensure that it was the Irish employers who came out on top. The IPP had already ensured that parts of the Liberal government's social reforms did not extend to Ireland so that Irish businesses would have lower labour costs. This anticipated today's Constitutional Nationalists in Sinn Fein and the SNP. They want to lower taxes for local business to increase their profitability. Some in the SNP go further and support enterprise zones, where workers' and environmental safeguards are also slashed.

Murphy brought together three hundred members of the Dublin Employers' Federation to stop the rise of the IT&GWU.⁷²⁶ To stiffen their resolve, Murphy got the backing of the Liberal Irish Secretary, August Birrell⁷²⁷ and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, which was armed and under the control of Dublin Castle and not the Dublin Corporation.⁷²⁸ Larkin was arrested, and when workers took to the streets in protest, the police viciously attacked them, killing three and injuring hundreds more. The police then attacked worker's families in their homes.

The next day, Larkin defied a police-imposed ban and appeared in disguise, speaking from a balcony of Murphy's Imperial Hotel. In the police's subsequent attack on the crowd, another person was killed.⁷²⁹ Murphy had also approached the Sectarian Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), to organise a scab union.⁷³⁰ The AOH assisted the Catholic hierarchy in its attempts to undermine the strike.⁷³¹

The authorities imprisoned Connolly.⁷³² Murphy then launched his Lock-Out on August 31st, beginning with ten workers from the Jacobs biscuit factory, and by the end of September 25,000 workers had been dismissed throughout Dublin.⁷³³ Blacklegs were shipped in, and the police protected them. Mass picketing was used to deter them. Some blacklegs were provided with revolvers. Alicia Brady was shot carrying a food parcel from the union office. The state gave armed blacklegs immunity, whilst locking up strikers for trivial offences.⁷³⁴

In response to this, at the end of November, Connolly and Larkin had recruited Jack White, an ex-British Army captain from County Antrim, to provide training for an Irish Citizens Army (ICA). This body was created to protect pickets and working class communities.⁷³⁵ 1200 ICA members were armed with iron-shod pickaxe handles.⁷³⁶

There was also wider support in Dublin and Ireland for the locked-out IT&GWU workers. Two perhaps more shamefaced IPP MPs, the Nat-Lab Richard McGhee, MP for Mid-Tyrone and T. P. O' Connor, significantly MP for Liverpool Scotland (which had been wracked by the Liverpool general strike of 1911 as well) signalled their concerns.⁷³⁷ George W. Russell (AE),⁷³⁸ a writer and organiser for the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, which organised cooperatives, wrote an *Open Letter* denouncing Dublin employers or "the aristocracy of industry".⁷³⁹ Connolly saw fit to publish this in *The Reconquest of Ireland*. William Butler Yeats, probably Ireland's leading writer at the time, also supported the IT&GWU in this conflict.⁷⁴⁰

By now, the Dublin Lockout and the heroic resistance of the city's working class had become an international cause celebre. A spotlight was placed upon the city, which had some of the worst living conditions found in Europe, with an infant mortality rate of 142 per 1000.⁷⁴¹ William Partridge,⁷⁴² an IT&GWU organiser, speaking on behalf of Dublin Trades Council, addressed the TUC meeting in Manchester on September 2nd. The TUC sent a delegation to Dublin on September 7th, which the Dublin police allowed to go ahead,⁷⁴³ rather than have their usual brutality become the focus of wider public attention.

There was a large simultaneous supporting demonstration held in Trafalgar Square, London, backed by Socialists and the Labour Party.⁷⁴⁴ Solidarity meetings and street collections were held in many cities and towns. This was followed up by large trade union collections, amounting to £11M in today's money. Food ships with 60,000 packages prepared by the Cooperative Wholesale Society were sent to Dublin.⁷⁴⁵

Socialist and Woman's Suffrage campaigner Dora Montefiore⁷⁴⁶ and the Syndicalist supporting *Daily Herald* organised a holiday in England for locked-out workers' children.⁷⁴⁷ Significantly this had been inspired by similar and successful moves a year earlier by the IWW in the 'Bread and Roses' Strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts.⁷⁴⁸ Such wider appeals

underpinned the new Syndicalist, Labour, Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance, which represented an update of the Land and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance of Michael Davitt and his allies. However, Dr. Walsh, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin stepped in, vehemently attacking the scheme, resulting in angry mobs intimidating mothers and their children.⁷⁴⁹

As the struggle developed, a clear divide emerged between the bureaucratic conservatism of leading trade union officials and those workers who had been drawn into more Syndicalist inspired actions over the previous two years. The behaviour of the TUC and the leaders of the major British unions very much anticipated how they were to behave in the Great Miners' Strike of 1984-5. Outward displays of verbal support were given, and financial and food collections were provided. Valuable though these were, they became a substitute for the generalised sympathy action needed to halt the employers' offensive backed by the state.

However, in 1913, many trade unionists, after their own recent experiences in the ongoing Great Unrest, did undertake independent sympathy action. Railway workers from Liverpool and Llanelli, recent storm centres of unrest, in which workers had been killed, refused to handle Dublin traffic.⁷⁵⁰

Meanwhile Larkin launched the 'Fiery Cross' Campaign, beginning in Glasgow in September⁷⁵¹ and followed up in England in November. This campaign was aimed at Socialists, rank and file Labour Party and trade union members. Connolly, in particular, had already used his extensive experience, both across the Celtic Sea and Atlantic Ocean, to develop his new Syndicalist, Labour, Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance. He had spoken in the South Wales coalfield in August 1911.⁷⁵² Connolly worked with the Liverpool Strike Committee in 1912.⁷⁵³ Connolly visited Scotland for political purposes and to meet family and friends. He was a regular contributor to *Forward*. Larkin, Connolly and Big Bill Haywood of the IWW addressed a packed meeting in Manchester, followed by another in London where Ben Tillett, general secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union (DWR&GLU), also gave a very fiery speech.⁷⁵⁴ Sylvia Pankhurst, another prominent Women's Suffrage campaigner, spoke with Constance Markiewicz and the others at the Albert Hall solidarity meeting in London. For this her sister, Christabel, expelled her from the WPSU. Christabel supported Sir Edward Carson and Reactionary Unionism.⁷⁵⁵

Meanwhile Delia Larkin took responsibility for feeding locked out union members and their dependents.⁷⁵⁶ A second wave of rank-and-file sympathy action was mounted by trade unionists, which led to two South Wales ASLEF train drivers being dismissed. 30,000 rail workers, both ASLEF and NUR, came out in support. The new NUR general secretary, Jimmy Thomas, forced a return to work without reinstatement.⁷⁵⁷ This revealed the hollowness of his commitment to greater railway worker unity, and very much symbolised the rest of his career. As trade union leaders and Labour MPs displayed their public hostility, Larkin began to criticise them forcefully too.

The TUC leaders decided to organise a special conference on December 9th. The delegates were appointed or chosen from a restricted list by trade union executives and topped up by Labour Party and Fabian Society members, whilst bona fide delegates known to be sympathetic to the Dublin workers were denied accreditation.⁷⁵⁸ The purpose of the conference was to crush Larkin and Syndicalism. Tillett was given a central role, seconded by ILP chair (and non-trade unionist) William Anderson. Tillett had a Left reputation dating from the birth of New Unionism. He still knew how to talk Left, but in reality, he shared the concerns of other union general secretaries, who were more concerned with protecting union funds and their own positions. Tillett worked closely with right wing general secretary Havelock Wilson of the NS&FU.⁷⁵⁹ Despite their earlier public declarations of support for the Dublin workers, the TUC leaders wanted to prevent any sympathy action from spreading. And James Sexton was not alone in being more worried by the prospect of Larkin and the IT&GWU winning, and the fillip that would give to Syndicalism.⁷⁶⁰

There was a lot of similarity in 1984-85 between the attitude of the TUC and other trade union leaders in their response towards the Great Miners' Strike and Arthur Scargill. Many attacked the NUM in 1984 for not holding a national ballot in 1984, as if that cynical call was not motivated by a wish to end the strike and crush Scargill. Back in 1913, the main special TUC conference motion was to condemn Larkin's attacks on trade union leaders, which given the selective nature of the delegates, was easily achieved.

Isolated by the TUC, trade union leaders and the Labour MPs, and under sustained attack from Dublin employers, the IPP, Sinn Fein leader Arthur Griffith, the UK state, and the Catholic hierarchy, the IT&GWU had to call off its action in January 1914, although the women at Jacobs struggled on

until March. Thousands were sacked and blacklisted. Nevertheless, the much-depleted IT&GWU survived,⁷⁶¹ as did the ICA.

Later accounts of the Dublin Lock Out have sometimes removed it from the wider context of the Great Unrest, seeing it as an Irish affair. Some British Left Unionist accounts have attacked Larkin because he created a breakaway IT&GWU, instead of remaining in the 'united' British trade union movement. But the new Syndicalism represented as qualitative leap from the types of trade unionism that preceded it, as the New (trade) Unionism of 1889 had from the old Model Unionism. There would have been no mass trade union movement in Ireland, if the IT&GWU had not broken from the NUDL's bureaucratic stranglehold.

Others have attacked Larkin for his strong criticisms of British trade union leaders and upsetting the trade union leaders and possibly sympathetic TUC delegates, as if that conference was not rigged. Larkin was expressing the anger of the wider Syndicalist influenced workers throughout the UK. During the Great Unrest, many had shown their preparedness to support the IT&GWU. The national divisions promoted by the UK state and by most union leaders had been answered by great displays of 'Internationalism from Below' solidarity.

And later, when 26 Irish Counties, including Dublin, eventually seceded from the UK, the example of the formation of one of the world's first workers' militias, the ICA, would also be removed from UK/British Labour history and relegated to 'troublesome' Ireland.

Some economistically-minded Socialists have also claimed that if Connolly hadn't later aligned the IT&GWU and ICA with the struggle for an Irish Republic, then economically motivated struggles, fought along the lines of the Dublin Lock Out, could have led directly to a Workers' Republic. However, demands for a Workers' Republic did not arise spontaneously from Syndicalist-inspired struggles. And when it came to the next test, the First World War, this economic approach proved to be a dead end.

In England, apolitical Syndicalism had more hold than in Ireland. Tom Mann of the Industrial Syndicalist Education League initially supported the First World War. And in Wales, Charles Staunton and Vernon Hartshorn of the Syndicalist influenced, Unofficial Reform Committee in the SWMF, although also ILP members, supported the war. In Scotland, despite being the editor of the Marxist SLP, *The Socialist*, John Muir, with his own strong Syndicalist leanings also supported the war. In Ireland it was Connolly's

linking of Syndicalism with the struggle against the UK Union and British Empire which opened up the possibility of a struggle for an Irish Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic, by means of an initial alliance between the Syndicalist inspired, IT&GWU, the ICA, Irish Women's Suffrage organisations and the IRB.

g) The emergence of significant new political forces in Ireland - Sinn Fein, the IRB renewed and Socialist Republicanism (pp. 333-339)

Thus, the Great Unrest and the Syndicalist, Labour and Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance, cannot be divorced from the struggle for National Self-Determination in Ireland, any more than the earlier Land and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance of the 1880s, could be divorced from the campaign for the First Home Rule Bill, or the 1889-93 New (trade) Unionism could be divorced from the struggle for the Second Home Rule Bill. The strongest political anchor for the struggles in this earlier period was provided by Social Republicanism, of which Michael Davitt was the foremost proponent. In this new period, up to the outbreak of the First World War, James Connolly's Socialist Republicanism was to provide the firmest grounding for the Syndicalist, Labour and Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance.

The first decade of the twentieth century was dominated politically by the Conservatives' gung-ho celebration of High Imperialism, followed by a government dominated by Liberal Imperialists. They were both opposed to Irish Home Rule. Furthermore, the IPP had descended yet again into political infighting, with a three-way split. These political divisions were taken into the United Irish League (UIL) too, as Redmond struggled to remove Tim Healy and William O'Brien, and subordinate the UIL entirely to the IPP.

This was the background that led some Irish Nationalists to seek a new Irish political party to bring together the Irish-Irish. Back in 1900, Arthur Griffith had already declared such an aim in his newspaper, the *United Irishman*.⁷⁶² Cumann na Gaedheal was founded the same year.⁷⁶³ In 1904, Maude Gonne, actress, Irish Nationalist and Women's Suffragist, joined with Griffith and others to form a National Council (NC) which successfully protested against Dublin Corporation sending an address to King Edward VII. The NC then

went on to try and get more committed Irish Nationalists elected to local councils. In 1904, two young IRB members, Bulmer Hobson and Denis McCullough created the Dungannon Clubs in Belfast. In 1907, these three components came together to form Sinn Fein, taking its name from the Gaelic League's (GL) slogan, 'Sinn Féin, Sinn Féin amháin'.⁷⁶⁴

A key feature of Sinn Fein's politics, first put forward by Arthur Griffith, was its advocacy of Abstention from Westminster.⁷⁶⁵ The IRB, at its outset, had viewed Irish Nationalist involvement in Westminster as inherently corrupting. An important aspect of IRB politics, the recruitment and training of a potential Irish army, which involved clandestine drilling, had proved difficult to sustain, in the face of government surveillance and repression, earlier military failures, and the attraction of other options, e.g. participation in the INLL or later the UIL.

The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) provided a less provocative and more popular way to undertake potential military training than the IRB itself. The GAA consciously rejected participation in the RIC. This was an attractive feature of the GAA for the IRB. Sinn Fein supported the GAA. Therefore, the IRB could consider Sinn Fein, which also rejected participation in another aspect of the UK state, Westminster, as an extension of its struggle for an Irish Republic, even though Griffiths promoted a Dual Monarchy⁷⁶⁶ (of Great Britain and Ireland). Clan na Gael (the IRB's sister organisation) funds were sent from the USA to help finance Griffith's papers,⁷⁶⁷ the *United Irishman* up to 1906, then *Sinn Fein* after that. Their pages were open to Republicans.

Sinn Fein's first electoral outing was in the 1908 North Leitrim by-election. Their candidate was Charles Dolan, who had resigned as IPP MP, because of his dissatisfaction with the party. His election agent was Sean MacDiarmada, who was also a member of the IRB. Dolan received 27% of the vote. After this, Sinn Fein largely retreated back to its Dublin base, and only contested Dublin Corporation and Poor Law Board elections.⁷⁶⁸ Sinn Fein won seats in working class wards in the city.

This prompted James Connolly in 1909, shortly before his return to Ireland from the USA, to make his own political assessment in *Sinn Fein, Socialism and the Nation*. In this he outlined the possibilities of Socialists working with Sinn Fein over the issues of Irish Self-Determination and support for repressed Irish culture, whilst rejecting its "capitalist conception of progress".

He upheld an "Irish Socialist Republic."⁷⁶⁹ This was, in effect, an update of the way he addressed the issue of Socialists and their relationship to other political groups in Ireland in his *Erin's Hope - The End and the Means*, which was written for the ISRP in 1897.⁷⁷⁰

There was a similarity in the political approach of Socialist groups, including the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI), and of Griffith's Sinn Fein at the time. In both cases the political party acted largely as a Propagandist organisation, making electoral forays to get over their message. However, they both saw the real base for implementing their particular visions - Socialism or an Irish-Ireland - in other organisations. Thus, Connolly and others saw Syndicalist organisation, as reflected in the IT&GWU and all its activities (which were social and cultural, as well as economic), and the ICA as performing this role; whilst Griffith and Sinn Fein saw the GL and the GAA doing this. For Connolly, Larkin and others, the IT&GWU would develop workers' control over production developed by an increasingly corporate capitalist economy. For Griffith and Sinn Fein, the GA and GAA were creating an Irish-Ireland to displace Irish-British Ireland and marginalise the UK state and English/British culture within Ireland.

When James Connolly returned to Ireland from the USA in 1910, he moved to Belfast. He became the SPI organiser in the city.⁷⁷¹ This party was first set up in 1905 (and included remnants of the ISRP), but it was more firmly established when he returned. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington⁷⁷² became president, whilst Michael Mallin⁷⁷³ became secretary. Like the Socialist Party of America (SPA), which Connolly had just left, the SPI was politically broader than either the old ISRP or the SLP he had earlier been a member of. However, unlike the SPA, the SPI never gained a large membership.

Heavily influenced by the Syndicalism, which Connolly had encountered as an IWW organiser in the USA, he reversed many Socialists' earlier understanding of the relationship between political party and trade union. He saw strong working class-based Industrial Unions as the means to overcome the two problems he had encountered - political sectarianism and political backsliding. Connolly now placed his prime emphasis upon the IT&GWU, which, like Larkin, he saw as the embryo of One Big Union, and of the future working class organisation of production.

One of Connolly's first jobs was to get his old *Workers Republic* series of articles, *Labour in Irish History*⁷⁷⁴ republished as a book. This book attempted to do two things. The first was to knock key Irish Nationalist icons off their pedestals. He lambasted the Irish Jacobites and, in particular, James II (known at the time to the Irish dispossessed, as Seamus an Chaca, or James the Shite!) in *The Jacobites and the Irish People*. When it came to another Irish Nationalist hero, Daniel O'Connell, Connolly headed this section, *A Chapter of Horrors - Daniel O'Connell and the Working Class*. Several other Irish Nationalist heroes received similar treatment.

However, the second thing this book did was to show how the popular and working classes had countered these Irish Nationalist 'heroes'. Chapters were devoted to *Peasant Rebellions, Social Revolts, United Irishmen as Democrats and Internationalists, The First Irish Socialist: A Forerunner of Karl Marx, An Irish Utopia, Socialistic Teaching of the Young Irelanders, and Some More Irish Pioneers of the Socialist Movement*.

Connolly's political aims were then outlined in the conclusion, *The Working Class: The Inheritors of the Irish Ideals of the Past - The Repository of the Hopes of the Future*. He was successful in getting *Labour in Irish History* reviewed in the Unionist *Irish Times*, the Irish Nationalist *Freeman's Journal* and the *Nation*, and the IRB's *Irish Freedom*, as well as the then pro-Syndicalist, *Daily Herald* and in *Forward*.⁷⁷⁵ Copies were also sold at working class gatherings. Connolly was no marginal figure.

Connolly did not get the SPI to try and revive the old ISRP's *Workers Republic* though. Along with Larkin, he got the IT&GWU to publish the *Irish Worker*. Like *Forward* in Scotland, it attracted a range of contributors and was widely read. Nevertheless, Connolly put his stamp on the paper, and began to link the IT&GWU's Syndicalist message with the call for Labour to take the lead in the struggle for Irish Self-Determination. With this, he took forward the challenge with which he had concluded *Labour in Irish History*. From May to June 1912, the *Irish Worker* published six articles⁷⁷⁶ entitled *Labour and the Reconquest of Ireland*.⁷⁷⁷ He summarised the history of the conquest of Ireland in the first two chapters.

By now the threat of Unionist Reaction, centred upon North-East Ulster, was becoming apparent. He wrote two chapters *Labour in Dublin*, which

attacked the Irish Nationalists and another, *Belfast and Its Problems*, which attacked the Unionists. He devoted a special chapter to the backward education system, north and south, trapped between "bureaucracy and clericalism". In *Labour and Cooperation in Ireland*, he developed the contemporary potential for Irish cooperation (linking this back to his account of in *Labour in Irish History*).

G.W. Russell (AE),⁷⁷⁸ the editor of *Irish Homestead*,⁷⁷⁹ the paper of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, also influenced Connolly. AE was a wide-ranging intellectual who had contributed to the Irish Cultural Renaissance.⁷⁸⁰ Connolly's final chapter, *Re-Conquest - A Summing Up*, links the Syndicalist message of "One Big Union" for the "Social Administration of the Cooperative Commonwealth of the future" with the immediate need to overcome craft divisions through sympathetic strike action.

Connolly was never a pure Syndicalist, committed only to industrial action. He had been central to the formation of the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1898, and a member of the Socialist Labour Party and the Socialist Party of America (SPA) in the USA. Although a key member of the IT&GWU, he appreciated the need for industrial struggle to be supplemented by political struggle. However, upon returning from the USA in 1910, he now saw a largely Propagandist or Educational role for the new SPI. Even his recent favourable experience of the much larger SPA did not push him into working to convert the SPI into a large Socialist party, involved in its own political activities, independent work in economic struggles, organising cultural activities, and publishing its own papers and magazines.

Perhaps Connolly's own experience of small Socialist parties (SDF and SLP) showed they were prone to Sectarian sterility. He was also opposed to the relationship between the Bureaucratic and Sectionalist British trade unions and the British Labour Party. They just produced growing accommodation to the employers and the state. Instead, he envisaged an Irish Labour Party as a wing of an Irish trade union movement based on the latest Syndicalist principles, committed both to class struggle and to the Cooperative reorganisation of society, and with SPI members like himself confining themselves to Socialist Propaganda and Education.

The SPI tended to present itself publicly as the Independent Labour Party of

Ireland (ILP(I)) especially for elections⁷⁸¹ But Connolly's Socialist Republicanism was to be increasingly promoted through the ITGWU, which he hoped to then project into the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party (ITUC&LP) formed in 1912 in Clonmel.⁷⁸² The foundation of the ITUC&LP was very much linked to the current political situation, in which it was widely believed that Irish Home Rule would soon be enacted. Connolly argued that the Irish working class had to be organised politically to ensure that any devolved Irish parliament was not left solely in the hands of Irish employers and their representatives in the IPP. This argument proved persuasive to many not necessarily holding to Connolly's Socialist Republican politics. But there was still resistance from the British Left Unionist, ILP branch in Belfast.

There was another key chapter in Connolly's *Reconquest of Ireland*, entitled *Women*. In this he stated that, "The worker is the slave of capitalist society, the female worker the slave of that slave." He viewed the militant Women's Suffrage movement very differently to the indifference of many British Labour and trade union figures, or to the hostility of Belfort Bax and the incomprehension of John Maclean, both in the SDF. At this time, Maclean was dismissing Women's Suffragists,⁷⁸³ including Helen Crawford,⁷⁸⁴ who was later to play a leading role in the Glasgow Rent Strikes. Connolly, however, enjoyed much more direct contact with militant Women's Suffragists, who played a big part in the Dublin Lock-Out.

In Great Britain, many Women's Suffragists were to become as disenchanted with the ILP, just as Syndicalist influenced workers were to become. However, compared to the Sectarian BSP and SLP, the ILP's leader, Keir Hardie, allowed its women members some freedom of action. This is why the ILP was able to attract women like Mary McArthur, who led the chain makers' strike, and Helen Crawford in Glasgow. Connolly, however, made the connection between the militant Women's Suffrage and Syndicalist movements. He supported the "long-continued struggle" and acknowledged "the ever-spreading wave of martyrdom of the militant women of Great Britain and Ireland, and the spread amongst active spirits of the Labour movement of an appreciation of the genuineness of the women's longings for freedom."⁷⁸⁵

Connolly championed the autonomous organisation of women within the

IT&GWU under the banner of the Irish Women's Workers Union formed by Delia Larkin in 1911,⁷⁸⁶ and the Belfast based Irish Women's Textile Union Women led by Winifred Carney.⁷⁸⁷ Other important activists were Helena Molony (IWWU) and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington.⁷⁸⁸ Republican women such as Constance Markiewicz⁷⁸⁹ and Madeleine ffrench-Mullen⁷⁹⁰ gave their backing during the Dublin Lock-Out. This support for the new wave of Syndicalism was enhanced by their support for an Irish Republic. Their politics were considerably in advance of most of their British ILP or WPSU counterparts.

Back in the days Connolly was member of De Leon's SLP in the USA, he had attacked the party's publication of August Bebel's *Women and Socialism* and supported monogamy.⁷⁹¹ But his work with militant Irish Women's Suffragist supporters of Republicanism and Syndicalism led him to a greater appreciation of the active role of women in the struggle for an Irish Workers' Republic.

Connolly's Socialist Republicanism attempted to appropriate the whole history of the exploited and oppressed in Ireland and place this in an international context. In contrast, when Scottish and Welsh Socialists became involved in the Great Unrest, they did not connect this in any consistent way to the history of class struggle in their own Nations, or to their vision of Socialism. In England, Robert Blatchford had written *Merrie England*⁷⁹² for the Clarion Press in 1893. The Chauvinist thinking underpinning this was made clearer in *Britain for the British* in 1902.⁷⁹³ By 1909 Blatchford was writing for Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* warning of the "German menace".⁷⁹⁴

Neither the SDF/SDP/BSP's leader, Henry Hyndman, nor Harry Quelch, their chief theoreticians, attempted anything like Connolly's Irish historical work for England (which for Hyndman seemed interchangeable with Britain). Thus, they failed to develop a history rooted in the class struggles of the Nation or State. Nor did they understand the role of the Union, in reinforcing the reactionary features of the UK state.

h) Reactionary Unionism and the planned overthrow of the Liberal government over the Third Home Rule Bill (pp. 340

When the Liberals, under Asquith, once more formed the UK government, following the January 1910 general election, they lost the overall majority, which they had held since their landslide victory in 1905. In 1909, the House of Lords, supported by the Conservatives, voted against Lloyd George's 'Peoples Budget', in defiance of the convention that they did not block budgets. This became the key issue in the subsequent general election. Following their loss of seats, the Liberals now needed the Irish Nationalists to give them a working majority. This meant that Irish Home Rule was once more on the political agenda.

In 1885 and 1892, Conservatives and Liberal Unionists throughout the UK had shown the lengths to which they were prepared to go to defeat the First and Second Irish Home Rule Bills. They did not confine their opposition to activity at Westminster, although they certainly used the undemocratic House of Lords to undermine any support for greater Irish self-determination. When the House of Lords lost its full veto powers in 1911, after the Liberals' re-election, there were still plenty of other Anti-Democratic features of the UK state - the judiciary, senior civil servants and officers in the armed forces and police, whose loyalty lay not with parliament but to the Crown.

Within Ireland, the British Conservatives (and their Irish Unionist allies) could also command the support of the Dublin Castle administration, the senior judiciary at the Four Courts, senior British Army officers at The Curragh and at the other major barracks, Royal Navy officers at Queenstown (Cobh), Lough Swilly and Berehaven, senior officers in the RIC, as well as the senior prison officers in Dublin, Cork and the other major prisons. Furthermore, in the Unionist dominated North-East Ulster, the Orange Order remained central. Its lodges had long shown their willingness to act extra-constitutionally to defend Protestant privilege within the UK. Leading Conservatives had shown they were quite prepared to condone their actions, even though their activities had resulted in rioting, injuries and deaths.

The election of a Liberal government in 1905 had angered the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC), after all the effort it had put into ending Constructive Unionism under the prior Conservative/Liberal Unionist government. Yet

again, this was not because of any immediate prospect of Irish Home Rule, but because of the new government's attempts to conciliate Irish Nationalists. The UUC's new leader, Walter Long formed the Ulster Defence League in 1907. He became a key figure in the Reactionary alliance of Conservative & Unionist Party, Irish Unionist Alliance (IUA), UUC, Orange Order and other Loyalists who went on to oppose the Third Irish Home Rule Bill.⁷⁹⁵ In 1910, Sir Edward Carson, a southern Unionist and Dublin University MP, became leader of the UUC. By 1912, Bonar Law had united the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists as the Conservative and Unionist Party (C&UP). The UUC joined the IUA as the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), both constituent parts of the Irish Unionist Party, which in turn was a constituent part of the C&UP.

From its position on the Reactionary Right, the UUP played an analogous role within the IUP and C&UP to that which Arthur Scargill and the Yorkshire miners played in the NUM for the militant Left in the 1984-5 Miners' Strike. They both considered themselves to be the vanguard - in Edward Carson's and the UUP's case of the IUA, C&UP and the defence of the whole UK and British Empire; in Scargill's and the Yorkshire NUM's case, the defence of the whole NUM and the wider trade union movement.

As soon as the House of Lords' permanent veto was ended in 1911, the Reactionary Unionist, Loyalist alliance moved quickly into action. James Craig, a wealthy Belfast businessman, Orange Order and UUC member, UUP MP for East Down since 1905, called in Carson. Craig had a British Imperial army background. This made him particularly useful in organising the forces required to block the implementation of Irish Home Rule. The Unionist 'ultras' were not confined to Ulster, nor to the rest of Ireland. They were also firmly rooted in the leadership of the Conservative Party, and then the C&UP, particularly under their new leader, Bonar Law, from 1912.

These gung-ho British Imperialists saw Ireland as the front line in the defence of the Empire. Thus, in the run-up to the introduction of a Third Home Rule Bill, an alliance of Conservative and Reactionary unionists, on both sides of the Irish Sea, was very active. On September 25th, 1911, Carson addressed a meeting of 50,000 Unionists in Belfast. Plans were declared to establish a provisional government to rule Ulster - how much of the Province left unsaid, although the UUP was organised on a nine-county basis.

The purpose behind these moves was not to begin the process of setting up a separate Ulster, but to prepare the grounds for an all-UK resistance to Irish Home Rule. The planned provisional government was only meant to remain in place until traditional constitutional normality had been restored. Law visited Ulster in the lead up to the Third Home Rule Bill being presented to the House of Commons. On 9th April 1912, he attended another Belfast rally; this one attended by 200,000 Unionists, seventy Unionist MPs from throughout the UK, the Primate of the Church of Ireland and the Orange Order. When Law returned to England, he addressed a rally in July, where he stated, "I can imagine no lengths of resistance to which Ulster can go in which I would not be prepared to support her."⁷⁹⁶ Loyalist workers attacked and evicted Catholic and other Home Rule supporting workers from two major Belfast shipyards in July. They also engaged in riots and physical attacks elsewhere in the city.⁷⁹⁷

From this point onwards, the possibilities of mounting a coup d'état, with the backing of key sections of the British ruling class, was on the political agenda. Parliamentary democracy was to be completely ignored, in favour of upholding the most reactionary features of the UK constitution, with loyalty to the Crown prevailing. A Solemn League and Covenant, or the Ulster Covenant, was drawn up. Previously, the Church of Ireland, as sister church to the established Church of England, had been the senior religious body for Unionism. Right wing Presbyterians had accepted this. Now, following an Ulster Presbyterianism, which had been moving further rightwards for a century, they were given pride of place. The original 1643 Solemn League and Covenant, between the Scottish Presbyterians and Westminster, had been directed against Charles I's royal power. The 1912 Ulster Covenant, though, which was pledged to overthrow the House of Commons' support for the Third Home Rule Bill, did so in the name of King, Union and Empire.

At a major rally, held on 28th September, Carson was the first to sign the Ulster Covenant, followed by big landowner, and former Irish Viceroy, Lord Londonderry, then the representatives of the Protestant churches, and by Craig. Those signing passed a bodyguard drawn from the Orange Order and Unionist Clubs.⁷⁹⁸ As the Covenant was taken on tour, 471,414 men and women signed. Despite its Ulster heading, other signatories were accepted from the south, and several thousand came from Dublin to the signing ceremony in Belfast.⁷⁹⁹ Although the Unionists had a publicly declared

Ulster focus, their real intent was still Ireland wide, and indeed UK and Empire wide., which is why they enjoyed the support of the jingoistic, Imperialist British C&UP led by Law.

Up to this point, the Unionists' campaign could be viewed as a reactionary version of the nineteenth century Irish Repealers' campaign of 'monster meetings' with their 'politics of the veiled threat'. However, in December 1912, the UUP leaders decided to set up the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, drawn overwhelmingly from the ranks of the Orange Order. Sir George Richardson, a retired British Lieutenant-General, who had "long experience of teaching natives a lesson",⁸⁰⁰ was put in charge. He was the sort of military leader, who in the past (during the 1798 Rising, the threatened Chartist risings, etc.) would have been put in place to restore government control. Now, prominent ruling class figures were using their power and influence to undermine, or even to overthrow the government.

Furthermore, organised attempts to defy the government were not confined to retired generals. In September 1913, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, John French spoke to King George V, telling him that, "some serving officers would side with the Ulster Unionists, since they upheld a Protestant British Empire."⁸⁰¹ On 20th March 1914, Brigadier-General Herbert Gough led a mutiny of fifty-nine officers at The Curragh, saying they would not enforce the government's Irish Home Rule policy in Ulster. The senior British General, Douglas Haig supported them, telling the government not to discipline these officers. Asquith's Liberal government backed down.

The Conservatives, with their IUP members, played a cat and mouse game over 'Ulster exclusion' in the Third Irish Home Rule Bill's remit. They did not want to tie themselves down to any of the specific versions discussed (nine counties, six counties, four counties, or a county-by-county vote). Their continued aim was to prevent any Irish Home Rule at all, and if necessary, to overthrow the government before the Bill could be implemented.

Their successful defiance of the elected government at The Curragh gave Craig and Carson the confidence to organise the buying of 25,000 rifles and three million rounds of ammunition from Germany. These were landed at Larne and other ports on the night of 24/25th April 2014. There were no

British troops or RIC to prevent the landing or the distribution of arms to the UVF throughout Ulster.

After the First World War, during the initial manifestations of Fascism, aimed at upholding the reactionary status quo (e.g. in Russia or Germany), senior military figures mobilised paramilitary forces to crush movements pushing for greater democracy. However, this was anticipated before the First World War in the UK, by the activities of the Conservative and Reactionary Unionists, Ulster and Irish Unionists, senior military officers and the Loyalist UVF, in their attempts to thwart democratic reform.⁸⁰²

**i) British Unionist intransigence and Irish Nationalist retreats
undermine the possibilities for a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' or a Non-
Sectarian Irish Nation within the UK and British Empire (pp. 343-349)**

Following the December 1910 general election, the Irish Nationalists held 83 seats - 74 for John Redmond's IPP, 8 for William O'Brien's All-for-Ireland League and 1 for Laurence Ginnell, the Independent Nationalist, who had organised the Ranch War. Given the balance of forces, the IPP was in the dominant position. Furthermore, holding the balance of power at Westminster, it was in a position to push for Irish Home Rule, nearly two decades after the Liberals' failed Second Home Rule Bill.

However, the IPP did not see its role as being to persuade Irish Unionists to support Irish Home Rule. For the IPP, it was the Liberal government's role to persuade Irish Unionists. They assumed that once the Third Irish Home Rule Act was passed then the Asquith government would make sure that it was implemented, resorting to whatever measures were required (after all British governments had never been reluctant to resort to forceful methods against Irish Nationalists). Thus, the IPP made no preparations for any Unionist resistance.

The IPP leadership wanted to create an Irish-Catholic 'Nation' within the UK and British Empire. They accepted toleration for Protestants in their vision of Irish Home Rule. However, toleration is not equality, but depends on the continued 'goodwill' of the state, and its willingness to deal with the actions of the intolerant. To address this, the IPP probably assumed that

Westminster would take on a similar protective role for Irish Protestants within Home Rule Ireland to that which the Catholic hierarchy had done for Catholics in British Ireland, only given the UK state's much greater power, more effectively. They assumed that Irish Protestants would be reassured that their religious rights in Ireland would be protected under the continued powers reserved for the UK state.

However, for Conservative Unionists and other Loyalists, their religious rights were but a front for upholding Protestant supremacy, which underpinned their economic domination of Ireland. So Irish Home Rule represented a real threat to their privileges. When the Unionist alliance played the 'Ulster exclusion card', the IPP called for, "No Orange vetoes, no concessions, Ulster must follow."⁸⁰³ Redmond continued to believe that Asquith's government would face down the Unionists. But, whenever the Conservatives and their Irish Unionist allies had resorted to their well-placed supporters in the UK state machinery and to the Orange Order, Liberals had already shown a record of retreat and backing down. They too were supporters of the Crown, Union, and Empire. The creation of the Loyalist UVF, with tacit Conservative backing, and little in the way of a government response, was another indicator of the problems of depending on the Liberals.

A new Irish Nationalist party emerged in 1910, William O'Brien's All-for-Ireland League (AfIL).⁸⁰⁴ It was O'Brien who had been pushing for overtures to Liberal Irish Unionists, with his support for the Irish Reform Association. Although O'Brien had fallen out with the IPP, he rejoined it 1908. Ginnell had won UIL backing for the Ranch War, and this threatened O'Brien's overtures to southern landlords.

Yet, despite Redmond's and O'Brien's shared opposition to the Ranch War, Redmond's IPP was now almost completely wedded to the creation of a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' within the UK and British Empire. In contrast William O'Brien and his Nat-Lab, Irish Land and Labour Alliance allies, led by Desmond Daniel Sheehan, wanted to create a Secular Irish Nation within the UK and British Empire in cooperation with Liberal Irish Unionists. The AfIL thought it could reinforce those Liberal Unionist forces in the wider UK, which saw the UK and British Empire as a 'beacon of progress.'

A key supporter of the AfIL was Canon Patrick Augustine Sheehan, who

defied the local Catholic sectarian Ancient Order of Hibernians within the IPP, and from the Catholic hierarchy without.⁸⁰⁵ However, in contrast to the IPP, the AfIL did see the need to persuade Irish Unionists to support Home Rule. The AfIL pushed for Conference, Conciliation and Consent, building on the precedent established by O'Brien's work preparing for the 1903 Land Purchase Act, and with the Irish Reform Association. The AfIL published its own paper, the *Cork Free Press*.⁸⁰⁶ In both the January and December 1910 general elections the AfIL stood its own candidates. The IPP used the Catholic hierarchy, the AOH, and sometimes armed thugs to try to eliminate the AfIL challenge.⁸⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the AfIL won almost all the County Cork and Cork City seats but failed to make any significant advance outside these areas.

The AfIL has sometimes been seen as representing the possibility of an alternative Irish history - the creation of a non-Sectarian Home Rule Ireland. This is because of the emphasis the AfIL placed upon conciliating the Irish Unionists. This thinking re-emerged in the context of 'The Troubles' from 1969-97, suggesting that conciliating the Ulster Unionists could make them change their ways. If the IPP overestimated the support they would get from the Liberal government, the AfIL underestimated the depths of reaction to be found amongst the Unionists. The large majority of Irish Unionists supported the IUA and the UUC with its continued links with the Orange Order and other Loyalists, and their preparedness to resort to the Anti-Democratic Crown Powers of the UK state. William O'Brien's earlier opposition to Laurence Ginnell and his Land War, in order to win over southern Unionists; and his support for Dublin Lock-Out promoter William Martin Murphy, a member the Bantry Band (also known as the Pope's Brass Band), one of the most zealous Catholic groupings within Irish Nationalist parliamentary politics,⁸⁰⁸ to try and widen support for the AfIL, also highlighted the limits of his Nat-Lab politics.

Both the IPP and AfIL failed to appreciate the full extent of those Crown Powers in preserving the reactionary features of the UK state, and the use made of them to override any decisions taken by the House of Commons, whenever the British ruling class felt its interests seriously challenged. Neither could appreciate that Imperialism was not a just political choice made by the Conservative Unionists, but that the overwhelming majority of Liberals would show themselves just as willing to pursue the deeper

Imperialist logic of capitalism and accept bloody war as a consequence.

Interestingly, in the discussions Asquith held with the AfIL in 1911, prior to the government drawing up the Third Home Rule Bill, O'Brien, put forward proposals for Dominion status for Ireland, using Canada as an example.⁸⁰⁹ Clearly political developments in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa made Home Rule outside the UK a more attractive prospect than it had been at the time of Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill. However, once the initial terms of the Third Irish Home Rule Bill, which was for Home Rule within the UK, became clear, the AfIL gave its support. This was still an all-Ireland Home Rule Bill.

The AfIL was somewhat better prepared for dealing with the Irish Unionists than the IPP, who left that to the Liberal government. The AfIL suggested amendments to the Bill, which they thought would be necessary to neutralise Unionist opposition in Ulster. Thus, in order to counter the UUC's continued attempts to promote division between Ulster and the rest of Ireland (even, if at this stage primarily to make Irish Home Rule less attractive and unworkable), the AfIL would, "Pay any price for a United Ireland, but partition never."⁸¹⁰

Although the AfIL's proposals avoided any commitment to Political Home Rule Partition, they did amount to a form of Administrative Partition. Ulster would be given disproportionate representation in a new Irish House of Commons; its representatives would have a veto over Irish legislation; and North-east Ulster would appoint its own court judges, district magistrates and education inspectors.⁸¹¹

But the main problem the AfIL faced was Conciliation's lack of support amongst Unionists. Wyndham's Constructive Unionism had long given way to the Destructive Unionism of Colonel Saunderson, Walter Long, then Bonar Law, Sir Edward Carson, James Craig and the UUC/UUP. The small number of more liberal Irish Unionists, whom the AfIL had previously courted, such as Sir Horace Plunkett, did not represent the majority even of southern Unionists.

Most southern Unionists initially followed Carson and looked to the intransigent UUC/UUP to block Home Rule. In Ulster, Conciliation had

even fewer grounds for success, because of the UUC/UUP's vehement opposition to Irish Home Rule there. William O'Brien had few Unionist contacts in Ulster. His main one was Baron Rossmore, but he lived in County Monaghan outside the UUP strongholds.

In his earlier support for Constructive Unionists, O'Brien had also worked with Thomas Russell, who was Liberal Unionist MP for South Tyrone, then Liberal MP for North Tyrone. He did become a supporter of Irish Home Rule. However, as soon as Russell showed a willingness to support Home Rule, the UUC/IUA stood candidates against him, taking the overwhelming majority of Unionist votes. So, Russell's voting base was almost exclusively amongst Irish Nationalist supporters. Russell's pro-Home Rule Liberal ally, R. B. Glendinning, lost his North Antrim seat to the UUC/IUA candidate in 1910.⁸¹² Thus attempts to create a wider support for an Irish-British Nation through Conciliation were not successful.

The last noted attempt to create an Irish-British Nation from the Protestant side took place on 24th August 1913. A meeting was held in Ballymoney in County Antrim, which involved local Liberal leaders, the ex-MP R. D. Glendinning and the Presbyterian minister, Reverend J. B. Armour.⁸¹³ They held to the old Gladstonian Liberal Unionist position that Irish Home Rule would strengthen the UK and British Empire. In addition, they thought that Home Rule would bring Protestants and Catholics together in a common cause. Captain Jack White, DSO (decorated in the Boer War), Sir Roger Casement (well-known for his involvement in international campaigning against forced labour) and Alice Stopford Green (an Irish Nationalist author) were all speakers. They were chosen because they were Protestant.

The Gaelic League (GL) activist Baron Ashbourne, despite his title, was rejected as a speaker because he had converted to Catholicism,⁸¹⁴ and GL leader Eoin McNeill, despite his own County Antrim background, was not even considered, probably because he too was a Catholic. No attempt was made to invite an Irish Nationalist MP, despite Glendinning having depended on Irish Nationalist votes when he was elected in 1906, and despite Armour's and Glendinning's claim to be seeking a non-Sectarian Irish-British nation within the UK and Empire. Four hundred Protestant liberal unionists attended the meeting.

However, a much larger anti-Home Rule meeting was held in the same venue a month later.⁸¹⁵ Also all-Protestant, this represented the dominant version of Irish-Britishness in the Unionist parties, which was strongly equated with a Protestant Irish-British 'Nation'. This had already absorbed what remained of the old Anglo-Irish Unionist politics. Thus, the IPP and AfIL both held illusions over the nature of the UK state.

j) The IRB and the Socialist Republicans become contenders in the struggle for Irish self-determination (pp. 349-355)

However, two significant challenges were to emerge to both the Reactionary Unionism of the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Liberal Unionism of the Liberal Party on one hand, and to the Irish Constitutional Nationalism of the IPP and AfIL on the other. Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein took a back seat once the possibility of another Home Rule Bill had become real. Placing less trust in the Liberal government than either the IPP or AfIL, Griffith thought that Sinn Fein, instead of electorally challenging the Irish Nationalist MPs, should call on them to consider withdrawing from Westminster. By this time though, the Sinn Fein alliance was falling apart.⁸¹⁶

Nevertheless, new opportunities were opening up for the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). As soon as the Ulster Unionists formed the UVF, the IRB now led by more militant younger men, such as Bulmer Hobson,⁸¹⁷ began to organise the Irish Volunteers (IV).⁸¹⁸ The IRB had its own illusions. It viewed the establishment of the UVF as an act of defiance against the UK state, rather than a reactionary challenge to its Liberal reform. Some envisaged the IV allying with the UVF to confront the UK state. Connolly warned against this.⁸¹⁹ The IRB's push to set up the IV led them to make a call to follow the example of the UVF where "The North Began" the struggle.⁸²⁰ This would have been a bit like the ZANU-PF attempting to join with Ian Smith in his Southern Rhodesian defiance of the British Imperial government!

Of course, an IV/UVF alliance never came about. But the IRB was able to use its base in the Dublin GAA to begin drilling. They found a figurehead in Eoin MacNeill of the Gaelic League (GL). On 11th November 1913, a meeting was organised in Dublin to launch the IV. Membership was open to

all "without distinction of creed, politics and social grade."⁸²¹ The majority of IV members though would have been IPP supporters. The IV soon had over 180,000 members.⁸²² The Provisional Committee was divided between the Gaelic Irish-Irish GL, GAA, Sinn Fein and IRB members and the Catholic-Irish AOH. The AOH was aligned to the IPP. The AOH already had a record of physical confrontation, albeit mainly directed against other Irish Nationalists.

Significant IRB members, including Sean Mac Diarmada and Padraig Pearse, were on the Provisional Committee (PC). Despite having an equal number of GL and AOH office bearers, the AOH (and hence the IPP) did not have a majority on the PC. John Redmond was concerned about the IV moving out of IPP control. So, he demanded that a majority position be given to the IPP on the Provisional Committee, with 25 new members, including his son, William Redmond and Joe Devlin (leader of the AOH).

In the face of this demand, Bulmer Hobson backed down, something for which the veteran IRB leader Tom Clarke would attack him, making sure Hobson was replaced.⁸²³ After this setback to their plans, the IRB and Roger Casement of the GL decided to up the ante and copy the UVF by organising gun running from Germany to arm the Volunteers. A much smaller consignment of 1500 rifles and 45,000 rounds of ammunition was successfully landed at Howth, north of Dublin on 26th July 1914. However, the Kings Own Scottish Borderers killed three and severely wounded thirty-five civilian bystanders on Dublin's Bachelors Walk. Another 600 rifles and 19,000 rounds of ammunition were landed secretly at Kilcoole south of Dublin on 1st August.⁸²⁴ But three days later, the UK government declared war on Germany.

The other significant political force, which made an impact on the struggle for greater Irish Self-Determination was the Socialist Republican led alliance, which involved the SPI/IT&GWU/ICA/Irish Labour and key women from the Irish Women's Suffrage League (IWSL), who although initially neutral over Irish Home Rule,⁸²⁵ had Republican and IT&GWU sympathisers. The IWSL published the influential *Irish Citizen*. Both Connolly and Larkin, prominent in this alliance's leadership, supported the longer-term aim of an Irish Workers' Republic. There were definite political differences within this alliance, but despite the defeat of the Dublin Lock Out, the

SPI/IT&GWU/ICA remained under Socialist Republican leadership, with James Connolly playing a more prominent role, after Jim Larkin went into exile to the USA. This wider alliance had taken over a decade to put together.

During the 1907 Belfast Strike, Larkin, whilst still in the NUDL, had been able to win solidarity action not just from Protestant workers but even the Independent Orange Order (IOO), especially its Radical leader, Robert Lindsay Crawford. He had drawn up the IOO's *Magheramorne Manifesto* in 1905. The IOO, however, reverted to type and Crawford was expelled in 1908. Nevertheless, he remained a supporter of Irish Self-Determination for the rest of his life.⁸²⁶ Jack White DSO, an ex-British army captain who became an Irish Citizen Army trainer in 1913, was another figure from a Northern Protestant background who was won over. Both David R. Campbell⁸²⁷ and William McMullen,⁸²⁸ SPI members and Protestant trade unionists on Belfast Trades and Labour Council supported Connolly, when he argued for setting up an Irish Labour Party, and was opposed by William Walker, trade union official and member of the British ILP.

The Socialist Republican-inspired attempt to keep North-east Ulster within an Irish-Irish Nation, hopefully leading to a Irish Workers' Republic, can be compared with William O'Brien and the Irish Reform Association's attempt to bridge the Irish Nationalist/Irish Unionist gap to keep Ulster in their Secular Irish Nation within the UK and British Empire. In their attempts to achieve these aims, both the Socialist Republican-led alliance and the constitutional Nationalist/Liberal Unionist alliance faced a daunting task, given the strength of Reactionary Unionist and Loyalist forces and the backing they received from significant sections of the British ruling class.

However, unlike O'Brien's Ulster Protestant allies at the Irish Home Rule meeting in Ballymoney, County Antrim in October 1913, Socialist Republicans or militant trade unionists would never have thought of excluding Catholics (or Protestants for that matter) from their gatherings. And during the Great Unrest from 1912-14, considerable numbers of Protestant workers were mobilised by the IT&GWU alongside Catholics.

Connolly and his family lived in Belfast from 1910, when he became a T&GWU organiser there. Connolly's experiences led him to write three special chapters on Ulster and Belfast in his *Reconquest of Ireland*. This

work can be seen as his 'programme' for bringing about a united Irish-Ireland and Irish Workers' Republic, as part of a wider International Socialist strategy. However, Connolly also got to the heart of the so-called Religious Sectarian divide in his 1913 article, *British Labour and Irish Politicians*. This was designed to prick the superior attitude of many Protestant and ex-Protestant Socialists and trade unionists in the rest of the UK.

"Whereas, Protestantism has in general made for political freedom and political Radicalism, it has been opposed to slavish worship of kings and aristocrats. Here, in Ireland, the word Protestant is almost a convertible term with Toryism, lickspittle loyalty, servile worship of aristocracy and hatred of all that savours of genuine political independence on the part of the 'lower classes.' And in the same manner, Catholicism which in most parts of Europe is synonymous with Toryism, lickspittle loyalty, servile worship of aristocracy and hatred of all that savours of genuine political independence on the part of the lower classes, in Ireland is almost synonymous with rebellious tendencies, zeal for democracy, and intense feeling of solidarity with all strivings upward of those who toil."⁸²⁹

Connolly provided a telling example. In June 1913, the IT&GWU took on the organisation of the almost 100% Protestant workforce at the British Aluminium works in Larne. Here the 'beneficent' Unionist employers enforced a "weekly total of 84 hours labour, or 12 hours per day, 7 days a week". The IT&GWU brought the men out on strike. But then the local Presbyterian clergy, in "the most Orange part of the North East corner of Ulster", whipped up hatred against "'Fenian' and 'Papist' organisation", and ensured that "the twin forces of scabbism and Carsonism won a glorious victory." Connolly compared this with the attitude of striking workers in Wexford, who "told the {Catholic} clergymen what to do... and suffered on, until they won". To puncture the superiority of Irish-British (and Scottish-British) Socialists from a Presbyterian background, he then wrote that, "The North East corner of Ulster is the only priest-ridden part of Ireland."⁸³⁰

Significantly this article was written in the Scottish Socialist paper *Forward*. In Scotland there was a particular Scottish-British variant of Unionism, which took some of its inspiration from the privileged position of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland under the UK constitution. A more Liberal Unionism liked to hark back to the Covenanting days when Presbyterians did indeed challenge the Stuarts. Radical Presbyterians had also been at the head

of the United Irishmen in Ulster. It was at Carrickfergus, only a short distance from Larne, that the Presbyterian United Irishman, William Orr had been martyred in 1797.⁸³¹ However, after the defeat of the United Irishmen and the passing of the 1801 Act of Union, Ulster Presbyterianism moved to the Right under Henry Cooke in an alliance with the established Church of Ireland. Later, Presbyterian, street corner demagogues, such as Roaring Hugh Hanna, linking up with the Orange Order and other Loyalist organisations, actively promoted sectarian hatred.

Many Scottish Socialists, still imbued with the Victorian idea of the UK as an international 'beacon of progress,' retained anti-Catholic prejudices, and did not fully acknowledge the particularly reactionary nature of the UK state in Ireland. These attitudes were reinforced by the attempts of the Catholic Church in Scotland to corral Catholic workers into voting for the Liberals, who were in alliance with the IPP, rather than voting for Socialists or independent Labour candidates.

Connolly, like Larkin, was a Secular Catholic. They both opposed those who thought it was the duty of Socialists to attack the Catholic Church and make Anti-Religious propaganda at every opportunity, but particularly during industrial disputes. Instead, they opted for a different approach. They argued for the separation of spiritual from economic matters. The former they were prepared to leave to the guidance of the Catholic Church, but the latter they argued belonged in the Secular and Democratic domain.

Therefore, it was when the clergy attacked Socialist or trade union organisation or actions that they responded. During the Dublin Lock Out, Connolly used both the *Irish Worker* and *Forward*⁸³² to do this. Larkin used the *Irish Worker* to lambast those clergy responsible for "hypocrisy, accusing hostile priests of abandoning the poor for the services of Mammon"⁸³³ When they deemed it necessary, Connolly and Larkin named names and were unsparing in their defence of Socialism and militant trade unionism in the face of clerical attacks.

And Connolly, whilst IT&GWU leader in Belfast, maintained close links with Winifred Harney, who was the leader of the IT&GWU's autonomous Linen Workers' Union. He wrote its manifesto *To the Linen Slaves of Belfast*. Women workers, their autonomous unions and their struggles formed a key

part of his wider alliance, which included Irish Women Suffragists. Harney became a member of the ICA and went on to join Connolly in the GPO in 1916.

Following the defeat of the Dublin Lock Out, the Unionists, backed by the paramilitary UVF, still unchallenged by the Liberal government, gained a major boost to their confidence after The Curragh Mutiny on March 20th, 1914. This signalled that the Reactionary wing of the ruling class was not confining its opposition to Irish Home Rule to words and constitutional measures but was prepared to back whatever action was necessary to block reform. If this meant removing the Liberal government, through the threat or actual application of force, they were willing to support this too.

A further stage in Liberal government capitulation occurred when Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, bowed to threats by the Ulster Unionists to stop a pro-Irish Home Rule meeting in Belfast's Ulster Hall.⁸³⁴ Whilst Ulster Unionists and their Loyalist foot-soldiers had long previously blocked or attacked pro-Irish Home Rule and pro-Socialist (including pro-British Labour and Socialist) indoor and outdoor meetings, to confidently assert that central Belfast was a no-go area for a senior government minister was unprecedented.

It was just a short time since Churchill had mobilised tens of thousands of soldiers to try to crush the Great Unrest in England and Wales. However, it is quite possible that Churchill, now an insider when it came to the British establishment plans for war with Germany, was working behind the scenes with like-minded Conservative politicians to advance this possibility. A war with Germany could derail the Irish Home Rule challenge, the prospect of another outbreak of the Great Unrest, and the challenge from the Women Suffragists.

Those Unionists not in the know about the possibility of war with Germany, which might yet bring together Asquith's Liberal government (with its powerfully placed Liberal Imperialist component) and the Conservative and Unionist Party 'opposition', intensified their attacks on the Liberal government. The purpose of 'Ulster exclusion' (area still undefined) was to spread political mayhem, and to create the conditions for the ousting of the Liberal government. Up to this point, many people, including Socialists like Connolly, thought that the Conservatives and Liberals were involved in an

elaborate public charade, which provided cover for a shady behind-the-scenes deal with the Irish Nationalists.⁸³⁵ The possibility of war with Germany was not yet considered.

Panicking at the Liberal government's climb-downs before the Unionist/Loyalist alliance, the leading Irish Nationalist, Redmond retreated behind the Liberals. Breaking all previous promises, the IPP began to consider a 'temporary' exclusion for some (assumed to be four) Ulster counties from the provisions of the Third Irish Home Rule Bill. In this new more desperate situation Connolly, drawing from his own experiences in Belfast, raised the alarm over the effects of any Partition.

Connolly made his well-known prophecy, if Partition were ever to come about. "Such a scheme as that agreed to by Redmond and Devlin, the betrayal of the national democracy of industrial Ulster would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish Labour movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured." ⁸³⁶

The Dublin Lock Out played a major part in the way the Socialist Republican, Syndicalist and Women Suffragists' alliance viewed the Irish Nationalists. John Redmond and the IPP leadership had given their backing to William Martin Murphy and the Dublin Employers' Federation. Amongst the AfIL members was Tim Healy, then a close associate of Murphy's.⁸³⁷ Connolly particularly resented AfIL leader. William O'Brien's association with Murphy.⁸³⁸ Sinn Fein leader, Arthur Griffith also supported Murphy and denounced Larkin and the IT&GWU. He linked up with the Catholic hierarchy in its rabid campaign against English trade unionists' and Socialist women's provision of holidays for the children of locked-out workers. The marked pro-employer response of Irish Nationalist leaders and spokesmen in a very public class conflict further deepened a longstanding political divide. But Padraig Pearse of the IRB supported the IT&GWU in the Lock-Out. These line-ups coloured the alliances that Socialist Republican, Connolly tried to form over the next period.

k) A brittle Union under strain in the run-up to the First World War and the threads of a new Socialist Republican led, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance (pp. 356–363)

With the UK being brought to the brink of civil war by August 1914, both the existing social order and the Unionist constitution came under considerable strain. The rise of Syndicalism leading to the Great Unrest, the upsurge of a new a Women Suffrage movement, and the crisis brought about by the Third Home Rule Bill, all contributed to this. In 1911, the abolition of the full veto rights of the House of Lords had dented British ruling class power, but the House of Lords remained. After being challenged, significant sections of the British ruling class showed they were more than prepared to use all the other anti-democratic elements of the UK constitution, as well as mobilising reactionary extra-parliamentary forces, to prevent any further reform.

If the Liberal government thought its own reforms - granting trade unions financial immunity, providing pensions, sickness and unemployment benefits, followed by the curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords - would be enough to stymie the new revolts from below, this proved to be wishful thinking. The failure to quell the growing demand for more far-reaching changes led Asquith's government to resort to the widespread use of troops to crush the Great Unrest, and to the imprisonment and force-feeding of militant Women's Suffragists. In this they had the full support of the Conservative and Unionist Party (CUP).

Certainly, the Liberals had never made any electoral commitments to the sort of demands raised by the Syndicalist-inspired trade unionists or the Women Suffragists. However, the CUP/UUP/IUP opposition was not even prepared to accept the legitimacy of a reform like Irish Home Rule, despite this meeting the official democratic requirement of Westminster politics, where it enjoyed majority support in the House of Commons. The Liberal government had the backing of the majority of MPs, and the House of Lords' veto could only extend to two years. In 9 county Ulster (which still constituted the political and organisational basis for the UUP), a Liberal Home Ruler replaced an Irish Unionist, in the 1913 Londonderry City by-election. This gave Irish Home Rulers a majority of seats even in Ulster. However, that just made the reactionary unionist opposition even more intransigent. They tried to create an atmosphere of fear and tension

throughout the UK. If the government could not be toppled before then, they looked to a general election in 1915 to overthrow Irish Home Rule.

Another golden opportunity presented itself though. Behind the scenes the Liberal Imperialist/C&UP anti-German clique saw the unfolding of the Sarajevo Crisis as their opportunity to go to war. When the Irish Home Rule Act was finally passed in August 1914, there was no resolution of the Ulster issue. The Act was immediately suspended for the duration of the war. The Reactionary Unionists were now looking to the jingoistic climate created by the war, the better to ensure that they would triumph in any post-war election. They could then ditch Irish Home Rule altogether.

It was not only Irish Home that was placed in limbo. Many Scottish Liberals had continued to support Scottish Home Rule. Some saw this as acting as a constraint upon Irish Home Rule - the original motivation for 'Home Rule-all-round' in Gladstone's day. Others saw it as a useful step to make sure that Scottish legislation was provided with enough time, since this was not available at Westminster. However, the Young Scots, strong supporters of Scottish Home Rule on more Democratic or Nationalist lines, had become a significant pressure group within and outside the Liberal Party in Scotland.

From 1910, in classic Liberal Party fashion, the campaign for Scottish Home Rule was brought under the wing of its Scottish National Committee (SNC). This was chaired by Imperial Federalist, Robert Munro Ferguson, MP for Leith Burghs (He had won the election there in which Belfast-based ILP member, William Walker stood for the Labour Party). Another Liberal Party body, the Scottish Home Rule Council was set up to supplement the SNC.⁸³⁹ The Liberal government could also depend upon Labour MPs for support. Thus, on the back of the Third Irish Home Rule Bill, the Government of Scotland Bill passed its second reading in May 1914.

The mover, William Henry Cowan, MP for Aberdeenshire East, was clear where the opposition would come from. - "Gentlemen who, having shootings, fishings, or deer forests in Scotland, imagine themselves experts on Scottish affairs."⁸⁴⁰ But the House of Lords did not even have to block Scottish Home Rule for two years. The First World War intervened, and the triumphalist imperialist victors in the post-war War Coalition government made no attempt to revive it. After the war, in 1922, Bonar Law appointed Ferguson

as Scottish Secretary of State, following his loyal services to British imperialism.⁸⁴¹ Sir Edward Carson had hoped something similar would be the fate of Irish Home Rule and its leading upholders. However, events were to take another and unforeseen turn in Ireland.

The Welsh Liberals were at an earlier point in their promotion of a Welsh-British nation. After the defeat of Cymru Fydd, with its support for Welsh Home Rule, the Welsh Liberals focused their attention on cultural pursuits, the better to develop their ideal Welsh-British nation within the UK state. Their particular Welsh-British Nation was rooted in the now retreating chapel and choir culture. Their Welsh-British Nation, North and South, whether it was Welsh or English speaking, was Nonconformist and sober.

The Welsh Liberals continued to prioritise the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. However, the Anglo-Welsh landlords and gentry were still a force to be reckoned with, unlike the Anglo-Irish who had been absorbed into the wider Irish-British ruling class, whilst being well compensated for their loss of land. The Liberal government needed Welsh Liberal MPs' support, so the Welsh Church Act was passed in 1914. This ended the Church of England's Established status in Wales. This was achieved in the teeth of House of Lords opposition.⁸⁴²

But the First World War ensured that, as with the Third Irish Home Rule Act, the enactment of this Act was to be delayed until after the war. However, the creation of the Investiture of the Prince of Wales ceremony in 1911 highlighted that even amongst the British establishment, Wales was emerging from England's shadow, as the fourth Nation, a Welsh-British Nation, within the Union.⁸⁴³

Westminster had introduced extensive local government reorganisation with new Acts for England and Wales in 1888, Scotland in 1889 and Ireland in 1898.⁸⁴⁴ These brought about a Unionist symmetry based on counties and boroughs/burghs. At this time Wales was still dealt with as part of England, although Welsh Liberals used their control of local councils to pursue distinctive policies on education.

Despite their subordinate status within, and their close economic links to the wider UK, no attempt was made to bring either the Isle of Man or the

Channel Islands into the UK proper. They continued to have their own distinctive forms of local government. Conservative Unionists, whether Conservative or Liberal Unionist, wanted to preserve as much of the wider UK constitutional order as possible, and only turned to constitutional or local government reform to derail possible political challenges.

However, with the resurrection of Irish Home Rule as a political issue, after 1910, more thought was given to the idea of Nations, Provinces and Regions. Some leading Liberals had seen Scottish and Welsh Home Rule as method of restraining Irish Home Rule. 'Home Rule-all-round' was meant to create some kind of symmetry in a reformed Union. In 1912, Winston Churchill went further and made a speech proposing the creation of ten or twelve new Regional parliaments.⁸⁴⁵ These would include nine in England and one each in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. They were seen as an additional way of downgrading the impact of any right to self-determination in these nations, as they became Regions of the UK instead. This was taken no further at the time, but from this point onwards, the more formal term 'Region' superseded the earlier term 'Province', although provincial thinking continued.

When it came to addressing the Administrative Devolutionary arena, and with the later development of Regional planning, the English Regions became more clearly defined. The regions promoted in England have included the North East, North West, Yorkshire and Humberside, West Midlands, East Midlands, East Anglia/Eastern, the South Western and South Eastern, from which there also emerged a distinct Greater London. The Fabian Society, which emphasised the need for a British-led, top-down, experts-led reform of the UK and British Empire,⁸⁴⁶ was to the forefront of the idea of Regional planning.

The two wings of the British ruling class had each developed their own political, economic and cultural strategies for the four Constituent Nations in order to uphold the Union and British Empire. One wing resorted to the C&UP/UUP/IUP's Conservative and Reactionary Unionism, and the other the Liberal Party's Liberal Unionism allied to the IPP's Constitutional Nationalism.

However, despite the sometime overlapping struggles of Syndicalist-influenced workers, Women Suffragists, and those struggling for greater Irish

Self-Determination, Socialists beyond Ireland were less able to connect these struggles in a common challenge to the British ruling class and the UK state. Instead, the British ILP/Labour Party's commitment to social parliamentarianism (bowing before Westminster and the Crown) led to it taking its leadership from the Liberal government on constitutional issues, and from the IPP over Irish Home Rule.

The leaders of the Labour Party were far keener to discipline, or distance themselves from, any militant activities coming from the Syndicalists and the Women's Suffragists. Therefore, with the Liberal wing of Unionism in retreat, the C&UP was able to provide a concerted UK (and indeed British Empire) wide lead to the Loyalist 'lower orders', without an effective Labour or Socialist political opposition outside of Ireland.

British Labour weakness in this regard was to be highlighted in the stance it took over the First World War. British Socialists adhered to different types of politics. These prevented such Socialists from developing an effective political alliance between those economic, social and political forces, which had begun to challenge the UK state and British Empire. They included a wing that increasingly accommodated to British Imperialism, highlighted by Robert Blatchford and Henry Hyndman. They also included some who had indeed understood the significance of the Syndicalist influenced Great Unrest, but who also thought that Women's Suffragists and the Irish struggle for self-determination were intrinsically divisive. Their politics did not acknowledge the extent of the oppression of women or of Ireland.

Various hybrid political positions and compromises, particularly in the ILP, reflected a combination of the lack of clarity over these issues, and the pull to the Right following Labour's accommodation to Social Liberalism and greater involvement in the UK state, locally and nationally. The Labour Representation Committee (LRC) and then the Labour Party did not have any fundamental strategy or independent political programme to address these issues, something that Kier Hardie saw as a positive thing. His thinking was based on "pliancy, an ability to disregard political disagreements, and to make alliances that involved discarding political principles... {The LRC} 'had fixed upon a common denominator that, when acting in the House of Commons, they would be neither Socialists, Liberals nor Tories but a Labour Party.'"⁸⁴⁷

The most advanced politics, which did have the potential to provide a political link between the Syndicalist-influenced workers, the Women's Suffragists and the Irish struggle, lay in the Socialist Republicanism being developed by James Connolly, Jim Larkin and others. There were also political differences amongst their ranks, but these were over the best way to bring these three struggles together in an Irish initiated and wider Internationalist strategy.

Connolly had needed to break from the SDF and ILP in Scotland to create the Irish Socialist Republican Party in Dublin, whilst Larkin needed to break from the NUDL, under Sexton's control in Liverpool, and create the IT&GWU in Ireland. It was from these threads that the new Socialist Republicanism developed. Similarly, the independent nature of the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL), and the preparedness of its leaders like Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, to become involved in Labour and Irish Republican politics,⁸⁴⁸ made it a considerably more advanced than the Women's Political and Social Union in Great Britain. The IWFL's paper, the *Irish Citizen*, "stood for the rights of Labour, especially for the rights of women workers... {and} for the self determination of Ireland."⁸⁴⁹

Connolly's ability to refocus the struggles of the working class and oppressed away from dependence on the UK state, and to link them into Ireland's own history of struggles against the Norman invaders, the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, then the Irish-British Unionist section of the British ruling class, and their wannabe replacements amongst the Irish Nationalists, was very important. British Socialists had not adopted such an approach.

The hybrid-British Socialists in Scotland, Wales and Ireland (mainly in Belfast) had done little in this regard, although certain historical struggles such as those of the Parliamentarians in the seventeenth century could be celebrated. British Socialists tended to view themselves as the inheritors of those in their particular Nations who had contributed to the history of Britain as a 'beacon of progress 'to the world.

The reason why James Connolly, Jim Larkin and others in Ireland, such as Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Winifred Carney,⁸⁵⁰ Walter Carpenter,⁸⁵¹ Sean Dowling,⁸⁵² Madeleine French-Mullen,⁸⁵³ James Fearon,⁸⁵⁴ Delia Larkin,⁸⁵⁵

Kathleen Lynn,⁸⁵⁶ Peter Macken/Peadar O'Maicin,⁸⁵⁷ Michael Mallin⁸⁵⁸ Helena Molony,⁸⁵⁹ William Partridge,⁸⁶⁰ William O'Brien (not to be confused with the AfIL leader of the same name)⁸⁶¹ were able to help develop a more advanced Socialist Republican politics, flowed from the long history of UK state oppression and frequent resort to repression. They were also acquainted with the use the British ruling class made of Loyalist forces, like the Orange Order and most recently the UVF. Those involved in economic and social struggles soon came to recognise the importance of the political struggle for Democracy.

Having developed a Socialist Republican basis for politics in Ireland, Connolly, Larkin and others tried to extend this on 'internationalism from below' lines to England, Scotland, Wales and the USA. Connolly was a frequent visitor to Scotland, but also toured England and made contact with Socialists in Wales. He was invited over by SLP and ILP branches. During the Great Unrest, Connolly, Larkin and Partridge took the IT&GWU's Fiery Cross campaign to England and Scotland. Many Syndicalist-influenced workers, who had just been through their own industrial struggles, and had been witnesses to the opposition or backtracking of union leaders and Labour politicians, saw the struggle in Ireland as their struggle. Dora Montefiore and Sylvia Pankhurst, champions of women's rights and Socialists,⁸⁶² also made the same connection.

As well as his personal contacts with individual Scottish SLP members, Connolly was a regular contributor to *Forward* (as was John Maclean at the time). He chose the pages of *Forward* pages to defend the setting up of the Irish TUC and Labour Party (supported by the IT&GWU), against William Walker of the Belfast ILP. Walker argued for support for an all-UK British Labour Party and opposed Irish Home Rule.⁸⁶³ Walker had a history of supporting Unionism and bowing to anti-Catholic prejudice. Walker's poster for his Labour candidature in the January 1910 general election campaign, in Leith Burghs, portrayed two stereotyped pigtailed Chinese.⁸⁶⁴ His 'internationalism' was very British and largely confined to the UK state (supplemented though by an admiration for German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Von Bethmann-Hollweg⁸⁶⁵).

The editor of *Forward* decided to close down the debate between Connolly and Walker, claiming it had become acrimonious. However, it is possible

that the issues raised by both Connolly and Walker were not ones the pro-Scottish Home Rule editors wanted to put under the spotlight. Nevertheless, Connolly continued to write for *Forward*. He was the main contributor covering the Dublin Lockout. John Maclean, though, despite having formed a friendship with Jim Larkin in Belfast in 1907, chose to make the recent death of BSP theoretician, Harry Quelch, the main subject of his *Scottish Notes* report in *Justice*, which covered Larkin's 'Fiery Cross' visit to Glasgow.⁸⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Maclean also wrote several pieces attacking Ulster Unionists, Orangeism and Irish Nationalist politicians,⁸⁶⁷ which Connolly would have read and appreciated.

Connolly, once the First World War had been declared, attempted to strengthen his Socialist Republican, IT&GWU/Irish Citizen Army/IRB/Irish Volunteer Irish Women's 'Suffragist alliance. The Socialist Party of Ireland was mainly embedded within Irish Trade Union & Labour Party (ITUC&LP) when it was formed in 1912, but did not act as a Left platform. Some of its member stood as councillors, but were not under any SPI discipline. Connolly looked to the Syndicalism of the IT&GWU to pressurise the ITUC&LP. But he had not gained enough time to win hegemony over the ITUC&LP, so it dropped out of Connolly's immediate alliance.

Some of the political links he developed during the Dublin Lock Out were with the most advanced activists in the Syndicalist and the Women's Suffragists in Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. These would contribute to a new Socialist Republican, 'Internationalism from Below' strategy which contributed to the next International Revolutionary Wave which broke out in Dublin in Easter, 1916.

PART FOUR (pp. 364-455)

THE DARK WINTER OF HIGH IMPERIALISM, THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE DAWNING OF LIGHT WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE BREAK-UP OF THE UNION AND EMPIRE

1. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST AND REPUBLICAN ALLIANCE FOR AN IRISH REPUBLIC

The Socialist Republican and Republican united front; the 1916 Easter Rising and the Proclamation of the Republic

a) Chickens come home to roost - the First World War and the collapse of the Second International and British Socialism, as British National Labour and trade unions back the UK government (pp. 364-

On August 4th, 1914, Asquith's Liberal government declared war on Germany. Key figures amongst the Liberal Imperialist and Conservative war party had been planning for such a scenario behind the scenes for some time. They had convinced the German Chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg that the UK would not become involved in war with Germany following the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo.⁸⁶⁸ Having ensured by means of secret diplomatic and military deals, that Germany would face a war on two fronts with both Tsarist Russia and France, the UK government also planned a blockade by the Royal Navy to complete Germany's encirclement. War was needed to thoroughly degrade Germany's military and naval capacity to ensure continued British imperial supremacy in the world.

Germany had its own 'War Party', which manoeuvred behind von Bethmann-

Hollweg's back to launch a war as early as possible before the Russian forces were modernised and properly equipped (through loans from the British and French banks). This meant putting the Schlieffen Plan into place. This aimed for a knockout military blow against France, following an invasion through Belgium, before Russia could mobilise effectively. This was the excuse the British 'War Party' needed to whip up wider parliamentary support for a war they had also long been planning.

The attempts to mobilise support for "King and Country" and "to maintain the honour and glory of the British Empire"⁸⁶⁹ also revealed the British ruling class's most recent understanding of the nature of the United Kingdom. Prior to the war, Unionists had already distributed "No Home Rule" postcards depicting John Bull (England), Pat (Ireland), Sandy (Scotland) and Taffy (Wales). Army recruitment campaigners realised they would have to do better than these patronisingly comic images. They produced a "Who Can Beat This Plucky Four" poster, showing four stalwart British soldiers with bayonets to which were attached the English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh coats of arms. The role of women was also acknowledged in a recruitment poster entitled, "Women of Britain Say Go!" Ireland's special position was recognised by a poster showing an Irish woman pointing to (Catholic) Belgium with "Will You Go or Must I?"

It was not only Lloyd George (an opponent of the Second Boer War) who went on to throw himself into the First World War. The British Labour Party and the trade union leaders also supported the war. The war offered new opportunities. Thus, defence of the UK state, which had provided an avenue for the New Liberal reforms supported by Labour, had already opened up new careers in the expanded state machinery. The war increased these opportunities. Lib-Lab MPs who had joined the Labour Party such as William Brace, Labour MPs such as Arthur Henderson and John Hodge, as well as defecting ILP MPs George Barnes and J. R. Clynes, all took positions in the UK's First World War governments. James Sexton, general secretary of NUDL (and supporter of the IPP), gained a CBE⁸⁷⁰ and Jimmy Thomas, general secretary of the NUR, became a privy councillor.⁸⁷¹

Support for the First World War was also to be found in New Liberal and Socialist circles. On the intellectual front, the Social Imperialist Fabians and Robert Blatchford joined former anti-Imperialist, New Liberal advocate, J. T.

Hobhouse in support for the war. But support for the war extended to the fiery Socialists, Robert Cunningham Graham, the first elected Socialist MP,⁸⁷² and to Victor Grayson, Socialist MP for Colne Valley from 1907-10.⁸⁷³ Support for the war also extended to many from a New (trade) Unionist background, e.g. Will Thorne⁸⁷⁴ and Ben Tillett,⁸⁷⁵ and Syndicalist influenced Great Unrest activists, Charles Stanton and Vernon Hartshorn of the Unofficial Reform Committee of the SWMF,⁸⁷⁶ and initially to the Syndicalist, Tom Mann⁸⁷⁷.

The British 'Marxist' Henry Hyndman's already well-established chauvinist views led him to support British participation in the First World War. Leading BSP theoretician Belfort Bax, one-time critic of British Imperialism, followed him. John Muir, editor of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) paper, *The Socialist*, also supported the war. He resigned from the SLP but joined the Clyde Workers Committee formed by shop stewards.⁸⁷⁸

Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the Women's Political and Social Union (WPSU), had already displayed her class allegiances in her virulent opposition to the Dublin Lock Out. She went on to divert the WPSU into pro-war campaigning organisation, publishing a new paper, *Britannia* to do so. After getting the government to release the remaining WPSU prisoners, she threw her weight behind Vice-Admiral Charles Penrose-Fitzgerald's notorious White Feather Campaign to try to force men to enlist.⁸⁷⁹ Penrose-Fitzgerald had been pushing for war with Germany since 1904.⁸⁸⁰ The larger and now Labour Party-aligned National Union of Women's Suffrage societies, led by Millicent Fawcett (who had once been a Liberal Unionist Party member because she opposed Irish Home Rule⁸⁸¹) also supported the war if less vociferously.⁸⁸²

It was the outbreak of the First World War that resolved the tensions in the Labour Party between the emerging National Labourism and the upgraded Radical Liberal politics of the ILP.⁸⁸³ ILP MPs, Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydfil), Ramsay MacDonald (Leicester) and Philip Snowden (Blackburn) held fast to the old Radical Liberal pacifist tradition and opposed the war. MacDonald was the chair of the Labour Party at the outbreak of the war but had to resign to give way to the pro-war, National Labour MP, Arthur Henderson, as well as see two MPs resign from the ILP to join Henderson as Labour representatives in the WartCoalition government.

There was some parliamentary opposition to the war. The longstanding Liberal MPs, John Morley and Sir Charles Trevelyan and the Lib-Lab MP, John Burns resigned from the Liberal government, whilst Keir Hardie and the ILP adopted a pacifist stance. In some ways, they represented the last of the old Radical Liberal pacifist tradition, which had been in continuous retreat ever since the formation of the Liberal Party in 1859.

John Burns' remnant Gladstonian Liberalism and his 'Little Englanderism' meant he could see no English interests in getting involved in a war over distant Serbia. Hardie's continued adherence to old Liberal pacifist sentiments proved to be important in deciding his stance over the First World War. Although Hardie remained a Social Imperialist and Imperial federalist, he was to die brokenhearted in 1915 because his idealised British Empire had not lived up to his vision of it being a 'beacon of progress' in the world.

Macdonald and Snowden were to lose their seats in 1918, when pro-war National Labour candidates made advances in the post-First World War Election. Whilst old-style Radical, and newer Socialist (and even Communist) forces were to gain some influence in the Labour Party, they never came near to replacing the party's dominant National Labourism. National Labourism did adopt a Left form (e.g. Bevanism, Bennism and Corbynism) which mainly differed from its Right variant over the degree of state control it desired. Aneurin Bevan was to make his own accommodation with the Right over nuclear weapons in 1957.⁸⁸⁴ Neither version of National Labourism offered any real challenge to the UK state set-up, although Tony Benn went as far as to draw up *Common Sense - A new constitution for Britain* in 1991,⁸⁸⁵ albeit without any proposals as to how it could overcome the hurdle of the anti-democratic Crown-in-Parliament. Corbyn went along with the Hard Right in helping to facilitate a Brexit based on 'British jobs for British workers.' with his proposed reforms accepting the existing UK state as a vehicle for their implementation.

By 1914, principled opposition to imperialism had passed from the phase of speaking out against British colonial adventures to challenging intra-Imperialist war. This had much more serious political consequences. There had been a prolonged period of forty-three years, when there had been no wars between the major European powers. The UK state had also undergone

some significant political and economic reforms. For many British Socialists this appeared to prefigure an inevitable progressive future, especially following the rise of New Liberalism, and the Social Liberal reforms made by Asquith and Lloyd George. Socialists had not really considered the possibility of a global intra-Imperialist war, or the lengths the British ruling class or the Liberal government would go to in their attempts to maintain the UK as the imperial top dog. Very few British Socialists had developed the politics necessary to address this situation.

In Ireland, John Redmond and the IPP had long been supporters of a reformed British imperialism, with an Imperial Parliament at Westminster and subordinate Dominion and Home Rule parliaments. The IPP vision was of a Catholic-Irish 'Nation' within the UK set-up. The other parliamentary wing of Irish Nationalism, William O'Brien's All-for-Ireland League (AfIL) was committed to a non-Sectarian Irish Nation, sometimes as a Dominion, but later also settling for the UK political set-up. The AfIL thought that the Ulster-exclusion elements of the suspended Third Home Rule Act could still be defeated. Once war was declared, their support for Irish Home Rule meant that both the IPP and the AfIL believed the Irish people should make the necessary 'blood sacrifice' to ensure they would be rewarded with Home Rule, once the war was over.

This placed them in immediate competition with Carson's Irish Unionists particularly in Ulster. These Unionists believed that having got the Liberal government to put the Third Irish Home Bill into cold storage for the duration of the war, they could take advantage of a triumphalist British Imperial victory to see off Irish Home Rule altogether. To further this, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), many of its members now in the Ulster 36th Division, was prepared to make its own 'blood sacrifice'.

Not to be upstaged by Carson, on 20th August Redmond led 175,000 of the Irish Volunteers into the National Volunteers. He urged them to sign up for the British Army.⁸⁸⁶ However in a revealing indication of things to come, the UVF was permitted to form an official division in Kitchener's New Army, whilst the Irish Volunteers had to join existing Irish-British regiments as individuals. Aristocratic British officers, hostile to Irish Home Rule, ran most of these regiments.

William Martin Murphy, leader of the Dublin employers in the 1913-14 Lock Out, also gave his full support to the Liberal government. He urged fellow employers to sack able-bodied men who did not enlist.⁸⁸⁷ They could add their numbers to those victimised IT&GWU members, many of whom, faced with destitution, had little choice but to 'volunteer' for the British army. The Catholic hierarchy backed the IPP and called on its members to "save Catholic Belgium."⁸⁸⁸

The end of the old liberal constitutional order was signalled by the introduction of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) on August 8th, 1914. DORA, which amongst other things, increased the powers of the Army Council and the Admiralty, including the wider use of Courts Martial, whilst all communications, railways, docks and harbours became directly subjected to martial law.⁸⁸⁹ As a result of the war, senior naval and military officers were drawn much closer to the government. The Tory-inclined Field Marshal, Lord Kitchener, was brought directly in as the Secretary of State for War.⁸⁹⁰

However, as well as the somewhat less than whole-hearted opposition to the First World War taken by Hardie,⁸⁹¹ and other leading ILP members, opposition to the war emerged within the BSP. By early 1915, the majority of BSP membership, led by Zelda Kahn and Theodore Rothstein, forced Hyndman to resign. Meanwhile, in Glasgow, John Maclean formed a more active opposition, which published its own paper, *Vanguard*. They took their campaign against the war on to the streets and into the workplaces. Sylvia Pankhurst, after being expelled from her mother's WPSU, went on to form the Women's Suffrage Union, which became the Workers' Socialist Federation, publishing the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The WSF opposed the war and campaigned particularly for the rights of women workers' and soldiers' wives.⁸⁹²

But the strongest opposition to the war was to be found in Ireland. Although the big majority of the Irish Volunteers (IV) followed Redmond into the National Volunteers at the outbreak of the First World War (taking Devlin's Ancient Order of Hibernians with it), 13,500 remained under the leadership of Eoin MacNeill of the Gaelic League. A new National Council of fifty members was formed for the IV in November 1914, and the IRB now had four out of the eight members on the HQ staff.⁸⁹³ But MacNeill was only

prepared to sanction a rising during the war if the British tried to disarm the IV, arrest its leaders, or introduce conscription.

The IRB, though, was determined to launch a rising without MacNeill's official sanction if necessary.⁸⁹⁴ To increase the chances of such a possibility, the IRB, with the cooperation of the John Devoy, leader of Clan na Gael in the USA, made plans involving German state officials in the USA, and in Germany itself, to get practical backing for a rising. Roger Casement, who was not an IRB member, but had gained credibility for his part in organising the Howth gun running, was central to their plans.⁸⁹⁵

During the war, the German government also backed a number of political and military forces fighting for Indian independence, to undermine the British. These included the Ghadar Party⁸⁹⁶ and the Berlin Committee.⁸⁹⁷ Despite Casement's pleas, the Irish were given a low priority. Casement was allowed to try and recruit an Irish Brigade from prisoners held by the Germans. At this early stage of the war, he had little success. Most of these non-conscripted Irish-British soldiers were supporters of Redmond's IPP or the Unionists. Instead, the Germans agreed to ship some arms to the IV in Ireland.⁸⁹⁸

b) The development of different Socialist strategies to bring the war to an end (pp. 370-382)

Most Irish Socialists outside of Belfast were opposed to the war. The ITUC&LP issued a statement, "European war for aggrandisement of the capitalistic class has been declared."⁸⁹⁹ However, within the SPI, IT&GWU and ITUC&LP, divisions emerged as to how to organise opposition to the war. Some Socialists were pacifists, like many ILP members. SPI member, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington was a leading example. Regardless of their other political differences, Irish Socialists campaigned for, or supported those who were affected by the impact of war. These included workers suffering from cuts in spending power as inflation ate into wages; work speed-ups; women facing increased rents (they were still responsible for spending most household budgets), and those targeted by the authorities under the repressive Defence of the Realm Act (DORA).⁹⁰⁰

Some Irish Socialists had similar ideas to those in the British Socialist Party, including John Maclean, or to those in the Socialist Labour Party, who opposed the war. In Ireland they could be members of the SPI, ITG&WU, ITUC-LP or the IWFL. On an international level, these groups' politics would be similar to those brought together in the anti-war Socialist Zimmerwald Conference in Switzerland, in September 1915, although there were no Irish delegates able to attend. Many in the IWFL would have supported the International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915, although the British authorities prevented Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington from going.⁹⁰¹

However, Connolly realised that an entirely new political situation had arrived. He thought that once the British government had gone to war, the prospect of the Third Irish Home Rule Act ever being enacted was over. He could see that Carson had outwitted Redmond. "Home Rule is postponed until after the war. After the war the game will be entirely in the hands of Sir Edward Carson."⁹⁰² He knew that, as the pressures of Imperial war took effect, and jingoism was ratcheted up, Reactionary Unionism would increase its influence at the expense of the Liberal Unionist Liberal/IPP Home Rule alliance. Carson's strategy was to use the First World War to kill off any meaningful Irish Home Rule altogether.

One of the first things Connolly did was turn to the SPI/ILP(I) in Belfast and try to get it to organise an anti-war meeting there.⁹⁰³ Fellow SPI member, Thomas Johnson, who was to become leader of the ITUC&LP after Connolly's death, opposed this. Connolly ended up addressing a hostile crowd. The North/South division, which Connolly had tried to overcome through militant class action, was to open up further. Connolly did not give up easily, and even addressed the North Belfast branch of the British ILP.⁹⁰⁴ He possibly hoped that the pacifist sentiments of ILP leader, Keir Hardie, would still be present, amongst an otherwise pro-war, Protestant Unionist or Catholic Nationalist working class.

Connolly held a distinctive position on the First World War. Immediately the war was declared he had the famous banner, 'We Serve Neither King Nor Kaiser, But Ireland', hung outside the IT&GWU's HQ, Liberty Hall. Connolly wrote, "When the German artilleryman, a socialist serving in the German army of invasion, sends a shell into the ranks of the French army,

blowing off their heads; tearing out their bowels, and mangling the limbs of dozens of socialist comrades in that force, will the fact that he, before leaving for the front 'demonstrated' against the war be of any value to the widows and orphans made by the shell he sent upon its mission of murder? Or, when the French rifleman pours his murderous rifle fire into the ranks of the German line of attack, will he be able to derive any comfort from the probability that his bullets are murdering or maiming comrades who last year joined in thundering 'hochs' and cheers of greeting to the eloquent Jaurès, when in Berlin he pleaded for international solidarity? When the socialist pressed into the army of the Austrian Kaiser, sticks a long, cruel bayonet-knife into the stomach of the socialist conscript in the army of the Russian Czar, and gives it a twist so that when pulled out it will pull the entrails out along with it, will the terrible act lose any of its fiendish cruelty by the fact of their common theoretical adhesion to an anti-war propaganda in times of peace? When the socialist soldier from the Baltic provinces of Russia is sent forward into Prussian Poland to bombard towns and villages until a red trail of blood and fire covers the homes of the unwilling Polish subjects of Prussia, as he gazes upon the corpses of those he has slaughtered and the homes he has destroyed, will he in his turn be comforted by the thought that the Czar whom he serves sent other soldiers a few years ago to carry the same devastation and murder into his own home by the Baltic Sea?"⁹⁰⁵

Connolly had been a strong supporter of International action in the event of any declaration of war between the Imperialist powers. He wanted the Irish working class to play an important part in any such challenge. Within four days of the declaration of the war, he wrote, "Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last war lord."⁹⁰⁶ But after the war started in earnest, he wrote, "What then becomes of all our resolutions; all our protests of fraternisation; all our threats of general strikes; all our carefully-built machinery of internationalism; all our hopes for the future? Were they all as sound and fury, signifying nothing?"⁹⁰⁷

But the Second International (SI), despite all the anti-war resolutions and demonstrations, collapsed when their member states' respective governments declared war. In this they followed the example of the SI's leading party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). In March 1915, Connolly wrote

in the American Left Socialist magazine, *International Socialist Review*⁹⁰⁸ to outline his analysis of the cause of these failures. In particular, he emphasised the failure of many Socialist parties to appreciate the significance of the pre-war Syndicalist movement.⁹⁰⁹ Most SI parties had become too wrapped up in the machinery of their own states to develop a Socialist Republican politics based on the new Syndicalist 'Internationalism from Below' upsurge. This accounted for their collapse into supporting their respective governments during the First World War.

However, the wider Syndicalist movement also came under strain, with the Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) in France supporting the War, and divisions opening up within the Italian Unione Sindicale Italiana (USI) when Italy joined the war in May 1915. The Anarcho-Syndicalist, Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (CNT) in Spain, strongly opposed the war, but unlike Italy, the Spanish state remained neutral, so the CNT was never really tested.

Connolly had never related to the Syndicalist forces in the rest of Europe. Here he had concerned himself with the activities of the Second International. The Syndicalism that had influenced Connolly came from the IWW in the USA. In typical Wobbly style, the IWW responded to the outbreak of the First World War with, "General Sherman said, 'War is Hell!' Don't go to Hell in order to give the capitalists a bigger slice of heaven."⁹¹⁰ The IWW was to play a significant part in Connolly's strategy, particularly helped by Jim Larkin's very active involvement, after he moved to the USA in late 1914.

Attacking the British Unionist and Irish Nationalist supporters of the war, Connolly exposed the hypocrisy of Carson and Redmond, who had both recently accepted arms from Germany. Connolly openly declared on August 9th 1914, that, "Should a German army land in Ireland tomorrow we should be perfectly justified in joining it if by doing so we could rid this country once and for all from its connection with the Brigand Empire that drags us unwillingly into this war."⁹¹¹ However, this was a debating point, because Connolly understood that the strength of the British Navy made that impossible.

So, he immediately declared his favoured option. "Should the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers, proceed tomorrow to erect barricades all over Europe, to break up

bridges and destroy the transport service that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such an example and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rule and rob the world."⁹¹²

When workers or soldiers defied their governments, Connolly very much welcomed this. But in the absence of an organised working class response, Connolly took a different attitude towards the actual war that was taking place. He took sides in the clash between the two main ruling classes - the British and the German. Connolly saw the British Empire trying to strangle the growth of a more economically advanced competitor through a combination of naval blockade and French and Russian military encirclement.

Despite the SPD's capitulation in the face of the war, Connolly like most other European Socialists, at least until the war, had viewed this party as the international leader of Socialism. Hence he had seen Germany as offering the best possibility of Socialist advance. In the struggle with the UK, France and Tsarist Russia, Connolly favoured a German victory.⁹¹³ In the lead up to, and during the Second World War, similar attitudes were to be taken by Communist Party members towards the CPSU and USSR. Following from this, many members even accepted the 1939-41 Hitler-Stalin Pact

Unlike John Maclean, Connolly abandoned any struggle alongside the Left Social Democratic forces which were to emerge around the Zimmerwald Left in 1916. In the process, although Connolly no doubt remained sincere about his desire to oppose King and Kaiser, he neglected the Kaiser's Prussia-Germany's genocide of the Nama and Herero peoples in German South West Africa. Rosa Luxemburg had already highlighted this, and such thinking was to play an important part in the discussions leading to the foundation of the Zimmerwald Left.

In a more contemporary vein, Connolly's position of emphasising the 'worse' role of one imperialism power over another, duplicates those who see only an Inter-Imperialist war between Putin's Russia and Biden's US in Ukraine. This ignores the Ukrainians and denies its working class any agency. This despite the Independent Trade Union's key role in fighting Putin's brutal military invasion and opposing the Neo-Liberal policies of the Zelenskyy's Ukrainian government. Whilst commons have issued a strong rebuttal of

Zelinskyy's pro-Israel policy and offered their support to the Palestinian struggle, breaking with Zelinskyy's pro US imperial and Israel's genocidal policies.⁹¹⁴

By 1914, the British 'War Party', led by Asquith, Grey and Haldane, had won over French government leaders still seeking revenge for their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. They also had the support of Tsarist Russia, the most reactionary and anti-Jewish state in Europe. In this respect, Connolly's decision to support 'progressive' Germany in 1914, contrasted more favourably with later Communist Party support for the deplorable Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Connolly was sickened by the excuses given by the Irish Nationalist parties for signing up to the war - "Save Catholic Belgium" or supporting the "war on behalf of small nationalities." Attempts by the British government to condemn German brutality were breath taking in their hypocrisy.⁹¹⁵ Redmond and Devlin highlighted the plight of Catholics in Belgium but ignored the brutality of the Russian troops invading Austro-Hungarian Galicia, with its Polish Catholic victims. The killing of Galician Jews would not have concerned them. In relation to the call for vengeance against German brutality in Belgium, M.E. wrote, "No one got to avenge the Congo."⁹¹⁶ Yet here the Belgian state had recently been responsible for genocide, something that had been very publicly exposed by Roger Casement.

The same article condemned the attitudes of Irish Unionists for whom "black, yellow and brown like women are subhuman".⁹¹⁷ Connolly was already aware that British government strategy was to "starve out the German population"⁹¹⁸ through a naval blockade (something that was to be continued for six months after the war ended to reduce the German people to total submission).

Whereas most SI Socialists had retreated behind their respective governments, Connolly pointed in another direction. "No insurrection of the working class; no general strike; no general uprising of the forces of Labour in Europe, could possibly carry with it, or entail a greater slaughter of socialists, than will their participation as soldiers in the campaigns of the armies of their respective countries."⁹¹⁹

To address this new war situation, Connolly saw the need for another Socialist strategy. Before the war he had argued that the Irish working class should use the impending Irish Home Rule framework to push for further progress. This is a major reason why, in 1912, he had supported the formation of the ITUC&LP. The ITUC&LP could advance working class political interests within a new Irish Home Rule parliament, whilst the IT&GWU/ICA organised and defended working class's economic interests outside. After the outbreak of the war, though, Connolly understood that the immediate option of wider International solidarity, and the prospects for Irish Home Rule had disappeared. It would need a very different strategy to trigger a wider International Revolutionary Wave.

Initially though in 1914, Connolly could only look to the existing anti-war forces. The largest of these lay in the Irish Volunteers (IV), which resisted Redmond when he gave his support to the war. In some ways this thinking represented a return to the original Irish Volunteers, formed in 1782.⁹²⁰ At that time the UK was involved in war with those seeking the Independence of the thirteen North American colonies with the help of their French allies. The old IV were formed, ostensibly to defend Ireland from French invasion, but also to put pressure on the UK government to win greater powers for the Irish Parliament in Dublin. And some of these IV members went beyond this to prepare for a complete break with Westminster, later joining the revolutionary democratic, United Irishmen.

Connolly argued for a united front between the ICA and IV around two immediate demands - "Pledge the Irish Volunteers to remain in armed service in Ireland for Ireland, and to resist all attempts of any other nation to deprive Ireland of their services. Pledge the services of their armed forces to Ireland to enforce the repeal of all clauses in the Home Rule Act denying to Ireland powers of self-government now enjoyed by South Africa, Australia or Canada."⁹²¹ He published the *Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers* issued on 14th July 1915.⁹²² There were regular reports of IV activities, particularly in Belfast,⁹²³ where the *Workers' Republic* supported their challenge to IPP MP Joe Devlin's political stranglehold over Irish Nationalists.⁹²⁴

Connolly ensured that the ICA played a prominent part on the streets of Dublin and praised its efforts to thwart Redmond's complete takeover of the IV.⁹²⁵ He briefly became involved with the Irish Neutrality League (INL), which also involved Constance Markiewicz, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and

Sinn Fein members, Sean T. O'Kelly and Arthur Griffith. When Connolly addressed the INL's first public meeting in Dublin on October 12th, he emphasised the role of Republican and Women's Suffrage organisations.⁹²⁶

The IRB, however, did not place its trust in Arthur Griffith. Given Griffith's role in the Dublin Lock-Out, Connolly also probably soon realised that the INL was not going to be the political vehicle for the action he saw to be necessary. These people represented the 'Grattanite' wing of the IV/INL. The INL only lasted until the end of the year.⁹²⁷ Connolly was soon beginning to see the need for an insurrection. The IRB was the only other organisation that was already actively considering such action, although Connolly did not yet know this.

Following the horrors of trench warfare in Flanders in the First Battle of Ypres in December 1914, and the disastrous Gallipoli Campaign from March to November of 1915, Connolly's argument that taking up the option of an Irish insurrection could not possibly be as costly in terms of Irish lives began to make more sense. This was especially the case amongst those Irish Socialists who had already signed up to the Irish Citizen Army (ICA).

Under DORA, the government closed down the *Irish Worker* at the end of December 1914. In response, Connolly ensured that a leaflet, with the banned editorial, *Courtsmartial and Revolution*,⁹²⁸ was widely distributed in Dublin. He made arrangements with the Arthur McManus of the Socialist Labour Party to have a new paper, *The Worker*, printed in Glasgow and shipped clandestinely to Dublin.⁹²⁹ In this paper, Connolly pointed to the beginnings of Socialist resistance to the war in Germany and France.⁹³⁰ The IT&GWU was able to get its own printing press installed in Liberty Hall. Connolly took responsibility for publishing the new paper, which went back to the title of the old ISRP paper – the *Workers' Republic*. He made sure that the paper addressed not only economic but also social, cultural and political events too. Both the *Irish Worker* and later the *Workers' Republic* were read more widely amongst the Irish working class, than most other comparable Socialist papers in the UK.

Every issue of the *Workers' Republic* advertised Connolly's *Reconquest of Ireland*. This provided the historical underpinning to Connolly's developing strategy. The first issue began with a balance sheet of the experience of *The Dublin Lock-Out and Its Sequel*.⁹³¹ The struggle against DORA, army

recruitment and the threat of conscription remained central threads in the coverage of the *Workers' Republic*. Connolly devoted considerable space to the effects of government repression - the curtailment of the right to strike, the censorship and seizure of the press, the confiscation of printing equipment, the banning of meetings, the restrictions on people's movements, arbitrary detention, administrative exile and imprisonment. The *Workers' Republic* also lambasted the jingo press and its encouragement of soldiers and sailors on leave, as well as hostile mobs, to disrupt Socialist and anti-war meetings.

Wartime repression would greatly increase the power of the state and the employers over the working class and those fighting for Irish self-determination. This is why challenging the UK state and British Empire remained a central feature of Connolly's Socialist Republican, Syndicalist, and Women's Suffrage, 'internationalism from below' politics. It's also why Irish Socialist politics were in advance of British Socialist politics, which were far more accepting of the existing UK state.

The *Workers' Republic* covered workers' struggles with regular reports from Dublin, Cork, Tralee, Wexford, Sligo and the North (mainly Belfast), and occasional reports from elsewhere, including Dingle, Fingal, Gort, Killarney, and Listowel. John Redmond's IPP stronghold in Waterford, though, seemed an even blacker spot than Belfast!⁹³² There were reports from the ITUC. The lessons of the Dublin Lock Out were continually drawn. The case was made for wider Syndicalist-type organisation, based on the IT&GWU. British trade union leaders' attempts to promote bureaucratic top-down unity were subjected to analysis and criticism.⁹³³ There were also regular reports from the Workers' Cooperative Movement. A series of articles was written on the principles of Cooperation.⁹³⁴

The issues facing women both at work and domestically figured prominently. 'X.Y.Z.' wrote a critique of the "hero worship" of the warmongering Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst in the Women's Political and Social Union, comparing it with the democracy found in the Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU) and the Irish Women's Franchise League.⁹³⁵ There were regular reports of the activities of the IWWU. The first issue of the *Workers' Republic* included an article by Sylvia Pankhurst from the *Women's Dreadnought*.⁹³⁶

The international coverage was very important. The *Workers' Republic* included articles from Socialists in the warring and the neutral countries - Germany, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, France and Russia - and from those fighting for National Self-Determination in India,⁹³⁷ Finland⁹³⁸ and Poland.⁹³⁹ Although the paper welcomed German victories against the British and Russians, Irish Socialist Republicans were in no position to contribute to, or to gain much benefit from these. Furthermore, the German government placed little faith in Sir Roger Casement's plans. The German government's 1915 peace proposals did not include recognition of Irish independence.⁹⁴⁰

The main focus of Irish Socialist Republican efforts abroad lay in the USA, where Jim Larkin was now living. Larkin pursued a delicate balancing act, since the Prussian-German government showed little concern for Larkin's own position. Therefore he refused to be put on the German government's payroll and concentrated on organising labour, especially the IWW.⁹⁴¹ However, Larkin did visit Mexico City to meet the German ambassador.⁹⁴² Germany was hoping to get Mexico to go to war against the USA to reverse the recent US companies' and citizens' take-over of Mexican land, mines and other economic interests, and its 'Jim Crow' offensive against Mexican Americans in Texas.⁹⁴³ There was also the added possibility of Mexicans reclaiming land lost in 1849.⁹⁴⁴ Mexico was in the throes of a revolution that had started in 1910.⁹⁴⁵

Meanwhile Irish, German and Finnish American Socialists were to the forefront of the campaigning against the war, and Larkin was heavily involved in this. However, the German Mexican link was to undermine their efforts. The threat of Germany encouraging revolution along the USA's southern border proved to be a big factor in persuading President Wilson to declare war on Germany.⁹⁴⁶

The *Workers' Republic* gave prime coverage to Larkin, as he assisted the IWW and Western Federation of Miners, particularly in the copper mining city of Butte, Montana. It had its own paper, the *Butte Socialist*. Butte had a very mixed working class, of which the Irish formed the largest contingent. The city authority attempted to prevent Larkin giving a speech to commemorate the late Keir Hardie's anti-war efforts. The local Finnish

Socialists defied the city authority's attempts to stop Larkin and provided him with a hall.⁹⁴⁷

After this Larkin went on to Salt Lake City in Utah, where he was one of the speakers at IWW member, Joe Hill's funeral. The state authorities, which were in the pockets of the mining corporations, had Hill framed and shot for his organising efforts. Larkin repeated Hill's call of "Don't Mourn, Organise".⁹⁴⁸ Francis Sheehy-Skeffington also went on a tour of the US, and this was reported.⁹⁴⁹ The *Workers' Republic* included an anti-recruitment speech by Eugene Debs, one of the founder members of the IWW, along with Connolly. Debs was also a leader in the Socialist Party of America, which Connolly had been a leading member of.⁹⁵⁰

Anti-British army recruitment activities in both Australia⁹⁵¹ and Canada⁹⁵² were covered. The specific case of the French Canadians was also addressed. A report suggested that they enjoyed fewer rights under British rule, than their French Catholic co-religionists in Alsace-Lorraine did under German rule.⁹⁵³ Similarly, such had been the oppression of those Poles under Tsarist Russian rule, that despite the failure of Germany to grant political independence when they occupied these territories, the paper was still able to report an increase in Polish national rights.⁹⁵⁴ These points were made, like the earlier criticisms over British hypocrisy over Belgium, to undermine the official reasons given for going to war.

The *Workers' Republic* also covered successful resistance, such as that of the Welsh miners⁹⁵⁵ and the Clyde Workers Committee.⁹⁵⁶ And although the connection was not made explicitly, *Northern Notes* in October 1915, reported on successful rent strike action in Belfast,⁹⁵⁷ probably inspired by the Glasgow Rent Strike initiated the month previously. John Maclean's trial in November 1915 for anti-recruitment campaigning was also reported.⁹⁵⁸

Although Connolly had earlier political disagreements with Keir Hardie, and he was in the USA at the time of Hardie's racist attacks on Lithuanians and Poles, he praised him after his death in October 1915. Hardie had come from the ranks of the working class. Furthermore, he highlighted Hardie's "bidding the Dublin workers to stand fast" during the Lock Out, and the fact that, in the face of the First World War, he "stood resolutely for peace and brotherhood among the nations."⁹⁵⁹

This approach indicated Connolly's attitude to sincere pacifists, particularly ones who suffered for their stance. In a sense he saw pacifists, such as Keir Hardie, fellow SPI member, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and IWWU member, Louie Bennet, as an outer ring of defence for the alternative challenge to the war that he was preparing. Connolly knew such people would not agree with him about the need for an insurrection, but he also believed that those with any principles would not side with the government. The first issue of the *Workers' Republic* provided considerable space for an article by the pacifist, M.E., entitled *Out of Humanity's Reach*.⁹⁶⁰

Similarly, the *Workers Republic* later provided space for Louie Bennet, to describe the work of the anti-war Union of Democratic Control (backed in the UK by some prominent Liberal and Labour figures).⁹⁶¹ Furthermore, Connolly understood that, following the direct experience of war; even many of the war participants would eventually turn their backs on the UK government, of the British military leaders and their Irish Nationalist apologists.

Connolly was anticipating how an ICA/IV alliance could militarily challenge the British state. From May to July 1915, he published a series of articles in the *Workers' Republic* entitled, *Insurrectionary Warfare*, written under the names of ICA Commandant, J. Connolly and Chief of Staff, and Michael Mallin. Mallin, the secretary of the SPI, had been appointed CoS, in October 1914. Although Dublin born, he had fourteen years' experience in the Royal Scots Fusiliers, including fighting in India.⁹⁶²

These articles outlined the possibility of the ICA challenging the British in the Irish capital, whilst the IV challenged them in the Irish countryside. They began with the lessons of the Moscow Insurrection of 1905. These provided a guide to how workers in urban areas could take on military forces armed with artillery. They then went on to describe the insurrection against Napoleon's forces in the Tyrol in 1805. This showed how rural forces, using their local knowledge and guerrilla tactics, could also take on regular armies.⁹⁶³ These were supplemented by other examples from India.⁹⁶⁴ The use of India as an example highlighted Connolly's adherence to that Irish anti-imperialist tradition, established by the IRB and Michael Davitt. Unlike many British Socialists, they had looked beyond the White colonists.

In the March 1914 elections to Dublin Corporation, Sinn Fein had lost a seat, suggesting its continuing marginalisation. They were probably undermined by Griffith's ignominious role in the Dublin Lockout, since Labour had gained seven seats, making it the second largest party in the city.⁹⁶⁵ In a Westminster by-election, held in the College Green constituency in June 1915, the anti-war Labour candidate, Thomas Farren received nearly 43% of the vote, standing against a pro-war Irish Nationalist candidate.⁹⁶⁶ It is very unlikely, that an anti-War, Labour council candidate could have got such a high percentage of the vote in England, Scotland or Wales at the time. A large protest meeting directed against DORA was organised in Dublin's Phoenix Park in September 1915. Laurence Ginnell, the Independent Nationalist MP, who had led the Ranch War, addressed this meeting. His speech was given two pages in the *Workers' Republic*.⁹⁶⁷

c) A Socialist Republican alliance with the IRB for an insurrection to create an Irish Republic (pp. 382-94)

Connolly knew that the IRB was organising a public commemoration on August 1st, 1915, for the famed IRB leader Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa. His remains were being returned from the USA to Dublin. This was an attempt to emulate the demonstration organised by the IRB for Terence Bellew McManus's funeral in 1861.⁹⁶⁸ Connolly wrote an article and a supplement to the *Workers Republic*.⁹⁶⁹ He ignored O'Rossa's later opposition to the Social Republican, Land and Labour, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance as advocated by IRB member, Michael Davitt and Clan na Gael member, John Devoy in 1878.⁹⁷⁰ Instead Connolly concentrated on O'Rossa's preparedness to organise the Fenian Rising in 1865, for which he received a life sentence of penal servitude.

Connolly was laying down a challenge to the IRB/IV - Are you serious, or is your talk just so much Irish blarney? At the end of the month the ICA, Citizen Army Boy Scouts (CABS), IT&GWU and IWWU organised its own public commemoration for the three martyrs of the Dublin Lock-Out. They marched past the place "where Alice Nolan was murdered by a Scab... and where Byrne and Nolan fell."⁹⁷¹ Connolly pointed out that "the meeting was the biggest held since the Lock-Out" finishing off with the flourish, "Unconquered Yet".⁹⁷²

Connolly wanted to further strengthen working class organisation. In August, he issued an appeal through the IT&GWU and Dublin Trades Council to other trade unionists to support 'One Big Union', "There must be One Card, One Badge, One Executive – One Front to the Common Enemy."⁹⁷³ Some of Connolly's strongest support came from sections of the Irish Women's Suffrage movement, particularly some in the IWFL. They were much closer to the Syndicalist influenced IT&GWU in Ireland, than the women's movement in Great Britain was to either the Labour Party or the Socialist sects (with the exception of Sylvia Pankhurst).

Winifred Carney, a leader of the Irish Textile Workers' Union and ICA member, and Helen-Sheehy-Skeffington, leader of the IWWU, had been involved organising support for locked out IT&GWU workers. Helena Molony, also a member of Cumann na mBan (CnmB), replaced Delia Larkin as the head of the Irish Women Workers' Union (IWWU) in 1915.⁹⁷⁴ She was also a member of the ICA. Rosie Hackett was a member of the ITGWU, IWWU and ICA.⁹⁷⁵ Madeleine French-Mullen of the Republican women's Inghinidhe na hEireann (InhE), later to become CnmB,⁹⁷⁶ was a member of the ICA; whilst Constance Markiewicz (CnmB) had worked in support of the workers and the ICA during the Dublin Lock Out.

Connolly returned to the lessons of the Dublin Lock Out. Eoin MacNeill, the leader of the new IV, had not stuck his neck out then. Arthur Griffith, leader of Sinn Fein had openly sided with William Martin Murphy and the Catholic hierarchy. But, in contrast to O'Neill and Griffith, leading IRB members, Padraig Pearse,⁹⁷⁷ Eamonn Ceannt,⁹⁷⁸ chairman of the Dublin Municipal Officers Association, and Joseph Plunkett,⁹⁷⁹ had given their support to the IT&GWU. This probably made Connolly more willing to consider a united front with the IRB to organise an insurrection for an Irish Republic. This despite some other IRB members, such as Sean MacDiarmada, falling back on the IRB's national exclusiveness, and opposing the IT&GWU appeals to British trade unionists during the Lock Out.⁹⁸⁰

Connolly outlined the ICA's conditions for participation in such a united front. As in the past, he wanted to ensure the political and organisational independence of Socialist Republicans. In October 1915, he wrote that, "The Irish Citizen Army will only co-operate in a forward movement. The moment that forward movement ceases it reserves to itself the right to step out of the alignment, and advance by itself if needs be, in an effort to plant

the banner of freedom one reach further towards its goal."⁹⁸¹

Connolly could not go along with those people, either promoting the British imperial war, such as Carson, Redmond and Devlin, or those opposing British rule, such as Padraig Pearse, who welcomed the prospect of a blood sacrifice. "We do not believe that war is glorious, inspiring, or regenerating... Any person, whether English, German or Irish, who sings the praises of war is a blithering idiot."⁹⁸²

Nevertheless, Connolly appreciated wars, whether entered into voluntarily or imposed, created their own conditions for struggle. He was well aware that once war is launched it is not pretty whoever is involved. "War may be forced upon a subject race or subject class to put an end to subjection of race, of class, or sex. When so waged it must be waged thoroughly and relentlessly, but with no delusions as to its elevating nature, or civilizing methods."⁹⁸³ Perhaps, it was as an ex-soldier, as well as a committed revolutionary, that Connolly could state this so boldly.

However, despite the success of the IV's O'Rossa commemoration in August 1915, Connolly was still left waiting by November. He laid down a further challenge. "O, we latter-day Irish are great orators, and great singers, and great reciters, and great at cheering heroic sentiments about revolution. But we are not revolutionists. Not by a thousand miles! Soldiers of a regular army... {have} unlimited reserves of ammunition, arms, and uniforms... But no revolution in history ever had any of these things. None ever will have. Hence we strictly confine ourselves to killing John Bull with our mouths."⁹⁸⁴

Connolly was very aware of the wavering amongst the IV leadership. He knew MacNeill's conditions for IV participation in an insurrection. These handed the initiative over to the British government. Connolly wrote two more articles, the bitterly ironic, *Trust Your Leaders*,⁹⁸⁵ and another with the same theme, *Watch and Wait* in which he wrote, "The literature of the '48 Insurrection was beautiful; the story of the Insurrection itself reads like the book of a badly written burlesque."⁹⁸⁶ In November, Connolly also took the opportunity provided by another traditional Irish Nationalist and Republican commemoration in Dublin for the Manchester Martyrs to mobilise the ICA, IT&GWU and IWWU, led by Helena Molony. Another article in the *Workers' Republic* stated that, "If Ireland did not act now, the name of this generation should in mercy to itself be expunged from the records of Irish

history."⁹⁸⁷

As December 1915 came to an end, the British government no longer had any pretence of a democratic mandate. Its five years in office had expired. Since May 1915 Asquith had brought Conservative & Unionists (C&UP) into his coalition government. He also gave the First Lord of the Admiralty to the C&UP MP, Arthur Balfour, replacing Winston Churchill, who had been responsible for the Liberal government's attempted pre-war implementation of the Third Irish Home Rule Bill. By the end of the year, Sir Edward Carson and Sir F. E. 'Galloper' Smith, two Irish Unionists/Ulster Unionists, and key organisers of the UVF, had also been added to the coalition government. In the event of a British victory, Irish Home Rule would be dead in the water.

In January 1916, Connolly wrote *What Is Our Programme?* This outlined the Socialist Republican view of armed struggle. "We believe that in times of peace we should work along the lines of peace to strengthen the nation, and we believe that whatever strengthens and elevates the working class strengthens the nation. But we also believe that in times of war we should act as in war. We despise, entirely despise and loathe, all the mouthings and mouthingers about war who infest Ireland in time of peace, just as we despise and loathe all the cantings about caution and restraint to which the same people treat us in times of war."⁹⁸⁸

However, Connolly decided not to wait for the IV, or even the IRB to act. He went ahead with preparations for an ICA initiated insurrection. As it turned out the IRB Military Council was serious about organising an insurrection. They arranged a meeting with Connolly to prevent him preempting their own plans. After three days of discussions and debate between January 18th-22nd, Connolly joined their Military Council.⁹⁸⁹ The IRB had been successful in quietly getting the word out that military volunteers would be required. From late 1915, Kimmage Garrison was created in south Dublin, where men from Glasgow, Liverpool, London and Manchester were stationed. Connolly still held doubts about the IRB's strategy, which he thought depended on the IV leader, MacNeill. Connolly was now more drawn towards Padraig Pearse, who did seem committed to an insurrection.

Once Connolly had access to the inner circles of the IRB, he stepped up the pressure even further. He oscillated between two beliefs. He thought that the growing horrors of war, the increased British government repression and the

exposure of the duplicity of the IPP, would win over the Irish working class and wider Irish people to the necessity of a show-down with the British government.⁹⁹⁰ However, he also despaired when the British government and, in particular, its IPP accomplices, were able to reduce so many of the Irish people to a state of seemingly unquestioning servitude.⁹⁹¹

However, both his optimistic and pessimistic thoughts led him in the same direction - the necessity for an armed uprising. In the optimistic scenario, taking a decisive lead could trigger an immediate wider rising. In the more pessimistic scenario, the heroic example of an attempted Republican rising, albeit initially militarily unsuccessful, would become the future political baseline, when workers and others eventually began to openly resist due to the consequences of the horrific war. The key thing was that the ICA should take part as an organised and disciplined force, which showed courage, and made a good account of itself against the British forces.

After his meeting with the IRB's Military Council in January, the tenor of Connolly's own articles in the *Workers' Republic* changed. His front-page editorial of February 5th, 1916, *The Ties That Bind*, began with the optimistic, "From the intelligent working class alone could come the revolutionary impulse" which recognised in 'Empire' "only the things it was in rebellion against." However, it then turned to the pessimistic. "Recently we have seen the spread of those ties of self-interests binding certain classes and individuals to the Empire - we have seen it spread to an astonishing degree until its ramifications cover the island, like the spread of a foul disease...⁹⁹² {And} if the militant Labour leaders of Ireland have not apostatised the same cannot be said of the working class as a whole."

However, Connolly still looked forward to the days when "most of those deluded and misled brothers and sisters will learn the truth...⁹⁹³ and we will welcome them back to our arms purified and repentant of their errors."⁹⁹⁴ Connolly thought that only an uprising could prevent a further slide into "the degradation wrought upon its people".⁹⁹⁵

Connolly then adopted the very language of Pearse, which he had so recently rejected - "Without the Shedding of Blood there is no Redemption."⁹⁹⁶ Connolly, worrying about the IRB's Military Council's continued dependence on MacNeill to issue the mobilising orders, was now appealing to Pearse

directly to increase the pressure further.

This led to the next front-page editorial, on February 12th, *What Is A Free Nation*. In this Connolly looked first to the Orangemen "who fight abroad in order to save an Empire they had been prepared to fight to retain unaltered at home" (i.e. without Home Rule). Then he looked to the IPP, who "treat Ireland, their country, as an old prostitute selling her soul for the promise of favours to come" (Irish Home Rule). To counter these, he provided a definition of Irish Self-Determination, which could be endorsed by Pearse and the IRB. "A free nation is one which possesses absolute control over all its own internal resources and powers".⁹⁹⁷

Connolly was familiar with the polemical and didactic writing of many Socialists, particularly the Marxists, after his experiences in the SDF and SLP. However, his Irish audience was more familiar with popular Irish Nationalist and religious argumentation. He adjusted his language to reach the exploited and oppressed in terms they could more readily understand. Connolly's front-page editorial of 18th March, *The National Festival*, moves into traditional Irish historical and mythological territory, with its endorsement of St. Patrick's Day. "Sentiment it may be. But the man or woman who scoffs at sentiment is a fool."⁹⁹⁸

Here Connolly unintentionally echoed Marx's view of religion, which stated that, "*Religious* suffering is, at one and the same time, the *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions."⁹⁹⁹ Connolly wrote that, "The Irish people, denied comfort in the present, seek solace in the past of their country; the Irish mind, unable because of the serfdom or bondage of the Irish race to give body and material existence to its noblest thoughts, creates an emblem to typify that spiritual conception for which the Irish race laboured in vain."¹⁰⁰⁰ Connolly is here using the term 'Race' in the sense many now use 'Nation'. It wasn't until the rise of Fascism that social scientists and Socialists began to more clearly distinguish between Race, Ethnicity/Culture and Nation.

Connolly's front-page editorial of 8th April, *The Irish Flag*,¹⁰⁰¹ was designed to increase the pressure further on Pearse and the Military Council. "The Council of the Irish Citizen Army has resolved, after grave and earnest

deliberation, to hoist the green flag of Ireland over Liberty Hall, as over a fortress held for Ireland by the arms of Irishmen." The ICA's flag was the Starry Plough, not the green flag. However, Connolly needed the IRB led forces, and the ICA's use of their banner was designed to put more pressure on them. The IT&GWU had not yet won over the majority in the ITUC&LP basing it on One Big Union. This is why he had been forging a united front with the IRB to create an Irish Republic (considerably more advanced than Irish Home Rule still supported by the ITUC&LP majority, even if many were becoming increasingly sickened by the war). Yet, if the IV (still the main force for the IRB's planned insurrection) would not act, then the ICA would take on their role too and lead the wider struggle for an Irish Republic.

Connolly also reminded the IRB and others, "But who are the Irish? Not the rack-renting, slum-owning landlord; not the sweating, profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressman – the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish upon whom the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a free nation can be reared. The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour."¹⁰⁰²

When Connolly invoked the Irish Nation, he meant the Nation oppressed by the British state and now best represented by the Irish working class and their potential allies. And to emphasise this link, Connolly wrote another article, in the same issue of the *Workers' Republic*, entitled *Forces of Civilisation*. Here he stated that, "In the midst of the present world horror the forces of Organised Labour are the only forces still consciously and painstakingly pushing on the work of building a saner and juster civilisation."¹⁰⁰³

And Connolly illustrated this point through the activities of the IT&GWU. "The strikes and Labour struggles now on in this country are not mere isolated phenomena without bearing upon the progress of the race. Rather he will see that all of them – the prolonged fight of the City of Dublin Dockers, the campaign of the Dublin Building Trades for an increase of wages, the continued and successful agitation for the betterment of conditions in the Gas Works, the spread of the Transport Workers' Union through the South of Ireland (of which the report of the meeting in Listowel in this issue is further evidence), the increases gained by the same Union in Cork, Sligo, Tralee, Kingstown {Dun Laoghaire}, and Fenit, and all the other manifestations of

activity on the part of Organised Labour, are so many evidences of the resolve of the workers to preserve and extend their heritage of freedom, despite the madness of the rulers of the world."¹⁰⁰⁴

The importance of the IT&GWU to Connolly's plans was highlighted by the role he took organising the strike action and negotiations for higher pay, directed against the Dublin Steam Packet Company between October 1915 and April 1916. It is likely that for Connolly winning IT&GWU control of movement on Dublin docks was an underlying factor, so that the import of extra British troops during the planned Rising could be blocked. The IT&GWU went as far as giving strike pay to British based NSFU members, who struck in sympathy.¹⁰⁰⁵ Strike pay was declined by the NSFU leaders, headed by the particularly right wing, pro-war Liberal, Havelock Wilson.

The government could see the danger and ensured that the strike was settled. Connolly also sent IT&GWU organiser, William Partridge, to the port of Fenit in County Kerry, where the union had already conducted a big recruitment drive. IT&GWU members were meant to help the planned landing of German arms from the *Aud*.¹⁰⁰⁶

A continuing theme in the 1916 issues of the *Workers' Republic* was the reports of increased repression by the British government, the stepped up attempts to recruit to the British armed forces,¹⁰⁰⁷ and the manoeuvres to introduce conscription in Ireland.¹⁰⁰⁸ The *Workers' Republic* reported the arrest of "a dozen prominent members of the working class movement - trade unionists {of the Clyde Workers' Committee} - {who} have been seized in the middle of the night in Scotland and deported without any form of trial."¹⁰⁰⁹ The paper maintained its 'Internationalism from Below' perspective.

The *Workers' Republic* also noted the effect of Pope Benedict XV's 1915 Peace Initiative.¹⁰¹⁰ Up to this point the overwhelming majority of the Irish Catholic hierarchy had given their backing to Redmond, Devlin, the IPP and the British war effort. As with earlier challenges to British authority, only a handful of priests defied the hierarchy. Father Michael O'Flanagan was one such priest, and he was given coverage in the *Workers' Republic*.¹⁰¹¹ He had led a turf cutting rights campaign against the Congested Districts Board in

County Sligo, and he delivered an address at O'Donovan Rossa's funeral.¹⁰¹²

But, emboldened by the Pope's opposition to the war, Edward Thomas O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, began to campaign against conscription. He wrote about the right of the Irish living in Liverpool to return to Ireland rather than fight for the British.¹⁰¹³ In the process he challenged Liverpool's IPP MP, T. P O'Connor, who like Devlin in Belfast, was recruiting for the British army.

But Connolly went further still to try and negate traditional Catholic hierarchy opposition, and to win over workers under both its and the IPP's anti-Socialist influence. He published an account of a speech given by Fr. Laurence to the Dublin Trades Council, which pointed to the considerable overlap between his thinking and that of "the most militant, and what is called the most extreme, type of the labour movement" in Dublin.¹⁰¹⁴

And to those who were still looking to the British government to honour its promises to Ireland after the war, the *Workers' Republic* warned, "We know that at the end of this war England will have at least an army of one million men, or more than two soldiers for every adult male in Ireland. And these soldiers veterans of the greatest war in history." And in such circumstances, any triumphalist government, with Reactionary Unionists like Carson in office, would soon see off Irish Home Rule. "We know our opportunity when we see it, and we know when it has gone."¹⁰¹⁵

And in the same issue, ICA Assistant Quartermaster General, Seamus MacGowan ¹⁰¹⁶ wrote, "Procrastination has been the bane of Irish revolutionary movements. It proved the ruin of the United Irishmen, the Young Irelanders and the Fenians." The fear was that unless the initiative was seized, "Another fiasco like Ballingarry," the Young Irelander, Smith O'Brien's comic opera action in 1848 ¹⁰¹⁷ would occur, "but a more ignominious one".¹⁰¹⁸

There are some optimistic notes. Opposition to recruitment appeared to be rising. In the March 4th, 1916 issue of the *Workers' Republic*, Connolly wrote, "All over Dublin recruiting meetings are being broken up by the spontaneous action of the jeering crowds. Up and down the country the Khaki recruiting bands are marching in vain."¹⁰¹⁹ And on April 1st, Connolly

reported on the successful resistance he and the ICA had mounted against a provocation by the Dublin Metropolitan Police at Liberty Hall."¹⁰²⁰ The ICA response to this was to unfurl the promised green flag over Liberty Hall on April 16th. Molly Reilly of the IWWU performed the task, witnessed by the ICA, including its Women's Section, the CABS and the Fintan Lalor Pipers' Band. "A vast multitude of eager, sympathetic onlookers" watched the colour party as it proceeded through the streets of Dublin.¹⁰²¹ A good deal of organisation was taking place behind-the-scenes. As well as drilling and military training, first aid classes were provided. The back page of the *Workers' Republic* of February 5th was given over to *First Aid on the Battlefield*.¹⁰²²

Thomas Clarke, Eamonn Ceannt, Sean MacDiarmada, Padraig Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Plunkett of the IRB, and James Connolly of the ICA, who made up the expanded Military Council, were working for a rising to be launched on Easter Sunday, April 23rd, 1916. The IRB's plans included the landing of German-provided arms in County Kerry. IT&GWU activity was stepped up in County Kerry. Meanwhile, Connolly was leading the ICA's preparations for the rising. He did this whilst conducting regular trade union organisation and activity. Area reports continued in the *Workers' Republic* up to the last issue on April 22nd.¹⁰²³

The week before this, the paper discussed the prospects for the up-and-coming Irish TUC. Connolly outlined the political significance of the difference between the British TUC and the majority of Irish trade unions in the ITUC. This added to the earlier difference, which the *Workers' Republic* had pointed out between the British trade union bureaucrats' Triple Alliance and the Syndicalism that inspired the IT&GWU.¹⁰²⁴

"Timidity and rashness will be alike out of place, the delegates must be cautious, yet bold and courageous once a course of action is determined upon. They will be handicapped by the bad example set by the Labour Leaders of Great Britain in so shamefully surrendering all their hard-won rights, but that handicap can be overcome. The arguments that justified the holding of separate congresses for Trade Unions in Ireland will also serve to justify the setting aside of the evil examples of so many of our British brothers."¹⁰²⁵

The *Workers' Republic* appreciated the importance of social and cultural

events. The Workers' Dramatic Society put on Connolly's play, *Under which Flag?* in Liberty Hall. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington reviewed it on 8th April.¹⁰²⁶ The same issue published the poem, *The Call to Arms* by Maeve Cavanagh.¹⁰²⁷ And ICA Lieutenant Constance Markiewicz was given the last issue to write:-

"So we are waiting till 'Somebody' gives us the word
That sends us to Freedom or death;
As freemen defiant we'd sooner fall
Than be slaves to our dying breath."¹⁰²⁸

*The Proclamation of the Republic*¹⁰²⁹ was drawn up with Connolly providing a significant input. It was printed in Liberty Hall. It named those organisations responsible for the rising - the IRB, the IV and the ICA. It announced the seven signatories as 'The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland'. This consisted of the six existing members of the Military Council plus new member Thomas McDonagh.¹⁰³⁰ They claimed to act "In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood."¹⁰³¹

Thus, the Proclamation used the Nationalists' long-standing flowery language. It then went on to claim the rising to be "supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe."¹⁰³² The reference to the exiled Irish in America reflected the work done by Clann na Gael and Jim Larkin in the USA. More ambiguously, the Proclamation also invoked the "gallant allies in Europe". These were unnamed, but the drafters were looking to a post-war peace conference scenario.

Given the military balance of forces at the time, with Germany having made considerably greater advances, both West and East, the signatories reckoned that Germany would be victorious. The new Irish state's Democratic and Secular basis was outlined in, "The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens."¹⁰³³ This was far in advance of the UK's unwritten constitution. The impact of the Irish Women's Suffrage movement can also clearly be seen.

Connolly did not include a specifically working class component in the aims of the Proclamation. Its economic demand was restricted to "We declare the

right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible."¹⁰³⁴ This was a Social Republican not a Socialist Republican document. He relied on something more concrete to make the influence of the working class felt in the new republic - its continued independent organisation in the IT&GWU, the ICA and hopefully soon a more committed ITUC&LP.

Connolly still saw the need for further work until the majority of the ITUC&LP's constituent trade unions had been organised on Syndicalist lines, and preferably on 'One Big Union' militia - the ICA. The Dublin Lock Out had already persuaded many workers that sympathetic strike action, although very valuable, was not sufficient, in the face of the employers backed by armed police provided by the state.

The Proclamation also acknowledges the necessity to overcome "the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past".¹⁰³⁵ However, it is necessary to look at the final issue of the *Workers' Republic* to see the ICA's own approach to this problem. In this a prominent place is given to *Hands Across the Boyne - An Appeal To An Irish Working Class Unionist*.¹⁰³⁶

Connolly and others were aware that the conditions that existed during the First World War had made Unionist dominated areas in the North virtually impervious to such appeals. The hostile situation facing British Socialists in most English, Scottish and Welsh cities and towns was considerably worse in Belfast. Here Loyalist attacks on Socialists and Irish Home Rulers had long preceded the war. Only in West Belfast was it possible to organise an anti-war opposition, despite the influence of Joe Devlin, the IPP's main British army recruitment campaigner, backed by the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Connolly calculated that many of those currently supporting the IPP could be won over to an Irish Republic. However, it would need a considerably bigger jolt to break-up the cross-class Unionist alliance. To increase this possibility, Connolly looked to the possibility of a more general revolutionary upheaval after the war. To give this greater credibility, the *Workers' Republic* published an article on April 15th by a right-wing SPA leader, Victor L Berger. This was entitled *American Socialist Predicts All-European Revolution*.¹⁰³⁷

The final plans were for the IV and ICA forces to march, carrying arms, on Easter Sunday. From this mobilisation the insurrection would be launched. Both organisations had mobilised under arms before, most recently on St. Patrick's Day, to get the British authorities used to such events. There appeared to be division in the authorities' approach. Some were looking for an excuse to break the opposition altogether with a military clampdown followed by Conscription, whilst others did not want to provoke wider rebellion, which could undermine the current recruitment efforts of Redmond's IPP and O'Brien's AfIL.

Irish Secretary, Augustine Birrell, much like Connolly up until early 1916, thought that the IV mobilisations were part of an old pattern - Irish Nationalist bravado with little real substance.¹⁰³⁸ Indeed, the signs of a climb down were already evident. Roger Casement, disillusioned with the lack of enough German support, was already returning to Ireland in a German submarine, with the intention of getting MacNeill to cancel any planned rising.

On April 21st, Casement landed at Banna Strand in County Kerry, only to be arrested by British forces. The British authorities had been alerted to the attempt to land German arms from the ship *Aud/Libau*. They captured the ship on April 22nd, but the German skipper later scuttled it. These were the arms that were meant for distribution to IV members in County Kerry, once the leaders in Dublin had given the signal for the wider rising.¹⁰³⁹

As soon as MacNeill heard of the arms seizure, he countermanded the planned rising on Easter Sunday. The IRB's plans had come unstuck. But key members of the IRB, whose members answered to the Military Council, still controlled the IV in Dublin. With the Military Council's immediate influence now largely restricted to Dublin, they chose the IT&GWU's Liberty Hall, where the ICA met, to decide how to proceed. The IRB controlled section of the IV, the ICA and CnmB joined forces as the Army of the Irish Republic and called for a mobilisation on the following day.¹⁰⁴⁰

d) The predictions of the 1916 Easter Rising's organisers vindicated (pp. 395-405)

1200 Dublin Irish Volunteers (IV), Irish Citizen Army (ICA) and Cumann na mBan (CnmB) members mustered at several points around the city centre on Easter Monday, 24th April 1916. The Dublin GPO, under the command of James Connolly (ICA), was the HQ for the insurrection. There were other garrisons at St. Stephens Green under the command of Michael Mallin (ICA), the Four Courts under the command of Edward 'Ned' Daly'¹⁰⁴¹ (IRB/IV), Jacobs' biscuit factory under the command of Thomas McDonagh (IRB/IV), Boland's Mill under the command of Eamon de Valera (IRB/IV),¹⁰⁴² and the South Dublin Union under the command of Eamonn Ceannt (IRB/IV).¹⁰⁴³

The Proclamation of the Republic was read on the steps of the GPO, and the green flag was flown with the words 'Irish Republic',¹⁰⁴⁴ whilst a radio broadcast announced the declaration of the Irish Republic. Initially unprepared, "the British Army brought in thousands of reinforcements, as well as artillery and a gunboat. There was fierce street fighting on the routes into the city centre, where the rebels put up stiff resistance, slowing the British advance and inflicting heavy casualties... With much greater numbers and heavier weapons, the British Army suppressed the Rising. Pearse agreed to an unconditional surrender on Saturday 29 April, although sporadic fighting continued until Sunday, when word reached the other rebel positions... 485 people were killed in the Easter Rising. About 54% were civilians, 30% were British military and police, and 16% were Irish rebels. More than 2,600 were wounded. Many of the civilians were killed as a result of the British using artillery and heavy machine guns, or mistaking civilians for rebels. Others were caught in the crossfire in a crowded city. The shelling and the fires it caused left parts of inner-city Dublin in ruins."¹⁰⁴⁵ The British had started their bombardment by destroying Liberty Hall.¹⁰⁴⁶

MacNeill's countermanding order had prevented any mobilisation in most other parts of Ireland, except for Ashbourne in County Meath,¹⁰⁴⁷ under Thomas Ashe (IRB/IV),¹⁰⁴⁸ Enniscorthy in County Wexford,¹⁰⁴⁹ County Galway¹⁰⁵⁰ under Liam Mellows (IRB/IV),¹⁰⁵¹ and Castlebellingham in County Louth.¹⁰⁵² IV members also mobilised at Cork City under Tomas Mac Curtain (IV),¹⁰⁵³ in Coalisland and Carrickmore in County Tyrone under Dennis McCullough (IRB/IV)¹⁰⁵⁴ and Patrick McCartan (IRB/IV),¹⁰⁵⁵ (in

which Cathal O'Shannon (SPI/IV)) also participated, and at Creeslough in County Donegal under James McNulty (IV) and Daniel Kelly (IRB/IV).¹⁰⁵⁶ They soon demobilised again in the absence of further instructions.

John MacBride had been walking through Dublin, when he saw a uniformed Thomas McDonagh and joined the rising.¹⁰⁵⁷ He was to be one of those executed, remembered no doubt by the authorities for his role in the Irish Brigade in the Boer War.¹⁰⁵⁸ The O'Rahilly (IV) travelled the country to get local commanders to call off the rising, but when he returned to Dublin and found the action had started anyway, he joined the forces at the GPO.¹⁰⁵⁹ The British Army shot him in the adjacent Moore Street, and they ensured that he died a lingering death, refusing to allow an ambulance man to take him away.¹⁰⁶⁰

Frances Sheehy-Skeffington (SPI), who, as a pacifist, opposed the military rising, attempted to prevent looting once it started. He was summarily shot, along with two pro-British journalists, under the orders of an insane British officer, Bowen-Colthurst.¹⁰⁶¹ The previous day Bowen-Colthurst had also shot a 19-year old mechanic and left him to die in the street.¹⁰⁶² Richard O'Carroll, general secretary of the Bricklayers' Union and a Dublin Labour councillor was also killed.¹⁰⁶³ Ernest Kavanagh, the cartoonist for the IT&GWU's the *Irish Worker* (whose sister Maeve, wrote poetry for the *Workers' Republic*) was a non-combatant, but was killed. Peadar O'Maicin, SPI member and Labour alderman for the North Dock Ward, and a serving IV member at Boland's Mill, was shot and killed by another Volunteer, who had become hysterical.¹⁰⁶⁴ Tragic deaths included children and uninvolved citizens.

The 1916 Easter Rising was no 1848 Ballingarry farce, but the most serious Irish military challenge to the UK government since 1798. Pearse (who had taken over the command of the GPO from a badly wounded Connolly) had decided that unconditional surrender would be a better option than to continue fighting to the bitter end. Otherwise, there was a likelihood of far greater civilian casualties given the British use of artillery and heavy gunfire. Pearse's notion of the need for a 'blood sacrifice' was limited and bore little resemblance to the endless blood sacrifices being demanded by the British generals on the Western Front.

The Rising's leaders understood the British record well enough to know there

was little chance of their own lives being spared. However, so many others had been involved, that despite the certainty of their immediate imprisonment, it was likely they would return to political life later. The earlier history of Irish rebellion had taught the insurgents that any initial hostility would give way first to grudging respect, then to the rebels joining the pantheon of Irish heroes and heroines. They recognised that continued British Unionist intransigence would speed this process up.

This anticipated political trajectory began in the immediate aftermath of the Easter Rising. On April 28th, the government made General Maxwell military governor and placed Dublin City and County Dublin under martial law. He arrested nearly 3500 people and had 90 sentenced to death.¹⁰⁶⁵ Even Gavrilo Princip, Archduke Ferdinand's assassin, and trigger for the First World War, had not been executed by the Austrian authorities but received a prison sentence (although held under brutal conditions from which he eventually died in 1918). Nevil Macready, Adjutant-General to the British Forces, urged General Maxwell to speed up the executions whilst martial law was still in operation.¹⁰⁶⁶ He was to play a prominent part in suppressing working class and Republican opposition after the First World War. Maxwell did not even observe the official regulations for conducting the court martials.¹⁰⁶⁷

The executions began on May 3rd, four days after the rebels' official surrender. Fifteen people were quickly executed, including the seven signatories to the Proclamation and the commanders and depute commanders of the garrisons. The exceptions were commander Eamon de Valera and Constance Markiewicz. De Valera's American citizenship was a concern for the UK government. They were trying to bring the USA into the war as an ally, so he was given a life sentence of penal servitude instead.¹⁰⁶⁸ Even the British government thought that Markiewicz's execution could backfire on them, so she was given a life sentence.¹⁰⁶⁹

Thomas Kent, an IRB member, who lived in County Cork, and was not involved in the Rising, was targeted by the RIC. Along with his three brothers, he had resisted arrest in a shootout, in which a RIC officer and one of his brothers were killed.¹⁰⁷⁰ Kent was court-martialled and executed on May 9th.¹⁰⁷¹ Connolly and MacDiarmada were the last to be shot on May 12th. By this time more people had become aware both of the irregular proceedings

surrounding the executions, as well as the revelations of British brutality against unarmed and uninvolved persons during the Rising.

In contrast, Roger Casement was later given a civilian trial in August in London under the 1351 Treason Act. Now operating in the public arena, this trial needed careful state management. The British government circulated the *Black Diaries*, which several enquirers think to be a fabrication.¹⁰⁷² These diaries alleged that Casement had been a very active homosexual, an accusation designed to isolate him, given the dominant moral sensibilities of the time. In Casement's case, even a final appeal against his death sentence from the US Senate failed to change the UK Cabinet's mind. The Attorney General, C&UP member, 'Gallop' Smith, who had earlier encouraged armed rebellion and mutiny against the Liberal government, insisted that the death sentence should be carried out.¹⁰⁷³ This glaring hypocrisy was highlighted by the British government's response to those British Unionists and Loyalists who had used extra constitutional threats of force against Irish Home Rule, and was compared to those who had been pressing for greater Irish Self-Determination.

Tom Kettle, a well-known Irish poet, and key supporter of Redmond, who propagandised and fought for the British Army, strongly opposed the 1916 Rising. But he told his wife shortly before he died that, "What really seared his heart was the fearful retribution that fell on the leaders of the rebellion." Broken-hearted and disillusioned by the terrible conditions in the trenches, he returned to the front anticipating his own death. He also wrote "that the Easter revolutionaries of 1916 would be lionized as patriots in the near future of Ireland's history."¹⁰⁷⁴ Thus, even someone from the opposing political side could already see the validity of the predictions of Connolly and Pearse.

There were mixed responses from the IPP and other Irish Nationalists to the executions. John Redmond had welcomed "the government's firmness, which was not only right but it was the duty of government to deal with."¹⁰⁷⁵ He was quite happy for an undetermined number of leaders to be executed, but warned the government "not to show undue hardship or severity to the great masses of those who are implicated, on whose shoulders there lies a guilt far different from that which lies upon the instigators and promoters of the outbreak." With 3430 men and 74 women already under arrest, Redmond was worried that the government would cross the line beyond what he

considered acceptable retribution.

John Dillon, however, could already see the dangers to the future of the IPP. He warned, "Now you are washing out our whole life work in a sea of blood... The fact of the matter is that what is poisoning the mind of Ireland, and rapidly poisoning it, is the secrecy of these trials and the continuance of these executions... why cannot you treat Ireland as Botha treated South Africa... victims of misdirected enthusiasm and leadership."¹⁰⁷⁶

An *Irish Independent* editorial advised: "Let the worst of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve" - quite clearly a call for the British Army to execute James Connolly.¹⁰⁷⁷ William Martin Murphy, precipitator of the Dublin Lock Out, owned the *Irish Independent*.

Meanwhile, the British Left Unionist, William Thorne, Labour MP for West Ham, asked at Westminster, "When {do} the military authorities propose to proceed with the trial"¹⁰⁷⁸ of Sir Roger Casement. His call for the military authorities to take action was tantamount to a call for Casement's immediate execution. And Arthur Henderson, the first Labour member of the War Coalition was reported by *Forward* as cheering at Westminster, when the first three executions were announced."¹⁰⁷⁹

The growing opposition to the British government's handling of the Rising brought about the second phase anticipated by the Rising's leaders. With military executions ended, 1836 men were interned under the DORA legislation in England and Wales. Frongoch camp in North Wales became a 'university of revolution' where future leaders began to plan the coming struggle for independence.¹⁰⁸⁰ However, even this partial government retreat to internment was undermined by the fact that amongst these were people who had opposed or not taken part in the Rising, such as Eoin MacNeill and Arthur Griffith. To prevent a further undermining of the IPP's position, the British government had to amnesty those imprisoned. Key IRB activists and Constance Markiewicz were included.

The released prisoners were now free to campaign against the war and the IPP. Margaret Skinnider, through being hospitalised during the Easter Rising, had escaped imprisonment. She went on to lecture in the USA, along with other women who had taken part.¹⁰⁸¹ Many women became involved in the

influential Irish National Aid Association and Volunteer Dependents Fund.¹⁰⁸² Their activities also increased the support for Irish Republicans. Connolly's and Pearse's political predictions continued to fall into place.

Furthermore, May 1916 was to witness an unparalleled escalation in the competitive 'blood sacrifice' between the Ulster Volunteer Force, now constituted as the 36th Ulster Division, and the 16th Irish Division, which included many of Redmond's National Volunteers. In the first two days of the Battle of the Somme, which started on July 1st, 5500 of the 36th Ulster Division were killed, wounded or missing.¹⁰⁸³ The 16th Irish Division had belatedly been given an Irish Home Rule supporting, Catholic officer, Major General in December 1915.¹⁰⁸⁴ Even before the Battle of the Somme, the 16th Irish Division had lost 3,491 men out of 10,845 in the Loos sector, whilst they lost a further 4,214 men between the 1st-10th September, in the Battle of the Somme.¹⁰⁸⁵

The UK's continued war of attrition was designed to ensure that British and allied armies could sustain a greater number of losses than the Germans, through constant recruitment to fill the places of the dead and wounded. By the end of the Battle of the Somme on 1 November 18th, there was very little change to the front lines, but a million men from the UK, British Empire and Germany had either been killed or wounded,¹⁰⁸⁶ in one of the biggest 'blood sacrifices' in history.

The British government's war of attrition strategy had already led to the introduction of conscription in March 1916. Its provisions were further extended in May.¹⁰⁸⁷ Connolly had been proud that British worries about introducing conscription in Ireland, as a result of IV and ICA activity, had prevented the deaths of many Irish men in so futile a war.¹⁰⁸⁸ The Easter Rising delayed the threat of Irish conscription further. Ironically, although launched to set up the Irish Republic, the insurrection put Irish Home Rule back on the immediate political agenda. Up to this point the Irish and Ulster Unionists had made the entire running, and were looking forward to a British imperial victory, which would end the prospect of Irish Home Rule altogether.

Asquith appointed the slippery Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions in the War Coalition government, to start new negotiations. Top of his mind was how to prop up the IPP and the AfIL, so that they could continue their

role in providing human 'cannon fodder' at the front, whilst keeping on board the Irish Unionists/Ulster Unionists. He was scheming to introduce conscription to Ireland. He also wanted to appear to be doing something about Ireland to win over the US government. These objectives were contradictory, hence Asquith's resort to the duplicitous 'Welsh Wizard'.

Whilst IPP leader, Redmond had already made a pre-war deal showing he could contemplate the exclusion of parts of Ulster from Irish Home Rule, he had to maintain the pretence that this would be a temporary measure. Northern IPP supporters, including West Belfast MP Devlin, were insistent upon this. Up to this point, the Irish Unionists/Ulster Unionists, with the backing of the C&UP, had only toyed with variations on Ulster exclusion (9 counties, 6 counties, 4 counties, county by county votes) in order to put the spanner in the works of the Third Irish Home Rule Bill. They wanted to reject it entirely - before the war by toppling the Liberal government, then looking to the end of the war and winning a new anti-Home Rule majority.

In August 1914 Redmond had agreed that the enactment of the Third Home Rule Bill would be delayed for a year after the war, and that the issue of Partition would have to be addressed during this period. This, though, would provide the C&UP, and its Irish Unionist/Ulster Unionist allies, with both the opportunity of another election, hopefully held under the very auspicious circumstances of British imperial victory, and with openings for more extra-constitutional mayhem around Partition. Connolly had foreseen this. However, such had been the impact of the Easter Rising, combined with the need for more Irish troops in a war much bloodier than had been anticipated, that Sir Edward Carson began to consider the possibility of some limited form of Irish Home Rule, to keep Redmond and the IPP on board, provided there was permanent Six Counties exclusion.

Whereas Redmond faced a problem with his northern IPP supporters, the anti-Partitionist AFIL, and the growth of wider Republican support; Carson faced a problem with C&UP ultras who still wanted to kill off the Third Home Rule Act altogether, and from the southern Irish Unionists, and the Ulster Unionists in Nationalist majority Ulster counties, who feared they would be abandoned under a Partitionist Home Rule deal. Lloyd George (anticipating the sort of promise made by Tony Blair to Irish Nationalists and Ulster Unionists before the Good Friday Agreement) made one promise to

Redmond that Six Counties of Ulster would be temporarily excluded, and another to Carson saying it would be permanent. However, the C&UP diehards in the War Coalition government sabotaged this deal.¹⁰⁸⁹

By December 1916, the inner War Cabinet had three C&UP members (including two unelected lords), one Liberal MP, Lloyd George, and one Labour MP, Arthur Henderson. Half of this War Cabinet had not only opposed the Third Irish Home Rule Bill but had supported extra-constitutional action to prevent it being implemented. In July 1916, Henry Duke, C&UP MP replaced the Liberal (albeit it now very half-hearted) Home Rule supporting Irish Secretary, Augustine Birrell.¹⁰⁹⁰ By July, Carson was also brought into the War Cabinet.

Meanwhile, Walter Long was given the task of drawing up a new Representation of the People Bill to be enacted before the post-war general election. It looked at the issue of Ireland's over-representation at Westminster, which would have to be ended if Irish Home Rule was introduced. Significantly, Long made no provision for such an eventuality.¹⁰⁹¹ Continued British intransigence, highlighted by the growing strength of reactionary unionism within the War Coalition and War Cabinet, would propel political developments even further along the trajectory Connolly and Pearse had predicted.

Meantime, returning Republican prisoners were beginning to organise politically. Michael Collins, who was emerging as a significant figure within the IRB,¹⁰⁹² was disparaging of Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein, which was still non-Republican. He dismissed them as Grattanite "1782ers".¹⁰⁹³ Yet, there were others in Sinn Fein who were Republican and prepared to openly support the Easter Rising insurgents.

Father Michael O'Flanagan, who was on the Sinn Fein executive, but who was also a staunch Republican (and who had received favourable reports in the *Workers' Republic*) decided to stand the papal count, George Plunkett, against the IPP in the North Roscommon by-election. He was the father of Joseph Plunkett, shot for his role in the Easter Rising, whilst Joseph's two brothers, George and Jack had been jailed. Plunkett, though, was no Republican, and was a socially conservative figure.¹⁰⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Plunkett's election campaign was able to attract Laurence Ginnell,¹⁰⁹⁵ the

Independent Nationalist MP and leader of the Ranch War, as well as IV and CnmB activists. Plunkett won the election held on February 3rd, 1917, taking 55% of the vote in a three-cornered contest.¹⁰⁹⁶

Although Plunkett adhered to the Sinn Fein line of not taking up his seat at Westminster, IRB members wanted a Republican candidate more associated with the 1916 Rising for the next by-election. In the South Longford by-election, held on May 9th, Joseph McGuinness, a Republican prisoner held in Lewes Prison, was put forward (against his will) by Collins under the slogan, "Put him in to get him out!" He narrowly won the election, and the remaining political prisoners were released the next month.¹⁰⁹⁷ In the Clare East by-election, Sinn Fein stood the amnestied Eamon de Valera (not yet a member), the last surviving Easter Rising commander, as its candidate. Four parish priests and three curates nominated de Valera as opposed to eight parish priests and one curate who nominated the IPP candidate.¹⁰⁹⁸ Thus, another key section of Irish society was in the process of abandoning the IPP. De Valera won 71% of the vote. On August 10th, W. T. Cosgrave, a long-standing Sinn Fein Dublin City councillor, and a political prisoner who had originally been condemned to death,¹⁰⁹⁹ won the Kilkenny City by-election with 66% of the vote.¹¹⁰⁰ The IV and CnmB, including the released Constance Markiewicz, played a prominent role in these by-elections too.

The Easter Rising survivors became central to future events.¹¹⁰¹ Sinn Fein was able to rapidly increase its membership, particularly amongst young urban working class men and rural farm labourers and small farmers.¹¹⁰² Furthermore, Sinn Fein was more welcoming of women than either the IPP or AfIL (or even the SPI had been).

Connolly and Pearse predicted that the 1916 Easter Rising would lead to a political switch from support for Irish Home Rule within the Union and British Empire to support for an Irish Republic free of both. The weakening of the IPP and AfIL and the strengthening of the IV and Sinn Fein accentuated this. Continued British government repression also accelerated this process.

Predictably the need to feed the war of attrition's insatiable appetite for soldiers at the front led to the next turn of the British screw. General Nevil Macready had already given an indication of the now acceptable level of

losses in the planning for the Third Battle of Ypres in late 1917. He could accept a further 50,000 casualties. As it turned out this was another underestimate. The British army "suffered an alarming rise in drunkenness, desertions and psychological disorders; reports were gathered of soldiers returning from the front grumbling about 'the waste of life.'"¹¹⁰³

Lloyd George, now Prime Minister, had set up an Irish Convention in July 1917. The intention once more was to introduce some form of Irish Home Rule, but with a significant part of Ulster excluded, so that conscription could be extended there. The AfIL's William O'Brien could see that the Convention was so heavily biased towards supporters of Partition that he refused to attend.¹¹⁰⁴ He had been prepared to accept an Ireland within the British Empire, but any lingering illusions, he still held in the British eventually discarding Partition, had been stripped away. The anti-war Sinn Fein, with three electoral victories under its belt by this time, refused to give the Convention any support. Probably realising that the Convention had no prospects for success, Lloyd George spun its proceedings out, so at least it looked to the US government, that he was addressing the 'Irish Question'.

The US had finally become a military ally in April 1917, although it would take many months before significant numbers of American soldiers appeared on the Western Front. Before this, President Wilson had been quite happy to sell arms and make loans to the British and French to benefit the owners and shareholders of US industries and banks.¹¹⁰⁵ He had kept government spending on the military low, concentrating instead on naval expenditure, to back the US imperialism's growing commercial role in the world, particularly the Pacific.

The US decision to go to war marked a defeat for Jim Larkin, the IWW and Socialists in the USA. Roger Casement and the IRB had looked to Germany as an ally. This had delivered very little though. Although the IRB had been opposed to US participation in the war, the new IRB/Sinn Fein leadership now saw possibilities in pushing the US government to concern itself more closely with Irish affairs. They no longer looked for an Irish seat at a future German dominated post-war peace conference, but to one where the US would have a major say. And IRB member, Liam Mellows, who had managed to escape to the USA from Ireland in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising, soon became a victim of the new pro-US, pro-war stance adopted by

US sister organisation, Clan na Gael. He was arrested and detained without trial in the Tombs prison in New York for aiding the Germans.¹¹⁰⁶ Whilst in prison no Clan na Gael member deigned to visit him. That was left to Norah Connolly, now touring the US, in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising.¹¹⁰⁷

The British government decided to play to the US government, which was now promoting anti-German feeling. It concocted a German Plot directed against Sinn Fein. 150 members were arrested on the night of May 16th–17th, 1917. However, Michael Collins, the IRB's main intelligence officer, already knew of this and arranged to have key people, including the elected Sinn Fein MPs, accept arrest for propaganda purposes, whilst more committed IRB members continued to organise the IV clandestinely.¹¹⁰⁸

Thomas Ashe, who had originally been condemned to death for his part in the Easter Rising, was one of those who avoided arrest. However, he was later arrested for making a seditious speech in County Longford. He was sentenced to two year's imprisonment with hard labour. Ashe went on (his second) hunger strike. He was severely beaten and died after five days. 30,000 attended his funeral at Glasnevin where he was buried alongside Terence Bellow MacManus and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rosa. Once again, the British government had stuck to their script laid down by Connolly and Pearse.

e) The marginalisation of the Socialist Republican wing of the Republican alliance following the 1916 Rising (pp. 405-

Connolly was pretty accurate in his predictions about the behaviour of the UK government, and the effect this would have in undermining the position of the IPP and AfiL, thus opening the way for a specifically Republican offensive. However, Connolly's longer-term strategy depended upon the maintenance of a Socialist Republican pole of attraction within the wider Republican alliance. This alliance included the non-Socialist IRB, IV and CnmB. The links in the Socialist Republican pole of attraction had largely been provided by Connolly and his immediate acquaintances.

Given Connolly's emphasis on the need for an insurrectionary challenge, the

ICA was central to his plans. Connolly was the ICA commander, and he had the support of its deputy commander, Michael Mallin (SPI), William Partridge (Sinn Fein/IT&GWU/) and P. T. Daly (IT&GWU/ITUC&LP).¹¹⁰⁹ There was a second group of Socialist Republicans who operated as individuals within the IV. These included Peadar O'Maicin and Cathal O'Shannon (SPI) (based in Belfast and a *Northern Notes* contributor to *The Workers' Republic*). Winifred Carney (ITWU) and Helena Molony (IWWU), became involved in the IV's women's wing, CnmB, although they fought in the Easter Rising as members of the ICA.¹¹¹⁰

Connolly also exerted a pull upon IRB members such as Padraig Pearse and Michael Collins, who said that "he would have followed {Connolly} through hell", after fighting alongside him in the Dublin GPO.¹¹¹¹ From much earlier, Connolly had exerted a political pull upon Constance Markiewicz (InhE) who joined the ICA during the Dublin Lock Out but became a member of the CnmB before the Rising, whilst fighting in St. Stephen's Green under an ICA commander.¹¹¹²

The second important contributors to the Socialist Republican pole of attraction were the leaders of the Syndicalist inspired IT&GWU, who had participated in the 1913-4 Dublin Lock Out. Larkin remained an absentee secretary. This left the main organising role to the IT&GWU's acting secretary, Connolly. He had a close ally in William O'Brien, fellow SPI member and a union organiser and secretary of Dublin Trades Council and support from Thomas Foran, IT&GWU president. The ICA and IT&GWU both operated from the same Dublin HQ - Liberty Hall.¹¹¹³

But Connolly also had allies in other unions. Michael Mallin, ICA Chief of Staff, had been an official in the Silk Workers' Union, involved in prolonged strike action in 1913.¹¹¹⁴ Walter Carpenter was secretary of the International Tailors, Machinists and Pressers Trade Union,¹¹¹⁵ with its mainly Jewish membership. Some members would have appreciated Connolly's role in support for Jewish workers, as demonstrated in his Yiddish language address as ISRP candidate to Dublin Council in 1902. A Jewish worker, A. Weeks,

joined the ICA and lost his life in the Rising.¹¹¹⁶ Carpenter's two sons, Walter Junior and Peter, fought with the ICA in the Rising,¹¹¹⁷

The weakest component of the wider planned Socialist Republican-led alliance, though, lay in the ITUC&LP. Connolly was a national executive member, but Thomas Johnson, its president, was a more ambiguous ally. Johnson, like Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, was a member of the SPI, and like him did not support the insurrection. He was working in Cardiff when it broke out.¹¹¹⁸

The ITUC&LP included unions whose leaders and many members would have been hostile towards the 1916 Rising. Connolly's longer-term plan was to win over as many Irish unions as possible to the concept of 'One Big Union'. He had campaigned through the *Workers' Republic* and Dublin Trades Council to this end. However, this had been far from achieved by April 1916. So, the main job of Connolly and his immediate allies had been to ensure that the ITUC&LP had its congress delayed until after the Easter Rising, so that it could not be used to thwart it.

However, a potentially much stronger component of the Socialist Republican pole of attraction lay in those women, some in the IT&GWU affiliated Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU) or the Irish Textile Workers Union (ITWU), and others who had provided support during the Dublin Lock Out. During the Rising some were in the ICA or fought under ICA commanders. Winifred Carney (ITWU/ICA) was made an adjutant at the GPO.¹¹¹⁹ Rosie Hackett (IWWU/ICA) and Madeleine French-Mullen (ICA),¹¹²⁰ were part of the ICA-led St. Stephen's Green garrison. Helena Molony (IWWU/ICA) took part in the attack on Dublin Castle.¹¹²¹ Nurse Julia Grenan (IWWU/CnmB¹¹²²) (along with Elizabeth Farrell - CnmB¹¹²³) also acted as dispatch riders and carriers of weapons under dangerous conditions.

Women were only accepted as auxiliaries in the IV-led garrisons, but the ICA accepted women as combatants. (There were CnmB members at all the garrisons except Boland's Mill and South Dublin Union, where de Valera and

Ceannt would not accept them.¹¹²⁴) Dr. Kathleen Lynn (ICA) was chief medical officer in the Dublin GPO. Constance Markiewicz (CnmB)¹¹²⁵ and Margaret Skinnider (CnmB)¹¹²⁶ played a significant part in the action at St. Stephen's Green. In the fighting, Skinnider, who came over from Scotland, was struck by three bullets. She was not then a member of any Irish trade union, which had given other women direct contact with Socialist Republicanism. Nevertheless, she knew Connolly personally and Walter Carpenter carried her injured body from the Easter Rising battlefield.¹¹²⁷ However, even those women in IT&GWU affiliated unions and/or the ICA had not been members of the SPI, which was not really a political party at all but a Socialist Propagandist organisation. Prior to 1916 the InhE, the militant Republican women's organisation, had provided their main political organisation.

After the 1916 Rising, a marked switch away from Connolly's Socialist Republican pole of attraction took place amongst the militant Women Suffragists, many in the IWFL, who had given their support during the Dublin Lock Out. They became increasingly attracted to Sinn Fein. One feature of Sinn Fein, even under Arthur Griffith, had been the support it had given to the women's franchise on the same basis as men.

Even in its earlier days, Sinn Fein included Constance Markiewicz, who had been pretty ecumenical in her support for various Irish cultural and political organisations. Lynn was a committed Women's Suffragist and an acquaintance of Sylvia Pankhurst. Dr. Kathleen Lynn had supported the IT&GWU in the Dublin Lockout. She was imprisoned for her part in the Rising. After her release, she became a Sinn Fein Vice President in 1917.¹¹²⁸ Aine Ceannt, active in the Gaelic League, CnmB, a dispatch rider in the Easter Rising, and wife of the executed Eamonn,¹¹²⁹ became Sinn Fein's director of communications.¹¹³⁰ Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, a leading member of the IFWL and the IWWU,¹¹³¹ refused British monetary compensation for the army's killing of her husband. She toured the USA campaigning for Irish independence.¹¹³² When she returned, she became Sinn Fein's director of organisation.¹¹³³

Instead of having a specifically Socialist Republican party, which organised politically to achieve its aims, the *Workers' Republic* had acted as Connolly's main political organiser, and he was its editor. Certain arrangements had

been made to keep *The Workers' Republic* and the IT&GWU legally separate, probably to evade DORA,¹¹³⁴ after the experience of the closing down of the *Irish Worker* by the UK government in 1914. However, the earliest casualty of the military defeat of the Rising was the *Workers' Republic*. It ceased publication; a major blow to any Socialist Republican-led alliance.

During the Easter Rising, O'Maicin was killed, whilst Connolly and Mallin were executed soon afterwards. Connolly's death, and those of some of his allies broke many of the Socialist Republican links. The jailing of others, such as Carney, Daly, ffrench-Mullen, Foran, Lynn, Molony O'Brien and O'Shannon, for varied lengths of time, also contributed to their disorganisation.

Thus, Sinn Fein's political reorganisation preceded that of any Socialists especially the SPI. In 1916, Sinn Fein, like the SPI, was a small organisation. However, it was to grow quickly, aided by the IRB and CnmB. They, unlike the loose and largely propagandist SPI, remained as organised and effective political forces. Furthermore, the IV, which the IRB now controlled, survived much better than the ICA, not least because relatively few of its members had been mobilised, thanks to O'Neill's countermanding order. In contrast, almost all of the ICA's forces had been engaged in Dublin and it suffered disproportionately far higher losses. The ICA never really recovered from this. Although it continued to exist, it was much smaller and no longer provided a major working class alternative to the IV.

Apart from the death of some members, and the loss of its HQ during the Rising, the IT&GWU faced another problem. The War Coalition had begun to back British based unions, particularly the NUDL. The NUDL expanded its activities in Ireland.¹¹³⁵ This was done to undermine the challenge of the IT&GWU. Thus, the UK government behaved like Thatcher was to during the 1984-5 Miners' Strike, when she gave her backing to the blackleg Union of Democratic Miners to defeat the NUM. The War Coalition ensured there were quick pay deals with the NUDL so that it was able to recruit members more easily. However, given the shortage of labour during the First World

War, though, the government and employers could not wipe out the IT&GWU.

When the ITUC&LP finally held its congress in Sligo in August 1916, secretary Thomas Johnson ensured that support was given both to those union members who had lost their lives during the Rising and those members who had lost their lives fighting in the trenches.¹¹³⁶ This was no more than the self-denying ordinance that the ITUC&LP had long held over the issue of Irish self-determination (hence Connolly's attempt to neutralise the ITUC&LP during the Rising). The one thing that did not happen was a bid by any SPI member to claim the 1916 Rising and its Proclamation of an Irish Republic. Yet James Connolly, ITUC&LP executive member, along with other senior trade union officials, had played a leading part.

Like the ITUC&LP, Sinn Fein was not Republican and had not officially taken part in the 1916 Rising. Now though, without any Socialist Republican claim for the mantle of the 1916 Rising, it was left to the IRB to take this. This involved organising a special 1700 strong conference of Sinn Fein in Mansion House Dublin in October 1917. The IRB's aim was to get Sinn Fein to drop Griffith's 'Grattanite' 'Dual Monarchy' policy. Constance Markiewicz had already organised the League of Delegates¹¹³⁷ (made up of CnmB, IWWU and former ICA members) in April 1917 to push strongly for a reformed Sinn Fein which was openly Republican and based on the 1916 Proclamation, with women given a prominent role opposed to any retreat into social conservatism. Under the pressure from the IRB, led by Cathal Brugha, and League of Delegates Sinn Fein was transformed into a Republican party which drew its legitimacy from the 1916 Rising and Proclamation.

At the Sligo ITUC&LP August 1916 conference,¹¹³⁸ and the one in Derry in August 1917,¹¹³⁹ opposition to the War Coalition's new Partition proposals could still be expressed (at this point many Unionists were still opposed to Partition). And proposals to send an Irish delegation to the 1917 Stockholm Peace Conference, could still be passed, despite opposition from Northern Unionist Labour and British cross channel trade unions.¹¹⁴⁰ By this time,

there was support for such peace initiatives, even in the British Labour Party. The consequences of this particular split became apparent later in 1918.

Sinn Fein's political preparation for the forthcoming Westminster general election preceded that of the ITUC&L, which began to think about this issue at its congress in Waterford in August 1918. By this time, though, the 'Russian' Revolution influenced the ITUC&LP, but its leaders were more in tune with the thinking of the leaders of the February than of the October Revolution.

The February Revolution had done a lot to lift the opprobrium associated with the Triple Entente, which had included the reactionary Tsarist Empire. The participation of the USA (with its traditional Irish Republican connections) also contributed to some ITUC&LP leaders taking a more openly pro-USA stance, in anticipation of a post-war Peace Conference. This followed US President, Woodrow Wilson, publicly announcing his Fourteen Points, including the right of self-determination, in January 1918.¹¹⁴¹ With the growing likelihood of a German defeat (instead of the German victory the IRB had originally based its strategy upon), Sinn Fein had already moved over to a more pro-US position. When it prepared its manifesto for the 1918 UK general election, it supported independent Irish representation at any post-war Peace Conference.

Furthermore, Sinn Fein had already won four out of seven by-elections between 1917-18. Some of those, who had earlier given their support to Labour and Socialist candidates and councillors, particularly in Dublin, now transferred their support to Sinn Fein. The end of the war was in sight. The increasing likelihood of a general election pushed Sinn Fein into overdrive. The other main plank of its manifesto, complementing its support for the Rising and Republican Proclamation, was Sinn Fein's declaration that none of its elected MPs would take their seats at Westminster. If a majority of Sinn Fein MPs were to be elected this would represent a mandate for setting up a new parliament in Dublin. This, though, was to cause considerably greater problems for the ITUC&LP, with its self-denying ordinance over Irish self-determination.

In the face of these challenges, the Socialist Republican-led, Syndicalist, Labour and Women's Suffragist alliance broke up. The ICA, IT&GWU, the

ITUC&LP, and the IWFL all went their own ways. In the absence of any organised Socialist Republican party, these organisations' politics were increasingly dominated by the new Irish Nationalism led by Sinn Fein and backed by the IRB controlled IV.

f) Different views of the type of political organisation required following Socialists' experience in the Russian Empire and Ireland; and their sustainability in the new International Revolutionary Wave (pp. 412-421)

Later Socialist accounts have sometimes criticised Connolly and his immediate allies because they did not appreciate the need for a Bolshevik-type party to maintain a Socialist organisation in Ireland. Such a judgement is ahistorical since, outside of Russian Social Democracy, there were no organisations trying to build such a party. Indeed, before the outbreak of the First World War, the Bolsheviks thought they were trying to build a party modelled on the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), albeit usually under conditions of illegality. For most of the time, up until 1917, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), and all its tendencies, including the Bolsheviks, lived under conditions of illegality or extremely limited political rights. The special organisational measures required to survive in such conditions - centralisation without much wider democratic accountability, and a leadership living in exile – were not seen to be the universal characteristics of a revolutionary party, but something to be jettisoned in the event of a successful Democratic Revolution.

But the outbreak of the First World War found the leaders of majority of Second International (SI) affiliated parties which looked up to the SPD as their leader, wanting. This also applied to the trade union leaderships of their affiliated trade unions. They had long enjoyed conditions of legality and their leaders participated in the institutions of the state. So, when the war broke out, these leaders defended the states they saw as the necessary vehicles for past and future reforms. In the process, they aided their respective ruling classes' war aims, contributing to the loss of millions of

lives, even more people injured, and the drastic curtailment of democratic and workers' rights.

Karl Kautsky had written the *Erfurt Programme* for the SPD back in 1892. But, even at this early date, Engels was very perceptive as to the SPD leaders' developing political character. "They now want the party to find the present legal order in Germany adequate for putting through all party demands by peaceful means. These are attempts to convince oneself and the party that 'present-day society is developing towards socialism' without asking oneself whether it does not thereby just as necessarily outgrow the old social order and whether it will not have to burst this old shell by force, as a crab breaks its shell, and also whether in Germany, in addition, it will not have to smash the fetters of the still semi-absolutist, and moreover indescribably confused political order."¹¹⁴²

Connolly had already understood the weakness of the SDP lay in both the party and affiliated trade union leaders' heavy involvement in the institutions of the state at all levels. There was one exception to this participation and that lay in the controlling Kaiser's Prussian-German military imperial government. In contrast, both Connolly and Lenin had a far more critical attitude to the particularly repressive states they lived in under the British Crown and the Russian Tsar. So, compared to the SPD and most other SI-affiliated Socialist parties, they saw the outbreak of the First World War as a new opportunity. They both saw the need for offensive action based on an immediate programme for a Democratic Republic. They also anticipated that such action could precipitate struggles elsewhere in more politically advanced countries, which in turn could lead to an international offensive which transcended the limits of Democratic Republics, paving the way for a federation of Socialist Republics.

Both Connolly's and Lenin's thinking drew deeply on an understanding of the nature of the states in which they lived. They both appreciated the importance of the taking account of the historical development of their respective societies. This was important when it came to develop a Socialist

strategy. In 1898, Connolly had already begun to write the articles in the ISRP's *Workers' Republic*, that were reworked and published in 1910, as the influential pamphlet, *Labour in Irish History*. Later, *The Reconquest of Ireland* formed the theoretical basis for Connolly's Socialist Republicanism and the political anchor for the *Workers' Republic*.

In 1899 Lenin wrote *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, outlining what he saw as the inevitability of a capitalist road for Russia in the context of European and US led capitalist development. The 1905 Revolution spurred him to write *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. The focus was again mainly upon Russia, but Lenin now outlined two possible paths of capitalist development based on European and American experience. The First World War prompted Lenin to write *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of National Self-Determination*, in which he emphasised the importance of the struggles of oppressed nations.

Indeed, it was the Dublin Rising that led Lenin to write his conclusion, *The Irish Rebellion of 1916* to *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*. This rising represented the beginning of the new International Revolutionary Wave, but Lenin argued that it was "the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature."¹¹⁴³

Thus, Internationalism remained central, because capitalism was organised globally in the form of Imperialism. Connolly would have appreciated Lenin's emphasis on having a clear understanding of the nature of Tsarist Russia, the type of society that was evolving there, the need for Democratic struggle, and for Internationalism, but he did not draw the same conclusions about the type of party required.

However, for Lenin, it was the creation of a particular type of Social Democratic party, which allowed the working class to put its stamp upon history. This is why he put so much emphasis upon organisation and

building a Revolutionary party. Such a political party needed a programme, which took account of the history and nature of the state, and its position in the current global economic order. This programme should include a minimum or immediate section to relate to the existing socio-economic and political conditions. The party had to place itself at the head of the Democratic struggle and work in the political, economic, social and cultural arenas to achieve this.

In 1914, though, Connolly ended his support for Social Democratic parties, He had long abandoned the British SDF (later the BSP) and he would not have been surprised at Hyndman's support for the war. However, Connolly also largely abandoned the need he had previously seen for a Socialist Propagandist party, e.g. first the SLP, then later the SPI.

Instead, for Connolly, it was the strong Socialist Republican thinking already embodied in the IT&GWU and ICA, and also tacitly accepted by many in the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL), Inghinidhe na hEireann (InhE), and the two IT&GWU affiliated unions - the Irish Women Workers Union (IWWU) and the Irish Textile Workers Union (ITWU) - that ensured that the Syndicalism of the IT&GWU had not collapsed into support for the war in 1914. Connolly continued to give support to the activities of these organisations in the *Workers' Republic*, as he organised to fight for an Irish Republic as an immediate possibility.

Both Connolly in Ireland and Larkin in the USA, had been able to take inspiration from the pre-war Syndicalist challenge to the existing capitalist order. This is why they remained committed to the IT&GWU, whilst Larkin, once he moved to the USA, worked with the IWW. The IT&GWU and IWW had come out against the war. For Connolly, if the IT&GWU could win control of the ITUC&LP, which he had strongly argued for in 1912, in a very different political context, then the changed political circumstances, brought about by the First World War, could still produce the party required for activity in the political arena. In this he differed from those Syndicalists, who saw no need for any party.

However, in 1916, the ITUC&LP included many unions which did not support Connolly's strategy. Although the majority could be pushed into opposition to the war, conscription, DORA and the repression of workers, the ITUC&LP was never able to adopt a particular stance on Irish Self-Determination. Its affiliated unions included Socialist Republicans, Republicans and Home Rulers. Most Labour Unionists, though, lay outside the ITUC&LP and took their political lead from either the British ILP, British Labour Party or the Ulster section of the Irish Unionist Party. Holding the ITUC&LP alliance together involved a calculated political balancing act and a self-denying political ordinance on the primary political issue facing Ireland. This meant that those supporters of a Workers' Republic, a Republic, a Home Rule Parliament, or Westminster Direct Rule, had to look to other parties for a political lead.

Thus, there is only a very partial truth in any attempt to see Connolly as a proto-Bolshevik. Connolly did not become an active participant in the debates of the new revolutionary Social Democrats, who emerged during the First World War. The Bolsheviks became an increasingly important section of the anti-War Socialists, and they were involved in the Kienthal Conference of revolutionary Social Democrats, at the same time as the 1916 Easter Rising was taking place.

Since the demise of the Second International, though, Connolly's Internationalism no longer focussed on Socialist organisations in Europe. His focus for Internationalism flowed from his strategy and tactics to prevent the Irish people, especially the working class, committing to the war. For Connolly, the immediate aim was to prevent the Irish and other working classes, not yet militarily involved in the war from being forced to join up. Somewhat ironically, given the leading role previously awarded to Germany by Socialists, after the SPD's climbdown, Connolly, unlike the IRB, had little immediate hope of substantial support from Germany. Connolly's organised International links were to the USA via Larkin to the IWW and the Anti-War Socialists. He looked to them and their allies to prevent the USA signing up

to war. And it could be argued that, until this campaign eventually ended, when the US joined the war in 1917, Connolly's international alliance was more effective than that of the European Revolutionary Social Democrats.

Therefore, Connolly had not drawn the organisational conclusions that Lenin did - the central need for the type of party represented by the Bolsheviks. But there was a link between Connolly and Lenin. This was their shared understanding of the need for pro-active planning for an insurrection. The Bolsheviks publicly demonstrated this between the February and October 1917 Revolutions (with some extra prompting from Lenin and the party's new working class, soldier and sailor recruits). Connolly had shown this in the lead-up to the Easter Rising.

When the leading pre-war Social Democrat, Karl Kautsky, had stated in 1909 that the SPD/Second International "is a revolutionary party but not a revolution-making party",¹¹⁴⁴ this was probably directed at conspiratorial groups like the 'Propaganda of the Deed' Anarchists. However, soon after this, Kautsky bowed to the pressures of the SPD's full-time functionaries and trade union bureaucrats who dominated the party.¹¹⁴⁵ Kautsky's opposition to a "revolution-making party" now took on another connotation. SPD-supported SI resolutions had emphasised the need to take mass strike action in the event of a declaration of war, in effect a Revolutionary challenge to the ruling classes. But Kautsky became politically paralysed when the SPD leaders, both in the Reichstag and the trade unions, moved to defend the German state, as the First World War broke out.

It was this failure that led Connolly, like the Bolsheviks, to look elsewhere, and also to make actual Revolutionary plans. It was the inability of the forces, initially represented by *The Workers' Republic*, to prevent the USA's entry into the war in 1917, that led some Irish Socialists to begin to question the adequacy of the Syndicalist and Labour 'road to socialism', and after the October Revolution. look again at the need for and the role of a party. And this meant questioning the Syndicalism, which Connolly and Larkin had seen as so central not just to revolutionary organisation, but as providing a model

for a future Socialist society.

"The war years... exposed the limitations in the IWW's approach to politics and the state. While they were able to play a leading role as strike leaders in some crucial war industries (advising workers to wage the class war at home even while bloody military battles dragged on overseas) their syndicalist rejection of 'political action' meant they did little in practice to *politically* oppose the war, despite working in an initially less repressive political context than existed in France or Italy. Thus, they did not campaign to oppose the draft, to explicitly disrupt production in the workplace so as to prevent war materials being manufactured or transported or help to build a broad-based national anti-war movement. Their ambiguous stance was a reflection of their Syndicalist refusal to explicitly link industrial activity with political ideas and organisation."

"When America's entry into the war was finally announced the national IWW office, under Haywood's guidance, demanded the Wobblies {IWW} play down anti-war propaganda and concentrate upon 'the great work of organisation'. The most militant member of the IWW leadership, Frank Little, advised members to 'stay at home and fight their own battles with their own enemy – the boss'. But Haywood cautioned, 'Keep a cool head; do not talk. A good many feel as you do but the world war is of small importance compared to the great class war... I am at a loss as to definite steps to be taken against the war.'"

"The IWW was committed to continuing the class struggle as the US entered the war, quite unlike the conservative American Federation of Labour (AFL), which collaborated with the government. Yet the IWW opposed actively taking up the political issue of the war for fear of losing support amongst workers and providing the government with the pretext to use the war emergency to repress their organisation.... The Wobblies were branded as 'German spies' and became a target for 'patriotic' violence by local vigilantes, leading to the murder of IWW organisers Frank Little {in Butte, Montana¹¹⁴⁶}... Nonetheless, strikes continued, and a broad-based anti-war movement subsequently developed which provided the opportunity to link workers' economic grievances with political opposition to the war. Instead, the IWW chose to ignore this 'political' anti-war movement, even though, ironically, the reformist-led Socialist Party began to grow in membership by

adopting a formal anti-war stance and attracting to its revolutionary wing a new layer of working class activists prepared to campaign in opposition to the war. The IWW's strategy made the government's task of isolating it easier than might have been the case and the organisation suffered heavy state repression it was ill prepared to survive."

"Individual states used the excuse of the war to pass laws making it illegal to advocate the overthrow of the state or the seizure of property, and in September 1917 the federal government raided the IWW's national, regional and state headquarters, arrested over a hundred of the Wobbly leaders and put them on a show trial for violating the wartime sedition and espionage laws. Many were sentenced many of them, Haywood, to long prison terms. The IWW never really recovered from these attacks and within two years had effectively been destroyed."¹¹⁴⁷

After the 1916 Rising, the IT&GWU stepped back from taking any leadership role in the struggle for an Irish Republic. Following some initial hesitation its leaders decided to live off the reflected glory of Connolly's leading part in the 1916 Rising,¹¹⁴⁸ and concentrate more on non-political trade union activities. Recovering from the blows to the IT&GWU following the Dublin Lock-Out defeat in 1914, and the further serious losses of members, income and property due to both the war and the Easter Rising, its leaders took advantage of the wartime shortage of labour. More members were recruited in successful campaigns for improved wages and conditions.

Following the low point of April 1916, when there were only 10 union branches, there was a growth to 32 branches in the autumn of 1917, and to 210 branches and 67,865 members by the end of 1918. The deadweight of debt had been removed.¹¹⁴⁹ There was also an expanded head office at the reconstructed Liberty Hall, and 17 organisers around the country.¹¹⁵⁰ They reinforced the IT&GWU's emphasis on trade union organisation, industrial action around economic demands, and negotiating with the employers.

There was still a heroic aspect to this work, as in the early days of the New Unions in the late 1880s and early 1890s, or indeed of the IT&GWU from

1909 to 1914. Trade union organisation was extended to larger numbers of rural based workers than had been organised by the Davitt-influenced Land and Labour unions in Munster.¹¹⁵¹ Sean Dowling became a union organiser in Limerick.¹¹⁵² Cathal O'Shannon was an organiser, originally appointed by Connolly in Belfast,¹¹⁵³ but who extended his activities throughout Ulster. Attempts were even made by IT&GWU organiser, Peadar O'Donnell to organise migrant Irish tattie-howkers travelling seasonally to Scotland.¹¹⁵⁴

The IT&GWU, as well as setting up completely new branches, was absorbing many smaller local unions.¹¹⁵⁵ This prompted Thomas Foran, Secretary of the IT&GWU's largest branch, who had been a friend of Larkin and Connolly, to write *Lines of Progress*. This was based on Connolly's own IWW pamphlet, *Industrial Unionism and Constructive Socialism*, and was an attempt, in less confrontational circumstances, to reboot the 'One Big Union' strategy, that Connolly had been pursuing shortly before the Easter Rising.¹¹⁵⁶

Nevertheless, the IT&GWU still did not challenge the wider movement's political arm. And the ITUC&LP maintained its political self-denying ordinance over Irish self-determination. Thus, in line with its silence at the time of the 1916 Rising, the ITUC&LP continued to leave it to others to establish the political framework in which Labour would operate. Complementing the IT&GWU's growing concentration upon improving members' pay and conditions, many onetime Socialist Republicans began to accept the official ITUC&LP view that the constitutional nature of any new political order would initially be determined by others.

It wasn't that O'Brien, Johnson and others wanted to confine their own activities to either trade union struggles or Labour Party electoralism, or even fall in completely behind Sinn Fein. They just did not have a political organisation which could organise any effective alternative. The SPI was a Socialist Propagandist organisation with revolutionaries and pacifists amongst its membership. This had meant it could take no part as an organisation in Connolly's planned insurrection, nor was it able to claim its

leading members and others' mantle in the Declaration of the Irish Republic and the Easter Rising,

Connolly and his allies' Socialist Republicanism had developed from the theoretical work done in the ISRP, SLP, Irish Socialist Federation (in the USA) and the SPI; from his involvement in the Syndicalist IWW and Syndicalist influenced IT&GWU; and from his work with advanced Women Suffragists. This had enabled him to build his initial pre-war, Syndicalist, Women's Suffrage and Labour 'Internationalism from Below' alliance and his wartime Syndicalist, Women's Suffrage and Irish Republican 'Internationalism from Below' alliance. However, this alliance did not survive the aftermath of the 1916 Rising, although all the components were to play a significant part in the post-war struggle to achieve an Irish Republic. And although individual Socialist Republicans also played a significant role, they were no longer so central to the new International Revolutionary Wave, when the epicentre moved east.

2. THE 1916 RISING TRIGGERS A NEW INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

The new International Revolutionary Wave with the renewal of the challenge to the UK state and the different impacts on Clydeside, in South Wales and Ireland

a) The wider impact of the 1916 Rising in Scotland, England and Wales (pp. 421-

In the context of the First World War, and the continued support given by both Liberals and Labour to the IPP, the shift of key Irish Socialists to campaigning for an Irish Republic hardly registered amongst most Socialists in the rest of the UK. Interest in the new Irish situation was mainly confined to Irish migrants and their families. The IRB had specific Northern England, Southern England and Scotland organisers. Of the Irish Volunteers (IV) billeted at Dublin's Kimmage Garrison in 1916, thirty-six came from

Liverpool, nineteen from London, eighteen from Glasgow and fourteen from Manchester.¹¹⁵⁷ They joined up with the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) to form the Dublin GPO garrison during the Rising.¹¹⁵⁸

One of the jobs undertaken by IV and ICA supporters in Scotland was collecting arms and explosives. Scotland was a particular source for these, since there were many Irish-born workers in its coalmines and quarries. As early as December 1915, *The Workers' Republic* had noted the willingness of IRB, Young Ireland Sinn Fein, the IV, Fianna Eireann and Cumann na mBan (CnmB) members in Scotland to "share in the fight for freedom".¹¹⁵⁹

Joe Robinson of the IRB, and Seamus Reader, a Scottish Republican member of the Fianna Eireann in Glasgow, were both arrested in January 1916 for their part in attempted arms and explosives ferrying. Mary Skinnider, a teacher in Coatbridge, and member of the CnmB, also took explosives across to Ireland. The divide between the IRB, ICA and CnmB seemed quite porous. Reader played the pipes for Connolly in Belfast,¹¹⁶⁰ Skinnider also made contact with James Connolly.¹¹⁶¹ (Later she would remain politically close to his daughter Nora Connolly O'Brien and joined her and Roddy Connolly in the short-lived Workers Party of Ireland in 1926.¹¹⁶²) In 1915 Connolly's daughter, Norah facilitated IRB member, Liam Mellow's escape from Leek Prison in England, disguised as a priest, back to Ireland via Glasgow.¹¹⁶³

One indication of the influence of the *Workers' Republic* in Scotland were the addresses provided of paper's distribution centres in Glasgow (three addresses, including the Herald League Rooms), Paisley (four addresses), Coatbridge, Falkirk, Motherwell and Renfrew (one each). (There was also an address in Liverpool)¹¹⁶⁴ The last issue of the *Workers' Republic* finished off with *A Scots Tribute*, directly linked to the impending Easter Rising. "The sound of Democracy's slogan must and shall be heard."¹¹⁶⁵ However, despite *The Workers' Republic* being sold in the west of Scotland, it is likely that most sales were to people from an Irish background.

Connolly had his SLP contacts in Glasgow, which would have included Arthur McManus the editor of *The Socialist*.¹¹⁶⁶ The SLP had already given Connolly assistance publishing *The Worker*, when the *Irish Worker* was banned. SLP members had worked closely with the ISRP and some members in Ireland joined the SPI. Peadar O'Maican, one-time SLP member and

Gaelic League activist, who had joined the SPI, had been elected as a Labour councillor for Dublin Corporation's North Dock Ward in 1912. He then joined the IRB, becoming one of its members on the National Council of the IV.¹¹⁶⁷ He had been in contact with Carstairs Matheson, Connolly's longstanding SLP friend in Scotland.

The SLP, which Connolly had once been a member of, supported an Irish Republic. Such a political stance at first appears to be an anomaly amongst Left critics of orthodox Social Democracy at the time. However, whereas people like Luxemburg (and Lenin until quite late on) denied the National Question had any progressive part to play in western Europe, Daniel de Leon, the SLP's US leader, saw Europe, including the UK, as still having semi-feudal political features.¹¹⁶⁸ These held back socio-economic development in Ireland. This justified Ireland, with its semi-colonial economy, breaking away from the antiquated stranglehold of the UK. De Leon saw this as a necessary pre-condition for Socialist advance.

However, the SLP's support for an Irish Republic was largely confined to political education or abstract propaganda and, in reality, its main focus was upon economic struggle. The SLP in Great Britain promoted its own variant of Syndicalism within the existing trade unions, with an emphasis upon shop stewards' committees. However, like IWW members in the USA,¹¹⁶⁹ some SLP activists in Scotland (its main base in Great Britain) became more ambiguous over its attitude to war, once this became a reality.

Carstairs Matheson seems to have dropped out of SLP politics following the outbreak of the First World War. In March 1916, one of the SLP's recent leading members, John Muir, who had resigned, because he supported the war, was amongst those arrested for promoting strikes in the Clyde munitions industry. At his trial Muir denied the strike having anything to do with opposition to the war. He was still imprisoned along with SLP members Arthur MacManus and Thomas Clark. They were in jail at the time of the Easter Rising. Significantly, the SLP's paper, *The Socialist*, had nothing to say about the 1916 Rising.¹¹⁷⁰

Later in 1924, the SLP's McManus, now a member of the CPGB, put his finger on why the British Left overwhelmingly opposed the Rising. They "could see no difference between Connolly fighting for, and defending,

Ireland against Britain, and themselves {as Labour had done} entering their several Cabinets to defend and participate in the prosecution of what Connolly termed a 'war of freebooters and thieves.'"¹¹⁷¹

There were Socialists, e.g. in the ILP, and writers for the Scottish paper, *Forward*, to which Connolly had contributed, who had also been opposed to the war. However, as pacifists they would also have equated Connolly and the ICA's military challenge with the warmongering of the War Cabinet. They did not appreciate the distinction between oppressed nations and oppressor states. Hence, they condemned what they all considered to be any form of Nationalism because they thought it promoted division and war.

John Maclean was a supporter of the BSP, and early on took the leadership in Scotland of those opposing Hyndman's support for the war. To do this Maclean published a new BSP paper in Glasgow, *The Vanguard*. Supporters of this paper campaigned publicly on the streets and in meeting halls against the war. Maclean had the support of, and became close friends with, the BSP's Glasgow organiser, Peter Petroff, a Jewish Ukrainian-Russian Socialist, who had experience in the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party.¹¹⁷² Petroff wrote for *Nashe Slovo*, to which Georgy Chicherin and Leon Trotsky contributed. Although Chicherin also actively contributed to the debates in the BSP, he lived in London where, like anti-war BSP member, Theodore Rothstein, he had a lower public profile than Petroff, and so initially avoided state harassment.

Maclean was first charged under the DORA legislation in October 1915 on anti-recruitment charges. He was fined and lost his teaching job. Petroff was fined under the Aliens Protection Order in January 1916. He was then jailed in Glasgow and interned, followed by imprisonment in Islington, separately from his wife Irma Gellrich in Edinburgh Castle. It was only later in 1917, when Chicherin's new role as critic of the Russian Provisional Government (which the Coalition government was pushing to launch a new military offensive upon Germany), and his role as contact between Russian, Irish and British revolutionary forces (especially the then Scottish-British Maclean) became more apparent to the British security services. He was imprisoned for his anti-war activities. When Lloyd George took revenge on the leaders of the Clyde Workers Committee for their earlier defiance of the government, six were forcibly deported to Edinburgh, in March 1916, again under DORA.

Maclean, however, was given penal servitude for his activities. The hypocritical Sir Edward Carson had wanted them all tried for treason.¹¹⁷³

Maclean's trial preceded the Easter Rising in April. In his speech to the court, Maclean “underscored the difference between himself and Connolly by asserting that while physical-force methods ‘might be good enough for men in Dublin’, they were inappropriate for the Clyde workers’ movement.”¹¹⁷⁴ Maclean already seemed to appreciate something of what was afoot in Ireland. He was in prison at the time of the Easter Rising, and his comment has sometimes been interpreted as Maclean rejecting the rising. However, there is some ambiguity in Maclean’s statement. It could also be interpreted as Maclean saying that Irish workers do things their way, whilst Scottish workers do things our way. This is not necessarily a rejection of the Irish way.

It is to the enormous credit of Sylvia Pankhurst of the East London Federation of Suffragettes (ELFS)¹¹⁷⁵ that she gave a voice to those fighting in the Easter Rising. She had given strong support to the Dublin Lock-Out, but through her campaigning for Women's Suffrage, she also gained an appreciation of state oppression beyond the economic exploitation that concerned most Socialists. She wrote *Thoughts on Easter Week*, and followed this with a report from Dublin, *Scenes from the Rebellion*, written by Patricia Lynch, in the WSA's *Women's Dreadnought* of May 13th, 1916.¹¹⁷⁶

South Wales had figured prominently in the pre-war Great Unrest, and Syndicalism had made a considerable impact there, particularly through the Unofficial Reform Committee in the South Wales Miners' Federation (SWMF), although this hadn't prevented some leading members going on to support the war. But successful miners' strike action in South Wales during the war had been reported in *The Workers' Republic*.¹¹⁷⁷ However, when Captain Jack White, the co-founder of the ICA, spoke to SWMF members, trying to get them to strike to save Connolly's life after the Easter Rising, he failed and was jailed for three months.¹¹⁷⁸

In 1917, Arthur Horner, an ILP and SWMF member, who opposed the First World War, fled to Dublin to escape conscription. Here he joined the remnants of the ICA, before returning to Britain to be arrested and sentenced

to six months hard labour at Wormwood Scrubs.¹¹⁷⁹ Yet Horner (who, like MacManus, later became a member of the CPGB) saw the Easter Rising as a challenge to conscription and the war. He did not highlight the struggle for Irish Self-Determination nor see any connection with the issue of Welsh Self-Determination. A J. Cook, ILP member, leading figure in the South Wales Miners' Federation, contributor to the Syndicalist influenced, *The Miners' Next Step* was imprisoned for opposing the war. He became further radicalised and joined the short-lived Communist Party of South Wales and the West of England, which was closely aligned with Sylvia Pankhurst's Communist Party (British Section of the Communist International).¹¹⁸⁰ He was a comrade of Horner's, and like him had no interest in Welsh Self-Determination.

Many Socialists living on Clydeside and in South Wales, particularly SDF and SLP members and some in the ILP, as well as supporters of Syndicalism, began to see these areas not so much part of a wider Scottish or Welsh Radical tradition (although others in the ILP still did), but as British Regions which acted as the British working class vanguard within a UK context. This political tradition continues to this day, passed down by the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and the Communist Party of {the no longer so Great} Britain (CPB) and many dissident Communist organisations (both Trotskyist and Maoist). Indeed, just as there are Socialists in London, who view Left politics in that city as providing the lead for all of England or Great Britain; there have long been Socialists in 'Red Clydeside' or 'Red South Wales' who consider these areas to be Scotland and Wales, as far as Radical politics goes. Whether consciously or unconsciously, these British Left Unionists base their politics on the Victorian notion of Great Britain as a 'beacon of progress' in the world. This has remained a central component of their more limited internationalism. An unquestioned British 'Internationalism', based on the UK state, has underpinned their 'British roads to Socialism'.

b) The impact of the February Revolution on Socialists in Great Britain and Ireland (pp. 426-431)

The growth of support for an Irish Republic from later 1916, despite the military defeat of the Easter Rising, was the first indication that a new

International Revolutionary Wave was developing. In all the warring countries there was rising unrest amongst soldiers at the front, leading in some cases to mutinies. There was misery amongst the families of soldiers and sailors following their death or disablement. This also led to cuts in these families' often already low incomes. The families of workers in reserved occupations also faced rising living costs. Providing food and clothing for military forces took priority over civilians. German working class families faced the additional problem of the Allies' blockade. Large numbers of people from the colonies and the occupied territories were effectively conscripted into forced and semi-forced labour.

The February 1917 'Russian' Revolution represented the next major surge in the International Revolutionary Wave. Rather like the initial 1789 Revolution in France, this revolution was welcomed by a wide range of forces, including some in the Allied governments. If, back in 1789, France's Autocratic, Imperial and Catholic state, under King Louis XVI, could be criticised by Whigs, then Russia's Autocratic, Imperial and Orthodox state, under Tsar Nicholas II, could be criticised by Liberals, and even some Conservatives. They hoped that the new Russian Provisional government would pursue the war with more vigour, and the UK, France and now the USA would not be so burdened by association with the deeply reactionary, pogrom-promoting Tsarist Russian order.

The fact that the UK and France had nevertheless made earlier secret deals with Tsarist Russia to carve up the post-war world between them was not publicly admitted to. In the meantime, the February Revolution opened up the opportunity for Germany to pressurise Russia to leave the war. The German government was even prepared to make deals with Lenin and the Bolsheviks to undermine the new Russian Provisional government, when it continued its support for the war.

Following the February Revolution, British Socialists, whether members of the pacifist ILP, the anti-war BSP (now that the pro-war section under Hyndman had left and formed the National Socialist Party) gained more

influence. There had been some earlier successful resistance to the demands of the War Coalition government and its landlord and capitalist backers, as shown in the successful rent strike on Clydeside from April to June 1915, and the successful miners' strike for higher pay in South Wales in December 1915.¹¹⁸¹

However, the War Coalition government had been successful in suppressing most open opposition to the war, through DORA, internment, and hard labour imposed on conscientious objectors. It had the backing of jingoistic organisations like the White Feather campaign and of the press, and some soldiers and sailors on leave, mobilised to crush dissent.

The exceptions to this (apart from Ireland, where anti-conscription sentiment had already fed into more specifically Republican anti-war feeling after the 1916 Rising) were some mining communities of South Wales and industrial areas on Clydeside, where dilution and worsened pay and working conditions fed into wider pacifist and anti-war feeling. Socialists like John Maclean had conducted public campaigning against the war. For this Maclean had been imprisoned on April 11th, 1916.

The 1917 May Day march in Glasgow was attended by 70-80,000, with "impassioned speeches offer{ing} solidarity to the Russian workers and demand{ing} Maclean's release".¹¹⁸² "The international speakers included a Lett, a Jew, a Russian and a Lithuanian."¹¹⁸³ On May 28th, the *Daily Record* reported on "30,000 men marching to Glasgow Green... with 100 uniformed Russian soldiers in their midst." This was followed in the evening by meeting of Lithuanian socialists addressed by "two Russian sailors" which "condemn{ed} the British government for its detention of Maclean and Petroff."¹¹⁸⁴

This new situation prompted the pacifist ILP, along with the anti-war BSP, to organise a Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which was held in Leeds on 3rd June 1917. The ILP had the biggest party presence with 294 delegates, followed by the BSP with 88 delegates. There were also 209

combined Trades Council and Labour delegates, 371 trade union delegates, 16 Socialist Society delegates and 188 other delegates, including cooperative societies and women's organisations. The political breadth of the conference was wide. It stretched from leading ILP MPs, Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden. through Robert Smillie, ILP, Vice-President of the MFGB and President of the Triple Alliance,¹¹⁸⁵ to Joseph E. C. Fairchild, Joseph Fineberg and Tom Quelch of the BSP, Sylvia Pankhurst of the Workers' Suffrage Federation, Clifford Allen a jailed conscientious objector, George Lansbury editor of the *Daily Herald*, William Gallacher of the Clyde Workers Committee to Noah Ablett from the South Wales miners.¹¹⁸⁶

The imprisoned John Maclean could not attend, but if he had been able to he would probably have provided a more critical voice, demanding specific anti-war action. As it was, the conference was "in essence an organization formed in order to press for a negotiated settlement of the war rather than for revolutionary social change or 'dual power.'"¹¹⁸⁷

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was attended by William O'Brien for the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI). The SPI had been reconvened in March in response to the enthusiasm generated by the February Revolution. However, whereas all the other delegates at Leeds shared a common Left British outlook, O'Brien now laid claim to Connolly's 1916 legacy, and represented a Left Irish outlook. He was not seeking pan-UK Socialist unity but International Solidarity from British comrades.

With some difficulty O'Brien got to speak. He reminded the delegates that their concerns should extend beyond Great Britain to include Ireland. "In Ireland you have a nationality at your doors which is demanding its right to live its own life in its own way. We in Ireland were never humbugged by that chaff about the 'rights of small nationalities.' I gather that... revolution is popular nowadays. Twelve months ago you had a revolution in Ireland. The papers and the politicians that acclaimed the revolution in Russia did not acclaim the revolution in Ireland where the leaders were taken out and shot like dogs... one of them some of you knew – James Connolly."¹¹⁸⁸

O'Brien's mention of Connolly led to "practically every delegate {standing} as a tribute to Connolly's memory" although "Ramsay Macdonald only "half rose from his seat and then sat down quickly"!¹¹⁸⁹ Smillie, in order to place the conference back firmly on a British pacifist road, made sure that it gave its official endorsement to the memory of "their late comrade, Keir Hardie".¹¹⁹⁰

O'Brien had been hoping to get the delegates to acknowledge Ireland's Right to Self-Determination. The conference's second resolution had referred to "a peace without annexations or indemnities and based on the rights of nations to decide their own affairs."¹¹⁹¹ This was still vague and avoided any specific reference to Ireland. O'Brien had reminded the assembled delegates of the British government's hypocritical appeal to the 'rights of small nations', when declaring war on Germany, supposedly over its invasion of Belgium, whilst ignoring the national rights of Ireland. Furthermore, since late 1915, the British and French governments had trampled upon the rights of another small nation - Greece. They had enforced a blockade, and occupied Salonika and the surrounding area to force Greece into the war.¹¹⁹² Greece now shared the plight of Belgium, occupied by foreign military forces.

Following the Leeds conference, William O'Brien met Georgy Chicherin in London. Chicherin was then seeking support for an initiative of the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary controlled, Petrograd Soviet. They were seeking to hold an International Socialist conference in Stockholm.¹¹⁹³ Chicherin told O'Brien that an independent Irish delegation would be accepted. The impact of the February Revolution could also be seen at the ITUC&LP's Derry conference in August. Amidst applause, a motion was overwhelmingly passed, hoping "the spirit stirred up by the Russian Revolution will spread throughout all lands including Ireland."¹¹⁹⁴ O'Brien and Campbell were selected by the ITUC&LP as delegates to the proposed Stockholm conference. However, the UK government denied them passports.¹¹⁹⁵

Ramsay Macdonald, though, had other ideas for the proposed peace conference. "The expulsion of {Labour War Coalition minister Arthur} Henderson from the government in August allowed the Labour Party to recapture a measure of political independence and to contain the {growing

anti-war} movement. The pressure for a negotiated peace in labour circles, moreover, now became absorbed into the proposal to summon the Stockholm Conference of Allied, neutral and enemy socialists to elaborate a common socialist policy on the war and other issues."¹¹⁹⁶

The decision to involve pro-war Socialists in the Stockholm conference, and the pressure placed by Lloyd George, pro-war Labour and trade union leaders upon the British participants meant that it never got off the ground. The ILP moved more into the background, at the all-Britain level, as a consequence of this adaptation to pro-war National Labour forces. When the Labour Party officially broke from the War Coalition government, it was able to reorganise itself, and give prominence to those who had supported the war.

On June 30th, shortly after the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates conference in Leeds, the government released Maclean. Maclean put this down both to the impact of the Russian Revolution and the shock electoral victory of another prisoner, Joseph McGuinness, as the Sinn Fein backed candidate in the Longford South by-election in May.¹¹⁹⁷ Meanwhile the impact of the Leeds conference continued to be frittered away. The government soon forced the ILP leaders to backtrack through a combination of denial of access to meeting rooms and the mobilisation of soldiers on leave following the February Revolution, and the use of jingoist mobs to disrupt other meetings¹¹⁹⁸

After his release, Maclean had tried to attend one of the Leeds conference's follow-up meetings in London, which was broken up by jingoistic crowds. Nevertheless, Maclean took the opportunity of his visit to meet Chicherin to discuss the international revolutionary situation.¹¹⁹⁹ This time it was Chicherin who was to end up in jail. Meanwhile, Basil Thomson, head of the Secret Service Bureau (later MI6) concluded that, "By the middle of October... it was possible to report that the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council movement was moribund".¹²⁰⁰

c) The impact of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks upon Socialists in Ireland and Great Britain; and the difficulties in trying to create a new party to meet the new situation (pp. 432-46)

The rapidly deteriorating economic situation, and the rising threat of Right-wing forces, highlighted by the attempted Kornilov coup¹²⁰¹ in late August 1917, created the situation which allowed the Bolsheviks and their Left Social Revolutionary allies to organise the seizure of power in October. Lenin issued a *Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People* to the Constituent Assembly on January 3rd 1918, which declared that:-

1. Russia is hereby proclaimed a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power, centrally and locally, is vested in these Soviets.
2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the principle of a free union of nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.¹²⁰²

The points outlined in Lenin's declaration to the Constituent Assembly formed the basis of the constitution of the new Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) passed at the Fifth Congress of Soviets on July 10th, 1917.¹²⁰³ The appeal of the declaration and the constitution to the workers and other exploited living outside Russia under war conditions was clear. There was also some appreciation that under the conditions of continued German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman military occupation, attempted White Russian counter-revolution, and Allied interference, that the actual practice on the ground might fall somewhat short of declared intentions on paper.

The failure of the Constituent Assembly to recognise that power was now to be constitutionally vested in the hands of the soviets led to its enforced closure by the Bolsheviks and Left Socialist Revolutionaries in January 1917. There was little opposition to this in Petrograd at the time, so discredited had the Assembly's supporters become.¹²⁰⁴

The impact of the International Revolutionary Wave, and the new developments leading to the formation of the RSFSR, led to change in the Bolshevik party name. The All-Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) (RCP(b)) replaced the old Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (bolshevik) (which dated from 1912). The 'All' meant that the RCP(b) covered as much of the old Tsarist Empire as the revolution could encompass, although this also became a cover for 'Great Russian' chauvinism, particularly in Ukraine and Turkestan. The 'bolshevik' suffix in brackets was retained because of its popularity amongst workers. Following the October Revolution, there was another major spurt in the International Revolutionary Wave. The name 'Bolshevik' became much more widely known. It was to attain a similar status, celebrated or reviled as 'Leveller', 'Jacobin' or 'Democrat' had in earlier revolutionary waves.

In Ireland, members of the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI), stirred out of their political sleep, now helped to transmit the earlier widespread support for the Russian Provisional Government to the Bolsheviks. The SPI organised a well-attended meeting in Dublin's Mansion House, on February 4th, 1918. In the context of a continued Irish national stand-off with the UK government and the threat of conscription, a resolution was passed. It "hailed this 'first people's authority in the world' that had applied its own principles of self-determination to 'the subject races and territories within its own boundaries' that 'had fearlessly challenged the British people to loosen their grip on Ireland.'"¹²⁰⁵

This was a reference to Lenin's declaration on January 4th, 1918, that the new Russian Soviet government had been set up on the basis of "a free union of free peoples, as a federation of Soviet national republics." This new state also led to wider International support for "the free self-determination of nations".¹²⁰⁶ It formed one of the six planks of the Soviet government's peace proposals with the German government at Brest-Litovsk. (The official diplomacy was supplemented by attempts at fraternisation between Russian and German troops).

Following the Soviet government's publication of the Allies' secret war treaties on November 8th, 1917, which highlighted their underlying imperial aims, US President Woodrow Wilson quickly came up with his Fourteen Points to counter its impact. These represented the Allies' new public face

for continuing the war. The UK's earlier hypocritical defence of 'small nations' was now subsumed under Wilson's support for a "society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing".¹²⁰⁷ The Allies' undeclared understanding was that the principles underlying the Fourteen Points did not apply to the victor nations. Ireland was not covered.

When the ITUC&LP held its conference in Waterford in August 1918, William O'Brien proclaimed James Connolly and "the influence his death had 'amongst the great men and women who had given us the great Russian revolution'",¹²⁰⁸ which was now very definitely in its Bolshevik phase. However, the difficulties of duplicating the Bolsheviks' methods in Ireland already become apparent in April 1918, when Lloyd George announced that Conscription was going to be extended to the country.¹²⁰⁹

The first attempt to oppose Conscription came from Belfast, where ITUC&LP leaders, Johnson and Campbell (both on Belfast Trades & Labour Council) organised a 10,000 strong rally on April 14th, in opposition.¹²¹⁰ Partition had still not been imposed, and Conscription also threatened those still Irish-British Unionist, trade unionists who had not volunteered for the war. A second attempt to organise opposition to Conscription at a meeting in Belfast City Halls on April 17th was broken up by Loyalist shipyard workers.¹²¹¹ Their reserved jobs placed them in a non-Conscription category. But they remained fervent supporters of the Union and Empire, and hence of the war. They saw non-exempt Irish workers as disposable cannon fodder. But most of all they were not prepared to tolerate disloyal trade unionists in their city.

Meanwhile, Sinn Fein had taken the initiative in organising a wider Irish anti-Conscription campaign, which would be explicitly linked to a challenge to British rule. The campaign would also constitute a serious attempt to take the definitive lead of the movement for Irish self-determination away from the IPP (the AFIL had already fallen in line and endorsed Sinn Fein candidates).

In early 1918, the IPP had enjoyed three recent by-election victories (albeit due to special local circumstances), after losing four to Sinn Fein in 1917. However, with the government's announcement of Conscription in Ireland, the IPP's recent successes soon came to an end. When the war supporting IPP MP, T.P. O'Connor begged Lloyd George to drop conscription in Ireland,

warning him it could cost a hundred lives of those resisting, the reply he received was, I "would not care if it cost ten thousand".¹²¹² 'Blood sacrifice' was completely hard-wired into UK government thinking. Thus, Sinn Fein forced a demoralised IPP to fall in behind its Westminster Abstentionist policy (at least until the threat of Conscription was removed).

The new IRB-dominated Sinn Fein wanted to erase the setbacks the IRB/IV had experienced in 1914, at the hands of Redmond and his National Volunteers (NV). They also wanted to challenge Carson, now in the War Cabinet. In mobilising the UVF behind the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, Carson had threatened extra-constitutional and, if necessary, armed defiance directed against the Irish Home Rule-supporting, Liberal UK government. In 1918, the Irish anti-Conscription organisers drew up a pledge entitled Ireland's Solemn League and Covenant.¹²¹³ This provocative title (which had no basis in Irish Nationalist history) was designed to expose the hypocrisy of both Carson and the UK government.

The SPI's Thomas Johnson, who had been involved in the earlier Belfast anti-Conscription protest, published a pamphlet entitled, *A handbook for rebels*. This consisted of extracts from pre-war speeches by "Sir E. Carson. K.C., M.P., P.C.; Sir J.H. Campbell, Bart, lord chancellor of Ireland; Mr. A Bonar Law M.P., chancellor of the exchequer; Sir F. E. Smith, Bart, M.P. P.C., attorney general of England.... Mr. William Moote, K.C., M.P., one of the founders of the Ulster Unionist Council and later a judge; Captain James Craig M.P., Ulster Volunteer Force who in 1917 became treasurer of his majesty's household; the duke of Bedford; the duke of Portland; the earl of Clanwilliam, Colonel Wallace, grand master of Belfast Orangemen and many others."¹²¹⁴

On 1 April 18th, 1918, the day after the break-up of the anti-Conscription meeting in Belfast, the focus of opposition moved to Dublin and the major Anti-Conscription League conference held in Mansion House. It included Eamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith from Sinn Fein, Thomas Johnson, William O'Brien and Michael Egan (a Cork City councillor)¹²¹⁵ from the ITUC&LP, John Dillon and Joe Devlin from the IPP, and the William O'Brien and Tim Healy from the AfIL.¹²¹⁶ In 1914, the IPP and AfIL had made a joint decision to get the National Volunteers to support of the war in 1914, leaving behind only a small rump in the IRB-led Irish Volunteers. In

1918, it was the IRB/Sinn Fein that was able to call the shots.

But when it came to practical resistance to the imposition of Conscription, it was the action of Irish Labour, which proved to be crucial. Following a conference held on April 20th, the ITUC&LP organised a very successful general strike on April 23rd.¹²¹⁷ This brought the country to a standstill, apart from Belfast, the Great Northern Railway, the courts, post offices and Dublin Stock Exchange. Most National Schools were also closed as pupils absented themselves.¹²¹⁸ William Murphy, the employers' leader during the Dublin Lock Out, who was loath to recognise the leading role of working class, was unable to call a strike a strike, termed it a "national holiday"!¹²¹⁹

Given the much more widely based opposition to Conscription in the South, the forces of Conservatism there had to resort to different methods to those of the Ulster Unionists and Loyalists in the North. Here physical attacks on opponents had a long pedigree, and war fervour contributed to a particularly hostile environment. In the South, the Irish Catholic hierarchy had been shifting its position on the war. Fearing independent working class action in the anti-Conscription campaign, it worked overtime to ensure that that more moderate forces remained in control of events.

Their main success was in persuading the strike organisers not to organise a major rally in Dublin (which would have been banned under a government order),¹²²⁰ and to get the marchers to go to provincial rallies mostly presided over by bishops and priests. A 'Faith and Fatherland' message dominated. However, as in the past, there were some dissident priests. "Fr. Thomas OFSC, honorary treasurer of Cork Trades and Labour Council... sought 'support from world labour' for Ireland in its claim 'for independent status as a nation in the international {labour} movement' and to 'the right of national self-determination'".¹²²¹

Cathal O' Shannon was a leading light in the reformed SPI. Born in County Antrim, he had been a *Northern Notes* correspondent for the *Workers' Republic* and a member of the IRB and IV. From March 30th, he became the editor of the IT&GWU's new newspaper *The Voice of Labour*.¹²²² O'Shannon tried to give the paper a similar role to the *Workers' Republic*. In the April 24th issue, he described the anti-Conscription strike. "In numbers,

in spirit, in determination, in resolve, in decision, Labour in Ireland has done nothing in its history to equal this."¹²²³ O'Shannon's attempt to make the link with Revolutionary Russia was clear. He described the Mansion House conference as having "no parallel outside Russia... If only Saturday's had been a Congress of Soviets and not of Unions! But as it is, the Unions have done the next best thing."¹²²⁴

"O'Shannon and O'Brien were understandably proud of the stand Irish workers were taking against Conscription in a continent engulfed by war. Inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution, they hoped their example would be taken up elsewhere. However, rhetoric could not disguise the fact that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets did not demonstrate its revolutionary intent by marching in a body to hear mass in the nearest church!"¹²²⁵

O'Shannon's post-conference and post-strike report showed that, despite the reconstitution of the SPI, it played no public part in organising these events or in offering a Socialist lead. So, although, as Connolly had predicted, the UK government's draconian actions would continue to work in favour of the now very visible Republican opposition, there was no effective Socialist Republican organisation which could benefit from the actions of Irish labour.

Both the IRB/IV leadership and ITUC&LP had follow-up plans in the event of the government proceeding with conscription. The IRB was going to arrange "to assassinate members of the British Cabinet... and to develop a block system in Dublin, converting tenements into fortresses that would allow the Volunteers to defend themselves with... home made bombs and hand grenades." In contrast, the ITUC&LP's plans depended on "the withdrawal of bank deposits by 'Merchants, farmers, shopkeepers, clergy and all classes... a general stoppage of work... including police... and {an} appeal to soldiers... and the hope that a sympathetic reaction will take place among the Irish population in Industrial Britain.'"¹²²⁶

Neither of these plans was needed. The government was now aware of the likely costs in terms of the disruption caused by strikes, the troops diverted from the war front to deal with the Volunteers and others, as well as the adverse publicity and the propaganda gift to Germany.

Despite the ITUC&LP being able once more, through the Conscription strike,

to demonstrate the effectiveness of the Irish working class as a social force, it is noticeable how their plans depended on the merchants, farmers, shopkeepers and clergy. The ITUC&LP leaders, including its President, SPI member, Thomas Johnson, and SPI member, William O'Brien, for the IT&GWU, also seemed to have accepted the Sinn Fein strategy of bringing the Catholic hierarchy on board.

The Sinn Fein leadership was overjoyed that the hierarchy was shifting its allegiance from Redmond's IPP to Sinn Fein. Dr. William Walsh, archbishop of Dublin, realised that the game was largely over for the old IPP. With the help of the AOH, he had coordinated the attack on the IT&GWU during the Dublin Lock-Out.¹²²⁷ Now it was "Bolshevism, anarchy and republicanism" that profoundly disturbed him.¹²²⁸ He wanted to limit Irish Labour ambitions and also to remould Sinn Fein into an IPP Mark 2. A few SPI members, such as David Campbell and Cathal O'Shannon, were already worried by the effect of the hierarchy's opposition to 'Bolshevism'.

But, in 1918, it was not only the Catholic hierarchy that wanted to rein in the ITUC&LP, and beyond them the disaffected Irish working class. The Sinn Fein leadership appreciated that these two had made a major contribution to thwarting UK state designs in Ireland, with the general strike against Conscription. And, as recently as 1913-14, following Sinn Fein leaders' ignominious role in the Dublin Lock-Out, Labour had made gains on the City Council at their expense; whilst the ICA's heroic role in the Easter Rising was celebrated by many amongst the city's working class. Therefore, the influence of the ITUC&LP represented a political challenge to Sinn Fein.

Sinn Fein's leadership was very anxious to hold on to the support of the Catholic hierarchy and those Irish businessmen such as William Murphy. Sinn Fein was already planning for the next stage of their offensive. This involved using the forthcoming general election to win support for Abstentionist candidates, who, if they won a majority, could set up an Irish parliament in Dublin, and have Ireland directly represented at any post-war peace conference.

Given the recent strong showing of the ITUC&LP, during the anti-Conscription general strike, this meant that the Sinn Fein leadership had to devise ways of containing the ITUC&LP. This involved adopting a 'carrot and stick' approach to Labour. The 'stick' mainly amounted to virulent Irish

chauvinist attacks upon any attempts by Irish Socialists or trade unionists to win the support of British Socialists, the British Labour Party or British-based trade unionists.

Despite the ITUC&LP having to overcome the barrier of most of these British organisations' leaders, who had been giving their support to the UK government and the war, growing rank and file resentment had begun to make its impact felt. The London Labour Party executive committee, local Labour Party branches, the executive of the General Union of Textile Workers, and English, Scottish and Welsh trades councils issued statements, which linked their opposition to conscription in Ireland to their support for Self-Determination (which for most would have meant Irish Home Rule). But the punitive action taken by the UK government in its concocted German Plot, even managed to win Aberdeen ILP support for Sinn Fein, after so many of its leaders had been arrested.¹²²⁹

As a 'carrot' Sinn Fein was prepared to accept competing Irish Labour candidates in a limited number of seats in the forthcoming general election, provided they continued the ITUC&LP's policy of Abstention from Westminster, following the Conscription crisis. Sinn Fein even acknowledged that once the war was over, the original rationale for Irish Labour Abstentionism would disappear. Should any Labour candidates be elected then Sinn Fein's demand was that they should stand for re-election if they decided to attend Westminster.¹²³⁰ As it turned out the 'carrot' first offered to the ITUC&LP, did not even need to be used.

If the ITUC&LP had accepted this deal, it would have left it in a politically independent position, able to openly put forward its own politics both in the general election and any subsequent by-elections. Although, of course, the need for any subsequent by-election would have indicated that Westminster remained a priority for the ITUC&LP.

Acting independently of Sinn Fein would also have made it easier for the ITUC&LP to stand candidates in Belfast. This, though, would have still led to problems due to the party's self-denying political ordinance over the issue of Irish Self-Determination. However, it was not in Belfast, but in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland that disregard for the immediate issue of the exercise of Irish Self-Determination left the ITUC&LP hamstrung over whether or not to participate in the general election.

At the ITUC&LP's August 1918 conference in Waterford, a manifesto was issued which put forward the party's aim "to recover for the nation complete possession of all the physical sources of wealth." This was linked to a Socialist aim to "win for the workers of Ireland collectively the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour".¹²³¹ Despite O'Brien invoking the name of Connolly,¹²³² the pressing immediate issue of whether to support the declaration of an Irish Republic, as Connolly had done in 1916, and to break from the UK state, was studiously ignored. When O'Brien, Farren and O'Shannon addressed a Mansion House meeting in Dublin on October 16th, members of the audience asked them where they stood on the issue of an Irish Republic. The platform party said it could not support Sinn Fein's Irish Republic because they were for a Workers' Republic. They were heckled.¹²³³

Had the ITUC&LP entered the election with candidates standing on a Workers' Republican platform, this would probably have led to a largely Socialist Propagandist campaign. They did not have the forces on the ground - a national network of workers' committees and a workers' militia (the ICA having declined dramatically, as many of its members switched to the IV) - to set up a Workers' Republic. Alternatively, they could have left the demand for a Workers' Republic as a rhetorical cover for a campaign confined to immediate economic and social issues, to be addressed either by a Sinn Fein-led Irish Republic, or Westminster and any Home Rule parliament it might deign to set up.

However, the same August conference was already hinting at the real role the ITUC&LP leaders saw for their political party. At the same time as they pushed forward an advanced party manifesto, the two terms of the ITUC&LP's name were reversed. Johnson successfully moved a change to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress (ILP&TUC); whilst O'Brien outlined the principal purpose behind this change. This was to participate in elections "to secure labour representation, independent, able, strong, efficient and constructive on all our public bodies both national and local."¹²³⁴

Here there are hints of Connolly's approach to the impending pre-war Irish Home Rule. But Connolly, if he had lived, would likely have recognised the revolutionary situation that now existed. He would have pushed workers to

take the lead in the immediate struggle for an Irish Republic, looking to the wider international situation to prepare the grounds for the next phase – an Irish Workers’ Republic. But Johnson was looking to others to set up a new Irish state. This also meant the ITUC&LP’s long-standing, self-denying ordinance over the Irish the self-determination options in actual contestation could still stand. The ITUC&LP leadership’s paper support for a future Irish Workers’ Republic amounted to window dressing for a tacit acceptance of something much less, somewhat like the British Labour Party’s ‘Clause Four’ Socialism.

More and more ILP&TUC leaders and members were being drawn into support for an Irish Republic, but there were still minorities supporting Irish Home Rule, and others looking entirely to post-war Westminster politics (e.g. ‘Ulster’ Labour Unionists and the AfIL MP, D.D. Sheehan, the former organiser of the Irish Land and Labour Association, who became involved in the British Labour Party in London.¹²³⁵)

O’Brien, in his role as ILP&TUC and IT&GWU leader, said he could not support Sinn Fein. However, outside of these arenas, he did push for an Irish Republic and was very supportive of Sinn Fein. He was on the executive of the Irish National Aid Society and Volunteer Dependents’ Fund, set up for the IV and ICA prisoners and their families after the 1916 Rising.¹²³⁶ Irish Republicans were very much in the lead of this body, and had used it to build support for the reformed Sinn Fein. Other key officials such as Johnson were initially not so pro-Sinn Fein as O’Brien, but their own political logic pulled them towards an accommodation with Sinn Fein too.

On October 21st P. T. Daly of the IT&GWU tried to get Dublin Trades Council to deny support to any Labour candidates in the forthcoming general election.¹²³⁷ Under a lot of pressure, and despite all the political ambitions shown at the August conference and the subsequent Workers’ Republic rhetoric, the ILP&TUC went on to hold a special conference on November 1st, where it decided by a vote of 96 to 23 not to stand any Labour candidates.¹²³⁸

O’Shannon was opposed to this decision. He maintained an Internationalist stance, saying that independent Irish Socialist/Labour representation was

required so that the Irish working class could have its voice heard in the important International conferences, which would be taking place.¹²³⁹ However, despite the ILP&TUC's climb down, there was no prospect of the SPI, of which O'Shannon was a member, standing candidates.

The old SPI, when it adopted the name the Independent Labour Party of Ireland, sometimes put forward candidates on a joint Labour platform (as the ILP did in Great Britain and Belfast). But the post-1917 reformed SPI had developed no new thinking about how to operate in the changed political situation. It was no longer Irish Home Rule, but the prospect of an Irish Republic, which was the immediate political issue.

Most members of the ITUC&LP had been prepared to be open in their support for Irish Home Rule (including Belfast based trade unionists like David Campbell and Thomas Johnson), since British Left Unionists in Belfast, led by William Walker, had not signed up to the new party in 1912 to challenge this directly. But the impact of the war, and the growing split in the Irish Self-Determination camp, led to the reinforcement of a political self-denying ordinance in the ITUC&LP, over such matters, forcing members to look elsewhere for a political lead.

Since the SPI, old and new, largely operated on the basis of the political activity of individuals, rather than as an organised grouping in the ITUC&LP or local Labour organisations, such as Dublin and Belfast Trades Councils, the wider working class and public knew very little about its politics. The Bolsheviks were seen as a shiny new political phenomenon, reflecting the immediate mood of the Russian working class. There was, as yet, little understanding of how the Bolsheviks had got into such a leading position.

From 1904 to 1912, the Bolsheviks had operated as an organised faction within the wider RSDLP. It was only when the Bolsheviks had won the majority of the working class, as demonstrated in the 1912 Duma elections that they began to organise independently as a party. (But there were still areas of the Tsarist Empire where the Bolsheviks worked with the Mensheviks as late as 1917.) In contrast, in 1918, the SPI was in no position to offer an alternative to the ILP&TUC.

Meanwhile in Great Britain, following the collapse of the proposed Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and the ILP leaders' re-orientation

upon the pro-War Labour Party MPs, Socialist opposition to the war and its consequences had to look elsewhere. The government was involved a constant push for more recruits for its unending war of attrition, and for workers for war production needs. The government continued to take strong action against conscientious objectors and their supporters, and to undermine working conditions of employment, whilst rising costs of food and other basics, both through war shortages and profiteering, were creating growing working class resentment.

In Scotland, James McDougall, Maclean's close associate, fellow comrade in the BSP and organiser of the Scottish Labour College, reoriented some of his political and educational work away from Glasgow to the Lanarkshire coalfields. Here he became involved in the local Miners' Reform Committee. In August 1917, "a one day strike was held {in the Lanarkshire mines} against the war and the rising cost of living; the first major strike in a key industry."¹²⁴⁰

The coalmines had a more concentrated and less occupationally sectionalised, but also more ethnically diverse workforce, than that found in Glasgow's shipyards and engineering works. Irish and Lithuanians formed a significant part of the workforce but tended to live in distinct communities. The Lithuanian community in Lanarkshire sustained two Socialist papers - *Socialdemokratis* and *Rankpelnis* - both published in Bellshill.¹²⁴¹ (Their editor, Vincas Mickevicius-Kapsukas, became Chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic in December 1918¹²⁴²).

Following the October Revolution, Maclean was quick to appreciate that there now was an International Revolutionary Wave, with Russia at its epicentre. In recognition of his role, Maclean was appointed the Soviet consul in Glasgow, in January 1918.¹²⁴³ Maclean equated his support for the Bolsheviks directly with support for the continued Russian Revolution. But he believed that since a new revolutionary opportunity had arrived, it was now the job of Socialists to promote the need for revolution in their own countries, using their own methods of struggle.

Therefore, Maclean's view of the way to organise, like those Socialists in Ireland (and almost everywhere else), differed from the specific party approach of the Bolsheviks. Instead, Maclean emphasised the role of independent working class education (which had not been a possibility in

Tsarist Russia). When released from jail in August 1917, Maclean turned to the Scottish Labour College, which he had helped to initiate, and began lectures for workers on Clydeside.¹²⁴⁴ He was also strongly influenced by the SLP's support for independent workers' committees and saw these as another major instrument to bring about revolution.

Yet Maclean still had to spend much of his time berating the former members of the Clyde Workers' Committee, such as David Kirkwood and Willie Gallacher, for not linking their opposition to the consequences of the war to public opposition to the war itself. This failure was common to ILP, BSP and SLP shop stewards. Thus, Maclean still saw the need for a party with its own paper. He remained a supporter of the BSP, and wrote for its new anti-War paper, *The Call*. So, unlike Irish Socialists, British Socialists did have their own papers to advertise their existence. Maclean also believed in electoral participation. Unlike the SPI whose members joined the ILP&TUC as individual members, Maclean supported the BSP affiliation to the Labour Party. This had taken place in 1916.¹²⁴⁵

Maclean made contact in London with Chicherin in August 1917.¹²⁴⁶ However, Chicherin was soon arrested and jailed. By early 1918, in the face of a renewed German offensive, and the open defiance of Irish Labour over the attempt to extend conscription to Ireland, the government felt it could no longer allow Maclean the freedom to campaign publicly. He was re-arrested on April 15th.¹²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, on May 1st, Glasgow witnessed the largest wartime strike, specifically for peace, with 50,000 shipyard workers coming out on strike and joining a demonstration of 100,000.¹²⁴⁸ Maclean, now being held in Calton Jail, drew enough confidence from these events to make his famous and defiant *Speech from the Dock* in Edinburgh's High Court on May 8th.

As in the run-up to the Easter Rising, when Connolly was paying close attention to developments on the Clyde, Cathal O'Shannon, SPI member and editor of *The Voice of Labour*, emphasised the Scottish Irish link. He wrote that, "Glasgow and Dublin are the two cities in these countries that lead the van in the militant army of Labour."¹²⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Sylvia Pankhurst and the WSF "worked to defend the right of soldiers' wives to decent allowances while their husbands were away, both practically, by setting up legal advice centres, and politically, by running

campaigns to oblige the government to take into account the poverty of soldiers' wives."¹²⁵⁰

There was a successful 48-hour general strike on the Isle of Man between July 4th and 5th, 1918 to ensure the government maintained the subsidy on the price of bread. (One of its leaders, Harry Emery was to go on and join the CPGB and become involved in an arms raid on a Birmingham munitions factory in 1922, in a bid to supply arms to the IRA.)¹²⁵¹

The Labour Party leader at Westminster, Arthur Henderson, had left the War Coalition government as early as August 1917, over its failure to back peace negotiations. The slippery Lloyd George had initially privately hinted that these might be a possibility during a low point in the Allied fortunes. After Henderson's resignation from the government he, along with the MP for West Fife, William Adamson, the equally pro-War new party leader and soon to be privy councillor,¹²⁵² made preparations for Labour to contest a post-war general election.

The Pacifist ILP quickly fell in behind this. In this it cooperated with the pro-War Fabian Society. The ILP's Ramsay Macdonald helped Henderson build a new parliamentary constituency-based party, whilst the Fabian Society's Sidney Webb drafted a statement of Labour Party policies entitled *Labour and the New Social Order*.¹²⁵³ Prior to this Webb had drafted a new Labour Party constitution that included Clause Four. In a very Fabian way, it never mentioned Socialism, but otherwise used language designed to counter the appeal of the Bolsheviks, in a similar manner to that used by US President Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Principles to counter the new Soviet Russian government's declaration of support for national self-determination.

The official Labour Party election manifesto was very clear what it was up against. They were "appealing to the men and women of the country with a programme that is a challenge to reaction."¹²⁵⁴ Reaction was indeed the right term to characterise the Unionist-led alliance they were soon to confront in electoral terms. Lloyd George hastily assembled a Coupon Coalition for the election. Yet the official Labour Party had itself been responsible for helping to build up this monster through its previous enthusiastic support for the War Coalition and all the repressive legislation beginning with DORA. National Labourism continued to dominate the party.

What about the BSP, which was affiliated to the Labour Party? It only gained two official Labour candidacies in the December 1918 general election. One of these was John Maclean, who stood against George Barnes, former Labour Party MP, and now ND&LP, Coupon Coalition candidate, for the new Govan constituency. The government decided to release Maclean from prison at Peterhead before the election to avoid having a Socialist prisoner and martyr as a candidate and focus for continued labour unrest.¹²⁵⁵ James MacDougall also stood as a non-Labour affiliated BSP candidate in Glasgow Tradeston.¹²⁵⁶

The SLP stood three candidates in England (including Arthur McManus in Halifax), declaring themselves to be "British Bolsheviks" advocating "A Soviet Republic for Britain {with} a plea for the formation of Workers' & Soldiers' Councils." They saw this as a way of breaking the government's embargo on the revolutionary press. However, like the BSP, they only stood against Coupon Coalition candidates.

Hyndman's National Socialist Party, (NSP) like the BSP, was affiliated to the Labour Party, and it gained two official Labour candidacies. However, unlike the BSP and the SLP, the pro-war NSP was prepared to stand independently against an official Labour candidate. In Silvertown in East London, they opposed a Pacifist ILP member.¹²⁵⁷

Although British Socialists now had a more independent position within the British Labour and trade union movement than Irish Socialists had within the Irish Labour and trade union movement, they were working within a movement led by the Right. The British Labour Party and trade union leaders offered no fundamental challenge to the UK state in the ongoing International Revolutionary Wave. This was because they continued to see the existing UK state as an adequate vehicle for their reforms. They had just supported the UK government in the war.

Irish Socialists and the ILP&TUC, though, were operating in a context where Irish Republicans were mounting a serious challenge to the UK state. They had opposed the war to such an extent that the UK government had not been able to impose Conscription upon Ireland. The difference between the Great Britain and Ireland was soon to be highlighted during the UK general election.

d) The different impact of the 1918 general election in Great Britain, particularly on Clydeside and in South Wales, and in Ireland (pp.447-

The First World War officially came to an end on November 11th, 1918. It had resulted in the largest 'blood sacrifice' in global history up to that time. (It was to be exceeded in the Second World War.¹²⁵⁸) 8,555,054 died in the armed forces; a further 20,000,223 were wounded; 2,247,419 civilians died in military actions; and there was an excess of 5,420,000 deaths as the result of malnutrition and disease.¹²⁵⁹ The deaths in the UK's armed forces were divided between 486,800 from England, 147,600 from Scotland, 40,000 from Wales and 30,300 from Ireland.¹²⁶⁰

The Scottish casualty rate was twice that of the English forces. This had a particularly devastating impact in the Highlands and Islands, where a semi-colonial economy had long left the armed forces as the biggest single source of employment. In Ireland, outside of the major cities, the semi-colonial economy had also led to dependence on employment in the army (or the RIC). However, the successful resistance to conscription during the First World War ensured that Ireland had the lowest proportion of casualties in the UK, despite the heavy Irish losses at Gallipoli and the Somme.

The UK government's Imperialist mind-set was most clearly shown in its total disdain for people in the colonial territories. By far the highest excess deaths of civilians occurred in British East Africa, where 750,000 died, mainly due to malnutrition and disease.¹²⁶¹ Ensuring there were adequate food and medical supplies for Black civilians took very low priority compared to supplying troops. (Similar attitudes lead to the death of between 2-3,000,000 Bengalis in the Second World War.¹²⁶²)

Nor did the November 1918 Armistice bring an end to civilian and military casualties. The British navy extended its blockade of Germany for a further eight months. Robert Smillie issued a statement condemning this continued British naval blockade, claiming it had caused a further 100,000 German civilian deaths.¹²⁶³ The 1918-20 Flu Epidemic killed even more people than the war, with estimates of 50,000,000 to 100,000,000.¹²⁶⁴ Long distance troop movements and the physical weakening of many, during and immediately after the war, greatly contributed to these deaths.¹²⁶⁵ The devastation caused by the 1918-22 Civil War in Russia led to nearly 5,000,000 deaths from famine and 2,000,000 deaths from typhoid fever and

typhus.¹²⁶⁶ However, the 'Russian' Civil War, also led to over a million deaths of combatants and civilians. As the German and Turkish occupation forces retreated, eleven different Allied armies invaded the territories of the former Tsarist Empire, either to support the Whites, or for their own direct Imperial purposes.

For many countries, military conflicts continued as late as 1923, as Civil Wars and wars of attempted National Liberation followed the break-up of the defeated empires - German/Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist Russian and Ottoman - and the challenges to the victorious Empires - the British, French, Italian and American. Ireland was one of those countries.

Following the Armistice, the UK Coalition wanted to continue in office to pursue those British Imperial interests the 'War Party' had promoted in the lead up to and during the war. The UK Coalition wanted to ensure that Germany was so thoroughly degraded that it would be removed as an Imperial contender for the foreseeable future. These were seen to be the justifiable fruits of a British victory, and the logical outcome of what had been sought in the pre-1914 secret treaties and military preparations. This is why Lloyd George wanted a general election as soon as possible, "in the warm after-glow of victory".¹²⁶⁷

Approved War Coupon candidates, who supported three key demands - 'Hang the Kaiser', Germany should pay the full cost of the war, and the expulsion of all enemy aliens¹²⁶⁸ - were selected from the Conservatives, Liberals, Labour, National Democratic and Labour Party (ND&LP) and Christabel Pankhurst, the sole candidate for the pro-War, pro-Union, pro-Empire, anti-German, and anti-Bolshevik Women's Party (which had been formed in 1917).¹²⁶⁹ Lloyd George even denounced Arthur Henderson, the leader of the official Labour Party, who had served in the War Coalition government, because he did not support the Coalition's triumphalist post-war demands. However, George Barnes, another leading Labour member of the government, supported the Coalition, as a ND&LP member.

In Ireland, wherever the War Coalition-supporting Irish Unionist Party was standing, it was not necessary for it to formally sign up to the Coupon. As far as the Irish Unionist camp was concerned, they had things sown up in the areas they already controlled. Elsewhere, having official Coupon backing would not have helped them against either Sinn Fein, or even the one-time

war supporting but now disillusioned IPP.

The post-War Coalition put together 614 Coupon candidates - 445 Conservative, 145 Liberal, 18 ND&LP, 5 Labour and 1 Women's Party. There were other Coalition supporting candidates, who were not signed up to the Coupon, including other ND&LP candidates. The ND&LP had evolved from the British Workers League, and received considerable finance from arch-imperialist, Lord Milner.¹²⁷⁰ There was an even further Right party, the National Party, which did not think the Conservative and Liberal Coupon candidates were pro-imperialist enough! It stood 26 candidates. It had members in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland and parts of the British Empire, and included the former premier of South Australia.

A key aspect of the election was the extension of the franchise to cover all men over 21 (and for some in the army below this age¹²⁷¹). Many newly enfranchised men from working class backgrounds had only experienced adult life in the armed forces. The government now wanted the election to be held as quickly as possible, so the armed forces would still be basking in the elation of the British victory and vote accordingly. The 'Welsh Wizard' set the mood with a promise that he was "going to make Britain a fit country for heroes to live in."¹²⁷²

Women received the vote for the first time. The majority of the earlier MPs, who had opposed women's suffrage, were probably now persuaded to support votes for women, following the pro-war activities of prominent suffragettes Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. They had suspended the WPSU campaign when the war broke out. Emmeline had thrown herself into army recruitment. She had campaigned in the USA in 1916 to get it involved in the war, and in Russia, in 1917, to get it to stay in the war.¹²⁷³ Thus, she continued the virulent anti-Socialism she had first proclaimed in the Dublin Lock-Out. The Women's Party fully supported the aims of the War and Coupon Coalitions.¹²⁷⁴

If there were still some doubts amongst Reactionaries about extending the vote to women, these were diluted by the fact the vote was confined to those women over 30, and there was still a property qualification.¹²⁷⁵ This ensured that a large proportion of those younger women who might have questioned the war, following the loss of husbands or partners, as well as those women falling beneath the property qualification, were excluded from voting in the

1918 general election.

Having drawn up a triumphalist, Imperialist and Racist election manifesto, assembled a Coalition Coupon list, chosen the best time for the election, and manipulated the franchise, Lloyd George ensured that he had the support of the three main press barons - Lord Northcliffe, Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook - for the Coalition's three main demands. He also ensured that the *Daily Chronicle* was bought over by a group of businessmen, who were bribed with the offer of honours and titles, to ensure the paper's support in the general election.¹²⁷⁶

However, in Ireland the UK government went way beyond the cynical electoral manipulation it used in England, Scotland and Wales. "Hundreds of republicans were in jails, including 47 of Sinn Fein's 105 candidates."¹²⁷⁷ Constance Markiewicz was amongst them. "The RIC {Royal Irish Constabulary} broke up election meetings, raided Sinn Fein clubs, repeatedly raided party election headquarters... and arrested any of the party's election organisers they could... Posters were torn down, party literature confiscated, and individual members harassed. Censorship bore down particularly hard on Sinn Fein."¹²⁷⁸ IPP candidates were left untouched by the authorities.

Redmond had conceded 'temporary' Irish Partition as early as 1914, and Carson had contemplated permanent Partition, following the Easter Rising. However, at those points in time, neither had majority support for Partition in their respective parties. The majority of Irish Unionists believed that a British war victory and the 'blood sacrifice' of the 36th Ulster Regiment, largely formed from the anti-Irish Home Rule, Ulster Volunteers, should mean an end to the prospect of Irish Home Rule altogether.

To underscore their continued all-Ireland politics, all Irish Unionist candidates in the 1918 general election, including those in Ulster, stood as part of the Irish Unionist Party (IUP). The IUP did not even contest two seats in the six counties of Ulster suggested for exclusion from Irish Home Rule by the UK government but did stand two candidates in the other three Ulster counties, as well as a further eight in Leinster and Munster.

On the Irish Nationalist side there was now a worry, though, that if the Irish Unionists' first aim of preventing Irish Home Rule became untenable, some might well retreat to Plan B – exclusion or Partition as it would become

known. In an initial deal between the IPP and Sinn Fein in Fermanagh North to decide upon a candidate, there was a victory for a Sinn Fein candidate who was a Protestant and Easter Rising participant. However Catholic hierarchy interference led to his resignation and a Catholic candidate replaced him at the last minute (something that probably cost Sinn Fein the seat).

Following this, Cardinal Logue took care of proceedings wherever there was a threat in nine-county Ulster of the Irish Unionists winning a potentially Irish Nationalist majority seat because of a split in the vote. He pushed Sinn Fein and the IPP into making an anti-Partitionist electoral pact, with agreed Catholic candidates. Sinn Fein and the IPP were allocated four seats each, Sinn Fein - Down East, Fermanagh South, Londonderry City and Tyrone North West, and the IPP - Armagh South, Donegal East, Down South and Tyrone North East. The only place the pact allowed for a contest between Sinn Fein and the IPP was Belfast Falls, where there was an overwhelmingly Irish Nationalist electorate.¹²⁷⁹ The local branch of the IPP broke the pact in Down East.¹²⁸⁰ Sinn Fein stood in every other constituency in Ulster, not covered by the pact, except for Down North (the most prosperous area in Ireland left to the IUP). This meant standing in several strongly Unionist seats that the IPP had never contested.

When the December 1918 General Election results were announced, 523 Coalition Coupon MPs had been elected, out of a Westminster total of 707. In contrast to 1914, when the Liberals were the largest party, C&UP MPs were now the overwhelming majority at Westminster. They had 382 MPs (also including 25 IUP and Labour Unionists in Ireland) to the 127 Liberals, 9 ND&LP, 4 Labour and 1 Independent MP who supported the Coalition.¹²⁸¹ There was also 1 MP from the right wing of section of the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers, whilst the Far Right, National Party gained 2 MPs.

Despite the dramatic extension to the franchise, Labour only increased its number of MPs from 42 to 60, including 2 independent Labour and 1 Cooperative Party candidate. It did though overtake the non-Coalition Liberals, becoming the third party (after Sinn Fein). Hyndman's pro-war, Labour Party affiliated, National Socialist Party (NSP) gained one MP, whilst another NSP candidate also became an MP after standing against the official Labour Party candidate in Silvertown. The ILP fell from 8 to 3 MPs.¹²⁸² It lost such notables as Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden. Even former

party leader and War Cabinet member, Arthur Henderson lost his seat.

The leadership of the Labour Party had been transferred to the pro-war MP, William Anderson in 1917. (Later, the pro-war MP John Clynes became leader in 1921). The majority of new Labour MPs had been pro-War and were part of the growing National Labour wing, which increasingly marginalised the Pacifist ILP (particularly outside of Scotland). Other elected MPs, who had served the War government, or had even joined the Far Right, British Workers' League, were welcomed back into the party. Despite standing against and defeating the official Labour candidate, Jack Jones the NSP MP for Silvertown, was able to take the Labour whip!¹²⁸³

John Maclean, who stood on a Revolutionary platform as the official Labour and BSP candidate in Glasgow Gorbals against George Barnes, the official Coupon Coalition ND&LP candidate, won 34% of the vote. This percentage vote matched that of several other official Labour candidates. James MacDougall, also in the BSP, but not an official Labour candidate, received 19% of the vote in Glasgow Tradeston. Motherwell lay outside of Glasgow but was very much influenced by the wartime Radicalism that had penetrated the Lanarkshire coalfield. Walton Newbold, who held joint ILP/BSP membership, stood as the official Labour candidate, winning 23% of the vote.¹²⁸⁴

Despite sections of the working class on Clydeside and in South Wales being to the fore of challenges to the government and employers during the war, the electoral pattern, which emerged in these two regions, following the 1918 general election, was strikingly different. The Pacifist ILP had a bigger influence upon official Labour politics in Glasgow than in South Wales. In the gung-ho climate of the post-war election, it was considerably harder for official Labour candidates who were also ILP members to win seats, than it was for official Labour candidates, who had supported the war. Candidates who had supported the war gained nearly all the Labour seats in Great Britain.

However, working class opposition to worsening conditions during the war, along with some continued public opposition to the war itself, in Glasgow and nearby Motherwell, had greater consequences than the immediate electoral results seemed to indicate. The ILP/Labour's sole MP in Glasgow, George Barnes had defected to the War Coalition in 1914, and later to the

N&DLP, becoming a Coupon Coalition supporting MP after the election. But, back in December 1910, the Labour Party had only been able to stand 3 candidates for the 8 Glasgow seats. In 1918, it stood 12 candidates for 15 seats, 10 of them ILP members. Nevertheless, only one of these, Neil Maclean, who had been a conscientious objector, was able to win a seat at Govan.

But the Labour vote advanced considerably, with Catholic ILP member John Wheatley, nearly winning a seat in Shettleston. The drift of Catholic voters to the Labour Party was to continue, as their previous support for the Liberal Party/IIP alliance was abandoned. The ILP in Glasgow had also played a significant role in the 1915 Rent Strike, which drew in many women supporters, including Mary Barbour.¹²⁸⁵ Furthermore, although the considerably smaller BSP only exerted a limited electoral influence in Glasgow, along with the SLP and its Syndicalist milieu, it had greater industrial influence on Clydeside.

In South Wales, the dominant role of the old leadership of the South Wales Miners Federation ensured that four of the five Labour MPs in 1914 had been old Lib-Lab supporters, and one of those, 'Mabon', was to rejoin the Liberal Party. When Keir Hardie, the Pacifist ILP Labour MP for Merthyr died in 1915, a pro-War, independent Labour candidate, Charles Stanton defeated the official Labour candidate, ILP member James Winton despite him having SWMF backing.¹²⁸⁶

Neither the BSP, nor the SLP, had as much industrial (and even less political) influence in South Wales, as these two parties had on Clydeside. In South Wales, Noah Ablett and Arthur Cook (ILP), leaders of earlier Unofficial Reform Committee (URF) took on much of their role.¹²⁸⁷ On the Left, they replaced yesterday's Syndicalist militants, such as Charles Stanton and Vernon Hartshorn, who had become war supporters. Sylvia Pankhurst's WSF also had some influence. These URF activists also worked in the South Wales Socialist Society,¹²⁸⁸ which probably arranged the contact between Pankhurst and South Wales.

Although the SWMF had offered up some resistance to the government's and employers' war-time impositions on the miners, and continued to be an arena of political contest, most Labour candidates in South Wales in the 1918

general election still came from the Right of the party. They were able to benefit from the election atmosphere through their backing for the war. In contrast to Glasgow Labour getting only one MP elected out of the 15 city seats, the Labour Party in South Wales won 9 out of the 19 area seats, emerging as the leading party there. 'Mabon', who had previously defected to the Liberal Party, was able to return to Labour once more. And Stanton, now standing as the Coupon Coalition ND&LP candidate, beat the ILP's official Labour backed candidate, Niclas y Glais in Aberdare.

Following the 1918 general election, Glasgow though saw a greater drift to the Right on the official political front. Glasgow, along with most the rest of Scotland, had been a Liberal stronghold in the nineteenth century. The Liberal Unionists had brought about some small cracks in Liberal dominance, but it was the First World War, and then Lloyd George's splitting of the Liberals into pro-Coupon Coalition (with the C&UP) and anti-Coalition parties, that pushed this Rightward trend further. In Glasgow in the December 1910 election, the Conservative Party had only won 2 out of 8 seats, to 5 for the Liberals and 1 for Labour; but in the 1918 general election, the C&UP won 11 of the 15 seats to 2 for the Coalition Liberals, 1 for the Coalition N&DP and 1 for Labour.

In South Wales, this Westminster drift to the Right took on a different form. South Wales, like the rest of Wales, had been even more dominated by Liberals in the nineteenth century than Glasgow and Scotland. In the December 1910 general election, the Liberals had won 8 of South Wales 14 seats, to Labour's 5 (often with tacit Liberal support), and the Conservatives had only won 1. After the 1918 general election, Labour's own pro-war candidates emerged in first place with 9 out of the region's 22 seats, but the Coalition Liberals won 8, the Coalition C&UP won 1, the Coalition N&DP won 1, whilst the independent Conservatives won 2 and the independent Liberals only won 1.

Nevertheless, this wider drift to the Right in Westminster politics was to greatly benefit Labour in both Glasgow and South Wales within the next few years. The majority of the working class, who had previously looked to the Liberals, soon only saw a broken party, and began to politically oppose the C&UP directly. This was one of the consequences of the International Revolutionary Wave now beginning to wash the shores of Great Britain.

Ireland, however, had been the epicentre of the original 1916 surge of International Revolutionary Wave. And despite the fact that the surge was now coming from the East, following the February and October Revolutions, the continued impact of the 1916 Rising made itself felt in the 1918 general election. Sinn Fein gained 73 out of Ireland's 105 seats. This was a very impressive result. It had not stood in any previous general election, and only became a Republican party in October 1917. It stood in 102 Irish constituencies, not contesting Down North or the Trinity and Queens University seats. It won 10 seats in 9 counties Ulster, of which 2 were in what was to become the Six Counties. In theory Sinn Fein was now the second largest party at Westminster (ahead of the Labour and Liberal parties), with the first and only woman MP, Constance Markiewicz.¹²⁸⁹

In December 1918, the IPP was utterly trounced. It only stood in 57 seats, although it had held 74 after the last election in December 1910. It lost 67 of those seats. The 7 it held on to included 5 in Nine Counties Ulster, of which 4 were in what were to become the Six Counties. Sinn Fein had already become a much more significant challenge to the British ruling class than the British Labour Party. As in Great Britain, the Unionist parties moved further Right in the areas where they had influence – North-east Ulster. The Irish Unionists (including the Labour Unionists) won 25 seats, a gain of 8, all but one of these being in North-east Ulster. They supported the Coupon Coalition government, although with some reservations over its Irish policy because it was not repressive enough.

Sinn Fein, though, did not take up its Westminster seats and called on all the Westminster MPs elected from Ireland to attend the first meeting of the Irish Dail in Dublin's Mansion House on January 21st, 1919. Neither the Irish Unionist nor the IPP MPs were expected to attend. However, only 27 elected Sinn Fein MPs were present, since the rest were still in a British prison or had been deported, whilst 7 others were also absent.¹²⁹⁰ The Dail's declaration of the First Irish Republic heralded the break-up of the UK state and British Empire.

PART FIVE (pp. 456-633)

INTER-IMPERIALIST TENSIONS AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST, REPUBLICAN, AND COMMUNIST STORMS UNDERMINE THE UK AND BRITISH EMPIRE

1. THE SURGE OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WAVE AND THE START OF THE BREAK-UP OF THE UK

The surge of the International Revolutionary Wave to its highpoint in 1919; the development of a new Communist Party-led alliance of the working class and oppressed; post-war British Imperial reaction; the beginnings of the break-up of the UK; the ebbing International Revolutionary Wave to 1921/3; the Bolsheviks and British Left Unionists' failure to promote 'Internationalism from Below'; and the UK state's counter-offensive props up a weakened Union and Empire

a) British Reaction confronts revived Imperial rivalry leading to splits in the post-war Coalition government (pp. 456-462)

After the British war victory in November 1918, the C&UP leaders wanted no compromises over the agreed policy to destroy Germany as an Imperial power. In the run-up to the election, C&UP Coalition minister, Sir Eric Geddes said, "We shall squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak!"¹²⁹¹ And the C&UP leaders wanted the full fruits of victory, with a further extension of the British Empire. They wanted the implementation of the secret treaties, made with France, although those made with Tsarist Russia, now overthrown, no longer stood. Other 'promises', such as those made in support of the "freedom of small nations", the contradictory backing for Arab and Zionist claims in Palestine and making "Britain a fit country for heroes to live in", were seen as expendable and no longer necessary now the war and

the general election were won. However, the high hopes entertained by the post-war Coalition victors, following their triumph in the December 1918 general election, soon faced new obstacles. One of these was growing rivalry between the imperial victors - the UK, France, USA, Italy and Japan.

When it came to meeting war aims, splits emerged between the wartime allies. Both the UK and France were agreed upon imposing a German 'war guilt' clause in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, and upon getting reparations. "John Maynard Keynes called the treaty a Carthaginian peace that would economically destroy Germany."¹²⁹² However, the principal British war aim had been to remove the threat of German naval power. The German fleet had surrendered and had been sent to the British naval base at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys.¹²⁹³ Thus, one of the major British objectives was achieved as early as November 18th, 1918. The continued British naval blockade of Germany, and the bad conditions the detained sailors were kept under,¹²⁹⁴ led Rear Admiral von Reuter to scuttle this fleet on June 21st, 1919.¹²⁹⁵ This actually suited the British even more, since there had been plans afoot to distribute some of these ships to France and Italy.¹²⁹⁶

The French, though, were more worried by the revival of the German army. Instead of the eight-month unilaterally imposed British blockade of Germany, which was wholly successful in achieving its aims, the French, after taking back Alsace-Lorraine, initially sought wider support for an extension of the French frontier to the Rhine, and a much-reduced German army, incapable of any offensive action. The French were also much keener to weaken Germany in the east, strongly supporting Polish territorial demands. Keynes analysed the French aims, stating that they were an attempt to "set the clock back and undo what, since 1870, the progress of Germany had accomplished."¹²⁹⁷ However, the Rhineland was not given over to France. But it was demilitarised, and the Saar coalfield was put under effective French control for similar reasons to the British naval blockade - to ensure German compliance.

To begin with, the Allied Powers did not think that the Bolshevik-led October Revolution would survive. Whilst the First World War continued, their main aim was to support those former Russian Provisional Government politicians and military leaders who wanted to continue fighting Germany. US, British, Canadian, Australian, French, Italian, Polish and Serb forces

landed at Arkhangelsk on the Arctic Sea, with the intention of linking up with Admiral Kolchak's White Guards and the Czech Legion (a well organised and disciplined pro-Allies army that fought on the Russian front).¹²⁹⁸

British forces, already stationed in Persia, occupied the Baku oilfield in the Caucasus.¹²⁹⁹ They also moved to support the pro-war Menshevik-Socialist Revolutionary Transcaspian coalition government in Ashkhabad. This soon came under the control of Denikin's Southern White Russian Army.¹³⁰⁰ And in August 1918, Japanese, later followed by British, US, Canadian, French Vietnamese and Italian troops occupied Vladivostok, on the Pacific coast. They wanted to reopen an eastern Front,¹³⁰¹ after the Bolsheviks had been forced to accept the punitive German Treaty of Brest Litovsk in January 1918.¹³⁰² Initially a pro-war Provisional Siberian Government, dominated by the pro-war Right Socialist Revolutionaries was formed in Siberia. But this too fell to the Whites under Admiral Kolchak.¹³⁰³

However, once the First World War came to an official end, the main reason for continued intervention in the old Russian Empire changed. The new Coalition War Minister, Sir Winston Churchill stated aim was now "to strangle the birth of the Bolshevik state".¹³⁰⁴ A second wave of interventions supplemented those that were already in place. The French led the largest of these forces, which occupied the Black Sea port city of Odesa. Greek and Polish troops were also involved. The aim was to support the Russian White General Denikin and his Volunteer Army to overthrow the Bolshevik government.¹³⁰⁵

Denikin was too Right wing to gain the initial support of the anti-Bolshevik Mensheviks and Right Socialist Revolutionaries. Even a Right pro-Monarchist Cadet leader, K. N. Sokolov, who supported the Volunteer Army stated that, "The uncontrollable robbery of the population by our military forces, the debauchery and repression by military officials in local areas, the unbelievable corruption of the representatives of power, their open speculation, venality, and, finally, their unrestrained arbitrariness prevailing in their counterintelligence organizations, here were the ulcers of our regime, compelling the population to say: no, this is not the regime that can save Russia."¹³⁰⁶

But perhaps the worst characteristic of Denikin's forces, particularly the Cossack units, was their frequent resort to anti-Jewish pogroms. They were

the main inheritors of the anti-Semitism promoted in Tsarist Russia, encouraged by the tsar, his aristocratic backers, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Black Hundreds. These Cossack units were responsible in Proskurov in Ukraine for "the worst atrocity committed against Jews this century before the Nazis."¹³⁰⁷

Even "Churchill was dismayed at the Whites' widespread anti-Jewish pogroms, and he wrote discreetly to White general Anton Denikin, asking him to put a stop to them. Hardly surprisingly, nothing came of it. The pogroms continued apace, hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed, injured or driven from their homes, yet Churchill still publicly backed the counter revolutionaries. The overthrow of the Soviet regime was his main priority; the victims of the atrocities committed by his allies could be quietly forgotten."¹³⁰⁸

A further contradiction emerged as tensions developed between the anti-Bolshevik Nationalist parties, which now took the opportunity to break free from the Russian Empire, and the anti-Bolshevik White Russians committed to restoring 'Russia One and Indivisible'.¹³⁰⁹ Symon Petluyra, a previously pro-War, Right Ukrainian Social Democratic Party member, became leader of the Ukrainian Directorate in late 1919. He ended up fighting Bolsheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, Anarchists, Romanians, Poles and Denikin's White Russians. The War Allies were unable to unite Denikin's and Petluyra's anti-Bolshevik forces. The demoralised French interventionist forces left Odesa in April 1919.¹³¹⁰

In the fighting, Ukrainian Nationalist forces also became responsible for a large number of anti-Jewish pogroms.¹³¹¹ The Bolshevik-led forces occasionally resorted to pogroms too, especially those led by Nicofor Grigoriev when he was their ally. However, despite these lapses, the Bolsheviks were the most effective force in clamping down on anti-Jewish violence.¹³¹²

The British also helped to organise a White Russian army, led by General Yudenich, which operated out of Estonia. Estonian armed forces defeated the Bolshevik-led Red Army in January 1919. However, the Estonians, who also received British naval backing,¹³¹³ only offered assistance to Yudenich in as far as this placed a barrier between Estonia and Bolshevik Petrograd.

When Yudenich was defeated on the outskirts of that city by the Red forces led by Trotsky, his troops returned to Estonia. The Estonian government was wise enough to disarm these Great Russian chauvinist forces. After gaining Bolshevik recognition for Estonia's independence by the February 1920 Treaty of Tartu, Yudenich and his forces were sent into exile.¹³¹⁴

The Bolsheviks' ability to survive led to a change in British and French policy. The British forces were also withdrawn from Arkhangelsk in August 1919.¹³¹⁵ The UK government now fell back on shipping war supplies to the remaining White Russians. However, the effects of the International Revolutionary Wave had penetrated British Socialist, Labour and trade union circles by this time.

In January 1919, the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign was launched in London. It brought together the BSP, SLP, WSF and others. The SLP's William Paul wrote an accompanying and popular pamphlet, which stated that, "The imperialist Powers know that the very essence of Socialism is its international policy of a World Republic of Labour. They realise that the triumph of Socialism in Russia is but the first step towards the triumph of Socialism internationally. Hence their united designs and attacks to crush the Bolsheviks in order to prevent the spread and triumph of revolutionary Socialism in other countries."¹³¹⁶

In February 1919, a large meeting was held in London, which involved John Maclean (BSP), Sylvia Pankhurst (WSF) and Constance Markiewicz (Sinn Fein government minister).¹³¹⁷ The WSF (then including a young Harry Pollitt) was very involved in campaigning in Poplar in East London.¹³¹⁸ In May 1920, London dockers refused to load the Jolly George with arms for the White Russians.¹³¹⁹

In the face of such working class challenges, the continued bellicosity of many C&UP leaders and Churchill became counter-productive. The wiser sections of the British ruling class now looked to Germany as the best barrier to the westward expansion of Revolution. This led to the 'Welsh Wizard' supporting a dilution of the Coalition's previous strong anti-German policy, and an easing up on reparations. Instead, Lloyd George looked to a partially revived German army as a bastion against Bolshevik advance, and Germany's economic recovery, as a better way to get back some reparations.

France, after abandoning Odesa, looked instead to Poland, not just to take on the Bolsheviks, but also to contain Germany. The French government set up the Military Mission to Poland.¹³²⁰ This provided crucial military training for Marshal Pilsudski's army, which invaded Soviet Ukraine in 1919. The Bolsheviks counter-attacked but were defeated outside Warsaw in August 1920.¹³²¹

Thus, emerging differences amongst the imperial victors led to divisions amongst the Coalition leaders. Although the UK, led by Lloyd George, and France, led by Georges Clemenceau, remained the dominant players, the USA led by President Woodrow Wilson, was able to exert some influence. This was due to the USA's much strengthened economy, its position as economic creditor, particularly to the UK and France, and its crucial role in the last phase of the war. Both these states had to manoeuvre within the constraints of the new Mandate System under the League of Nations proposed by Wilson.

Furthermore, under pressure from the USA, which wanted to increase its naval power in the Pacific, the UK was forced to weaken its support for Japan, an imperial rival of the USA. At the Washington Conference in 1921, the USA was able to insist upon naval parity with the UK, and limit Japan's naval ambitions.¹³²² The loss of British global naval supremacy led to some concern in ruling class circles about the UK being overtaken as the leading imperial power by the USA.

The collapse of Tsarist Russia and the end of the war led to British ultra-Imperialist military adventures reminiscent of the 'Great Game' in the Caucasus, Transcaspia and northern Persia.¹³²³ Furthermore, a key secret treaty, made during the course of the war, involving the UK and France, the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement¹³²⁴ became the subject of intense British/French rivalry in the new post-war situation. The British had promised the Hashemite Emir of Mecca a wider Arab kingdom, if his forces joined the Allies against the Ottomans.

British occupation troops on the ground meant that France had to concede its own prior claims in Palestine and Mosul, but they dug their heels in over Syria, which the British had promised to the Hashemites to fulfil their

Greater Syria ambitions. The French prevented the Hashemite Faisal bin Hussein from taking control of Syria, following a revolt, which was put down in June 1920.¹³²⁵

Inconveniently, the British, under the 1917 Balfour Declaration, had also promised a 'Jewish Homeland' in Palestine, without any consultation even with the Arab leaders they were also courting. The Hashemites had expected Palestine to become part of Greater Syria.¹³²⁶ Faisal and other Arab leaders were initially prepared to welcome Jewish settlers,¹³²⁷ but never considered that the British authorities would allow them to displace the Arabs living there. However, the appointment of Zionist supporting Sir Henry Samuel as the British High Commissioner in Palestine, soon after the Nebi Musa Riots in April 1920, represented a straw in the wind.

A major famine had also broken out in Persia, adding to the cholera, plague, typhus and influenza epidemic, which together killed about 2 million people.¹³²⁸ During the First World War, this area was subjected to competing Ottoman and Russian military invasions, but later British forces entered the area. "British attitudes towards the starving Persians were uncannily similar to those expressed against the Irish in a similar position half a century before"¹³²⁹ and to East Africans during the war.

The Anglo-Persian Agreement followed British military intervention.¹³³⁰ This represented the highpoint of British domination over Persia, now that both the Russians and Ottomans had evacuated the area. Access to oil for the British Navy was the central feature of the treaty, placing the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in a position of economic and political dominance akin to the earlier Hudson's Bay and East India companies.

However, already Churchill, Curzon and others' grandiose imperial ambitions were causing concern, especially in the light of spending cutbacks.¹³³¹ The very right wing, Field Marshal, Sir Henry Wilson wanted British military intervention confined to essential imperial territory - Ireland, India, Egypt and the oilfields of the Persian Gulf, with withdrawal from the Ruhr, Palestine, the Iraqi hinterland and Persia.¹³³² He wanted ample army reserves for the UK's industrial disputes. Yet Lloyd George and Churchill persisted in their own grand imperial schemes. But there was now a context of financial cutbacks and imperial troop withdrawals. So, to compensate for this, Lloyd

George backed the British client state of Greece¹³³³ in its occupation of southern Anatolia (in a similar manner to which France had backed Poland). The consequences of this support were to finally undermine Lloyd George.

b) The impact of the International Revolutionary Wave upon the working class struggle and splits in the post-war Coalition government (pp. 462-466)

During the First World War, having Lloyd George, the leading pre-war social Liberal, as Prime Minister disguised the increasingly Reactionary nature of the War Coalition. He was to remain the PM after the December 1918 general election, despite not being the leader of the now majority party - the C&UP. The new Coalition Cabinet had 13 members from the C&UP (including 5 from the House of Lords), 8 from the Liberals and 1, George Barnes, from the ND&LP.¹³³⁴

Many amongst the pre-1914 'War Party' had seen the outbreak of war as a means to decapitate the challenges from Socialists, Syndicalists, Labour, Women Suffragists and various Nationalists. They had not anticipated their revival, and indeed growing strength, as the International Revolutionary Wave surged forward following the horrors of the First World War. As the UK government faced this surging tide in 1919, it looked to a coordinated police and military response to deal with all the challenges to British ruling class rule - whether from strikers, or movements opposing British Imperial rule, including the Irish Republicans.

Differences amongst the government arose though over the degree to which concessions should be made - with the Right wanting to rely mostly on the use of the military and police, supplemented by appeals to National Chauvinism and Racism, and a preparedness to use extra-parliamentary forces to intimidate any opposition. However, from 1919 to early 1921, the working class, initially inspired by the Russian Revolution, mounted a series of offensive actions, and made its collective pressure felt. Therefore, the more far-sighted members of the Coalition government appreciated that sometimes concessions and retreats were necessary in order to regroup and better prepare for future counter attacks.

The C&UP leaders still did not trust Lloyd George - the 'Welsh Wizard' and master of duplicity. He had been prominent in the pre-war government, which had weakened the powers of the House of Lords, a bastion of Conservatism. He had been a supporter of the Third Home Rule Act, which they so hated. As a Social Liberal, Lloyd George had introduced the first elements of a Welfare State and still thought that further concessions were needed to maintain the support of the working class and tenant farmers. The C&UP looked forward to the time when Lloyd George could be ditched, and as much as possible of the old social order, with its associated social servility, restored.

One early upset for the ruling class had been the unexpected police strike, which took place in London and Liverpool in August 1918. The independent National Union of Policemen and Prison Officers (NUPPO)¹³³⁵ organised the strike - a very unwelcome development for the government, especially in the context of the still ongoing war. The government responded by appointing the military commander, General Sir Nevil Macready. He was the person who had urged General Maxwell to speed-up the execution of the leaders of the Dublin Rising.¹³³⁶ Macready ensured that police pay and conditions were greatly improved to buy their loyalty to the state. Macready refused to recognise the NUPPO.¹³³⁷ "The Police Act of 1919... established the Police federation, a public sector version of a company union, to replace the NUPPO."¹³³⁸ Meanwhile, every striking policeman in Liverpool was sacked.¹³³⁹

After the Armistice, the government soon faced problems with the armed forces. Most were looking forward to a return home and expecting to find jobs. "In January 1919 there were riots as 10,000 soldiers at Folkestone and 2,000 at Dover refused to return abroad, as well as disturbances in army camps abroad. This was of grave concern as Revolution in Russia and Germany had been spearheaded by mutinous soldiers."¹³⁴⁰

Dissident Liberals had set up the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers (NFDDSS) in 1917. This organisation was taken over by the Right, who stood in the 1918 general election as the Silver Badge Party,¹³⁴¹ winning the Sowerby seat.¹³⁴² However, a Left section also emerged, which also unsuccessfully stood Ernest Thurtle as a candidate.¹³⁴³ In 1919, the Woolwich branch organised a march to Westminster, which was

broken up by the police.¹³⁴⁴ Field Marshal, Earl Haig, who had wanted the leaders of the 1919 military riots shot,¹³⁴⁵ persuaded the NFDDSS leaders to accept senior officers as members.¹³⁴⁶

One possible problem the government faced was highlighted in "a police report... which warned that for the first time in British history the rioters (many of them ex-soldiers) would be better trained than the authorities."¹³⁴⁷ Evidence of this was seen in the most significant trade union challenge to confront the government during this period. On January 27th, 1919, the Clyde Workers Committee (CWC) launched the 40 hours strike "to secure a reduction of weekly working hours... in order that discharged soldiers could be found employment... By the 30th January... 40,000 workers in the engineering and shipbuilding workers on Clydeside were on strike. In addition, electricity supply workers in Glasgow had also gone on strike in sympathy, as had 36,000 miners in the Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire coalfields... The rapid spread of the strike was attributed to the large-scale deployment of flying pickets... largely made up of discharged servicemen... On Friday 31st January, upwards of 60,000 demonstrators gathered in Glasgow's George Square {to back a CWC deputation to the Lord Provost}... The police mounted a vicious and unprovoked attack... felling unarmed men and women. The demonstrators, with ex-servicemen to the fore, quickly retaliated with fist, iron railings and broken bottles, and forced the police into a retreat."¹³⁴⁸

The government response to 'Bloody Friday' was to arrest the CWC leaders and to station 10,000 troops and tanks in the city. There was government concern that the Scottish soldiers stationed at the city's Maryhill barracks, would go over to the side of their recently discharged comrades and the striking workers.¹³⁴⁹ The CWC, though, had not been expecting such a heavy-handed government response. The government's attitude was explained by its clearer appreciation that events could yet take on a revolutionary turn, and they acted accordingly. Their use of military force contributed to the CWC calling off the strike on February 10th.¹³⁵⁰ The workers had to be satisfied with a 10-hour reduction in the working week, which the trade union officials had already agreed to before the strike.

A key reason for the government accepting this agreement was to reinforce the authority of these trade union officials. Many of them had already proved

their worth during the First World War. They gained access to ruling class social circles, and some received government posts and honours. The social gap between union officials and their members widened. The British ruling class had long experience when taming the Lib-Lab and Labour representatives of the working class, having already tamed the Radical representatives of the rising industrial capitalist class seventy years previously.

However, Socialists and many workers did not experience the 40 Hours Strike as a defeat but as a learning experience. This was similar to the experience of many involved in the initial setbacks during the pre-war Great Unrest.¹³⁵¹ On May 1st, 1919, "100,000 people, including demobbed Russian sailors and many from the Irish community"¹³⁵² joined the Socialists' May Day rally in Glasgow. This was the kind of political combination the authorities dreaded. Constance Markiewicz and John Maclean were amongst the speakers.¹³⁵³

The working class offensive continued. In the face of a Britain-wide Miners' Strike in March 1919, Lloyd George set up the Sankey Commission. He did this, in a repeat of the Liberal attempt to defuse an earlier national railwaymen's strike in the 'Great Unrest'.¹³⁵⁴ The presence of certain commissioners encouraged the miners' leaders to think that coal nationalisation was in the offing, and they called off the strike. Although the Commission was successful in preventing the strike, many C&UP MPs and the coal owners, did not think that any credence should have been given at all to coal nationalisation. This could only raise working class expectations.

The next major threat to the government came from the Railwaymen's Strike in September 1919.¹³⁵⁵ "Field Marshal Sir Edward Wilson, along with Churchill and Walter Long {now} First Lord of the Admiralty, wanted military action." However, "Lloyd George, Bonar Law and {Baron} Hankey {former Secretary of the Imperial War Cabinet and now Coalition Cabinet Secretary} did not."¹³⁵⁶ There was very widespread support for the railway workers, including from some soldiers, who had to be returned to barracks.¹³⁵⁷

Therefore, instead of the military they looked to the dependable NUR leader Jimmy Thomas to contain the action. As in the case of the earlier 40 Hours

Strike in Glasgow, official union leaders' authority had to be buttressed by significant concessions. Lord Northcliffe, owner of the right-wing *Daily Mail* wrote that, "Without labour unions our strike last week would have been a civil war. It was the control of the men by their leaders which made it a peaceful struggle".¹³⁵⁸ But Field Marshal Wilson also regretted the concessions made during this strike.¹³⁵⁹

Furthermore, the C&UP leaders were not happy with Lloyd George's Social Liberal measures, such as the extension of unemployment and health insurance;¹³⁶⁰ the creation of Whitley Councils, which set minimum wages in the private sector;¹³⁶¹ and the passing of the Agriculture Act,¹³⁶² which gave farmworkers a minimum wage. But unable to crush the ongoing working class offensive outright, the government waited for the rise in unemployment, and the ebbing of the wider International Revolutionary Wave before they hit back in earnest at recent working class gains.

c) The impact of the rising International Revolutionary Wave upon Colonial Revolt and splits in the post-war Coalition government (pp. 466-476)

Other problems also arose for the Coalition government. The demand for National Self-Determination further pushed the spreading International Revolutionary Wave. In the face of this, the government faced the difficulties caused by Woodrow Wilson, when he raised this issue in his Fourteen Points. Whilst Wilson certainly did not subscribe to this principle of National Self-Determination for the inhabitants of US colonies such as Cuba, Puerto Rico or the Philippines, he did want to weaken the power, not only of the Prussian-German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires but of the British and French empires too.

It took some time before Lloyd George and Clemenceau were able to persuade Wilson that Self-Determination was only for the Nations of the defeated empires. As yet the majority of the American ruling class did not have the global ambitions held by Wilson and were to go on to oppose his proposed League of Nations. Their main concern was to defend and extend US hegemony in Central and South American, and over the Pacific, where Japan represented a rising challenge.

However, prior to this, delegates from many Nations and Nationalities turned up at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, expecting their claims to be recognised under the Fourteen Points. Egypt was one of those Nations hoping to send a delegation. Egypt had been under effective British control since 1882, following the crushing of an Egyptian Nationalist revolt. Under a British imposed Protectorate, Khedive Tewfik had become a stooge ruler.¹³⁶³

In 1914, the British ousted the pro-Ottoman Khedive Abbas II and elevated his uncle Hussain Kamel to the Sultanate of Egypt.¹³⁶⁴ The UK promised to "shoulder the entire burden of the war. During the war, the British poured masses of foreign troops into Egypt, conscripted over one and a half million Egyptians into the Labour Corps, and requisitioned buildings, crops, and animals for the use of the army. In addition, because of Allied promises... by war's end the Egyptian people demanded their independence."¹³⁶⁵

The Egyptian Nationalist, Wafd Party asked the UK authorities to grant their delegates permission to attend the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. The British response was to exile Saad Zaghlul and two other Wafd leaders to Malta. This led to a growing movement of civil disobedience. This movement embraced Muslims and Coptic Christians, and men and women. Indeed, Egyptian Muslim women were amongst the first to use the veil as a method of protest against Imperial occupation. "The veiled gentlewomen of Cairo paraded in the streets shouting slogans for independence and freedom from foreign occupation. They organised strikes and demonstrations, boycotts of British goods and wrote petitions protesting British actions in Egypt."¹³⁶⁶ The British attempted to crush the growing national revolution, and by 25th July 1919, 800 Egyptians had been killed and 1600 wounded.¹³⁶⁷

In November 1919, Lord Milner was sent on a mission to Egypt. Upon returning and reporting to Lord Curzon, the UK government agreed to release Zaghlul, and receive a Wafd delegation in London. However, by this time in 1921 the Dominion delegates attending the Imperial Conference were as concerned about maintaining British control over the Suez Canal (which speeded up shipping to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to India), and British Cabinet members raised other objections. So, the Wafd delegation returned to Egypt empty handed in disgust. With growing unrest, the British authorities in Cairo imposed martial law and exiled Zaghlul once more, this

time further away to the Seychelles. This just led to further mass demonstrations.¹³⁶⁸

Such was the extent of resistance in Egypt that the appearance of political independence had to be conceded. Egyptian independence, British style, was imposed on Egypt in 1922. The British were keen to have a pliant head of government, so Hussein Kamel's successor, Fuad I, was further upgraded from Sultan to the King of Egypt. However, the British retained control over the "Suez Canal, Sudan and... the police, army, the railways, communications and foreign interests."¹³⁶⁹

Confronting National Democratic resistance in the three Ottoman Mesopotamian vilayets of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul, led to further experiments in British Imperial control. They first faced a Kurdish revolt led by Sheyk Mahmud in the Mosul vilayet 1919.¹³⁷⁰ The British put this down, but resistance continued despite the exile of Mahmud to India in 1921.¹³⁷¹ The Allies had led the Kurds, like the Armenians, to believe they would get their own state. Indeed, under the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, imposed upon the defeated Ottoman Empire, Kurdish areas had been tentatively allocated within the British and French zones of influence.¹³⁷² However, the Turkish Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal was determined to undermine the terms of the Treaty of Sevres, and Turkish forces entered the Mosul vilayet.

Despite Field Marshal Wilson's dismissal of Mosul as being of little Imperial interest, British companies were already looking for new oilfields. They had ensured that the British-owned Turkish Petroleum Company was given concessionary rights in the Mosul vilayet.¹³⁷³ Therefore, to counter the Turkish forces, the British brought Mahmud back from exile, hoping he would help them restore control. However, Mahmud still wanted to form an independent Kurdish kingdom, so the British again suppressed his forces.¹³⁷⁴

By this time, the British also faced a major rebellion, in the vilayets of Basra and Baghdad. Sunni and Shia Muslims cooperated in the resistance.¹³⁷⁵ This rebellion was on an even greater scale than Egypt. "6,000 to 10,000 Iraqis and around 500 British and Indian soldiers died during the revolt. The RAF flew missions totalling 4,008 hours, dropped 97 tons of bombs and fired 183,861 rounds for the loss of nine men killed, seven wounded and 11 aircraft destroyed behind rebel lines."¹³⁷⁶

Churchill considered the use of chemical weapons although they were not required after the resort to aerial bombardment of villages. In May 1919 he had already stated, "I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas..... I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes."¹³⁷⁷

"The revolt caused British officials to drastically reconsider their strategy... The revolt cost the British government 40 million pounds, which was twice the amount of the annual budget allocated to Iraq. It had cost more than the entire British-funded Arab rising against the Ottoman Empire in 1917-1918."¹³⁷⁸ In the face of this challenge, the British forcibly amalgamated the vilayet of Mosul, with its largely Kurdish population, with the largely Arab vilayets of Baghdad and Basra, to create the new state of Iraq. The need to have access to new oilfields in Mosul, connected to Baghdad and Basra, overrode other considerations. The creation of Iraq contributed to yet another major field of later conflict.

However, the British also installed Feisal ibn Hussein as King of Iraq. This was the Hashemite leader they had already abandoned in both Syria and Palestine. "To confirm Faisal as Iraq's first monarch, a one-question plebiscite was carefully arranged that had a return of 96 per cent in his favor. The British saw in Faisal a leader who possessed sufficient Nationalist and Islamic credentials to have broad appeal, but who also was vulnerable enough to remain dependent on their support.... the Naquib of Baghdad was disqualified as being too old (80 years) and Sayid Talib (a prominent Iraqi from the province of Basra) was deported on trumped up charges by the British. The voting was far from a reflection of the true feelings of the Iraqi people."¹³⁷⁹

The British exerted pressure on the new Iraqi kingdom to ensure the signing of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty in 1922.¹³⁸⁰ "It stated that the king would heed British advice on all matters affecting British interests and on fiscal policy as long as Iraq had a balance of payments deficit with Britain, and that British officials would be appointed to specified posts in 18 departments to act as advisers and inspectors. A subsequent financial agreement, which significantly increased the financial burden on Iraq, required Iraq to pay half the cost of supporting British resident officials, among other expenses."¹³⁸¹

In recognition of its role in suppressing resistance, the RAF "was reorganized as RAF Iraq Command, and given control of all British forces in the kingdom"¹³⁸² "Sunni dominance in the military was preserved."¹³⁸³ By such divide-and-rule methods the ground was once more prepared for future conflicts.

Thus, in the face of various National Democratic challenges during the International Revolutionary Wave, the UK government was forced to experiment with new methods to maintain Imperial control. What later became known as 'Neo-Colonialism' first emerged in response to the Revolutionary Nationalist challenges during the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave.

Another place where a major challenge emerged to the UK government was in India. The territories ruled over by the British India Office, set up in 1858, were vast, and covered the later states of India, Pakistan, Burma/Myanmar and Ceylon/Sri Lanka. The Indian Office was also responsible for British relations with Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet, as well as many strategic ports and their immediate hinterlands on the trading routes to and from India¹³⁸⁴ The Indian Office ruled over a mosaic of different territories, most of which had been conquered or taken over by the East India Company. Within what became India, there were such potential nations as Bengal (which included Hindus and Muslims) and Punjab (which included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs), both of which had their own majority language.

In the eighteenth century, Bengal had been one of the most economically advanced regions in the world with extensive textile and other manufacturing. The activities of the East India Company, with its mercantilist restrictions upon competition with British products, threw Bengal's development into reverse, and brought famines, which killed millions.¹³⁸⁵

Other areas of India had not been so economically developed, and there were still areas where tribal communal economies were to be found (including that of the Stone Age Andaman Islanders). Despite this incredible diversity, most of India (and indeed parts of Afghanistan today), with the exception of the far south, had been part of the Moghul Empire since 1526.¹³⁸⁶ This Empire continued in a territorially attenuated form up until 1857. Its recent memory, combined with the impact of a new Nationalism, which in Europe had

championed the uniting of lesser states, seemed to suggest the possibility of developing a united Indian Nation-State.

As in Wales and in Ireland, a hyphenated Anglo- identity emerged amongst a section of the local ruling class. These Anglo-Indians considered that their first loyalty was to the UK. Many British had become involved in India through the activities of the mercantile East India Company. So, India was largely run by a combination of British and Anglo-Indians, with the help of many Indian princes who had accepted British suzerainty. And, as in Wales and Ireland, the local Anglos, here the Anglo-Indians, usually looked down upon the 'natives'. The rapacious activities of the East India Company, assisted by many Anglo-Indians, contributed to Indian Rebellion in 1857. This had been brutally suppressed.¹³⁸⁷

Nevertheless, as in Ireland during the nineteenth century, the UK government realised that it had to change its methods of ruling the country if it was to maintain longer-term control. They decided to create an Indian-British elite, who could eventually take responsibility for Self-Government within the Empire. The resulting Indian regime and society became known as the British Raj.¹³⁸⁸ In 1858 the Government of India Act created a three-tier level of government headed by Secretary of State for India at Westminster, below which there was an Imperial Legislative Council in Calcutta, 8 major and 5 minor Provincial governments and 565 Princely states.¹³⁸⁹ Indian councillors were appointed to the Imperial Legislative Council to advise the British viceroy.¹³⁹⁰

The British achieved a certain degree of success, at elite level, in creating a sense of Indian-Britishness. The English language became the lingua franca for many from a variety of backgrounds who spoke the different languages of the Indian sub-continent. One remarkable example was the Bengali polymath, Rabindranath Tagore, a poet, musician, artist and writer. He had lived in England for a while.¹³⁹¹ His journeys to Europe further contributed both to his own Internationalism and his international reputation. In 1913 he received the Nobel Prize in Literature.¹³⁹² As early as 1875, the Viceroy gave Tagore a seat on the Imperial Legislative Council.¹³⁹³ During the First World War, he was knighted. When the Edinburgh polymath, Patrick Geddes - ecologist, sociologist, regional and town planner - visited India, he formed a friendship with Tagore and continued to correspond with him.¹³⁹⁴ George

Russell (AE), the Irish polymath and promoter of agricultural cooperatives, also influenced Tagore.¹³⁹⁵

Tagore rejected Nationalism and looked to a higher Cosmopolitan order. Of necessity, this meant rejecting the existing British order in India. "As a humanist, universalist and internationalist... he denounced the British Raj and advocated independence from Britain."¹³⁹⁶ In looking for new relations between peoples beyond Nationalism, Tagore was perhaps aspiring to an even wider version of that society which Gandhi was later to comment upon. When asked, "What do you think of Western civilisation", Gandhi replied, "I think it would be a good idea"! ¹³⁹⁷ Tagore was looking for a hybrid Eastern/Western civilisation that took in the best of both worlds.

However, there was still a limit to how far a non-White person could rise within the Empire. Bonar Law, from a Canadian-British background, could become the UK's Prime Minister. Even the one-time Boer guerrilla leader, Jan Smuts, could join the Imperial War Cabinet. They were both White. And there was also a further problem. India was the 'Jewel in the Crown' of the British Empire.¹³⁹⁸ It was vitally important to the British Imperial economy. India produced a considerable surplus, which greatly benefitted the City of London. There was also the large number of Indian troops, who could be used to impose control elsewhere in the Empire to meet British Imperial needs. The White Dominions had no equivalent of the large British Indian Army, many recruited for divide-and-rule purposes from minorities like the Sikhs and Ghurkhas. This army had British senior officers.¹³⁹⁹ Disraeli had made Queen Victoria the Empress of India in 1878. This was very much part of the jingoist Racist, Imperialist populism which propped up the Union and Empire.

As in Ireland, there had been some challenge to the Indian 'Ascendancy' from within its own ranks. Allan Octavian Hume,¹⁴⁰⁰ son of the Radical MP, John Hume was an enlightened member of the Imperial Civil Service. He became a founding member of the Indian National Congress (INC), which was formed in 1885.¹⁴⁰¹ Unlike most of the British and Anglo-Indians in India, he looked upon himself as a "Native of India".¹⁴⁰² But he was even more unrepresentative of opinion amongst the leaders of the British Raj, than Sir Isaac Butt or Charles Parnell had been of the leaders of Ascendancy Ireland, when they promoted Irish Home Rule.

And again, as in Ireland, native-born individuals emerged, who were initially also willing to go down the hybrid-British road. One of the INC's leading Indian members was Dadabhai Naoroji.¹⁴⁰³ However, British Imperialist intransigence in India was even greater than British Unionist intransigence in Ireland. Therefore, a similar split emerged in the INC to that which emerged amongst the Irish Nationalist forces. "The moderates, led by leaders like... Naoroji... wanted reform within the framework of British rule."¹⁴⁰⁴ The INC, however, also developed its own equivalent of Sinn Fein, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He launched the Swadeshi (the use of Indian products) and Boycott (of British goods) campaigns.¹⁴⁰⁵ "Tilak advocated civil agitation and Revolution to overthrow the British Empire."¹⁴⁰⁶

Tilak's open challenge to the moderate INC leaders emerged following the Partition of Bengal in 1905.¹⁴⁰⁷ British White colonies in Canada and Australia had been allowed to develop greater Self-Determination through National Unification. These countries (along with Smut's White South Africa) had also provided some inspiration to the Irish Nationalists. However, the promotion of greater unity in these British controlled White Colonies had helped to increase Imperial control, over a whole variety of subject peoples, including the French Quebecois and South African Afrikaners, as well as the many non-White peoples. Where there was no intermediary White colonial settler group, the British much preferred to buttress local traditionalist leaders and promote divide-and-rule to prevent the emergence of any new Nation. And it was non-White India that was to provide a British Partition precedent for retaining more effective Imperial control over Ireland.

During the First World War, the British mobilised over a million Indian colonial soldiers, mainly for use in Mesopotamia against the Ottomans and in East Africa against the Germans. To a greater extent even than Ireland, chronic poverty produced military recruits. The Indian colonial army suffered 64,449 deaths and 69,214 injured.¹⁴⁰⁸ This remarkably high death to injury ratio suggested a disregard for the care of these non-White soldiers.

The Revolutionary Nationalist Ghadar Party was formed in 1913 amongst the émigrés living in the USA.¹⁴⁰⁹ It bore some characteristics with the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The Ghadar Party¹⁴¹⁰ sought help from the Germans.¹⁴¹¹ Leading members were arrested in the USA when it entered

the war.¹⁴¹² The Defence of the Realm Act had been extended to India in 1915, in the form of the Defence of India Act. In 1919, although the war was now over, the impact of International Revolutionary Wave led to the passing of The Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act. This Act "provided for stricter control of the press, arrests without warrant, indefinite detention without trial, and juryless 'in camera' trials for proscribed political acts. The accused were denied the right to know the accusers and the evidence used in the trial. Those convicted were required to deposit securities upon release, and were prohibited from taking part in any political, educational, or religious activities."¹⁴¹³

The growing clamour for greater Indian self-determination led to unrest. There was a government clampdown, which produced protests in Punjab province. General Dyer met this challenge on April 13th, 1919, by ordering his troops to open fire upon a crowd in Amritsar. "He explained later that this act 'was not to disperse the meeting but to punish the Indians for disobedience.' Dyer ordered his troops to begin shooting toward the densest sections of the crowd. Firing continued for approximately ten minutes. Cease-fire was ordered only when ammunition supplies were almost exhausted, after approximately 1,650 rounds were spent. Many people died in stampedes at the narrow gates or by jumping into the solitary well on the compound to escape the shooting... 120 bodies were removed from the well. The wounded could not be moved from where they had fallen, as a curfew was declared, and many more died during the night."¹⁴¹⁴

The British government appointed the "Hunter Commission, {which} confirmed the deaths of 337 men, 41 boys and a six week old baby... The casualty number quoted by the {Indian National} Congress was more than 1,500, with approximately 1,000 being killed."¹⁴¹⁵ Even Churchill, no shrinking violet when it came to resort to violence to crush resistance, called the Amritsar Massacre "monstrous".¹⁴¹⁶

Not to be outdone by the British Army, on April 15th, Brigadier General N. D. K. MacEwan, commander of the Royal Air Force, used "police and aircraft" against the demonstrations in Gujranwala, protesting the killings at Amritsar... resulting in 12 deaths and 27 injuries." He said that "I think we can fairly claim to have been of great use in the late riots... where the crowd when looking at its nastiest was absolutely dispersed by a machine using bombs

and Lewis guns."¹⁴¹⁷

The UK government then tried to defuse the Revolutionary Nationalist upsurge in India. This 'Jewel in the Crown' remained very important to British Imperialism. Thus, there was no possibility of the UK government granting nominal Independence and finding a pliable local national to front their rule, as they did in Egypt and Iraq. That could also have led to a questioning of the position of George V, Emperor of India.

The Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, drew up the 1919 Government of India Act. It attempted to build upon the nineteenth century idea of building loyalty to the British Empire. It widened the basis of Indian participation through elections to the Provincial Councils. It also created a bicameral Central Legislature to replace the Imperial Legislative Council. To ensure continued British control, the Viceroy had veto powers. And every attempt was made to encourage the continued fragmentation of an Indian nation by continued recognition of separate princely states and by extending communal representation from Hindus and Muslims to Sikhs and Anglo-Indians.¹⁴¹⁸

In a further attempt to promote an Indian-British elite, Indian representatives were invited to the seventh Imperial Conference from June 20th to August 5th, 1921. Since 1887, this had consisted of the self-governing White colonies, restyled Dominions in 1907 (when the Union of South Africa was also admitted as another 'White' dominion).¹⁴¹⁹ In 1921, the Indian delegation of three¹⁴²⁰ was headed by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Samuel and included the Maharaja of Cutch, and the pliant V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.¹⁴²¹ White Supremacy continued. And it was only to be another four months before the British authorities became responsible for the suffocation of 67 out of 90 detained rebels in a closed iron railway wagon in Malabar in Kerala on November 20th.¹⁴²²

As in Ireland, the time had passed for the creation of a new hybrid-British elite. One indicator of this was Tagore's decision to renounce his knighthood after the Amritsar Massacre. "The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of my country men."¹⁴²³ The days of the native or 'mere' Indian, and the possibility of becoming Indian-British, were giving way to the days of the 'Indian-

Indian'.

Nevertheless, whilst failing to prevent the continued growth of Indian Nationalist opposition, the Government of India Act added to communal division. When the British finally withdrew from India in 1947, these divisions contributed to deaths of "over one million Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims",¹⁴²⁴ following the extension of partition to the Punjab province. By this time there were no longer any Imperial Conferences, which might discuss such 'delicate matters'.

d) The impact of the International Revolutionary Wave upon the struggle for an Irish Republic and splits in the post-war Coalition government (pp. 476-488)

However, the greatest challenge to British imperial control came from much closer to home - in Ireland. This was part of the UK state. The C&UP, IUP, UUC/UUP, Orange Order and other Loyalists viewed their intransigent defence of the existing Unionist state set-up as part of their undying support for the British Empire. In the face of growing Imperialist rivalry in the period of High Imperialism, they felt strongly that any Liberal constitutional experiment of Irish Home Rule needed to be fiercely resisted.

At the start of the First World War, the C&UP, led by Bonar Law, supported by IUP leader, Sir Edward Carson, had hoped that Irish Home Rule could be seen off altogether, in the triumphalist atmosphere following a British Imperial victory. And at first glance, the UK-wide results of the December 1918 general election seemed to confirm the pre-war expectations of these Unionists. During the war, the C&UP/IUP had already emerged as the dominant grouping in the War Coalition. Its members included Sir Edward Carson, 'Galloper' Smith and Bonar Law, who had all backed the Ulster Covenant, the UVF, the Larne gun-running, and the Curragh Mutiny.

After the December 1918 general election, the Coalition Coupon MPs held 74% of UK seats (as well as the support of other non-Coupon MPs), in England, Scotland, Wales and North-East Ulster. Most of them belonged to the C&UP (with its IUP and Belfast Labour contingents). The UK-wide Coupon Coalition's overwhelming majority meant that some hardliners still

wanted to see off Irish Home Rule altogether. They were looking to an all-UK alliance of Unionists and a resort to military force to compensate for their decidedly minority support in Ireland.

However, the general election results ended most Unionists' hope of suppressing Irish Home Rule. In 1914, 99% of Irish MPs - IPP, IUP and AfIL - with only the Independent Nationalist, Laurence Ginnell opposing - had voted to support the war. This was a higher pro-war proportion than in the rest of the UK. By 1918 though, this pro-war support was down to 30.5% of the Irish MPs – the IUP, other unionists and the IPP. And even many of those voting IPP now had grave doubts about Irish participation in the war and voted more in hope of seeing the pre-war British government promise of Irish Home Rule honoured, and in Ulster they voted as part of an electoral alliance with Sinn Fein against Partition.

Therefore, the growing impact of the International Revolutionary Wave, which liberal, conservative and reactionary unionists had not anticipated in 1914, made the new post-war Coalition government position on Ireland considerably less cohesive than its massive Westminster majority suggested. The 1916 Easter Rising and the need for more troops had already made even Carson contemplate the possibility of Partition, and a very limited form of Home Rule for 26 counties of Ireland. But at that time, in the face of the Unionist diehards led by Walter Long,¹⁴²⁵ and the increasingly worried southern Unionists led by the Earl of Midleton,¹⁴²⁶ Carson had not been able to deliver on this.

Following the December 1918 general election, Sinn Fein members refused to attend Westminster. Nevertheless, as well as all the British MPs, the IUP (and Labour Unionist) MPs, including those from Dublin Rathmines and Trinity University, all the IPP MPs, including those from Waterford, East Donegal, Armagh South, Down South, Tyrone North East and Belfast Falls constituencies, continued to attend Westminster.

As a result of their marginal position there, both the IUP and IPP MPs were to become even more subordinate to the requirements of the British ruling class's wider imperial interests. Neither the IUP nor the IPP got what they had originally hoped for - No Irish Home Rule (IUP) or Irish Home Rule without Partition (IPP). Nor did either get their second preferences - six

Ulster counties to remain fully part of Westminster (IUP/UUP), or two temporary Home Rule parliaments as a transition to an all-Ireland Home Rule parliament (IPP).

Meanwhile, a dual power situation developed in large parts of Ireland. The continuation of most of the institutions of UK state in Ireland, and the British military occupation, represented one pole of this dual power. It was to take some time before the countervailing Republican pole of dual power became more fully developed. Many elected Sinn Fein MPs were in prison or in exile.

Several of the more recent Sinn Fein members supported Arthur Griffith's long-standing strategy of creating an Irish-Irish Nation-state within the shell of the existing Irish-British part of the UK state, without directly confronting it. In this they shared some features of the thinking of the pre-war Socialist Party of Germany (SPD). It had had its own women's, youth, sports and cultural associations to provide a complete alternative to the official institutions of the Prussian-German state. But the SPD had not been able to use this base to overthrow the old Prussian-German order and indeed had made an accommodation with it, when the First World War broke out.

However, the real resolve behind the new Sinn Fein came not from Griffith and his supporters but from the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB). Michael Collins increasingly dominated the IRB, with its longstanding Republican roots. He had little time for the, until recently, Dual Monarchy supporting Griffith, or others who had thought that a new Irish state could be achieved without an armed challenge to the UK state.

Collins understood that the UK state would not allow a state of dual power to continue. Furthermore, going on all past precedents, the British would resort to whatever level of repression was thought necessary to end this situation. (Nor was such repression something the UK authorities would later abandon, as the more recent Ballymurphy massacres from 9-11th July, 1971¹⁴²⁷ and Bloody Sunday massacres in Derry on January 30th 1972¹⁴²⁸ showed). In this respect, the IRB shared the understanding of Connolly and of Lenin's Bolsheviks about the repressive nature of the states they were up against.

Both the UK state and the IRB were determined to resolve the dual power

situation which had developed - the first in favour of the Union and Empire, the second in favour of the Irish Republic. The British began a military and political offensive to try and suppress the challenge represented by Sinn Fein's massive electoral victory. The IRB leaders, especially Collins, decided they would have to remove the UK state's continued presence by force.

The Irish War of Independence started on January 21st, 1919, the day the First Republic was declared in Dublin's Mansion House. There had been violent action by the British authorities in Ireland and by the Irish Volunteers in County Kerry and County Cork prior to this. These had resulted in the loss of lives.¹⁴²⁹ However, the war to establish the Irish Republic is usually deemed to have begun when IRB-controlled Third Tipperary Brigade IV launched an armed attack upon a Royal Irish Constabulary patrol escorting gelignite at Soloheadbeg. The two RIC officers on the escort were killed.

This coincided, albeit accidentally, with the day the Dail Eireann first met. And "on 31 January, *An t-Óglach* (the official publication of the Irish Volunteers) stated that the formation of Dáil Éireann 'justifies Irish Volunteers in treating the armed forces of the enemy – whether soldiers or policemen – exactly as a National Army would treat the members of an invading army.'¹⁴³⁰

Following the outbreak of the War of Independence, there was a three-pronged campaign to try and make the Irish Republic an established fact - the official non-military one headed by the Dail; the quasi-official military one largely coordinated by Collins and the IRB; and the diplomatic one to gain International recognition. Eamon de Valera, the sole surviving signatory to the 1916 Declaration, was made President of the Dail Eireann at its second meeting on April 1st, 1919. He acted as a bridge between the official public institutions of the Irish Republic and the Republican military underground. He also became part of the overseas diplomatic efforts, particularly in the USA.

Leading IRB members, such as de Valera and Brugha, felt there was no longer any need for this organisation. They resigned. However, Collins, the leader of the Republican underground, still kept the IRB going to provide the key military officers he needed to extend the scope of the challenge to the British presence. Collins also held an official Cabinet post as Minister of

Finance. But for Collins, the main purpose of raising money was to finance the armed struggle and propaganda.

From the November 1919, the Dail's new Director of Propaganda, the veteran land campaigner, and former IPP and Independent Nationalist MP, Laurence Ginnell, took responsibility for producing the *Irish Bulletin*. It played a significant part in countering British state propaganda.¹⁴³¹

The first prong of the attempt to create an Irish Republic concentrated upon setting up new Irish institutions as an alternative to those of the UK state in Ireland. A Republican court was established in Ballinrobe, County Mayo on May 17th, 1919. Republican courts were extended nationally on June 18th.¹⁴³² The British official summer assizes across the south and west failed to operate from June and July 1920. The Irish Secretary, Hamar Greenwood, admitted, "the administrative machinery of the courts has been brought to a standstill".¹⁴³³ By August 25th, the Dail had also raised £250,000 in loans, providing independent financial support for the First Republic.

A massive boycott campaign against those employed by the British army and police was extended to others in the British administration. This campaign represented a return to the tactics first developed in the Land War of the 1880s.¹⁴³⁴ However, as part of the campaign to undermine British imposed civilian, as well as military law and order, the IV also shot the first civilian magistrate in Westport, County Mayo on March 29th, 1919.¹⁴³⁵ This early date suggests either a local initiative or Collin's IRB already taking personal responsibility for conducting the armed struggle.

The British tried to eliminate the public face of the new Irish Republic. On August 9th, the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act was passed which gave Dublin Castle the power to govern by regulation, to replace criminal courts with courts-martial, coroners' inquests with military courts of inquiry, whilst non-compliant local councils were to be denied funds.¹⁴³⁶ Although many of the Dail's members were already in prison or in exile, the British outlawed the entire Dail on September 12th, 1919.¹⁴³⁷

However, it was not until March 11th, 1921, that the outlawed Dail officially declared war on the UK administration.¹⁴³⁸ This was well after the British parliamentary and legal attempts to end the official Republican pole of dual

power. To achieve this the British had shot Tomas Mac Curtain, the Lord Mayor of Cork on March 20th, 1920.¹⁴³⁹ They followed this by killing a Limerick County councillor on September 23rd 1920;¹⁴⁴⁰ and then by killing the Mayor and ex-Mayor of Limerick on March 6th, 1921.¹⁴⁴¹ In the face of this escalation, the IRA extended their previous chosen targets and killed an employee of a senior judge, in Killiney, County Dublin on May 13th, 1921¹⁴⁴²

Although a land agent was killed near Athenry, County Galway, on March 3rd, 1920,¹⁴⁴³ the still unresolved land issue was largely suppressed due to the priority given to the war, and the hope of Republican and Nationalist politicians not to alienate the landlords. Therefore, the new Republican courts, in particular the Land Arbitration Courts, usually favoured the socio-economic status quo. This benefitted large landowners. The courts had Catholic priests, which reinforced their social conservatism, although Ulster based Sinn Fein MPs Joseph O'Docherty and Ernest Blythe had opposed this on anti-sectarian grounds.¹⁴⁴⁴ Furthermore, Peadar O'Donnell, a Republican Socialist, IT&GWU organiser and IRA officer, prevented his forces being used to implement decisions that benefitted the estate owners in County Donegal.¹⁴⁴⁵

The British forces also acted to suppress the most advanced part of the Irish agricultural economy. Munster was the location of the cooperative creameries. These had faced strong opposition from local southern Unionist landlords and from IPP supporting gombeen men. The British forces targeted and burnt out these creameries in their reprisals.¹⁴⁴⁶ (Later, both the Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty forces were to attack workers occupying the creameries).

The second prong of the Republican campaign was mainly military. The Irish Volunteers (IV) became the official armed organisation of the Irish Republic. To emphasise this, in August 1919, the IV was renamed the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its members swore an oath of allegiance to the Dail Eireann. Nevertheless, in practical terms Collin's IRB and the local IRA Brigades maintained much autonomy and freedom of action. On April 3rd-4th and 5th-6th, 1920, the IRA burned over 450 abandoned RIC barracks in rural areas and 100 income tax offices.¹⁴⁴⁷ The British physical presence in Ireland was now in retreat.

But, as the effective Irish Republican pole of dual power grew in influence, the British upped the ante. The British forces resorted to reprisals against commercial properties in areas with a strong Republican presence. On September 7th, 1919, 200 British soldiers took part in the looting and burning of Fermoy, County Cork.¹⁴⁴⁸ Later that month, the RIC also adopted a policy of reprisals, with the looting and burning of 54 buildings and the killing two IRA suspects in the Sack of Balbriggan in County Dublin.¹⁴⁴⁹

The UK government then formed the Auxiliaries in September 1919. They consisted of former British officers, and they augmented the RIC forces.¹⁴⁵⁰ One of their contributions to the reprisals was the Burning of Cork, where 300 homes, 40 businesses, the City Hall and library were destroyed, many civilians were beaten and robbed, and two unarmed IRA members killed.¹⁴⁵¹ The Auxiliaries also resorted to the torture and mutilation of prisoners. The Black and Tans, largely made up of brutalised ex-First World War British soldiers, were also formed in January 1920.¹⁴⁵² The Ulster Special Constabulary, almost exclusively recruited from the old UVF or other Loyalists, was formed in October 1920 to aid the RIC in Ulster.¹⁴⁵³ For both the Black and Tans and the USC, reprisals against Catholic civilians were part of their normal mode of operation.

Some of these forces, especially the battle-hardened, well-equipped Auxiliaries, provided a real challenge to the Republicans. They suffered a number of losses at their hands. However, the West Cork Brigade of the IRA, was able to wipe out an Auxiliary platoon at Kilmichael in March 1921, whilst the 3rd Cork Brigade defeated a combined British Army and Auxiliary force at Crossbarry later the same month.¹⁴⁵⁴ Tom Barry, an ex-soldier in the British Army, involved in both of these IRA attacks, would have some familiarity with the thinking of the Auxiliary officers.

But, by this time, the British had also created a new intelligence force, making use of local spies and informers, and sometimes penetrating IRA ranks. Initially the G Division of Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) had performed this role. However, Collins' forces had managed to eliminate them. So, in January 1920, a British Army Intelligence Centre (BAIC) was established under the direct control of the Special Branch in London.¹⁴⁵⁵ Their plans were to assassinate IRA leaders. Torture of prisoners was also acceptable. The BAIC's British ex-Army officers were thought to be less

open to Republican penetration than the Irish DMP.

However, Collins succeeded in locating the residencies of the BAIC's 'Cairo Gang' members. His 'Squad' had eleven of its members and an informer killed in Dublin on the early morning of November 21st, 1920.¹⁴⁵⁶ By now reprisals against Irish civilians was quite standard practice for British troops, the RIC and Auxiliaries. They mounted a combined armed attack on a GAA match at Croke Park in which twelve people were shot and killed, including a woman and two boys aged 10 and 11.¹⁴⁵⁷ But such retaliatory action just further cemented support for the Irish Republic, and discredited the UK internationally, especially in the USA.

Wars produce their own dynamic - something Connolly had recognised.¹⁴⁵⁸ When guns, bombs and explosives are involved, then deaths and injuries of non-combatants are almost inevitable. The use of violence also leads to counter-violence and escalation. The taking and treatment of prisoners or hostages, and the extension of the range of targets become contentious issues.

During the First World War, the British had pursued a strategy of war of attrition (seeing which army could impose and endure the greatest casualties) and enforced a naval blockade to create starvation amongst Germany's civilian population. In 1916, the brutality of the British forces in suppressing the Easter Rising had been evident. During the Rising, the IV and ICA also killed civilians in the crossfire, but the British forces with their much more powerful weaponry and their lack of concern for civilians, killed many more. With their gunboats and artillery, they also destroyed far more buildings.¹⁴⁵⁹ Some British soldiers also resorted to quite deliberate murders of non-combatants.

During the War of Independence, the IV/IRA mainly targeted soldiers, police, British intelligence units and informers. Collin's IRB also attempted the assassination of senior military officers - such as General French on December 19th, 1919, in Dublin (unsuccessfully), and General Sir Henry Wilson on June 22nd, 1922, in London (successfully). However, in IV/IRA attacks to gain weapons, British or RIC forces that surrendered were often released.

But, with the British having shot and killed two civilians in Limerick and

three in Milton Malbay, County Clare during April 1920,¹⁴⁶⁰ with the Black and Tans having launched a campaign of reprisals against unarmed IRA men and civilians from September 1920, and with the new Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney dying on hunger strike in Brixton Jail on October 25th, 1920,¹⁴⁶¹ the IRB/IRA adopted a policy of reprisals against captured British soldiers and police. The IRA shot the first such soldier in Connolly, County Clare, on October 28th, 1920.¹⁴⁶² On April 23rd, 1921, a captured British soldier was executed, when the authorities refused to exchange him for an IRA man sentenced to death.¹⁴⁶³

Following the widespread use of British reprisals against civilians, including women and children, especially by the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries, the IRB/IRA extended the range of its own reprisals. On the January 28th, 1921, Maria Lindsay, a County Cork Protestant woman, along with her chauffeur, were shot and her house burned down in reprisal for information which led to the execution of five IRA men.¹⁴⁶⁴ Perhaps the most brutal IRA killings were of Richard and Abraham Pearson, two Protestant farmers left to bleed slowly to death after being shot at Coolacree, County Offaly on June 30th, 1921. There is a historical dispute about whether they were killed for local sectarian reasons or because they were informers.¹⁴⁶⁵

Similarly, the motive for the killing of 14 Protestants at Dunmanway, County Cork from April 26th-28th 1922, is disputed.¹⁴⁶⁶ The IRA actions around Dunmanway seem to have been targeted at suspected informants, following the killing of an IRA officer. "Those killed were named in captured British files as informers before the Truce."¹⁴⁶⁷ In this case, they were all Protestant, although elsewhere Catholic informers were also shot. Although the Truce negotiated between the Irish and UK governments was already in place, there were anti-Treatyite forces on both sides, and Cork city and west County Cork had seen a whole series of particularly vicious British actions. These killings were perhaps undertaken to pre-empt future British intelligence gathering in the event of the Truce breaking down.

Sectarianism was not the political motivation for Irish Republican leadership. The IRA had some members from a Protestant or Jewish background in its ranks. During the Irish War of Independence and the ensuing Irish Civil War, there were many areas in the 26 counties, particularly in Dublin, where widespread attacks could have been made upon Protestants if sectarianism

was the motive. This did not happen.

This contrasted with the many official Unionist and unofficial Loyalist attacks upon civilian Catholics in Belfast and Derry and elsewhere in northeast Ulster, which resulted in deaths, injuries, evictions and loss of jobs. Following Partition, integration was not an option given to Catholics in the new Orange Northern Irish sub-state. People from a Protestant Unionist background had served in the British institutions in Ireland, so many did decide to leave Ireland for the UK or the colonies, just as many British left India after independence. After the fighting was over, of those Protestants remaining in Ireland some began to assimilate to the new Catholic majority order, sometimes through inter-marriage now that Protestantism no longer provided privilege, whilst others integrated.

It was the continued British military occupation of Ireland, and the imprisonment of elected Sinn Fein MPs, against the wishes of the large majority of the Irish people, as expressed in the 1918 general election, which led to the War of Independence. The fact that Republicans (outside northeast Ulster) enjoyed majority support accounted for the more measured nature of the way they conducted their side of the war. The UK government, without such support, resorted primarily to military and police methods to control Ireland. They used senior army and police officers, experienced in colonial policing and wartime military action, to enforce this. Therefore, it is not surprising that the excesses found in any war, were of an altogether more brutal nature on the British side than the Republican side in the Irish War of Independence.

The majority of Irish had only voted for an Irish Republic in December 1918, although it was clear that they were also giving retrospective support for the armed rising of 1916. The IRB/IV/IRA considered that this vote had given them a mandate for military action to uphold the Irish Republic. However, it was not until 1920 that this could be tested again in an election. The local elections held on January 1920 demonstrated the continued support for Sinn Fein, which by now was clearly linked with the actions of the IRA. By this time, it had become even clearer that the Republic could only be maintained by military force in the face of British repression.

These 1920 elections were the last organised by the British and were on an

all-Ireland basis. The British introduced a proportional voting system, not with the intention of bringing about greater democracy, but to dilute support for Sinn Fein.¹⁴⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Sinn Fein won a majority on all the county councils in Ireland outside six counties Ulster, with the exception of County Waterford, where there was no overall control. Sinn Fein also won control of three of the five County Borough councils.¹⁴⁶⁹ In a fourth, the City of Londonderry, within the six counties of Ulster, it was equally placed with the IIP, in the Nationalist coalition running the city.¹⁴⁷⁰

And, although the British authorities had been able to find a few supporters amongst the Irish Nationalists and defectors from Republican ranks, their own loss of previous supporters was far more significant. Many Irish who had served the UK and British Empire in the First World War switched their support to the Republicans. Tom Barry, one of the Republicans' most effective commanders, had served with the British army in Mesopotamia. Reginald Dunne¹⁴⁷¹ and Joseph O'Sullivan,¹⁴⁷² the Republicans who killed Field Marshal Wilson in London, and were subsequently hanged, both served in the British Army during the First World War. And in July 1920 in India, a whole company of the Connaught Rangers, which had previously loyally served British Imperial interests, mutinied and ran up the Irish Republican tricolour.¹⁴⁷³

The third prong of the Republican campaign, the seeking of International recognition, proved to be the least effective. This was because Sinn Fein and others looked primarily to the USA to win such support. Woodrow Wilson remained loyal to the Allies' imperial cause. His commitment to National Self-Determination, as outlined in his Fourteen Points, proved to be empty words. Sean T. Kelly, the elected MP for Dublin College Green, was sent to the Paris Peace Conference in April 1919, without any success¹⁴⁷⁴ De Valera later spent 18 months, from June 1919 to December 1920 in the USA, trying to get official recognition for the new Irish Republic.¹⁴⁷⁵ As well as de Valera's unofficial ambassador, the socially conservative Dr. Patrick McCartan, Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, and even James Connolly's daughter, Norah, were all sent over to the USA to win official support.¹⁴⁷⁶ They were all unsuccessful. The US government never gave official recognition to the First Irish Republic. However, the Irish campaigners, in their visits to the USA, did manage to win unofficial support and finance for the Irish Republicans, mainly from Irish-Americans.

Nevertheless, the combined setting up of Republican institutions, military struggle and the winning of unofficial International support, forced the majority of the British ruling class and the Coalition government, led by Lloyd George, in particular, to seek some accommodation with the leaders of the Irish Republic. The Unionist diehards could only see a zero-sum game in any concessions. They were strongly opposed to the Truce made on July 11th 1921, which Lloyd George had initially negotiated with Irish leader, Eamon de Valera.

When this eventually led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of January 1922, it was not only the anti-Treaty Republicans (now led by de Valera), who strongly opposed it, but the Unionist rejectionists, led by such key people as Sir Henry Wilson, who was in close contact with the furthest Right members of the C&UP in both Great Britain and Ireland (particularly in Ulster).

Collins broke from de Valera, though, and accepted the Treaty. He was looking for a longer-term breathing space, in which the Republicans could regroup and reorganise without any British military presence in 26 counties Ireland. He continued to give clandestine support for the IRA in the Six Counties. Meanwhile, Imperial Field Marshal Wilson and others were looking to the base provided by the Six Counties, to provide and organise the military forces needed to reinvade the Twenty-Six counties.

What was not so immediately obvious was the emergence of a distinct southern Catholic business interest within Sinn Fein, many who had only recently come over from the IPP. Very few of these mainly small business leaders had any direct economic interests in the North, so they were keen to form a new Twenty-Six Counties state to advance their interests. They could also see that the Dominion status, which was now on offer from the Lloyd George-led Coalition government, had not prevented the growing strength of business leaders in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Indeed, former Boer guerrilla leader Jan Smuts, who had been in the British Imperial War Cabinet, was there to reassure them of the continuing benefits of the Crown and Empire to such people who had once opposed the British.¹⁴⁷⁷

The Catholic hierarchy had also adeptly switched its allegiance from the IPP

to Sinn Fein. It maintained its influence by trying to mould Sinn Fein into an IPP Mark 2. But like Lloyd George, and unlike the Unionist diehards, the Catholic hierarchy understood that the pre-First World War social conditions could not be revived. What was needed was not a return to the traditional political order but 'counter-revolution within the revolution'. The continued existence of a deeply reactionary component within or near to the official Catholic hierarchy cannot disguise the fact that it has been in existence for over a millennium and a half and has learned to adapt to new situations. In this respect, the Catholic hierarchy has even greater experience than the British ruling class. And it was more adept at allowing dissident, and even potentially revolutionary forces, to exist within Catholic ranks. These could be contained and later gain retrospective official recognition, when it suited the hierarchy's purposes.

Furthermore, another more pragmatic group was emerging within the UUP ranks of the IUP. Previously the UUV/UUP had seen themselves as the vanguard of Irish and British Unionist and Imperial interests. But now another business group, many of Ulster-Scots Presbyterian origin, was coming to the fore. They could see the benefits of abandoning the southern Unionists (who tended to be descended from the old, landed Anglican, Anglo-Irish Ascendancy). Led by Sir James Craig, new Ulster Unionists saw the possibilities of coming to a local deal, which recognised their distinct economic interests.

The new opportunities offered by Partition, which had only been advanced initially to scupper Irish Home Rule altogether, were now considered. Following this, the differences amongst the UUP were increasingly over what form of Partition should be implemented, both territorially - 9 or 6 counties of Ulster - and Administratively - continued Direct Rule, or heresy of heresies, Political Home Rule, which more precisely meant the setting up of an Orange sub-state within the UK.

e) Major working class struggles in Ireland constrained by support either for the Union or for the Sinn Fein leadership of the Irish Republic (pp. 490-498)

The wider Irish working class played its part in challenging the post-war

Coalition government. The first major upsurge of working class action took place in Belfast. Following a ballot, rank and file members of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades launched the Great Engineering Strike for a 44 hour, working week, on January 25th, 1919, in defiance of both the TUC and the ASE leaderships.¹⁴⁷⁸ 8000 workers assembled at Custom House Quay to show their support. Although, in the past, Loyalist workers had ensured that the skilled jobs in engineering and shipbuilding were largely confined to Protestants, this had been relaxed to some extent during the First World War, when these industries required additional labour. So, the strike involved workers across the sectarian divide. There was some overlap with the 40 Hours Strike on Clydeside, which started two days later. Many Belfast and Govan shipyard workers shared a common employer in Harland and Wolff.

The Belfast strikers picketed extensively, forcing gas and electricity supplies to be limited and the city tram service to be closed down. In the face of such a challenge, the employers had to use different divide-and-rule tactics to their usual encouragement of religious sectarianism. The shipyard employers conceded the 44 hours working week, but the engineering employers stuck to the 47 hours working week already agreed with the UK union officials. The next ballot on February 14th was much closer and Belfast Corporation used troops at the gas and electricity works to step up supplies. As in Glasgow, once the use of troops was involved, the Strike Committee began to retreat. On February 17th the committee called off the strike.

And, as with the Glasgow strike committee, the local Belfast committee faced strong opposition from the ASE national leadership. In both areas district secretaries were suspended, whilst "the Negotiating Committee of the UK Federation of Shipbuilding, Engineering and Allied Trades called on all shipyard workers to return to work."¹⁴⁷⁹ William Adamson, leader of the British Labour Party said the strike had been "fomented by 'revolutionaries.'"¹⁴⁸⁰ The government, faced with solidarity from power workers, also extended DORA (which remained in place after the war) to make it illegal to deprive a community of light.

But another problem lay in the overwhelmingly Protestant Unionist nature of the men in the craft unions. This led to a limited vision amongst the strike committee. Their long-standing, Unionist-inspired cross-class loyalty was

even revealed during the strikers' huge march on February 11th. "Members of the strike committee led many workers to join the cortege"¹⁴⁸¹ at the funeral of the managing director of Harland and Wolff.

On the February 12th, Lloyd George attacked the strikers, saying, "Anarchy is their aim, anarchy is their focus, to destroy not merely trade unionism {read trade union officialdom}, but the state."¹⁴⁸² Even James Baird, a member of the ILP and Belfast Labour, wrote to the *Northern Whig* stating that, "Like Mr Allen (a director of Workman and Clark) I refrain from introducing any political references, except to assure him that politics have nothing to do with the hours of labour".¹⁴⁸³ With such a political self-denial ordinance prevailing, even amongst Socialists, and with a Labour Unionist and Orange Order presence on the strike committee, the employers and government were given a free hand to promote their political version of events.

During the anti-conscription action in 1918, Belfast workers had initially been to the forefront.¹⁴⁸⁴ However, once the issue of loyalty to the UK state embroiled in war was raised, the action in Belfast soon fell away, and local Loyalists took back control. It took a bit longer for Loyalism to fully re-establish control over workers, after the Great Engineers' Strike in 1919. The impact of the International Revolutionary Wave had now spread beyond Republican Ireland to the rest of the UK.

Back in November 1918, Belfast Labour had opposed the ILP&TUC decision not to stand candidates in the forthcoming UK general election. The ILP&TUC had, in effect, bowed to Sinn Fein pressure. Belfast Labour, however, put up its own candidates against Irish and Labour Unionists, the IPP and Sinn Fein. But during the Great Engineering Strike, Belfast Labour adopted its own political self-denying political ordinance, with their accommodation to Unionism, which mirrored the ILP&TUC's accommodation to Sinn Fein.¹⁴⁸⁵ Once the employers and government made appeals to loyalty, this soon proved to be an Achilles heel for the strike, which was ended.

However, such was the wider impact of the International Revolutionary Wave that in Belfast, as in Glasgow, optimism remained strong amongst Socialists and Belfast Labour supporters. They joined the 100,000 strong 1919 May Day march from Belfast City Halls to Ormeau Park.¹⁴⁸⁶ And in the January 1920 all-Ireland local council elections, now held under

proportional representation, Belfast Labour nominated 20 candidates for 60 seats, and 13 were elected. They included two strike leaders, Sam Kyle in Shankill and George Donaldson in St. Annes, two normally solid Unionist areas. They beat the Labour Unionists, who were part of the UUP, which, since Partition had not yet been introduced, still remained part of the IUP.

Yet, in contrast to Glasgow (where the ILP and Labour Party had won 45 council seats at the same time), this turned out to be Belfast Labour's highpoint. For, by July 1920, the Ulster Unionists with the support of Labour Unionists, and other Loyalist forces had made preparations for their Partition counter-offensive, backed by the UK state. Following this, "all that was left behind was a veneer of economic militancy which cracked as soon as sectarian tension grew. In trying to exclude 'politics' from the strike. the strike committee sowed the wind. In July 1920 they reaped the whirlwind, many of them personally... There can be few clearer examples in history of the ephemeral effect of purely economic militancy."¹⁴⁸⁷

Meanwhile, in the rest of Ireland, both the IT&GWU and the ILP&TUC were also making an impact. But as in Britain the immediate gains were organisational following a big growth in union membership. These gains were mainly confined to the economic sphere with pay increases and reductions in hours for union members. But, neither the UK state, nor a politically unchallenged Irish Republic, provided the political framework where Socialists could extend the increased working class militancy across to the wider trade union movement on either of these states' territorial bases. The more Syndicalist-inspired action, which did defy trade union officialdom, also found it difficult to win the necessary unofficial support, either within a particular union, or as wider inter-union solidarity. These problems had already been highlighted in both the Belfast and Glasgow Strikes in late January and early February 1919.

Sinn Fein's leaders, following Irish Labour's successful action preventing the introduction of conscription in 1918, knew that they had to tread carefully. Thomas Johnson was invited to help draw up the Democratic Programme of the First Irish Republic.¹⁴⁸⁸ This (social) Republican document was announced when the Irish Dail first met on 21st January 1919. However, "The First Dáil subsequently issued 'decrees' on many matters, but none of these were based on the Programme. There was no money to put the plans into effect. The war... led to 'British sanctions in the form of withdrawal of

grants... inhibiting financial autonomy. The Minister for Finance, Michael Collins, found it impossible to introduce a system of income tax and the Dáil itself never advocated that the Irish should stop paying tax or indeed land annuities to the British."¹⁴⁸⁹

Whilst the pressures of war, and the lack of finance, were undoubtedly contributory factors, Collin's refusal to extend the boycotting of British institutions, he otherwise vigorously enforced, to taxes and land annuities was revealing. And, in the context of the International Revolutionary Wave, which ILP&TUC leaders often hailed, they made no real challenges to the nature of the new Irish state being set up by the Republicans.

However, Labour showed its strength once more in the most dramatic fashion. Between April 15th-27th, 1919, the Limerick Trades and Labour Council organised a general strike "as a protest against the British Army's declaration of a 'Special Military Area' under DORA, which covered most of Limerick city and a part of the county."¹⁴⁹⁰ This resort to troops and armoured vehicles followed the death of Robert Byrne, an IRA member and trades council delegate, and the death of one RIC officer and the injury of another, during in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue Byrne from the clutches of the RIC.¹⁴⁹¹

Over the 12 days of resistance, a local 'soviet' was formed. "The general strike was extended to a boycott of the troops. A special strike committee was set up to print their own money, control food prices and publish newspapers."¹⁴⁹² There was wider sympathy in Dublin, but the British-based NUR, led by Jimmy Thomas, ensured that the railwaymen did not strike in support.¹⁴⁹³ John Dowling (SPI) was a key participant as the Limerick IT&GWU organiser. He had been an acquaintance of James Connolly, in the pre-war union struggles in Cork.¹⁴⁹⁴

Under pressure from the local Sinn Fein mayor and the Catholic bishop, the strike was brought to an end. However, the continued confidence of workers, inspired by the ongoing International Revolutionary Wave, meant that the new Republican government, still had to take measures to keep Labour on board. In the same month as the Limerick Soviet, Constance Markiewicz, a known sympathiser of Irish Labour and recently released from a British jail, was made Minister for Labour. The Dail also set up industrial arbitration courts, as part of its attempt to create new institutions, independent of the UK

state.

Members of Irish trade unions continued to make their influence felt during the struggle for an Irish Republic. In November 1919, a new union, the Automobile Drivers and Mechanics Union took strike action against the introduction of special driving permits designed to weed out Republican-sympathising lorry drivers. The members were largely successful in their action, despite the refusal of the IT&GWU leader, William O'Brien to support them.¹⁴⁹⁵

On April 5th, 1920, the ILP&TUC authorised a general strike in support of a hundred Republican prisoners who had gone on hunger strike. Workers unofficially took over municipal buildings and organised food distribution. In the face of this new threat, the British authorities quickly released the prisoners. The Irish Unionists were clearer than most organisers of the potential. Their principal organ, the *Irish Times* wrote that "A continuation of the fight... might have witnessed the establishment of Soviets of workmen in all parts of Ireland."¹⁴⁹⁶

In May 1920, "Michael Donnelly, a Dublin dock worker and ICA veteran, persuaded O'Brien to order the blacking of British ships carrying war materials against the IRA." This action was "inspired by the refusal of London dockers to load munitions for use against Soviet Russia."¹⁴⁹⁷ A struggle went on between the rank and file of the IT&GWU wanting to extend the action to other workers, especially the railwaymen, and O'Brien trying to limit it. Characteristically, Jimmy Thomas offered to send over NUR members from England to drive any trains refused by Irish drivers.¹⁴⁹⁸ Under pressure from the employers, who also had the ear of the Sinn Fein government, O'Brien got the action called off in November 1920.¹⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, in December 1920, drivers and enginemen on the Cavan and Leitrim Railway refused to carry Black and Tans, leading to the arrest and internment of employees.¹⁵⁰⁰

Concentrating its attention upon economic demands, the IT&GWU, took advantage of the wider mood created during the upsurge of the International Revolutionary Wave and the struggle for Irish Self-Determination. The union continued to grow and spread especially in rural areas. The union's extensive organisation, and ability to deliver solidarity action, put additional

pressure upon the employers, who were often forced to concede over pay and conditions.

Because of divisions between and within the competing states - the UK, the First Irish Republic and then the Irish Free State - and because the workers were themselves also sometimes armed, a major coordinated state and employer offensive was delayed until the end of the Civil War in 1923, two years later than in the UK. The simultaneous struggle for National Self-Determination contributed to the working class militancy in Ireland at the time. This was highlighted by the relative absence of such actions in Unionist-dominated areas, following the brutal Loyalist suppression of Catholic/Nationalist and Socialist trade unionists in Belfast in July 1920. Indeed, as a result of this Unionist/Loyalist and employer move to divide workers, the Right regained the initiative in North-East Ulster, before anywhere else in the UK.

A quite frequent feature of workers' struggles was a resort to occupations, e.g. of the asylum in Monaghan Town as early as January 1919 (led by Socialist Republican, Peadar O'Donnell).¹⁵⁰¹ In May 1920 the creamery at Knocklong in County Limerick (where John Dowling, the new IT&GWU organiser was involved),¹⁵⁰² in May 1921 the Arigna coalmines in County Leitrim, and in August 1921, and the bakery and mills at Bruree in County Limerick.¹⁵⁰³ In acknowledgement of the wider impact of the International Revolutionary Wave, the workers often called their occupations 'soviets' and themselves 'Bolsheviks'. However, their actions did not represent an attempt to create an alternative Irish Workers' Republic but were used to maximise the pressure on the employers.

In 1920, the collapse of British authority over large areas of rural Ireland led, in effect, to the beginnings of a 'Fourth Land War'. It began with cattle drives, reminiscent of the Third Land War.¹⁵⁰⁴ "There were cattle driven, uprooting of fences and, after a landlord was shot, struggle spread 'with the fury of a prairie fire', first through Galway, then over Mayo, Roscommon, beyond Connacht to west Leinster, then Munster, and even parts of south Ulster. Ranches and demesnes were seized by the people, broken up and cultivated."¹⁵⁰⁵

However, the political leaders of the First Irish Republic wanted to bring the

employers, including the cattle grazers, previously mostly Unionist or Nationalist supporters, as well as the Catholic hierarchy, on board. So, the Republican courts, which arbitrated in labour and land disputes, mostly favoured the employers, landlords and big farmers. Many, particularly amongst the IRA members, detailed with enforcing the courts' edicts, were unhappy. However, they were persuaded that the war against the British, and later either against the pro-Treatyites or Anti-Treatyites, had to take priority, before their needs could be addressed. And it was Constance Markiewicz, whilst still Minister of Labour in the First Irish Republic, who persuaded the Council of Action, leading the Munster 'soviets', to call off their action,¹⁵⁰⁶ although the workers did make substantial gains.¹⁵⁰⁷

But ironically, it was in those rural areas, which UK state authority had largely abandoned, and where land was the main issue, that the Republican courts were most able to impose the Dail's will. In most cases the landlords had their land restored. The Dail publicly outlined its concerns in *Constructive work of Dail Eireann No. 1*. "While the IRA was establishing their authority as a national police, a grave danger threatened the foundations of the Republic. This was the reappearance in an acute form of an agrarian agitation for the break-up of great grazing ranches into tillage holdings for landless men and 'uneconomic' small farmers... The mind of the people was being diverted from the struggle for freedom by a class war... But this crisis was surmounted... through the Arbitration Court and enforced by the Republican police."¹⁵⁰⁸

There was another arena, in which the ILP&TUC found itself caught up in Sinn Fein's plans. That was the seeking of International Recognition for the Irish Republic. Cathal O'Shannon had already shown his concern about the prospect of the lack of Irish Labour representation at the up and coming Labour and Socialist peace conferences due to the ILP&TUCs failure to stand candidates at the 1918 general election.

But Left SPI member, O'Shannon also joined then Centre SPI member,¹⁵⁰⁹ Thomas Johnson as the two SPI/ILP&TUC delegates to the meeting to re-establish the Second International in Berne in February 1919. British War Cabinet member, Arthur Henderson chaired this meeting. Shannon and Johnson submitted their document *Ireland at Berne* for Sinn Fein's prior approval.¹⁵¹⁰ At this stage Sinn Fein was desperate for any International

recognition. However, the conference failed to endorse the Irish Republic.

In March 1919, the Bolsheviks launched the Third International in Moscow. The SPI was not present, although Larkin, now imprisoned in the USA following his involvement in the burgeoning American Communist politics, sent a telegram of support. This included the words, "Yours for the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁵¹¹ However, he would have been less happy at the developing realpolitik between the Sinn Fein leadership and the Bolsheviks. Larkin's *bête noire*, Sinn Fein's Dr. Patrick McCartan was centrally involved. After the failure to get official US government recognition, McCartan was empowered by de Valera to begin secret diplomatic and trade negotiations with the Bolshevik representatives in Moscow in February 1921.¹⁵¹²

Although, by this time there had been three years period of friendly relations between these two pariah states, Soviet Russia was now also conducting negotiations with the British government. The Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed on 1 March 16th, 1921,¹⁵¹³ the day before the final crushing of the Kronstadt Revolt.¹⁵¹⁴ McCartan returned to Ireland empty-handed.¹⁵¹⁵ The initial heroic days of the International Revolutionary Wave were now over. And Irish Socialist and Labour relations with the Third International and Soviet Russia were to become more strained. Furthermore, once the USA recognised the non-Republican, Irish Free State in 1923, there was no longer any need for the Irish state to seek the support of Irish Socialists or Russian Communists.

f) The belated impact of the new struggle for Irish self-determination upon the rest of the UK, and the first steps in John Maclean's abandonment of a 'British road to socialism' (pp. 497-518)

Up until the First World War, the prospect of Irish Home Rule had been the main stimulus to Home Rule sentiment in Scotland and Wales. In both these nations there was a political range of support for Home Rule. In its most advanced form this amounted to a desire for Dominion status within the Empire, with the Canadian and Australian models in mind. Most Home Rule supporters, though, wanted Politically Devolved parliaments for Ireland, Scotland or Wales within the UK, which retained Westminster supremacy.

The Liberal government's Third Irish Home Rule Bill was based on this principle.

Scottish and Welsh Home Rule supporters looked for constitutional change so they could bring about changes that were related to each Nation's particular economic and social conditions, e.g. land reform, religious disestablishment and alcohol prohibition. Others, though, only wanted the minimum Devolutionary concessions and the promotion of 'Home-Rule-all-round for Ireland, Scotland and Wales' was seen as a way to restrain the greater ambitions of Irish Home Rulers.

In the immediate pre-war period, the furthest that had been achieved in the way of Political Devolution, on the back of the movement for Irish Home Rule, was the 1914 Scottish Home Rule Bill introduced by a Scottish Liberal MP.¹⁵¹⁶ The three Labour (including one ILP) MPs from Scotland voted in support. Any further advance of the bill had been thwarted by the outbreak of the First World War.

In Wales, ILP support for Home Rule was quite strong, although the ILP was more weakly placed within the Labour Party in Wales than it was in Scotland. Furthermore, in Wales only the North Wales Liberal Federation had ever adopted Welsh Home Rule as a policy, and this had been decisively defeated in the wider Welsh party at its Newport AGM in 1896.¹⁵¹⁷ Instead of Political Devolution, the Welsh Liberals looked to further Administrative Devolution, and the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. They settled for the 1914 Welsh Church Act.¹⁵¹⁸ Thus, although the few elected Scottish Labour MPs could take their lead from the Scottish Liberals at Westminster and support Scottish Home Rule, the Welsh Labour MPs got no such lead from the Welsh Liberals.

It was in Scotland, and in the initially unlikely person of John Maclean, a member of the SDF/SDP/BSP, and hence supporter of a 'British road to Socialism' that a new Socialist Republican, 'Internationalism from Below' politics eventually emerged. This went considerably further than the Scottish Left's traditional support for Scottish Home Rule. However, the change in Maclean's thinking developed over a number of years. But Maclean eventually extended James Connolly's thinking from Ireland to Scotland by advocating what was, in effect, a 'break-up of the UK and British Empire

road to Socialism/Communism'. And it was Ireland which provided the inspiration for Maclean's eventual support for a Scottish Workers' Republic.

Soon after Maclean's release from prison in December 1918, in his eve of the general election poll speech, he demanded not only the release of Eugene Debs and Big Bill Haywood in the USA, but also of Barney Friel and Joe Robinson, two Irish Republican prisoners he had met in Peterhead Jail.¹⁵¹⁹ Maclean's growing support for the Irish Republican challenge to the British authorities formed part of his revolutionary strategy of creating the maximum mayhem for the UK government. Yet, at this time, his support for the Republican struggle in Ireland, and his own activities, primarily amongst trade unionists in Great Britain, formed parallel but not yet politically connected activities.

Political pressure had been building up for Scottish Home Rule again towards the end of the First World War. Many in the ILP, in particular, were committed to the Scottish pole of their Scottish-British identities. Strong support for Scottish Home Rule had been shown before the war in the Glasgow-based paper, *Forward*, edited by Tom Johnston and Roland Muirhead. Maclean had also written *Scottish Notes* in the British Socialist Party (BSP) paper, *Justice*, under the pseudonym 'Gael'. (Connolly had been another contributor to *Forward*.) Maclean had supported a Scottish National Council for the BSP. He regularly used his column to support crofters in their land struggle.¹⁵²⁰

However, because of Maclean's economic approach, at that time, he was less interested in the constitution of the UK state, and hence was lukewarm towards the idea of Scottish Home Rule. Maclean made no mention in his articles of the 1913 Government of Scotland Bill, which had passed its first two readings in the House of Commons.¹⁵²¹ Further progress for this bill was blocked by the onset of the First World War.

Nevertheless, with the exception of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), Scottish Home Rule had been supported throughout the Scottish Left to different degrees. When the war was over, the incoming Coupon Coalition government made no attempt to revive the pre-war Scottish Home Rule Bill. This was indicative of their likely stance towards the suspended Third Irish Home Rule Act, if a more serious consideration of Irish Home Rule had not been forced upon them by the consequences of the Easter Rising and by Sinn

Fein's major breakthrough in the 1918 general election.

But, as the First World War came to an end, Scottish trade union leaders, who had assisted the government's clampdown on workers' rights, pay and conditions, now began to consider the future. They showed a renewed interest in the issue of Scottish Home Rule. This issue was addressed by trade unions, the STUC, the ILP and the reformed Highland Land League.¹⁵²² In the autumn of 1917, the STUC sent a deputation to the Prime Minister calling for separate Scottish representation at the post-war Peace Conference.

Maclean was approached "to sign a petition for Scottish representation at the Peace Conference. He sympathised but did not sign saying that the Bolsheviks were the true friends of Scottish Home Rule not Woodrow Wilson."¹⁵²³ The reason for Maclean's refusal to sign the petition was partly due to the primacy he still gave to workers' economic struggles. Scottish Home Rule, which he supported on paper, was not a priority. But Maclean's polite refusal and openly declared reason for not signing was linked to his view of the role of any forthcoming peace conference organised by the imperial victors.

In the run-up to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, US President Wilson used his 'Fourteen Points' to deflect support for the right of national self-determination. This had been done to counter the Bolsheviks' earlier declaration of support for this principle. When it came to the Peace Conference, it was only the representatives of non-state nations within the defeated states that were listened to. Those who represented the non-state nations within the victor states, including people within the US and British empires, were studiously ignored. Neither the STUC delegation nor the petition had any effect in advancing Scottish Home Rule.

A similar division over the attitude to the official Peace Conference had occurred amongst those supporting an Irish Republic. Maclean's friend, Jim Larkin, then living in the USA, remained scornful of those, particularly in Clan na Gael and Sinn Fein, who looked to the US government,¹⁵²⁴ under its war leader, President Wilson, to advance the cause of Irish self-determination.¹⁵²⁵ And, like the mooted Scottish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, the actual Irish delegation gained nothing there.

Returning to the economic struggle after his release and electoral candidacy

in December 1918, Maclean thought that the actions of the Glasgow engineers in launching the 40 Hour Strike on January 27th, 1919 had been premature. He argued that they should have waited and organised joint action with the miners, to make a more decisive impact.¹⁵²⁶ He and James MacDougall had already been working amongst the Lanarkshire miners. At the time of the 40 Hours Strike, Maclean was campaigning amongst the miners of West Cumberland.¹⁵²⁷ The organisers of the Glasgow 40 Hours Strike were not prepared for the government's use of troops. They backed down on February 10th, although concessions were granted. Then the miners threatened to strike in March. A concerned British government made wage concessions and set up the Sankey Commission,¹⁵²⁸ hinting that the coal industry would be nationalised. This was enough to derail the action.

By September 1919, Maclean was warning of the dangers of nationalisation in the hands of a state committed to Imperialist competition. "When men like Clynes, Henderson and Thomas urge nationalisation as their policy when in power... let us forge ahead with socialisation."¹⁵²⁹ Maclean was upholding the Socialist distinction between Municipalisation and Nationalisation on the one hand, which reinforced particular Local or National capitalist interests, and Socialisation on the other, under which the working class could organise production directly.

Such a view was then more widespread before the statist, National Labourism became dominant, and was also accepted by many claiming to be Socialists. James Connolly had attacked this statist slippage amongst Socialists, as far back as 1899, in his *The New Evangel - State Monopoly versus Socialism*. (The issue of Municipalisation in relation to Belfast and Birmingham had also been raised in Connolly's debate with William Walker in the pages of *Forward* in 1911.)¹⁵³⁰

Following the October Revolution, Maclean now compared Nationalisation and Socialisation, supporting the latter in line with the policy he understood the Bolsheviks to be implementing. They "have adapted socialisation to kill robbery, and what is good enough for Russia is good enough for us."¹⁵³¹ Maclean returned to the issue of Socialisation in his October article for *The Call*. "Let us urge full socialisation of mines and other trustified industries, full industrial control by the workers involved though modified to permit of the use of the co-operative movement, control of the education of the workers, a thirty hour week, fifty per cent increase in wages, communally produced

houses."¹⁵³²

As the months of 1919 advanced, Maclean came to understand the political significance of the decline of the workers' committees in Glasgow, following the ending of the 40 Hours Strike in January. He had been aware of what he saw to be the political shortcomings of many of its leaders, who came from the old Clyde Workers' Committee. Maclean now saw the main political initiative for independent workers' committees coming from "our South Wales comrades {in} the mining industry."¹⁵³³ His closest comrade, James MacDougall, was familiar with the South Wales Miners Reform Movement (SWMRM).¹⁵³⁴ MacDougall and Maclean had both campaigned in the Lanarkshire coalfield, and Maclean also visited Wales in April,¹⁵³⁵ where he must have met one-time members of the SWMRM, who remained committed to its thinking. All this could explain Maclean's preparedness now to hand over the baton of the workers' committee leadership from Glasgow to South Wales.

Nevertheless, Maclean's reference to Cooperatives, in *The Call* that October, as an additional method of exerting working class control, showed that he was far from giving up on Glasgow and Clydeside. These areas had an extensive Cooperative Movement. He wrote another article for the paper in October, which suggested the cooperative organisations should constitute "Labour's Commissariat Department."¹⁵³⁶ He explained the reason why he had recently neglected the emphasis he had placed upon Cooperation before the war.¹⁵³⁷ "Co-operation had to depend on dividend advantage in competition with multiple shops {the new large stores of the time}, price-cutting in the frightful struggle of individual families to make ends meet with stationary wages against rising prices, and therefore had to discuss agencies likely to win in the fight, {but} nowadays the problem is changing in view of the growing intensity and extent of the class struggle."¹⁵³⁸

Maclean made his own political assessment of the changing situation in the light of the needs of the wider Revolutionary Movement. Despite the unsatisfactory end of the 40 Hour Strike, which left the workers' committees much weakened in Glasgow's workshops, he initially looked to the still existing Scottish Workers' Committee to take a lead, and also the Cooperative Movement, in trying to control the distribution of essential goods.¹⁵³⁹ This became even more important when the employers reacted to wage concessions by increasing prices, whilst the government resorted to

printing more money, fuelling inflation. These became their chosen methods of trying to roll back the concessions they had been forced to make. This gave them the time to prepare for a full-blooded attack in their attempt to restore workers' acceptance of the state and employers' priorities.

The government initially pursued a more conciliatory path in order to marginalise the independent workers' committees. So, they had to make wage and other concessions to the engineers, the miners and the railwaymen. The key feature of any settlement, during this period, was that it was only made through the official trade union leaders. Although the concessions they obtained were only achieved because of the immediate threat of independent workers' action.

Maclean campaigned amongst the cotton workers of the Colne Valley in Lancashire, in June 1919; he also spoke at the Durham Miners' Gala on July;¹⁵⁴⁰ and to the railway workers in Huddersfield, prior to NUR strike in September. At this time, he was still arguing for the development of independent workers' committees ready to defy trade union officials. Maclean also saw the setting up of educational classes to raise political consciousness as being important, and he continued to emphasise this after the end of any immediate prospects for the independent workers' committees.

However, it was during 1919 that political affairs in Ireland really began to impinge upon Maclean. Six days after the ending of the 40 Hours Strike, the Scottish Committee of Sinn Fein held a large Republican meeting in Glasgow attended by 5000 people. Reporting in the IT&GWU's *The Voice of Labour*, O'Shannon, one more pointed to the connection he had earlier made. "Further intercourse between Ireland and Scotland, between the forces of Labour in particular, and concerted action for common ends, would help the workers of both countries".¹⁵⁴¹

"Constance Markiewicz, Maclean and Wheatley spoke at the massive {1919} May Day rally in Glasgow attended by over 100,000 people including demobbed Russian soldiers and many from the Irish community. Red flags and Irish tricolours were flying side by side."¹⁵⁴² Markiewicz talked with Maclean about the possibilities of joint Scottish and Irish action. Maclean was invited to speak in Dublin.¹⁵⁴³ He made his visit in July. His direct encounter with the political situation in Ireland contributed to a change in his understanding of where the main opposition to the UK government was

coming from.

When Maclean was in Dublin, he was challenged both for his remaining unthinking British Unionist views (calling Great Britain “the mainland”) and his political naivety, when he suggested that Irish workers should not antagonise the soldiers of the occupation. These criticisms prompted Maclean into some deeper thinking. Only the first hints of this can be seen in his own report following the meeting.¹⁵⁴⁴ He also made contact with O'Shannon, editor of the *Voice of Labour*, who had already commented on the linked role of Dublin and Glasgow workers. George Russell or AE, the Irish poet, painter and cooperator also impressed Maclean.¹⁵⁴⁵

One thing that must have been on Maclean's mind, when making a comparison between Great Britain and Ireland though, was the ability of the British government to cow the leaders of the 40 Hours Strike in Glasgow (and Belfast), through the use of troops in January and February that year. Yet from April 15th-27th, the Limerick Trades and Labour Council had organised a successful general strike in defiance of British Army occupying Limerick City.¹⁵⁴⁶

The motivating factor behind the Limerick Soviet was the Irish workers' challenge to the UK state's attempt to increasingly militarise Irish society, following Sinn Fein's landslide victory in the UK general election of December 1918. This victory had been achieved under far more repressive conditions than existed in Great Britain. Yet, despite the easier conditions in Great Britain for Labour and Socialist candidates, the Coupon Coalition candidates had triumphed. For Maclean this was underscored by his own defeat in Govan, as the official Labour Party (and BSP) candidate, by a Coalition NDLP (and former ILP) candidate, George Barnes.

In 1919, Ireland was still under military occupation and 34 of Sinn Fein's candidates were in jail. The First Republic had been declared and Dail Eireann set up in January, once again in defiance of the UK authorities. Maclean began to see that, political and democratic concerns, which addressed the nature of the state, could provide a deeper motivation for revolutionary struggle than the economic issues, which he had seen as the main engine of revolutionary change up to this point.

By the end of 1919, Maclean appreciated that the trade union actions, which

had been planned to lower working hours, in order to create more jobs, particularly for demobilised soldiers, had failed. Nor had Workers' Committees and the Cooperative Movement been able to prevent growing inflation. Maclean turned his attention to organising the unemployed, who included many ex-soldiers. But by now he could see that the front-line of struggle against the UK state lay in Ireland, and hence the central significance of the Irish Republican struggle.

It was Maclean's active commitment to advancing Revolutionary struggle that led to his eventual break with the BSP in 1920. Earlier in 1916, the party's Anti-War members had already defeated the BSP's Pro-War Right wing led by Henry Hyndman. Yet there was still a marked difference between the way Maclean and his Ukrainian-Russian ally in Scotland, Peter Petroff, had conducted their anti-war campaigning, compared to other BSP members, particularly in London. Both Maclean and Petroff paid a heavy personal price for their efforts, and for the greater political impact they had made on Clydeside. Sylvia Pankhurst, who was subjected to state harassment, and was a leading member of the Workers' Socialist Federation, also made friends with Petroff, when he was in London.¹⁵⁴⁷ Maclean became more drawn to Pankhurst, as Connolly had been during the Dublin Lock-out.

In contrast, Theodore Rothstein, another Russian émigré, who was prominent in the BSP in London, spent the war translating and interpreting in the British War Office.¹⁵⁴⁸ Furthermore, the departure of Hyndman and co, had not cleansed the BSP of its British Chauvinism and Racism. When War Coalition Labour minister, Arthur Henderson, had wanted to bring Black colonial workers to the UK to build munitions factories, leading BSP member, Thomas Quelch, had this to say.

"Fifty thousand jolly coons, looking picturesque in ill-fitting European clothes with scarlet bandanas round their heads, boyishly larking as they toil, shufflin' along in the approved fashion bringing with them the romance of the wilds coming to Britain." And those "women munitions workers... in the absence of their menfolk... would be delivered into the arms of the vigorous Othellos of Africa"!¹⁵⁴⁹

Georgy Chicherin, whom the British authorities had imprisoned in Brixton Jail in 1917, criticised Quelch's Racism. Undaunted, Quelch went on to claim in the BSP's journal *The Call*, that "Zulus and Basutos... 'belong to a

different evolutionary epoch' and thus 'their physical and mental characteristics are different from Europeans', the races cannot mix.'"¹⁵⁵⁰

Maclean's opposition to reactionary thinking in the BSP only added to his criticism of the relatively passive public opposition to the First World War found in the party in England, especially when others, such as the Sylvia Pankhurst's WSP, and the ILP's conscientious objectors, had offered a more public challenge. (Upon Maclean's release from Perth prison in 1917, he had begun to offer public support to jailed conscientious objectors, after witnessing the treatment they received in jail.¹⁵⁵¹) Nevertheless, at this time, Maclean still remained committed to the BSP.

By early 1920, Maclean had become aware of the behind-the-scenes manoeuvres being made to isolate him in the BSP. This situation was accentuated by the pivotal position Rothstein now held. He acted as the political and financial link between the BSP and the RSFSR government. Peter Petroff, Maclean's own personal link with Russian revolutionary affairs, forged during their shared Anti-War activities in Scotland, had been released from his Brixton prison cell, and returned to Russia in a prisoner exchange (which also included Petroff's wife, Irma Gellrich and Chicherin). Trotsky arranged this in January 1918.¹⁵⁵² Although Petroff became heavily involved in the new RSFSR government, and maintained private correspondence with Maclean and his friend, James Clunie in Fife, and even with the BSP's Tom Quelch,¹⁵⁵³ unlike Rothstein, he was not directly involved in the moves to establish a new Communist Party in Great Britain.

Seeing which direction, the wind was blowing, Maclean returned to the tactic he had used in 1915, when challenging the leadership of the BSP. In May 1920, he resurrected *The Vanguard*, which had been suppressed by the government in 1916. He linked the paper's challenge to the old leadership of 1915, when Hyndman and *Justice* betrayed the British Socialist Party and the International by taking the side of the British capitalist class in the 'Great War' with his challenge to the "paralysed BSP"¹⁵⁵⁴ of 1920. "Dissatisfaction with the plight of the BSP, maimed by the year's onslaught of capitalism, has compelled us to resurrect *The Vanguard* in the hope that we may concentrate the minds of the workers on the revolution to be gone through in this country as well as on the one gone through already in Russia. The main use of the Russian workers' success is the inspiration we ought to derive from it for the accomplishment of a similar feat within the bounds of Britain."¹⁵⁵⁵

The opening lines of the first issue were designed to make an impact. "Irishmen say that Ireland is unbeatable; we say that *The Vanguard* is irrepressible. It is appropriate that it be resurrected on May Day 1920 to hail the dawn of the world revolution that may break out anytime and anywhere. We consecrate *The Vanguard* to the cause of the workers' revolution."¹⁵⁵⁶ On May Day 1920, Maclean arrived on Glasgow Green and caused a sensation with his new paper."¹⁵⁵⁷

Joining Maclean in the production of *The Vanguard* was his close comrade James MacDougall, who had worked with him on the first version of the paper from 1915-16. To these two were added Harry MacShane, Peter Marshall and Sandy Ross. Together they constituted the Tramps Trust Unlimited (TTU).¹⁵⁵⁸ They not only wrote a lot of the articles in the paper but also sold it all round Scotland. The paper advocated an immediate Fighting Programme, which was a new development in Maclean's thinking. This was designed to provide a focus for campaigning on Immediate issues of concern to the workers addressed by the TTU at many meetings throughout Scotland. But *The Vanguard* also supported the Republican struggle in Ireland and the Anti-Colonial revolts in the British Empire.

Following the example of the opening lines of the first issue of *The Vanguard* in May, the TTU went on to publish and distribute tens of thousands of copies of their pamphlet, *The Irish Tragedy: Scotland's Disgrace*,¹⁵⁵⁹ throughout Scotland over the summer. This pamphlet made extensive use of the Irish Republican government's *Irish Bulletin*¹⁵⁶⁰ to highlight British brutality. Maclean also now made clear his approval of "Irish methods", over which he had shown some doubt in 1916,¹⁵⁶¹ and jettisoned his naivety about the role of British troops, which he had shown on his visit to Dublin in August 1919.

"To expect the Irish to accept crushing and blackening both is to stretch expectation and endurance beyond the limit. So the Irish have naturally replied by laying low policemen and detectives. Policemen are now resigning by the hundred. Police barracks have been blown up and policemen driven from whole stretches of the country. The Sinn Feiners are, however, establishing their own police and their own courts, which now control 21 of Ireland's 32 counties. Britain's police system is virtually destroyed in vast stretches of Ireland, never again to be re-established."¹⁵⁶²

For the first time Maclean used this pamphlet to very explicitly link the political position of Ireland and Scotland within the same oppressive state. “My plea is that Britain has no right to dominate Ireland with constabulary armed with bombs, and with an army and navy considered foreign by the Irish. We Scots have been taught to revere the names of Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce because these doughty men of old are recorded as championing the cause of freedom when Edward I and II tried to absorb Scotland as part of English territory. All Scots must therefore appreciate the plight of Ireland, which for over seven centuries has chafed under the same English yoke.”¹⁵⁶³

However, this pamphlet also shows Maclean's initial difficulty in moving to a Socialist Republican, ‘Internationalism from Below’ strategy. Maclean’s use of “English yoke” confused his analysis of what had been going on during the two periods he addressed. During the days of “Edward I and Edward II”, the Kingdom of England lay within the wider Angevin Empire. It was led not by an English, but by a French speaking ruling class.

Furthermore, in Maclean’s times, the Scottish members of the British ruling class had been sharing in the exploitation of the UK and British Empire for more than two centuries, following the 1707 Act of Union. Such brutal events as the Enclosures, and the breaking of artisans’ power in the textile areas of England, showed that the English ‘lower orders’ had also been subject to the ‘English yoke’. The Marquess of Stafford had enclosed his lands in England, whilst his wife, the Duchess of Sutherland, was clearing her Highland estates. Those who had been occupying the land in both areas were victims of a wider British ruling class.

Within their UK state, the English-British and Scottish-British components of this class made sure that their shared class interests prevailed, just as they did elsewhere in the UK and British Empire. Consequently, the “English yoke” could be better described as the “British yoke.” However, the transitional nature of Maclean's thinking in this pamphlet is shown in the first line, which does name 'Britain' as the oppressor state.

Maclean recognised the importance of working class Internationalism in this pamphlet. He pointed out that, "Irish dockers and railwaymen have followed the example of the London dockers, who took their cue from *The Daily Herald* and refused to load the *Jolly George* with ammunition for Poland."¹⁵⁶⁴

Irishmen now refuse to supply the Army of Occupation with the ammunition that may be used to kill themselves when off industrial duty.¹⁵⁶⁵

When Maclean spoke in Motherwell, Partick and Port Glasgow in the summer of 1920, calling for 'Hands off Ireland', he was violently attacked by Orangemen. Young Irishmen protected his meetings.¹⁵⁶⁶ In the process, close links were developing between Scottish and Irish Communists and Irish Republicans on Clydeside. Three key members of what later became the Communist Party of Ireland, Roddy Connolly (James' son), Sean McLoughlin and James Fearon were active in workers', unemployed and housing struggles in Glasgow at the time.¹⁵⁶⁷

Another important feature of Maclean's political assessment of the situation had already emerged from late 1919. He thought that Inter-Imperialist conflict between the UK and the USA would replace that between the UK and a defeated Germany. In his pamphlet, *The Coming War with America*, written in the winter of 1919, Maclean detailed the measures being taken by both the UK and US governments to strengthen their position in the post-war world and in areas where their interests clashed, such as Ireland and Mexico. He also noted the UK government's still limited ability to go on a wider class offensive, due to its failed attempt to launch an all-out assault on the NUR. The government had hoped that "the use of soldiers and sailors, the Middle-Class Union, and the calling into being of the National (Black) Guards {what others would call White guards} would frighten the railwaymen into surrender."¹⁵⁶⁸ They had to delay their counter-offensive until 1921, once NUR leader, Jimmy Thomas broke the Triple Alliance.

But in 1919, just as Maclean had underestimated the determination of the 'War Party' in pre-1914 UK to go to war, he now overestimated the British ruling class's ability to wage war on a major rising Imperial power like the USA, even if the working class offensive could be contained. This was because of UK state indebtedness after World War I, and the political unlikelihood of getting support for the Conscription necessary to wage a major war, after so many lives had been recently lost. However, Maclean was right in drawing attention to the growing British ruling class resentment at the rising power of the USA.

Maclean linked the possibility of future war with the USA, with the new Lewis and Harris Development Scheme. Lord Leverhulme's scheme "for

fishing and fish oil purposes suggests that he is working with the Admiralty in organising industries that will not only breed sailors and provide food, but lay that basis of economic organisation without which the navy would be comparatively helpless."¹⁵⁶⁹ Sandy Ross visited Stornoway in June 1920, and Maclean followed soon after another visit to Ireland. The TTU were supporting the ex-servicemen who were currently occupying croft land. This support neatly fitted three of their objectives.

The first objective was opposition to Lord Leverhulme's scheme, following Maclean's assessment of his pro-British Imperial role in Lewis and Harris. The second was support for ex-servicemen trying to find employment after post-war demobilisation, especially when it gave them a degree of independence from magnates, like Leverhulme, the 'Sunlight Soap Dictator', a Liberal Imperialist advocate of the expansion of the British Empire.¹⁵⁷⁰ The third was Maclean's long-standing support for Scottish crofters, to which he now added a specifically Socialist reason.

This was "connected to an older conception of 'Celtic Communism' and a picture of communal peasant institutions... {such as} the Russian mir... This institution's potential as 'a starting place for communist development' had been aired by Marx and Engels in their preface to the 1882 edition of *The Communist Manifesto*."¹⁵⁷¹ Maclean's recent trips to Ireland, and his new links with Ruaridh Erskine would also have contributed to his thinking in this regard.¹⁵⁷²

Maclean visited the demobilised soldiers who had conducted a land raid at Coll in Lewis. When he spoke in nearby Stornoway, he found some hostility from those who hoped to get work or business from Lord Leverhulme's scheme.¹⁵⁷³ Stornoway was not Glasgow, where a decade of campaigning had built up a significant section of class-conscious workers organised to get work for returning demobilised soldiers and to put pressure on the city council to make some social provision. Many of those living in economically undeveloped and marginalised Lewis, who had not migrated remained and joined the army or navy. Stornoway had no large industries, and many jobs were dependent upon providing services for the local major landowner. Here Secular and Socialist thought had made little headway in the face of a still strong Free Church tradition.

Thus Lewis, like most of the rest of the Highlands and Islands, acted as a

reservoir for British army and naval recruitment. Unlike the economically similar rural Ireland, where Conscription had been successfully resisted, the casualty rates in the Highlands and Islands during the First World War were amongst the highest in the UK. This was followed by the disaster on January 1st, 1919, when at least 201 men were drowned on the naval yacht, *Iolare*, as it approached Stornoway harbour.¹⁵⁷⁴

When the hostile "*Scotsman* reported that John Maclean would not dare repeat his attempt to spread the virus of Soviet Russia in these islands again"¹⁵⁷⁵ (meaning Lewis and Harris), this failed to acknowledge the real source of resistance - those returning soldiers and sailors seeking land. They continued their land occupations and Lord Leverhulme, not able to get his way, abandoned Lewis (and later Harris).¹⁵⁷⁶

Although Maclean was making formal applications to the UK government from the beginning of 1920, to attend the forthcoming Second Congress of the Communist International (CI),¹⁵⁷⁷ in his role as the Soviet consul in Glasgow, he must surely have appreciated that these were unlikely to be successful. The alternative was to make one's way illegally, a time-consuming business. He may have thought it was important to continue to pressure the UK government to recognise his role as consul, or alternatively that the work he was doing in Scotland, campaigning with the TTU, conducting large classes, and his support for the Irish Republican struggle, were more important. It is unlikely that he could have anticipated the actual political divide the decisions of the Second Congress of the CI would produce in Great Britain, and the difficulties these would cause him.

However, on July 31st/August 1st, 1920, before the Second Congress of the CI, the meeting to set up a new Communist Party in Great Britain (CPGB) had already taken place, Maclean was excluded. But the manoeuvring was not confined to excluding the Left. The longstanding BSP member E. C. Fairchild, who wished to maintain a parliamentary approach to Socialism, was also side-lined in the preparations for the new party.¹⁵⁷⁸ Maclean would have preferred to have an open and honest debate between the Left and the Right. Fairchild, with his years of SDP and BSP membership, would have been far less objectionable to Maclean than some of those who did turn up on the day and who went on to be lauded. Maclean had a deep appreciation of the need for Democratic and Comradely practice.

Rothstein and Quelch, prominent BSP members, were very much behind this manoeuvring. They were to attain a leading position within the new CPGB. However, two others earned Maclean's greatest contempt. Cecil L'Estrange Malone OBE, wartime air force officer, post-war Coalition Liberal MP, and very recent convert to the Soviet cause, following his earlier role in the Anti-Communist Reconstruction Society, was pushed to the fore in the new party.¹⁵⁷⁹ Another person who raised Maclean's suspicions was Francis Meynell - "An appalling poseur, whose only background in communist politics had been his role in the scandal concerning the attempted transfer of Russian diamonds to the *Daily Herald*."¹⁵⁸⁰ Maclean asked, "Who is Meynell and what is Meynell are very appropriate questions. To my knowledge he was never a member of the SDF or BSP. He has as much standing in revolutionary circles as Malone."¹⁵⁸¹

Maclean, who had made a serious revolutionary assessment of the changing political situation in the UK, was not enamoured with all those who wanted to flatter the Bolsheviks from afar or give them inflated prospects of an immediate British revolution. A considerable amount of money, which came from the RCP(b), of which Maclean did not know the true source (he suspected the British security forces), also made him suspicious.

Given the serious plight the infant RSFSR found itself in, it was perhaps not surprising that the RCP(b) was taking shortcuts to get a new CPGB established. Malone was already an MP and could put some public pressure on the UK government at Westminster in their 'Hands off Russia' campaign. If the new CPGB was also able to make its influence felt more directly upon the *Daily Herald*, one of the most widely read papers on the British Left, the RCP(b) would be better positioned to win support for the infant RSFSR, hence the courting of Meynell.

Maclean's own political record meant that he was more confident in making his own independent assessment of the political situation. He doubted the revolutionary commitment of some of his old BSP acquaintances and thought it a bad joke that Malone and Meynell were given leading positions in the new CPGB. He privately thought they might well be British agents. This was not the case, although they did not last long in the party before leaving and drifting to the Right. But people like these could only survive, whilst they were in the party, by acting as mouthpieces for others. In contrast, Maclean did not feel the need to seek approval from Lenin or the CI

representatives, nor to gain acceptance by parroting whatever was seen to be the approved official Bolshevik line at the time.

Through Maclean's earlier involvement in the BSP and his reading of the *Call*, as well as his personal knowledge of the politics of the SLP, Willie Gallacher, Sylvia Pankhurst and the South Wales Socialist Society, he already appreciated two of the underlying political differences at the founding conference of the CPGB - Communists' attitude to parliament and the Labour Party. Ironically, Maclean would have been on the side of the BSP leaders (who also had the backing of Lenin and the CI), over these two issues. Otherwise though, he had more sympathy with the opposition, because of their greater practical involvement in the struggle, whatever other political limitations he thought they might have.

The opposition to the BSP leadership was organised initially by Sylvia Pankhurst's WSF. From 1917, she had published the *Workers Dreadnought*, which from July 1918 was headed by the slogan – International Socialism.¹⁵⁸² But this slogan was not used in the Cosmopolitan manner of the Abstract Propagandist Socialist sects, nor as a British Left Unionist cover for an ‘internationalism’ which supported the existing UK state (and often its ‘civilising’ role in the British empire). Pankhurst’s International Socialism was based on active solidarity with the oppressed.

Pankhurst had already written *Thoughts on Easter Week* in the *Women’s Dreadnought*, to express her support for the 1916 Dublin Rising.¹⁵⁸³ However, Pankhurst’s *Workers’ Dreadnought* was also to the forefront of the challenge to the widespread racism, not only in the Labour Party and ILP, but also in the BSP. In April 1920, *The Daily Herald*, edited by ILP member George Lansbury, would publish an article by leading party member, Ed Morel entitled, *Black Scourge In Europe Sexual Horror Let Loose by France On Rhine Disappearance of Young German Girls*.¹⁵⁸⁴

Pankhurst’s response was to publish the article *A Black Man Replies*, written by leading Black American Socialist, Claude Mackay. Lansbury had refused to publish this.¹⁵⁸⁵ The East London docks, like those on Clydeside and elsewhere, were to the forefront of struggles by dockworkers and merchant seamen. But they slipped only too easily into a Racist based Sectionalism. Alongside Maclean, Pankhurst was to be at the forefront of those who challenged the largely unquestioned British Left assumptions, which

underpinned the British Labour Party and the ILP, but which also fed into the infant CPGB, as shown by former BSP member, Tom Quelch.¹⁵⁸⁶

Sylvia Pankhurst's WSF organised a 600 strong conference in London in June 1920. This set up the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International) (CP-BSotTI) to discuss their attitude to the proposed new CPGB.¹⁵⁸⁷ In the end, they did not attend the CPGB's founding conference in August of that year.

Following the setting up of the CPGB, another opposition was organised in Scotland in September. This called itself the Communist Labour Party (Scotland) (CLP-S) and consisted of some members of the Scottish Workers Committee (a now much diminished organisation, which involved Willie Gallacher), and some Scottish members of both the CP(BSotTI) and SLP, who did not approve of the decisions taken at the CPGB's founding conference.¹⁵⁸⁸ A similar organisation, called the Communist Party of South Wales and the West of England, was organised in September. It included the Welsh members of the CP(BSotTI), and a minority from the South Wales Socialist Society. A.J. Cook, the South Wales miners' leader, was its leading member.¹⁵⁸⁹

Maclean initially kept his distance from both these organisations, because although he shared their distaste for many of the new CPGB leadership, he did not share their two political reasons for forming an opposition - he supported Communist participation in parliament and affiliation to the Labour Party. At this time Maclean was concentrating his efforts on the TTU. But Maclean also maintained links with those SLP members who had not supported joining the CPGB.

However, Maclean was not prepared for what happened next. Both Willie Gallacher and Sylvia Pankhurst attended the Second Congress of the CI in Moscow in late and early August. There Lenin persuaded them to return home and argue that the Communist Labour Party and the CP(BSotTI) should join forces with new CPGB, whilst retaining the freedom to fight for their distinctive politics.

When Gallacher returned to Scotland he did not initially declare his new stance, knowing full well that he would have to take on his former Scottish mentor, Maclean. Instead, Gallacher organised a CLP meeting, advertised

with the name of another J. Maclean, to give the impression that John Maclean supported it. This other J. Maclean was appointed as the new secretary.¹⁵⁹⁰

Once again, as in the run-up to the founding conference of the CPGB, the manoeuvring horrified Maclean. Just as he had been prepared to have an open and honest debate with Fairchild of the BSP on the differences between Revolutionary and Reformist politics, in the earlier meeting to set up a new CPGB, Maclean would have been prepared to have an open and honest debate with those now advocating unity with the likes of Malone and Meynell.

Maclean was also furious with Gallacher "ridiculing the idea of a 'Scottish' Communist Party because he {had} been to Russia and pose{d} as the gramophone of Lenin." Maclean showed his extreme annoyance when he stated that, "Gallacher... never was a marxian but an openly avowed anarchist."¹⁵⁹¹ However, Gallacher had attended Maclean's marxist education classes to give himself a better understanding of economics in order to assist him in his role as shop steward. He had also campaigned for Maclean in the 1918 general election.

Maclean viewed his Marxist Education classes for the working class as every bit as important as a Marxist Party. He saw these classes as a way of combatting non-marxists in the ILP, like John Wheatley, who had been able to win over some Clydeside shop stewards, such as David Kirkwood. So, when Gallacher jumped from his Syndicalist based, but also Maclean influenced politics, to just repeating a line handed down from Moscow, Maclean was no doubt stung. Nevertheless Maclean, as a committed Marxist, thought that Gallacher and his new supporters could still be challenged - hence his call for "real delegates with a chance to meet our Russian comrades in open and mature conference."¹⁵⁹²

Meanwhile Maclean decided to hold a meeting to bring together Communists in Scotland. He issued the call for a Scottish Communist Party in the December 1920 issue of *The Vanguard*. In this Maclean declared that "The main thing is to get the clearheaded and honest marxian revolutionists into one camp. We in Scotland must not let ourselves play second fiddle to any organisation with headquarters in London, no more than we would ask Dublin to bend to the will of London."¹⁵⁹³

The largest group likely to attend the planned conference was the rump of SLP members who had not signed up for the CPGB, and mainly lived on Clydeside. There was also Alec Geddes, a BSP member from Greenock, who, unlike Maclean, had attended the Communist Unity convention in July/August, and argued for a Scottish communist party.¹⁵⁹⁴

With the pro-British orientated SLP members in mind, Maclean appealed to their 'Red Clydeside' sentiments. "Scotland is firmer for marxism than any other part of the British empire. Clyde speakers get bigger and better audiences in Scotland than speakers across the borders, with very, very few exceptions."¹⁵⁹⁵ Such an approach could still appeal to British Left Unionists who saw Clydeside and Scotland as being in the vanguard of a wider British Socialism.

However, Maclean wanted to take any new Scottish Communist Party beyond considering itself to be a British vanguard. In August 1920, the TTU had distributed a leaflet entitled, *All Hail the Scottish Workers Republic!* This called unequivocally for Scotland's "national independence" and was linked to the ongoing struggle "for Irish independence", and the recent "land seizures by Highland crofters".¹⁵⁹⁶

Maclean also attended the conference of the revived Highland Land League held in September. He wrote a report for *The Vanguard* entitled *Scotch Broth*. "Resolutions were passed in favour of public ownership of the land, economic rent to be paid to the government, of Scottish independence, and of support to the Highland raiders. There was general approval of communism under the control of the industrial workers, the fishermen, and the crofters and other land workers. J. MacLean was asked to second the independence resolution. Comrade MacRae, Highland Labour Party, spoke well for communism. The surprise of the evening was the fine fighting speech of Miss Cameron."¹⁵⁹⁷

Furthermore, the Scottish Home Rule Association had moved back into activity, following the failure of the Paris Peace Conference to address the issue. In another article, *Irish Stew*, Maclean was as scathing of their approach as he had been to that of the 1917 Scottish Home Rulers. "There will be no self-determination if Scotland is ruled by a handful of KCs at Edinburgh."¹⁵⁹⁸ Maclean was now working in a new alliance to achieve a Scottish Workers' Republic. He was joined by Scottish Nationalists and

Cultural activists such as Erskine of Mar,¹⁵⁹⁹ editor of *Guth na Bliadhna*

Unlike Connolly, who had written *Labour in Irish History* to underpin his own Irish Socialist Republican politics, Maclean had written very little about Scottish history. The most significant writing on this available to Socialists in Scotland was found in the ILP's *Forward*. And it was at this time that ILP member, Thomas Johnston, added to his earlier work, *Our Scots Noble Families*, by writing his *History of the Scottish Working Classes*. Maclean's critique of this book in *The Vanguard* borrowed much from Erskine of Mar and was confined to the period of "feudalised Scotland {and its conflict with the retreating} Celtic or communistic system."¹⁶⁰⁰

In his call for a new party, Maclean pushed for "a policy of complete political separation from England. Hence a Scottish Communist Party."¹⁶⁰¹ But he had not yet arrived at a fully developed 'break-up of the UK and British Empire road to Communism' approach, although he had clearly now broken with the BSP/CPGB and SLPs' 'British Road to Socialism'. But Maclean would have been well aware that the planned conference to create a Scottish Communist Party would lead to a contestation between the two approaches. And with his longstanding commitment to genuine Democratic debate, he would have welcomed this.

There was also another as issue hovering over Maclean's proposed Scottish Communist Party. His appeal was based on Point 17 of the 21 Principles for CI membership recently set down by its Second Congress in August. "Each party must change its old name to that of communist party of such and such country, section of the Third International."¹⁶⁰² Using the Irish example, it seemed self-evident to Maclean that there should be a Scottish Communist Party. He was unaware that he was moving into a political minefield. The RCP(b)'s territorial organisation mirrored that of the new RFSFR state. The party incorporated subordinate sections in non-Russian nations such as Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan, as well as from the vast and very ethnically mixed 'Russian' Turkestan.

However, when Maclean's conference was organised on December 25th (!) 1920, Gallacher and his supporters' disruption of the meeting prevented any airing of these issues.¹⁶⁰³ The political setback Maclean faced in trying to push for a Scottish Workers' Republic, after the failure to set up a Scottish

Communist Party in December 1920, could well have been overcome, if the International Revolutionary Wave had continued to surge forward. However, the year 1921 was to see that wave stall and ebb. This was shown in both Russia and Ireland, the two places that had done so much to inspire Maclean's changing politics from 1918.

2. THE EBBING OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WAVE AND THE CONTAINMENT OF THE BREAK-UP OF THE UK

The ebbing International Revolutionary Wave to 1921/3; the Bolsheviks and British Left Unionists' failure to promote 'Internationalism from Below'; and the UK state's counter-offensive props up a weakened Union and Empire

a) The limitations of Social Democratic and official Communist theories have their effect on the struggle for National Self-Determination (pp. 518-528)

The initial impact of the two 'Russian' Revolutions, in February and October 1917, upon the politics of Ireland has already been shown.¹⁶⁰⁴ Socialists, though, became keenly interested in the role the Bolsheviks had played in the making of a Workers' Revolution. A greater number seriously began to consider building new Communist parties, which could overcome their own organisations' earlier limitations. Ireland had seen the marginalisation of the Socialist Republican, Syndicalist, Women's Suffrage, 'Internationalism from Below' alliance within the wider Irish Republican alliance, which Connolly had spent so much time putting together. By November 1918, the leaders of the IT&GWU (which had been the main focus of Connolly's Syndicalism) had subordinated themselves to Sinn Fein's electoral strategy.¹⁶⁰⁵

The growing respect and influence, which the Bolsheviks had gained amongst Socialists all over the world, were reinforced when they set up the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR) in January 1918.¹⁶⁰⁶ Thus was initially based directly upon the power of workers, soldiers, sailors

and peasant soviets.¹⁶⁰⁷ The Communist International (CI) set up in March 1919¹⁶⁰⁸ also attracted support, much of it from afar.

The CI and its affiliated parties and sympathising publishers went on to translate and publish a much greater range of Marxist material than had never been available to Socialists in Great Britain and Ireland, which mainly came from British and US sources prior to this. Socialists were now able to develop their own thinking, influenced by a much wider international milieu, including non-White activists in the colonies and semi-colonies. Indeed, despite later retreats, following the ebbing of the International Revolutionary Wave, this wider Internationalist appreciation of the whole world represented a major political gain, which became a reference point for those involved in the later International Revolutionary Waves.

However, given the Bolsheviks' leading role from 1917, the successful development of new Communist parties in the world greatly depended upon how they developed their own understanding of capitalism and imperialism, and of the phase reached in the International Revolutionary Wave. It also depended on how they used their new influence. A lot of the political conditions, which had allowed the Bolsheviks to emerge as the leading party, were distinct to the Tsarist Russian Empire.

In the pre-war period, the Bolsheviks had not seen themselves as being world leaders. They wanted to apply the Social Democracy, best represented by the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and its main theoretical leader, Karl Kautsky, the 'Pope of Marxism', to Russia's specific and more backward economic and political conditions. The collapse of both the SPD leadership, and the Second International, which it had dominated, put an end to such thinking, amongst the Bolsheviks in 1914. But it took until the Bolsheviks' success in leading the October 1917 Revolution, before a significant section of Socialists elsewhere broke with the old Social Democracy and looked to the newly founded CI to provide the lead in creating a new global Communist politics.

The CI was initially seen as the International Party of Revolution, to which the most advanced thinking from different sources throughout the world could be brought forward, debated and acted upon. Thus, the impact of Bolshevism intersected with other deeply held National political traditions

inherited by the Socialist and Syndicalist organisations. The diplomatic 'Internationalism' between member parties, which had come to form the basis of the pre-War Second International (SI), and the divide amongst both Socialist and Syndicalist attitudes over the war,¹⁶⁰⁹ led to a greater appreciation of the need for a more deeply rooted Internationalism. This explains the wide range of political forces initially attracted to the CI. They were trying to grapple with the new challenges in the context of the ongoing International Revolutionary Wave. However, it proved difficult to find the best balance when marrying the politics and organisational experience of the Russian Bolsheviks and those of other non-Russian Social Democratic and Syndicalist traditions.

The attempt to build new Communist parties had to be achieved in countries holding quite different positions within the global Imperialist order. These included major imperialist states, e.g. the UK and USA, thwarted imperialist states, e.g. Germany, minor capitalist states, e.g. Sweden and Switzerland, oppressed nations within dominant states, e.g. Poland and Ireland, and colonies and semi-colonies, e.g. India and China. There was also a difference between the situations faced in the victor and defeated states in the aftermath of the First World War. Furthermore, states and nations were undergoing the experience of being at different phases in the overall revolutionary struggle. However, as long as the International Revolutionary Wave was surging forward, these difficulties did not necessarily prevent further advances; but as soon as this wave ebbed then the problems mounted.

One problem, when it came to dealing with Oppressed Nations, like Ireland, lay in the different theories of National Self-Determination inherited from the Second International (SI). Lenin's theory of National Self-Determination, which had initially built upon that of Kautsky, competed with Austro-Marxist theories, which had wide support not only in the Hapsburg Empire but in the Tsarist Empire too. However, another theory, advocated by Rosa Luxemburg, also had supporters amongst some Bolsheviks and others. This Radical Left theory denied the relevance of the issue of National Self-Determination within Russia. The Russian-Ukrainian and Left Communist, and Bolshevik member, Georgy Pyatakov, supported this theory.¹⁶¹⁰

Lenin and Luxemburg had shared some common ground over the National Question. This flowed from a common understanding of world capitalism,

based on the level of economic development a country had already achieved. Most SI Marxists had resorted to the thinking of an earlier Marx and Engels (which they were to modify later in life). Such views had become orthodoxy in the SI. The 'level of civilisation' for any particular country was equated with its 'level of economic development' brought about by what was considered to be the inevitable worldwide advance of capitalism.

Initially both Lenin and Luxemburg saw 'two worlds' of development. Their 'First World' consisted of those countries where the bourgeoisie had succeeded in making capitalist relations the dominant economic, social, cultural and political force in society. There was also much agreement between Lenin and Luxemburg over the nature of their 'Second World'. It comprised those societies that were still largely under the sway of pre-capitalist economic relations. In those decaying 'Asiatic' empires, which were still dominated by Despotic political regimes, both Lenin and Luxemburg supported bourgeois-led National Movements for Independence. Therefore, Luxemburg backed the Greek and Armenian struggles for National Self-Determination because she thought that the Ottoman Empire was still largely in the pre-capitalist 'Second World'. Here she thought that support for National Self-Determination would speed up the development of capitalism, creating more workers, thus preparing the way for Socialism.

However, Lenin's *The Right of Nations to Self Determination*,¹⁶¹¹ written in 1914, went on to draw up different geographical boundaries between Luxemburg's and his own 'First' and 'Second Worlds'. Luxemburg believed that Russia was now clearly following the economic path of the 'First World'. Therefore, she opposed the Right of Self-Determination as a Democratic demand in Russia. Lenin agreed with Luxemburg that, "the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Western, continental Europe embraces a fairly definite period, approximately between 1789 and 1871... Therefore, to seek the right to self-determination in the programmes of West-European socialists at this time of day is to betray one's ignorance of the ABC of Marxism."¹⁶¹² However, Lenin also argued that "in Eastern Europe and Asia the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions did not begin until 1905... And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a *whole series* of bourgeois-democratic national movements."¹⁶¹³ Thus Lenin placed Russia on the other side of the 'First' and 'Second world' divide, and he argued that this made the demand for National Self-Determination

relevant within the Russian Empire.

Luxemburg emphasised the Economic aspect of the situation in Russia - increasing domination by capitalist economic relations. Lenin emphasised its Political features - the remaining semi-Asiatic elements and the Despotic Tsarist regime. By 1916, Lenin was to further refine his 'Second World' by splitting it into a group "like Austria, the Balkans and particularly Russia", and a new Third World of "semi-colonial countries like China, Persia, Turkey and the colonies."¹⁶¹⁴ In this he anticipated the post-Second World War 'Third World' (although his 'First' and 'Second worlds' were quite different).

In 1914, whilst sparring politically with Luxemburg, Lenin had given his retrospective support to Norwegian Self-Determination. He had to explain this change in his thinking because the geographical divide between his 'First' and 'Second worlds' did not support it. Norway was seen as something of an anomaly to justify his newfound support for its National Self-determination. Norway lay well within the area, where before to adopt such a stance was "to betray one's ignorance of the ABC of Marxism".¹⁶¹⁵ But Lenin now saw Norway as part of a "mixed or a multi-nation state"¹⁶¹⁶ - Sweden. However, the Castilian-dominated Spanish state, and that very paragon of advanced capitalism, the UK, were all 'mixed' or 'multinational states', so Norway was not quite so exceptional in Lenin's 'First World'.

The Imperial annexations, which took place during the First World War, also highlighted the legacy left behind by some earlier forced annexations within Lenin's 'First World', such as the Prussian-German occupation of Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein. However, it was the Irish 1916 Easter Rising that blew the biggest hole in Lenin's geographical divide between 'First' and 'Second' worlds, which had underlain his earlier thinking on National Self-Determination. The impact of the 1916 Easter Rising was so great, that Lenin had to quickly add a whole new chapter, *The Irish Rebellion of 1916*,¹⁶¹⁷ to his book, *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*.

Thus, Lenin's understanding of the Imperialist nature of the First World War, and newfound appreciation of the National Democratic resistance this led to, produced a tacit shift in his underlying theory of National Self-Determination. It was no longer just the pre-capitalist states and undeveloped colonies, or the semi-feudal, or partly Asiatic states, such as Tsarist Russia, where the Right

of National Self-Determination was relevant, but also in those Nations, such as Ireland within the UK, and Norway within the Swedish state.

However, Lenin's thinking now faced a further political problem. Adapting Kautsky's theory, which had placed greater emphasis on economic than political developments, he clung on to the belief that supporting National Self-Determination would only be necessary until such time a new Revolutionary political situation arose. In his view, once the old political order had been overthrown, the actual exercise of the Right of Self-Determination became unnecessary or even counter revolutionary. In the context of the International Revolutionary Wave, where states belonging to the old order were collapsing all over the place, it seemed that an imminent International Socialist future beckoned. Therefore, in the face of the ongoing Revolutionary struggles, Lenin accepted support for the Right of National Self-Determination until the old regimes were overthrown, but opposed its actual implementation, because he claimed this would break-up Revolutionary unity.

But, such was the Revolutionary clamour, that the new Third International issued a statement which suggested that the already existing Imperial and Unionist Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and Ireland should form the basis for a new state and Communist party. Ireland would still be included, albeit on a federative basis.

‘Thus the new executive of the Communist International... met to consider the *British Question* and passed the following resolution.

“*The E.C. decrees: a single Communist Party must be formed in Britain... For the solution of this problem... a general Congress of all Communist groups and organisations of Great Britain and Ireland must be convened. In this Congress will take part: (1) The United Communist Party, (2) the Communist Party. 3) The Shop Stewards Committees, (4) The Scotch Communist Groups, (5) The Groups of Wales, (6) The Irish Communists (on federative principles) (7) The Socialist Labour Party (SLP), (8) The Left Wingers of the ILP.*”¹⁶¹⁸

In the heady days of the Revolution, Left Communists in the Bolshevik Party, such as Pyatakov, who had previously supported Luxemburg's Radical Left theory, took her thinking a stage further. They broke with Lenin's and

Luxemburg's earlier shared distinction between 'First' and 'Second Worlds', and they denied the relevance of the Right to National Self-Determination anywhere in the world.

This new neo-Luxemburgist politics soon came to dominate Radical Left politics in northern Europe. At the all-Russia (meaning Russian Empire) Bolshevik conference, held in Petrograd in April 1917, Pyatakov "revived the {Radical Left} 'Polish heresy' by denying that national self-determination could have any place in the socialist programme."¹⁶¹⁹ He won the support of the drafting commission to make a report to do "away with frontiers" to oppose "splitting up great nation formations into small states" and to condemn self-determination as "simply a phrase without definite content."¹⁶²⁰

Lenin later had to intervene to uphold the official Bolshevik policy addressing the Right of National Self-Determination, which he had done so much to establish. Nevertheless, it was clear that there was strong Bolshevik support for the Radical Left policy, whilst some others opposed the official policy, if more quietly, from a Great Russian Chauvinist view.¹⁶²¹ However, Lenin pulled the wavering and undecided back by persuading them that continued support for 'the Right to National Self-Determination' was primarily a tactic to undermine the Russian Provisional Government - implicitly suggesting it may not be needed much longer.

This was the Petrograd Conference where the decision was taken to adopt Lenin's *April Theses*. The Bolsheviks became committed to a strategy of overthrowing the Provisional Government. Those Bolsheviks, like Pyatakov, who doubted the wisdom of the party's continued support for the Right of Self-Determination, could now look forward to the situation when this policy would soon become redundant. Lenin's own theory seemed to tell them that it would no longer be needed once the working class ruled through its Soviets

However, contrary to Kautsky's and Lenin's predictions, the demand for more Radical measures of National Self-Determination, including Independence, grew more strongly as the old Tsarist state apparatus of repression fell apart over 1917. Revolutionary Social Democrats, such as the Polish, Kelles-Kreuz and the Ukrainian, Iurkevich, had already pointed out this likelihood. Their support for the break-up of existing Imperial states was based not on Nationalism, but on the pursuit of an 'Internationalism from Below' strategy.¹⁶²² Lenin's theory, which supported the Right of Self-

Determination but tended to oppose its actual implementation when it became a possibility, was akin to the view held by those who advocate 'coitus interruptus' as an effective method of birth control!

Lenin's stance contributed to holding back the ongoing International Revolutionary Wave. As this wave surged forward in Petrograd in July 1917, Lenin understood that this city was more politically advanced than most of the rest of Russia. Elsewhere in Russia the revolutionary situation had still to mature. A premature seizure of power in Petrograd could have led to the Revolution's isolation and defeat. During Petrograd's July Days, Lenin found considerable difficulty exercising Bolshevik influence over the most Radical elements amongst the soldiers, sailors and workers, eager to topple the Russian Provisional Government.

However, beyond Russia, but still in former parts of the Tsarist Empire - Finland and Latvia - the situation was even politically more advanced than Petrograd in July 1917. Finnish Helsinki/Helsingfors and Latvian Riga formed two corners of the strategic revolutionary triangle, which also included Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had considerable influence in Finland, particularly amongst the Russian sailors and soldiers stationed there. The issue of Finland's Independence was very much a political hot potato at the time.

The growing clamour for a break with the Russian Provisional Government, which still wanted to continue the war, led to its increased conflict with the Social Democrat-led Autonomous Government in Finland. If this government had implemented Finland's independence, the revolutionary sailors and soldiers, looking to end the war, would have received a big fillip.¹⁶²³ This could also have had a knock-on effect upon the still Menshevik/SR influenced regiments on the Russian/German war front passing through Latvia. In the unoccupied areas of Latvia, though, the Bolsheviks already enjoyed majority control of the urban and rural soviets, and of the local organs of government.¹⁶²⁴ Furthermore, even in Ukraine, which was otherwise further back on the Revolutionary timeline, the recent collapse of the Russian government's military offensive against the Austro-Hungarian army in eastern Galicia had led to great anger amongst the troops. They wanted to have Ukraine removed from the existing Russian Provisional Government's control.¹⁶²⁵

If, during July 1917, there had been a significant political organisation advocating Finland's and Ukraine's direct break with the Russian Imperialist state, at the same time as the advanced political situation found in in Latvia, then this could have pushed the International Revolutionary Wave further forward. As it was, indecision led to the rise of the Finnish Counter-Revolutionary forces, and the Russian Provisional Government's ability to suppress the soldiers' revolt in Ukraine.

Although the October Revolution provided another opportunity for Finnish revolutionary advance, the overall situation was considerably less auspicious than in July, and the White Counter-Revolution was able to bloodily suppress the Red Revolution by May 1918. They now had the help of German military forces, which had not been available in July 1917.¹⁶²⁶ Meanwhile, Ukraine had fallen back once more on to a slower Revolutionary timeline.

Furthermore, once the Bolsheviks and Left Social Revolutionaries formed a new revolutionary Russian soviet-based government, following the October Revolution, Lenin no longer showed the same concern about the pace of the developing Revolutionary timeline in Ukraine that he had shown in July about that of the Revolutionary timeline in Russia. Instead, General Murayev was sent to head a largely Russian Red Army to Ukraine. He said he was "bringing freedom 'from the distant north' on sharp bayonets"!¹⁶²⁷

Lenin and the Bolsheviks had not supported the exercise of Finland's Self-Determination in July 1917, when it would have greatly favoured the Revolutionary forces. But they recognised Finland's independence under the Counter-Revolutionary, White government led by Svinhufvid in January 1918, when it was at war with the Reds.¹⁶²⁸ Later, in November 1918, following the collapse of Germany, the recent legacy of 'Bayonet Bolshevism' contributed to the stalling of the International Revolutionary Wave in Ukraine. Ukraine became involved in a bitter struggle involving White Russians, Ukrainian Nationalists, Anarchists, various peasant forces, Russian and Ukrainian Communists, to which a French-led anti-Bolshevik naval and military force was also added in 1919.¹⁶²⁹

The split, which had developed between major sections of the Russian and Ukrainian Communists, ensured that the most Revolutionary forces in Ukraine were unable to provide succour to the short-lived Hungarian and Slovak Soviet Republics, on its borders. The infant and isolated Hungarian

Communist Party led these particular struggles, although it had its own 'Greater Hungary' political pretensions.¹⁶³⁰

A southern chain of linked Revolutions, extending from Ukraine to Vienna, did not come to pass. In 1920, the Soviet Russian made another attempt, this time to create a northern Revolutionary chain extending from Russia to Berlin. This came after Russia's initial success in repelling a Polish invasion in 1919. However, during the Red Army counter-invasion of Poland, 'Bayonet Bolshevism' predominated.

A failure to properly acknowledge that Poland had also recently been another part of the Russian Empire, led to a considerable over-estimation of the attraction that invading Russian forces would offer. This weakness was coupled with Polish Social Democrats/Communists' own failure to see the need to take the lead of the Democratic struggle for National Self-Determination (or to seek any alliance with the peasantry). They adhered to Luxemburg's view that this issue was not supportable in the 'First World', in which they firmly located Poland. All these shortcomings ensured that little progress was made along this particular Revolutionary road to Germany.¹⁶³¹

In December 1917, Soviet Russia had recognised Finland's independence, largely due the pressure exerted by a German Army occupying considerable areas of the old Tsarist Empire in the west. This pressure was magnified many times when the German government imposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in the March 1918. However, after Germany's defeat in November 1918, the International Revolutionary Wave, which was then able to surge forth from Soviet Russia, still found it difficult to breach the new Baltic States to its west. The states founded there were being used as bases for Western Imperial interventions directed against Soviet Russia. This threat led to Soviet Russia signing a treaty of mutual recognition with Estonia on February 2nd, 1920,¹⁶³² with Lithuania on July 12th (in the context of the war with Poland)¹⁶³³ and another with Latvia on August 11th.¹⁶³⁴

With the road of Western Imperial intervention war now sealed off to the northwest, Soviet Russia still had to deal with White forces to its east and south. However, the White forces to the east, in western Siberia, were largely defeated by February 1920 (although the Japanese occupation of the Russian Far East continued until 1922); and those in the southeast had been defeated by November 1920. But it was not until March 18th, 1921, that the

Peace of Riga¹⁶³⁵ with Poland ended the threats from the southwest including from Ukraine.

Thwarted to the west, a new turn in Lenin's thinking provided a greater emphasis on the significance of the struggle for National Self-Determination in the East. He realised that his original trajectory for the post-war International Revolutionary Wave - Petrograd, Berlin, Paris, London and on to New York - was facing increasing obstacles. He no longer looked for the domino-like overthrow of each adjacent Imperial power, such as Prussia/Germany, or Imperial satellites like Poland. Instead, he hoped to take advantage of post-war Inter-Imperialist and National divisions.

b) Struggles in Ireland constrained by the failure of the Bolsheviks to develop a new Communist-led 'Internationalism from Below' alliance of workers, small farmers, oppressed Nations and Nationalities (pp. 528-538)

Lenin now began to consider a new eastern road of Revolutionary advance to challenge the major Imperial powers where their rule was more fragile - in their colonies and semi-colonies. Several of these territories were next to the infant RSFSR. Indeed, the UK state had been using these areas, following the collapse of the Tsarist Russian and Ottoman empires, and the weakness of Persia, to create bases to overthrow Soviet Russia. Lenin wanted to reverse the direction of these challenges and use the seething National and Religious resentment in these areas to undermine British power, particularly in India.

The suspension of the revolutionary offensive in the West initially appeared to have little direct bearing on Ireland. The Irish Republicans were still making advances, which were undermining the UK state. And remembering his recent appreciation of the significance of the National Question, even within his 'First World', Lenin re-emphasised the struggle for Irish Self-Determination, as an additional way of challenging British Imperialism closer to home. This became an issue at the CI's Second Congress held in Moscow in July and August 1920.

Just as the theory underpinning Lenin's geographical division between his 'First' and 'Second Worlds' had been undermined by struggles for National Self-Determination within his 'First World'; so, the CI's Second Congress,

which addressed the National and Colonial Questions,¹⁶³⁶ produced thinking that could not be confined to Lenin's post-1916 'Third World'. Not only Irish Communists and Socialists appreciated the relevance of such thinking. Black Americans and the diasporas of various colonised peoples in the UK, France and elsewhere were also quick to see this.

However, for a brief period, another problem emerged, because for many, including Trotsky, the road to the West seemed to reopen, when the Red Army arrived at the gates of Warsaw in August 1920. Lenin was less confident, but only suppressed his doubts, and did not oppose the Red Army offensive. One place that was heavily embroiled in this struggle was Ukraine. Lenin wanted CI Congress delegates to believe that there was a clear-cut Revolutionary/Counter-revolutionary struggle in Ukraine, with the RCP(b)'s newly formed Russian branch-office organisation, the Communist Party of Ukraine (bolsheviks) (CPU(b)),¹⁶³⁷ leading the Revolutionary forces there. He did not want delegates to hear anything that might persuade them otherwise. Therefore, the newly founded Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP) was denied a place at the Congress.¹⁶³⁸ The International Revolutionary Wave had spurred on those people who formed the UCP. They had left the Ukrainian Social Democrat and the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary parties. Due to UCP's absence from this Congress, the Great Russian Chauvinism found within sections of the CPU(b) in Ukraine (and elsewhere too) and the poisonous legacy of 'Bayonet Bolshevism' were not addressed.

One delegate to the CI Congress in Moscow was Tom Quelch, who came as a representative of the British Socialist Party (BSP). Until very recently, he had been an open Racist. In June 1920, just before the CI Congress, Quelch attended the founding conference of the Communist Party in Great Britain (CPGB) in London, on behalf of the BSP. He wrote a report to the CI's official magazine, *Communist International*.¹⁶³⁹ In this he made no mention of the ongoing Republican struggle in Ireland. This negligence was in marked contrast to the Revolutionary approach of John Maclean, who, despite being the official RSFSR consul, had been excluded from the CPGB's founding conference, again something not mentioned in Quelch's report. Maclean had been marginalised because of his criticism of BSP leaders such as Theodore Rothstein, as well as of the very recent pro-Soviet Russia convert, Colonel L'Estrange Malone, the Coalition Liberal MP.¹⁶⁴⁰

At the CI Congress, though, Quelch felt the need to distance himself from his

recent overt Racism. He hid behind "the rank and file British worker {who} would consider it treasonable to help the enslaved nations in their uprisings against British rule."¹⁶⁴¹ Lenin was not pleased and commented on Quelch in his Congress report. However, with no UCP presence, Quelch was unable to take some consolation over any exposure of Great Russian Chauvinism towards the Ukrainians ('Little Russians' or 'Khokhols' - 'Topknots'), which bore a strong resemblance to the British Chauvinism shown towards the Irish ('Paddies').

This was also the CI Congress which Sylvia Pankhurst attended. Having already challenged British Racists and their apologists on the Left, she would have noted the continued presence of several of those in the British delegation whom she considered to be on the Right. Although her Anti-Unionism, Anti-Imperialism and Anti-Racism were deep rooted, at the time she placed these views within a wider Left or Council Communist, Anti-Parliamentarian and Anti-Labour Party framework. Lenin reassured her that if she joined the new CPGB, she could still raise these the issues. So, Pankhurst's *Workers Dreadnought* became, in effect, a platform paper within the new CPGB.

However, most of the Right wing still in the BSP, after its split with Hyndman, was absorbed within the new CPGB and Pankhurst was marginalised. In the process, Pankhurst was asked to hand over control of *Workers Dreadnought* to the new CPGB Central Committee. As with John Maclean's refusal to join the infant CPGB being put down to his mental health after imprisonment, Sylvia Pankhurst's refusal to hand over the *Workers Dreadnought*, is often dismissed by the old official and by dissident Communists as an example of her strong individualism and her unpreparedness to accept Communist Party discipline.

However, there were deeper underlying political issues. In Maclean's case a key issue was the continued promotion of Right and opportunist elements in the CPGB at the highest level and the CPGB's refusal to acknowledge the significance of the National Question in Scotland in a Unionist state (and often in Ireland too). In Pankhurst's case there was also the CPGB's inability to appreciate the Rightist element in the party, inherited from the old BSP, and the full significance of Racism within a British working class moulded within the world's leading Imperialist state.

Another person who attended the CI Congress was James Connolly's son, Roddy. He had been trying for some time to win over the Socialist Party of Ireland to a Communist perspective,¹⁶⁴² in the face of decided opposition from Thomas Johnson, secretary of the ILP&TUC, and the more wavering stance of Cathal O'Shannon.¹⁶⁴³ Connolly attended the Congress as a delegate from the small clandestine Communist Groups (CGs). He did not think that it was possible to organise openly as Communists in Ireland at this time due to British repression.¹⁶⁴⁴

Connolly, like his father, had little time for the BSP. Whilst he was in Glasgow in late 1919 and early 1920, he worked with the Socialist Labour Party, John Maclean, Willie Gallacher, and the Socialist Republican, Sean McLoughlin,¹⁶⁴⁵ who had been given military control of the Dublin Post Office forces in the last stage of the 1916 Rising.¹⁶⁴⁶ In the run-up to the 1920 CI Congress in Moscow, Connolly received little help from the dominant ex-BSP forces in the new CPGB. Instead, in England, significantly he looked to Sylvia Pankhurst's Workers Socialist Federation and to Captain Jack White (who had been the military organiser of the early ICA) to organise his clandestine trip to Russia.¹⁶⁴⁷

Connolly attended the Congress with Eadmonn MacAlpine, who had moved back to Ireland, after working with Jim Larkin in the USA. Larkin, who was held in considerable esteem, both for his role in the 1913-4 Dublin Lock-Out, and for his imprisonment in the USA, provided credentials for MacAlpine.¹⁶⁴⁸

It was at this Congress that Roddy Connolly also made personal contact with Lenin.¹⁶⁴⁹ If the CI's new emphasis on the significance of the National and Colonial Questions represented a sharp challenge to Quelch and the BSP, it greatly encouraged Connolly. He wrote an article for the *Communist International*, which explained, "One of the factors that made Ireland important to the international communist movement was its 'strategic position with regard to England, the seat of British imperialism'".¹⁶⁵⁰ Connolly returned to Ireland, eager to build a Communist party. However, events unfolding over the next year, which marked the beginning of the ebb in the International Revolutionary Wave, were to frustrate Connolly's endeavours. There was also perhaps the still lingering influence of the original ECCI's *British Question* and its knock-on implications, not just for Ireland, but for Communists in Ukraine and Turkestan.

Perhaps a hint of these future problems could be seen at the Congress of the Peoples of the East.¹⁶⁵¹ This Congress was convened a month after the CI's Second Congress in order to implement the decisions taken on the Colonial Question in relation to the east. Baku, a major oil-producing city in Soviet Azerbaijan was chosen for this event. However, unlike the CI Congress a month earlier, when there had been silence over the real situation in Ukraine, this Congress was to hear critical comments from non-Russians about Great Russian Chauvinism and 'Bayonet Bolshevism'.

Tashpolad Narbutabekov, from Turkestan, told the delegates at Baku that the non-Russian people living within the bounds of the Russian Empire faced "the narrow nationalist inclinations of the local Europeans. Neither Comrade Zinoviev, nor Comrade Lenin, nor Comrade Trotsky knows the real situation, knows what has been going on in Turkestan these last three years. We must speak out frankly and draw a true picture of the state of affairs in Turkestan, and then the eyes of our leaders will be opened... We say: Remove your counter-revolutionaries, remove your alien elements who spread national discord, remove your colonisers who are now working behind the mask of Communism!"¹⁶⁵²

This was a Turkestanian response to the actions of Russian settlers and workers, who claimed to support the Bolsheviks (now that they represented Russian state power), and who, along with the Armenian Right Nationalist Dashnaks, had been involved in the massacre of 25,000 Muslims in Kokand in Turkestan, in February 1918.¹⁶⁵³ And even in Baku itself, at the time of the first Soviet there (before it was crushed by joint Ottoman/Azerbaijani Muslim forces in September 1918), the Bolsheviks organised local Russian and Armenian Dashnak forces, who had massacred up to 12,000 Azerbaijani Muslims the previous March.¹⁶⁵⁴

The Bolsheviks and their supporters were not immune to Great Russian Chauvinism nor to Racist attitudes. Some of these stemmed from the Bolsheviks' ignorance about the situation faced by colonised peoples in the Russian Empire's own internal 'Third World', stretching from the Caucasus, through Turkestan, to Siberia and the Russian Far East. In 1916, Lenin had devoted a whole additional chapter in *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up* to cover the Easter Rising, in which the threat of Irish conscription was a major issue. But he made no mention of the major anti-conscription rebellion, or Semirechye Revolt in Russian Turkestan, which

had broken out two months later,¹⁶⁵⁵ before he finished *The Discussion on Self-Determination*.

By 1920, with the revolutionary advance beyond the old Tsarist Russian heartland stalled, the RCP(b) began to press for truces and treaties which marked the beginning of a prolonged period of accommodation. Two strategies began to emerge. During the initial period of uncertainty, different National Communist parties, as well as members of the Executive Committee of the CI (ECCI), sometimes pursued what later became dubbed the 'theory of the offensive'. This viewed any immediate setback as a temporary phenomenon to be countered by stepped up military action.

One such example was the March Action in 1921 in central Germany. This was an attempted armed insurrection, launched by the recently founded Communist Party of Germany (KPD), with the support of the Communist Workers Party of Germany and the Bolshevik ECCI officials, Zinoviev and Radek. However, in the new context of an ebbing International Revolutionary Wave, this proved to be an adventurist action, and was not supported by the majority of German workers.¹⁶⁵⁶ Such adventurism was sometimes supplemented by a passivity when it came to the possibility of defensive actions alongside others. During the German Right's attempted military coup - the Kapp Putsch on March 13th, 1920 - the first slogan issued by the KPD leadership, was "not a finger for the republic",¹⁶⁵⁷ before working class mass action pushed them into giving support to the successful resistance.

As the evidence of the longer-term ebb of the International Revolutionary Wave became more apparent, an alternative strategy emerged. This was the development of United Fronts with Social Democrats, mainly for defensive purposes, to deal with the various ruling class counter-offensives. The logic of this could also be applied to advanced Nationalists, including those Irish Republicans about to face a combined British Unionist/Treatyite Nationalist counter-offensive. Arguments about United Fronts were at a merely embryonic stage at the CI Second Congress in 1920, but they were to move more centre-stage at the Third and Fourth CI Congresses in 1921 and 1922.

Another problem associated with the ebbing of the International Revolutionary Wave also revealed itself. It was now clear that there would be no easy breakthrough to the west to provide the infant RSFSR with much

needed succour, following Civil War devastation, and its associated famine and disease. After these setbacks, the revolution took on a more defensive form within the territories, not just of the wider former Tsarist Empire, but also within Russia itself.

There was diminishing support for the RCP(b), first amongst the peasantry in the countryside, who resented the wartime requisitions to feed the Red Army and the cities; and secondly amongst workers in the soviets as hardships and war-weariness took their toll. The base soviets of the infant RSFSR remained under Bolshevik control, not because of regular open elections, but because the RCP(b) systematically excluded other parties or its own dissidents as a consequence of the Civil War conditions.

As the international revolution turned in upon itself, the infant RSFSR state developed an administrative, military and diplomatic apparatus, which pursued its own policies. To begin with, a division of labour was adopted. The RSFSR state pursued conventional international diplomacy (with all its associated duplicity on both sides), whilst the CI attempted to pursue a more clandestine international revolutionary policy. This caused some tensions within the CI, which were usually resolved by the intervention of its RCP(b) leaders. The RCP(b) ended up in exclusive control of the RSFSR, which became a bureaucratic, one-party, police state in the process. Decisions were arrived at by RCP(b) leaders, which undermined the position of other CI affiliated Communist parties and closed off other possible revolutionary avenues.

During the Congress of the Peoples of the East in September 1920, something appeared in the official record, which prefigured future problems. These were to have considerable bearing on the struggles of workers, small peasants and oppressed peoples. In the fourth session, Zinoviev, the Congress chair, mentioned that "At the present time, Soviet Russia is negotiating with the British capitalist government, but the British workers know that these negotiations, and the temporary peace which the Russian Republic is trying to obtain, are only intended to win new positions for the continuance of this struggle. The workers of Britain and the other countries of Western Europe have complete confidence in the Russian Soviet Republic and support it in all the steps it takes, in its entire policy."¹⁶⁵⁸

However, it is very unlikely that either the "workers of Britain or the other countries of Western Europe" knew anything about these secret negotiations. The Bolsheviks had not entered into secret negotiations with Russian imperialists in the months when they had been preparing for the October 1917 Revolution. Indeed, they were scathing about all those Cadets (Liberals), Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who had done so. Therefore, by September 1920, something else was already going on.

In public, the RCP(b) and new CI were still looking to a revolutionary alliance between the RSFSR and a possible Soviet Germany. However, if support for the RSFSR could not be obtained through the German Revolution, maybe it could be gained from the existing German capitalist state. Following the June 1919 Treaty of Versailles, a new RCP(b)/CI theory placed defeated Germany in a similar position to those areas of the world, which had been colonised by the UK, France and the USA. By this theory, Germany's new 'third world' position could justify RSFSR support for almost the full range of German Nationalist forces. What emerged were the elements of a new National Bolshevism, first in the RSFSR, and then transmitted to other CI affiliated parties.

Viewing Germany as a Colonised Nation, rather than a Defeated Imperialist State, with a major section of its resentful ruling class and military leaders wanting to pursue a revanchist policy, the RSFSR's People's Commissar, Georgy Chicherin and its Ambassador, Nicolai Krestinsky entered secret negotiations with the leaders of the German Reichswehr as early as 1919.¹⁶⁵⁹

A major figure was the Right wing, Monarchist and anti-Semitic, General Major, Hans von Seckt.¹⁶⁶⁰ Von Seckt supported the German Nationalist conspiracy theory that put the country's surrender in the First World War down to the betrayal of the German Socialists and their Jewish backers. He was absent in the East at the time of the Freikorps' suppression of the Spartacus Rising, in January 1919.¹⁶⁶¹ Yet he was involved in the attempted Kapp Putsch in March 1920. He helped to set up the 'Black Reichswehr' - death squads used to eliminate political opponents.¹⁶⁶² Von Seckt was as hostile towards the Bolsheviks, as the Bolsheviks were to the suppressors of the Spartacus Rising. But the German Right Nationalists' realpolitik matched that of the Bolsheviks. In September 1921, von Seckt made an agreement with RSFSR representative, Leonid Krasin. He founded a secret arms

company, the GEFU, which built factories in the Soviet Union to produce aircraft, tanks, artillery and poison gas.¹⁶⁶³

Since then, defence of Bolshevik realpolitik has had a long history, still continued by some apologists, whether from the one-time official (pro-USSR) or dissident Communist traditions (Trotskyist and Maoist). Such realpolitik has been used to explain away the 1939-41 Stalin-Hitler Pact. Today it is used to support Russia's armed interventions in Ukraine or backing for Assad's Syria at the prompting of its President, former KGB officer, Vladimir Putin. He represents the interests of a Greater Russian capitalist oligarchy, which has grown out of the kleptocrats, who originally seized the old USSR's economic assets after the state's downfall. Many of these emerging oligarchs, though, have developed strong links with Western Imperial and Corporate interests. The consequent collapse in many Russian people's living standards, and even their life expectancy, prompted a reaction, which led to the emergence of Putin's Right Nationalist and more Russia-focussed section of oligarchs.

Putin's Greater Russian Nationalism (drawing more on the old Tsarist 'Russa, 'One and Indivisible' tradition, but also attracts those who uphold the National Bolshevik tradition) provides a political vehicle for the more 'patriotic' oligarchs. For Putin and his apologists, the collapse of the Greater Russian-dominated USSR in 1991 plays an analogous role to that of the break-up of the Prussian-German Empire in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles. However, in neither case has their Right Nationalism - German or Russian - been motivated by Anti-imperialism, but instead by a desire to restore Germany and Russia to their former Greater German and Greater Russian Imperial glory.

And what of those private negotiations with the "British" referred to by Zinoviev at the Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku? The apparatus of the new RSFSR state continued to develop its own interests, which initially concentrated upon its survival. This was perhaps understandable following the intervention of thirteen allied armies trying to overthrow the Bolsheviks.¹⁶⁶⁴ However, there was no way that the UK state, unlike Germany, could be accommodated within the RCP(b)'s recent theory of a 'Third World' extended to the losers in the First World War. The UK had been to the forefront of military interventions against the infant RSFSR. Those private negotiations between the RSFSR and the UK represented a

further development in state realpolitik.

And, just as von Seckt had acted in the interests of a German Right realpolitik, so Lord Curzon, C&UP, post-war UK Coalition government member and arch-imperialist (who, as Viceroy for India, had presided over the deaths of between 1 and 4.5 million in the 1899-1900 famine¹⁶⁶⁵) acted in the interests of a British Right realpolitik. He wrote that, "We know from a great variety of sources that the Russian Government is threatened with complete economic disaster, and that it is ready to pay almost any price for the assistance... We can hardly contemplate coming to its rescue without exacting our price for it, and it seems to me that price can far better be paid in a cessation of Bolshevik hostility in parts of the world important to us."¹⁶⁶⁶ And here India and Ireland figured foremost in his thoughts.

The final result of these negotiations, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, was made in the fateful month of March 1921. It was "an agreement of a politico-commercial character: it gave the RSFSR de facto recognition by the most powerful capitalist power in Europe, a power which in those days still successfully contended with the USA for the role of the foremost capitalist country in the world."¹⁶⁶⁷ At the Congress of the Peoples of the East in September 1920, Zinoviev had still needed some Left cover. He stated that the British ECCI representative attending the Congress, "Comrade Quelch... says that in Britain the working class is getting ready to take political power, that in Britain the social revolution is imminent."¹⁶⁶⁸ As John Maclean would have told them, this was blatant nonsense. But Quelch had learned his lesson from the month before. He knew what was required of him, if he was to retain the official CI franchise, which would give him far more clout within the CPGB back home.

Quelch was neither the first nor the last Socialist who saw that their best means of political advance on the Left was to serve the interests of the CI, as set down by the RCP(b) leadership. This pattern was to firmly establish itself as the requirements of the post-December 1922 USSR state pushed all other considerations to the side within the CI.

The level of theoretical knowledge and the practical revolutionary experience shown by RCP(b) leaders had initially impressed many Socialists. However, as their own experience developed, a whole series of dissident oppositions grew within the CI and its affiliated parties. Following the clampdown on

internal factions after March 1921, these dissident Communists were marginalised and suppressed. Dissidents suffered public denigration, silencing, expulsions, imprisonment, hard labour and executions. The RCP(b) (later to be the CPSU) increasingly relied upon the power of their new state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), to have these measures enforced.

This new Union consisted of the RSFSR, ((which included ‘Russian’ Turkestan), Ukraine SSR, Byelo-Russian SSR and the Trans-Caucasian SSR, it was declared on December 28th, 1922.¹⁶⁶⁹ As in the case of the incorporation of Scotland and Ireland into the UK, this followed pressure from the rulers of the dominant Nation, Russia. This was the case in the new Unionist state, the USSR, only now exerted by the RCP(b). Nevertheless, a real process of negotiation with the existing ruling classes in what became the UK, and with the Communist leaders of the three other Socialist Soviet Republics in what became the USSR, was also important. Nevertheless, the RSFSR always remained dominant within the USSR, just as England has remained dominant within the UK.

In both Unions it was possible for individuals from the non-dominant Constituent Nations to rise to the top. In the UK, Lloyd George (Welsh) and Ramsay MacDonald (Scottish) became prime ministers and Sir Henry Wilson (Irish) became a field marshal. In the USSR, Stalin (Georgian) and Khrushchev (adopted Ukrainian) became first secretaries of the CPSU (the most important post in the one-party USSR) and Semyon Timoshenko (Ukrainian) became a field marshal and Lavrentiy Beria (Mingrelian-Georgian) headed the NKVD.

One important distinction between the UK and the British Empire and the USSR was that the non-White empire was not incorporated within the UK, whilst the various non-White, former Muslim states, (e.g. the Emirate of Bukhara and Khanate of Khiva), later the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic¹⁶⁷⁰ and the oblasts and okrugs of other ethnic minorities constituent Soviet republics (e.g. in Siberia) formed part of the USSR.

The manner in which these autonomous units were incorporated was not even the limited exercise in National Self-Determination, which brought Ukraine, Byelo-Russia and the Transcaucasia into the USSR. The leading personnel

of the CPSU in Moscow decided the boundaries of these non-Slav territories, and the manner of their incorporation into the USSR. In some ways, the USSR can be seen as having achieved what the UK's Liberal Imperial Federalists had wanted but were unable to deliver.

Both in the original four core Soviet Socialist Republics and the later SSRs (e.g. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan), autonomous SSRs, oblasts and okrugs, there were privileged posts for non-Russians. And, as in the UK, such privileges led to some of the most outspoken defenders of the Union, coming from these areas. Furthermore, many CPGB and other Left Unionists also defended the Unionist nature of their states, under the guise of 'Internationalism'.

Their own political organisations mirrored the top-down 'internationalism-from-above' nature of the states they lived in. Whilst, following the departure of 26 Counties Ireland and the creation of the USSR, many British Socialists did abandon the earlier widespread Liberal and Radical view of Great Britain as a 'beacon of progress' in the world, they handed this baton over to the USSR. They remained as hostile to the notion of Democratic National Self-Determination in both Unionist states. The Unionist nature of these two states could allow for the promotion of state-approved Cultural Autonomy, and specific cultural tourist niche markets. The political adherents of the UK and USSR used these aspects of their states to ignore or marginalise those who demanded meaningful Political Self-Determination.

The degree of autonomy of the USSR's Constituent Republics was limited by the Russian dominated CPSU, which meant that each national section was largely a branch office. Whereas in the UK, the Crown Powers ensure that there is no effective Right of Self-Determination for each Constituent Nation, the State-Party link was crucial to maintaining the USSR as a Unionist state. The state constitution may have recognised the Right to National Self-Determination, but in the USSR's one-party state, anyone raising the issue within the party was condemned as a Bourgeois Nationalist, National Bolshevik deviant or worse, and suspended, internally exiled, imprisoned, or just shot.

Meanwhile, preceding the creation of the USSR, the RSFSR's behind-the-scenes secret negotiations with the UK, from 1920-1, were to make their

impact directly felt in Ireland. The underlying reasons, largely unknown to Roddy Connolly, were to frustrate his endeavours to set up a Communist Party of Ireland.

c) The political legacy of British Imperialism holds back the International Revolutionary Wave during its upsurge and contributes to its ebb in 1921 (pp. 540-543)

Early setbacks had not necessarily stopped further progress during the upsurge of the International Revolutionary Wave from 1917-21. And in this earlier phase, it was not so much Bolshevik methods, as yet not fully understood, which played the key domestic role, but Socialist, Labour and trade union organisations with their own national traditions. In the UK these were heavily influenced by British Imperialism, Unionism, Male Chauvinism and Sectionalism. Therefore, even during the upward surge of the exploited and oppressed, those national and local political and trade union organisations, which sought to take the lead, displayed considerable weaknesses, which held back these struggles, and also contributed to an accumulating legacy that would lead to their ebb.

British National Labourism had been rampant with Racism, as shown in the TUC's stance over the Boer War. Following this, the TUC bowed before a virulently anti-Semitic campaign, mounted by the proto-Fascist British Brothers League, and they backed Balfour's 1903 Aliens Act. And British Labour's more Social Democratic or Socialist wing, the affiliated Independent Labour Party, had not been immune to Racism either. This was shown by the attitude of Keir Hardie to workers from Poland and Lithuania trying to escape Tsarist repression and extreme poverty, and by the anti-Chinese campaign by mounted by Connolly's adversary, William Walker, during the ILP's 1912 by-election campaign in Leith.

During the war, UK government condemnation of 'aliens' led to unofficial attacks upon a range of targets, especially the people and the property of those perceived to be German. In 1918, George Barnes, elected as an ILP, MP for Glasgow Blackfriars and Hutchesontown, who became a War Coalition minister, decided that he would support the continuing Coalition as an ND&LP candidate. The general election manifesto of the Coalition's

dominant party, the C&UP, emphasised their opposition to 'aliens' - now understood to include not only Germans, but also Russians, and the Black colonial and Chinese labourers brought over to contribute to the war effort.

Furthermore, the main self-declared Marxist organisation, which supported the 'British road to Socialism' - the SDF, SDP and then British Socialist Party - was also deeply affected by Racism. These organisations' leader, Henry Hyndman, was known for his anti-Semitism, but his Racism was not just an individual quirk. The British Chauvinism and Racism of Tom Quelch, the BSP delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International, has already been highlighted.¹⁶⁷¹

A proto-Fascist organisation, the British Empire League (BEL) was formed in 1916, with the backing of arch-imperialist Lord Milner. It "sought to keep alive the social imperialist tradition in British politics".¹⁶⁷² BEL's political wing became the National Democratic & Labour Party (ND&LP). Other leading members included Victor Fisher, who came from the Right wing split in the BSP, Robert Blatchford, author of *Merrie England* and *Britain for the British*,¹⁶⁷³ and Alexander Thompson. The ND&LP had the support of three sitting Labour MPs and of the Musicians Union (perhaps members had spent too much time in the jingoistic music halls!) and sections of the MFGB.¹⁶⁷⁴ The ND&LP gained 8 seats in the general election.

Furthermore, Joseph Havelock Wilson, the Right-wing general secretary of the NS&FU, and also a member of the ND&LP, gave his support to candidates of the National Party (NP) in other seats in 1918.¹⁶⁷⁵ The NP was even further to the Right than the ND&L. NS&FU members had also refused to transport Arthur Henderson (who had been a Labour member in the inner War Cabinet!) or Ramsay Macdonald (an ILP pacifist) from Great Britain to the proposed conference of Socialist parties in Stockholm in April 1917.¹⁶⁷⁶ James Henry Bennet, a NS&FU delegate to the Irish Trade Union and Labour Congress (ITUC&LP) had openly declared this.¹⁶⁷⁷ NS&FU members also refused to take the conference's organising secretary, Camille Huysmans, to Stockholm. For this, the NF&SU was expelled from the ITUC&LP, at its own special conference in Waterford in November 1918.¹⁶⁷⁸ The British TUC just ignored this issue though.

During the 1918 general election, as well as Havelock Wilson standing as a Coalition Liberal in South Shields (whilst also giving his support to ND&LP

and NP candidates elsewhere), an NS&FU member also stood as a Coalition Labour candidate in Hull South West, and another stood just as a NS&FU candidate in Bootle, Liverpool.¹⁶⁷⁹ NS&FU official, J. H. Bennet, already expelled from the ILP&TUC for his anti-peace activities,¹⁶⁸⁰ stood as an independent Labour (not ILP) candidate against Belfast Labour candidate in Belfast Pottinger, once it decided to stand there.¹⁶⁸¹

Thus, as the war ended, and the International Revolutionary Wave spread to Great Britain, the C&UP, with the help of others, including the ND&LP, and some Labour MPs, the NS&FU and other trade union leaders, had been pushing their Racism, based on the hatred of 'aliens', for some time. Prominent C&UP Coalition minister, Lord Milner saw himself as a "British race patriot".¹⁶⁸² Virulent attacks were made on non-Whites, whether non-British or British subjects, in order to divide the more multi-ethnic workforce brought together before and during the war.

1919, the highpoint of the International Revolutionary Wave, also witnessed an outbreak of race riots. Whilst the Imperialist triumphalist and Racist climate produced by the post-war Coalition was largely responsible, the activities of the ND&LP, NP and NS&FU were all part of the wider clamour leading to these riots. These took place mainly in port towns, where ND&LP leaders and the union members had targeted their attacks on migrants. South Shields, Liverpool and Hull, where NS&FU backed candidates had stood, were all affected.¹⁶⁸³

However, these riots were not only the responsibility of the Right. The 40 Hours Strike in Glasgow in January 1919 is usually seen as the highpoint of post-war working class action. But Manny Shinwell, a leading official in the NS&FU breakaway union, the British Seafarers' Union (BSU),¹⁶⁸⁴ and president of Glasgow Trades Council, "encouraged his members to join the strike, so they could voice their concerns about workers from overseas undercutting their wages and threatening their job opportunities".¹⁶⁸⁵ "Shinwell addressed a meeting of 600 sailors... where he attributed the existence of large numbers of unemployed seamen 'to the refusal of the government to exclude Chinese labour from British ships', urging them that it was essential... that 'action take place at once'".¹⁶⁸⁶ A Racist riot soon took place. Unrepentant, Shinwell continued to address sailors in the same manner.¹⁶⁸⁷

Shinwell was a member of the ILP, but Willie Gallacher of the BSP supported him in meetings of BSU members.¹⁶⁸⁸ So, although Glasgow had George Barnes, as its ND&LP Coalition-supporting MP in the multi-ethnic Gorbals, where sailors lived, the promotion or tolerance of Racism extended far further than the Right. And disconcertingly both Shinwell and Gallacher had ethnic minority backgrounds, Jewish and Irish respectively. This meant they would be well acquainted with the impact of Racism. It was as if to become an accepted 'insider' meant that you had to dismiss the needs of other 'outsiders', who were not yet considered to be part of the British working class. And in April 1920, leading ILP member, George Lansbury, based in the docklands and port area of East London, was to publish Ed Morel's Racist article in the *Daily Herald*, and refuse a reply from the American Black Socialist, Claude McKay.¹⁶⁸⁹

In July 1920, Belfast also became the site of a major pogrom. This followed the Great Engineers' Strike in early 1919, and the election of ten Belfast Labour councillors, in the January 1920 local elections. And all this happened within what was becoming the Ulster Unionists' chosen laager of six counties Ulster, although as yet the Irish Unionist Party (IUP) was still organisationally united on an all-Ireland basis. The IUP/UUP prepared for their counter-offensive.

On July 20th, 1920, members of the "Belfast Protestant Association, some... {armed} with revolvers... declared their intention to drive from the shipyard every 'Sinn Feiner' they could find. 'Sinn Feiner' proved a very elastic terminology. Those attacked were not just supporters of Sinn Fein, but every known Catholic, militant trade unionists and socialists. The violence soon spread to other workplaces. By the time it ended 10,000 Catholic men and 1000 Catholic women had been driven from their place of work." ¹⁶⁹⁰ Whilst the activities of Carson and the IUP's Ulster Unionist contingent and other Loyalist organisations, including the Labour Unionists, were undoubtedly the main factor behind this¹⁶⁹¹ NS&FU member, J.H. Bennet's earlier political activities in the largely Loyalist East Belfast area, would have made their own contribution.

Overcoming the long term and deeply Reactionary effects of a Loyalism, backed by employers and the UK state, was always going to present a major

challenge to Socialists at this time. This could probably only have been countered by a further forward surge and deepening of the International Revolutionary Wave. In the absence of this, the locally organised Belfast pogrom benefitted the British ruling class and its attempt to stem the impact of the wider offensive of the exploited and oppressed.

In 1920, they could not defend such brutal actions in public in the rest of the UK, but the government made no attempt to restore those ousted Catholic, Belfast Labour or Socialist supporting workers to their jobs after the Loyalist pogrom. Indeed, the depth of acceptance of Loyalist repressive actions was highlighted by the almost total lack of response from those trade unions representing the ousted workers. Only the Amalgamated Union of Carpenters, Cabinetmakers and Joiners made any attempt to defend their now jobless members.

The British TUC was pushed into taking a stance, and its Parliamentary Committee sent a delegation to Belfast. It achieved nothing. In 1921, James Baird, a Belfast Labour city councillor (whose supporters had been amongst the targets of Loyalist action), said that "By the inactivity of the English {that should have been reported as British} Trade Union Movement during the last year, you have been supporting Sir Edward Carson and the Orangemen".¹⁶⁹²

But by this time, the UK government had another role for the Loyalists, and that was to enforce Partition. This contributed to some of the bloodiest actions during the period of the Irish War of Independence and the ensuing Irish Civil War. In October 1920, the highly sectarian Ulster Special Constabulary was formed. Labour Unionists and UVF members were central to its membership.¹⁶⁹³

And, as with Black colonial and Irish Catholic labour, drawn into parts of the economy from which they had been excluded before the war, women had also been drawn into wartime jobs. Nearly two million women had replaced men, who joined the armed forces. Women were brought into work on the land, in transport, industry and engineering. This contributed to the decline of more poorly paid, and sometimes sexually exploitative, domestic labour.¹⁶⁹⁴ Considerable numbers of women died in the munitions factory explosions at Silvertown, East London in 1917¹⁶⁹⁵ and at Chilwell, Nottinghamshire in 1918.¹⁶⁹⁶

Women's membership of trade unions went up from 350,000 in 1914 to about 1 million in 1918.¹⁶⁹⁷ However, they were employed at lower rates of pay for the same jobs that men had done, something that the male-led trade union leaders did little to rectify. The employment of such cheap labour could potentially limit the employment opportunities and/or lower the wages of men returning to work after the war. However, instead of fighting for parity with male workers, trade union leaders were ready to push for the wholesale dismissal of women from their jobs after the war. Once the war had ended, single employed women sometimes turned upon married women. The former often demanded the dismissal of the latter, only to find themselves targeted later too. In 1920, women were even pushed out of hospital work.¹⁶⁹⁸

So, as in the case of those Black and Chinese workers pushed out of their jobs and homes in Great Britain's port cities and towns in 1919, and those Catholic, Labour and Socialist-supporting workers pushed out of their jobs in Belfast in 1920, the loss of most women's jobs had already occurred by 1920. And by 1921, so great was this retreat, that there were 2% less women in the British workforce than there had been before the war in 1911.¹⁶⁹⁹ Given the huge loss of life of men during the war, this figure is quite revealing.

By early 1921, the government was ready for a counter-offensive. It had seen the major defeat on the working class in Belfast in August 1920; followed up by Partitionist repression throughout the Six Counties. It had pushed back women's employment to worse than pre-War levels. Unemployment was rising, extending beyond demobilised soldiers to the wider working class. The remaining wartime government controls over the mines were ended on April 1st, 1921.

The mine owners immediately imposed wage cuts.¹⁷⁰⁰ The leaders of the NUR, including general secretary Jimmy Thomas, and of the NTWF (predecessor to the T&GWU), who had joined with the leaders of MFGB to form the Triple Alliance to meet such contingencies, abandoned the miners on Black Friday, April 15th.¹⁷⁰¹ This opened the political space for the government and employers to roll back the post-war concessions won through working class militancy.

d) The British ruling class flirts with Fascism in Great Britain but falls back on National Labourism to contain the working class upsurge (pp. 543-550)

As the impact of the revolutionary upswing made itself felt between 1917-21, other political forces emerged, including proto-Fascism and national Labourism. The Coalition government resorted to elements of both of these as short-term 'fire and theft' insurance policies. This was done with the intention of restoring order and re-establishing as much as possible of the old order.

The dominant C&UP section of the Coalition government was uneasy about the rise of Labour. Asquith's non-Coalition Liberals were well known and non-threatening, but Labour had overtaken them as the official, albeit still rather small, Westminster opposition in the 1918 general election. Employer uneasiness was prevalent despite the recent wartime evidence of the moderating behaviour of the British Labour Party and trade union leaders, when entrusted with controlling members and supporters. However, during the earlier and headier days of the 'Russian' Revolution, even some right-wing Labour leaders had appeared to get carried away. But these leaders knew that to retain control, they had to 'ride the waves'. People like Lloyd George, and Asquith for that matter, understood this.

The intransigent Right, already a presence in the War Coalition government, moved further rightwards after the war and took on some new forms. There had been some clandestine backing from the security forces in Great Britain, particularly MI5. After the 1918 general election, the further Right, as well as having C&UP/IUA members in the government, now also had an ND&LP member, whilst there were also N&DLP, National Party and IUA (including Labour Unionist) MPs at Westminster.

In addition, the diehard sections of the ruling class, often holding positions in the democratically unaccountable parts of the state, or found amongst the C&UP, remained worried and looked to more drastic ways to deal with the perceived threat from Labour and the wider working class. Such people saw the Labour Party and trade unions as an outward manifestation of Bolshevism. Bolshevism and Anarchism were their stock words of abuse.

They also saw Lloyd George and the Liberals as unwitting or witting accomplices of revolutionary forces. Indicative of such thinking, the intransigent Right wing, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson "suspected Lloyd George of being 'a traitor & a Bolshevik'"!¹⁷⁰² It was this diehard element that seriously considered a more widespread use of troops, supplemented where they thought necessary by resort to irregular and unofficial paramilitary forces. Extra-constitutional armed activity in the service of reaction is one of the hallmarks of Fascism.

There are debates as to what is distinctive about Fascism. For some, Fascism is confined to those parties that want to completely overthrow the existing parliamentary system and replace it with a corporatist political order. Mussolini's Fascisti provided the first such example. However, just as there has been an open reformist and a revolutionary wing to Social Democracy, so there has been a more traditionalist and regime-accommodating version of Fascism, before the full-blown radical form of Fascism appeared and took complete control in Italy between 1922-5. What both wings have in common is a preparedness to use extra-constitutional and paramilitary methods to achieve their ends.

Although Mussolini went on to develop his more Radical version of Fascism, both the British and Italian governments and their big industrial and landlord backers, initially saw him as a useful tool to maintain their own control in the face of popular challenges. During the First World War, British security forces provided Mussolini with money to finance his squadristi in order to physically attack those protesting against Italy's participation in the war.¹⁷⁰³ And in the major post-war working class and peasant struggles, inspired by the International Revolutionary Wave, the Italian employers resorted to Mussolini's squadristi to crush both the trade unions and the Socialists.

Following the end of the First World War, the International Revolutionary Wave provided a much wider challenge to the traditional order. This meant that various ruling classes were now more prepared to resort to a greater range of forces, including in certain situations both irregular and unofficial armed bodies. This was clearly seen in the Russian Empire with the mobilisation of White generals and their undisciplined, freebooting armies, and in Germany, with the mobilisation in 1919 of the Freikorps and the

attempted Kapp Putsch in 1920.

However, if it had not been for the considerably greater violence found in the territories of the defeated powers in 1918 (including Russia, which had endured the punitive 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Germany's predecessor to the Allies' punitive 1919 Treaty of Versailles), then Loyalism might have become the general term for this restorative form of Fascism. This was because there had been a precedent in the UK for this type of activity before the First World War. A significant section of the British ruling class and the C&UP had backed a Loyalist alliance of senior military officers, the Orange Order, the paramilitary UVF and other forces in their attempts to kill off Irish Home Rule. Some were quite prepared, if necessary, to use these forces to topple the Liberal government, in order to hold on to the UK's old order. The outbreak of the First World War, though, had put a possible civil war on hold.

But faced with the growing post-war International Revolutionary Wave, sections of the British ruling class and the Coalition government once more considered the use of unofficial and irregular armed forces, confident that they could control them. British security forces had been given a further fillip during the war and they were boosted by the Irish unrest and post-war industrial struggles. The newly formed MI5, its army wing headed by Vernon Kell, had "acquired many additional responsibilities... Most significantly, its strict counter-espionage role blurred considerably. It became a much more political role, involving the surveillance not merely of foreign agents but also of pacifist and anti-conscription organisations, and of organised labour"¹⁷⁰⁴ MI5 worked closely with the London Metropolitan Police's Special Branch, which had a wider remit than the city itself. Its head, Basil Thomson placed Indian Ghadar Party members, Irish Republicans,¹⁷⁰⁵ John Maclean and Sylvia Pankhurst under surveillance and organised their harassment.¹⁷⁰⁶

In August 1919, C&UP MP, William Reginald Hall, the director of the naval wing of MI5 set up the virulently anti-Bolshevik and anti-Socialist, Economic League (EL). The EL championed traditional employer control over the economy.¹⁷⁰⁷ Its main activities included "systematic surveillance and blacklisting of 'political' subversives for business interests".¹⁷⁰⁸ More shadowy was the British Empire Union,¹⁷⁰⁹ which had been formed in 1916. Like the EL it went on to develop links with the British Fascisti (BF) when

they were formed later in 1923.¹⁷¹⁰

However, despite the BF's admiration for the Italian Fascisti, who by 1923 had seized power, it was still committed to "upholding the established Constitution and the authority of Parliament and the Crown... There was reverence for traditional British values."¹⁷¹¹ This, and its later somewhat limited activities in support of the government, highlight that these early British Fascists belonged to those committed to defending the existing order. And this was the case with several Right Populist and proto-Fascist parties, such as the National Democratic and Labour Party (ND&LP), and the National Party (NP), which had won seats at Westminster. Lord Milner was the main backer for the ND&LP,¹⁷¹² whilst Brigadier-General Henry Page Croft had set up the NP.¹⁷¹³

Many members of these organisations came from the pre-war social imperialist and imperial tariff reform traditions, but under the pressures of war and the International Revolutionary Wave, they had moved further to the Right. We have seen a similar phenomenon in the post-2008 Crisis. Long-standing British imperialist apologists and Europhobes have been pushed further Right, following their Brexit referendum victory. Tory Boris Johnson has met with Far Right, American ultra-nationalist Steve Bannon,¹⁷¹⁴ whilst UKIP lords have entertained Far Right, English ultra-Nationalist, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) at Westminster.¹⁷¹⁵ He acted as an advisor to the new UKIP party leader.¹⁷¹⁶

However, the post-First World War Coalition government did not resort to the use of Fascist forces in the major industrial disputes, which racked Great Britain from 1919-21. It relied instead on a combination of leaving things to the reliable trade union leaders and the use of the state's own military and police forces. People like Field Marshal Wilson might have preferred a more extensive use of troops in such situations, but the majority in the Coalition came to appreciate Lloyd George's greater reliance on trade union officials. Furthermore, Lloyd George's success in adapting and, where necessary, creating new official state institutions, under the pressure of the International Revolutionary Wave, ensured that Fascism did not take root in Great Britain at this time.

As Liberal minister, Lloyd George had long pre-war experience with the

infant British Labour Party, which had strongly supported the government's social Liberal policies. He appreciated the wartime cooperation he had received as Prime Minister from both the Labour Party and trade union leaders. He understood the contribution that national Labourism could make in upholding the imperialist and unionist order. Before the war, many amongst the British ruling class had seen Lloyd George as a 'lower class' firebrand. But they had begun to appreciate the usefulness of the 'Welsh Wizard' in times of crisis. The British ruling class had long supplemented their resort to the repressive powers of the UK state, when necessary, with the inducements of personal flattery, honours and bribery to win over key figures in any opposition.

Following the precedent of Lloyd George, the more far-sighted members of the ruling class began see possible uses for national Labourism in times of greater difficulty. They were reassured by British Labour's acceptance of the UK's existing constitutional order as an adequate vehicle for its proposed reforms, its continued support for Union and Empire, and its unwillingness to challenge the role of the City of London in formulating economic policy. Once the Labour Party began to register gains in parliamentary by-elections, and in the 1920 local council elections, pressure was put on Labour leaders to groom the party leadership for future office.

Furthermore, the prospect of a Labour emerging as a possible future government was made less threatening by the decline of strike action. Jimmy Thomas and the NUR leadership's betrayal of the miners on Black Friday, April 15th, 1921, not only prepared the ground for a major employer attack on workers' pay and conditions, this also contributed to the wider political climate which led to the roll-back of recent Liberal-inspired, and national Labour-backed social measures.

With the working class in retreat, Lord Rothermere funded the newly formed Anti-Waste League (AWL). The AWL wanted to cut public spending, particularly on housing, and to reduce income taxes.¹⁷¹⁷ It decided to field political candidates. They had the support of local right-wing C&UP constituency parties, as well as a group of C&UP MPs, headed by Esmond Harmsworth, Lord Rothermere's son. In July 1921 the AWL won the Westminster St. George's by-election and came second in two others.¹⁷¹⁸

The AWL was successful in getting the Coalition government to set up a Committee on National Expenditure, chaired by Sir Eric Geddes. When the committee made its recommendations known, the Geddes' Axe¹⁷¹⁹ ensured that the 'working class' replaced the 'German' in his earlier, election promise that "We shall squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak!" Total spending on education, health, housing, pensions and unemployment benefit was to fall by over 10% between 1921-2.¹⁷²⁰ This was sufficient to get the AWL to disband and its leading members to rejoin the C&UP.

Furthermore, by the time a new general election took place in November 1922, those further Right parties, such as the National Party, National Democratic and Labour Party, and Silver Badge Party, which had won seats in the 1918 general election, had all been dissolved. Most of their members joined the C&UP or Lloyd George's new National Liberal Party (which was in favour of continuing the government coalition with the C&UP). The Far Right, Independent MP, Pemberton Billing, had also resigned his seat in 1921.¹⁷²¹ Lloyd George's efforts to lean on national Labour politicians to see the UK state through the International Revolutionary Wave, had paid off in England, Scotland and Wales.

Some of those, who felt their Far-Right politics were no longer adequately represented, went on to form the British Fascisti in 1923. "They were super-patriots who harboured an intense aversion to Bolshevism, radical socialism and militant direct action trade unionism."¹⁷²² But they had little influence upon either wider UK politics, or even upon the Right wing of the C&UP. If they had any wider contacts, it would be with the British security services. However, with the International Revolutionary Wave now on the ebb, and greater political stability achieved, there was no real need to give succour to Far-Right parties. They were not required.

But another indication of the changing political situation was the growing desire of many C&UP members to ditch Lloyd George and the Coalition Liberals. They had served their purpose. Although the working class was increasingly cowed by rising unemployment, the Labour Party continued to make by-election gains at the expense of Coalition Conservatives and Liberals.¹⁷²³ These gains did not necessarily represent a swing to the Left, as many of the Labour candidates were relatively conservative trade union officials from the national Labour tradition who had supported the war. J. R

Clynes led the Labour Party at this time, and he had served in Lloyd George's War Coalition. Further Right Independents and the AWL had also succeeded in defeating Coalition candidates in by-elections.

So, in October 1922, the local Conservative Party decided to contest the Newport (Monmouthshire) by-election. A Coalition Liberal had held this seat. Following the recent pattern, when standing against Coalition candidates in largely working class seats, it was expected that Labour would win. However, the Conservative candidate won. A month later, the C&UP leadership pulled the plug on the Coalition, and a new Conservative government, initially led by Bonar Law, the pre-war supporter of extra-constitutional action to defeat Irish Home Rule, became the new Prime Minister.

However, Ireland was very much a changed place. The Irish Republic had given way to the twenty-six counties, Irish Free State, which now had Dominion status, whilst six counties of Ulster had Home Rule. Had either of these political options been mooted in early 1914, Law would probably have backed the UVF in launching an immediate civil war.

e) The British ruling class resorts to military repression and Fascist methods in Ireland, which contribute to the founding of a form of apartheid state in Six Counties Ulster (pp. 552-566)

But the Coalition government response to the Irish political crisis was markedly different to their response to the working class economic challenge in England, Scotland and Wales. Governments in Europe and elsewhere had long been prepared to resort to their state's own military forces to deal with severe challenges. But this was usually done with the intention of moving back to less repressive measures, once the immediate threat had been suppressed.

In Ireland the UK's suspension of constitutional normality, and the use of special measures, had a more extended history. And so threatening was the pre-First World War, Irish Home Rule challenge, that a section of the British ruling class had already shown its preparedness to use extra-parliamentary Loyalist paramilitary forces to uphold the Unionist constitutional status quo.

Therefore, after the 1918 general election, and in the face of the considerably greater challenge from Irish Republicans, a resort to a combination of the state's regular and irregular forces and unofficial Loyalist paramilitaries was revived and stepped up.

All members of the Coalition government saw the use of widespread state harassment, arrests and imprisonment as quite acceptable. So too was Ireland's continued occupation by British troops. However, divisions opened up over the use of irregular and unofficial forces. In June 1920 Field Marshal Wilson declared, that "a little bloodletting was needed." but he saw this being done by the regular British army.¹⁷²⁴ By September 1920, Wilson wanted the introduction of martial law. This would allow the army to have "wanted lists of known Sinn Féiners published on church doors... {so we could} 'shoot (five IRA men for each policeman killed) by roster seeing that we cannot get evidence.'"¹⁷²⁵

Wilson demanded more recruits for the regular units of the British army. He doubted the value of such irregular forces as the Auxiliaries¹⁷²⁶ and the Black and Tans, which Lloyd George and Churchill supported. In 1921, Wilson wanted the British army to mount a major invasion of the south from the north to destroy the Irish Republicans. When Lloyd George agreed to a truce with the IRA in June 1921, Wilson called this "rank and filthy cowardice".¹⁷²⁷ Wilson was as anti-Treaty as the most committed Irish Republicans.

In 1913, Wilson had been the Director of British Military Operations, and had supported the setting up of the UVF. But by mid-1921, despite his concerns about the Auxiliaries and Black and Tans, he was again looking to irregular forces, but now those of the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC). Unlike the UVF in 1913-14, the Ulster Specials were to be employed for use by the UK state, albeit as irregulars. Aware of the likely highly sectarian intentions of a force drawn mainly from old UVF members, Wilson claimed he wanted to recruit both Protestants and Catholics,¹⁷²⁸ and integrate them into his proposed British army to reinvade the South.

In February 1922, at the request of the Ulster Unionist leader, Sir James Craig, Wilson took a seat in the new devolved Northern Irish Parliament and become its security advisor. But he saw this as a temporary job. Northern

Ireland was merely a base to hit at 'Southern Ireland'. Wilson was pretty contemptuous of Craig, describing him as, "very second rate ... self-satisfied, lazy & bad judge of men & events."¹⁷²⁹ However, Craig had few personal further ambitions beyond his new six county sub-state. He knew what was required to secure Partition. He just ignored Wilson's requests for Catholic recruitment to the USC and took on the most sectarian forces he could find, to ensure that Partition was ruthlessly enforced.

Given Wilson's declared intent to invade the south, and his public support (despite personal reservations) for what was quite evidently a highly sectarian USC, he was assassinated in June 1922 by Irish Republicans (who ironically were former British soldiers),¹⁷³⁰ probably on Michael Collins' orders.¹⁷³¹

Like the Black and Tans in the South, the Ulster Specials in the North resorted to concerted violence against unarmed Nationalists in areas where they formed a majority and threatened to secede, and to indiscriminate reprisals against Catholics in other areas, particularly in Belfast. The main difference between the Black and Tans and the Ulster Specials was that the latter came from and lived in the areas they worked in, so their actions were informed by better local knowledge and had wider support from the local Loyalists.

As well as becoming members of the UK state's irregular forces, many Ulster Specials also retained membership of various Loyalist organisations, thus taking on the characteristics of Fascists in having their own independent paramilitary forces. They combined an ability to act as the repressive forces of the Northern Irish Orange sub-state in uniform, with the opportunity to take more drastic unofficial action out-of-uniform.

Sir Edward Carson provides an example of a member of the ruling class, who felt that he could mobilise reactionary sections of the 'lower orders' to further his own class's interests. In January 1913, he had already given his backing to the launch of the UVF, along with James Craig MP and then Major-General Henry Wilson. This was part of the wider C&UP conservative and reactionary, unionist and imperialist counter offensive. In making alliances with such reactionary forces, Carson had to adopt certain stances. He retained membership of the Orange Order, although secretly contemptuous. "Their speeches reminded him of 'the unrolling of a mummy. All old bones

and rotten rags."¹⁷³² In September 1911, he had already addressed a meeting of 50,000 Irish Unionists and Loyalists outside Belfast City Hall, and in September 1912, he had taken the lead in signing the (9 county) Ulster League and Covenant.

However, at that time, Carson was enough of a ruling class insider to know that he might not have to support a civil war. But the most determined Unionist and Loyalist oppositionists in Ulster were quite prepared for civil war, following their success in neutralising the state's armed forces in the Curragh Mutiny. Carson, though, would be well aware of the preparations of the 'war party', which straddled prominent C&UP and Liberal Imperialist politicians, senior military and other state officials.

Despite Carson's own Dublin background, he had become an essentially all-UK British imperial politician. He thought that a major imperialist war, which would be relatively brief (like many of his co-thinkers at the time), was a far better means to win wider support in Ireland for the UK state and British Empire than a civil war. As soon as the UK government declared war on Germany, Carson very quickly announced that the UVF (recently armed with German guns) would become the 36th (Ulster) Division of the British Army.¹⁷³³

And these UVF members, now firmly under British military control, would loyally serve the British ruling class's imperial interests. Carson's thinking about the role of war in boosting support for the British Empire was confirmed by 36th Division's 'blood sacrifice' during the 1916 Battle of the Somme,¹⁷³⁴ and by Redmond's signing up for the war (but who could also still be attacked for opposing conscription).

Carson, the Dublin Trinity University, IUP MP, who had taken the lead in signing the Ulster Covenant in 1912, on behalf of all Irish Unionists, could see which way the wind was blowing following the 1916 Rising. It was no longer the threat of Irish Home Rule that the IUP was facing, but the threat of an Irish Republic. Carson needed to be in a less isolated Unionist bastion than MP for Dublin Trinity University to mount a campaign against this new threat. He stood as the IUA candidate in the safely Unionist seat of Belfast Duncairn in the 1918 general election.¹⁷³⁵

Following the Easter Rising in 1916, and looking to immediate British war needs, Carson had already become aware that some limited form of Irish Home Rule, might have to be conceded, provided 'Ulster' was excluded from its provisions. His view contrasted, at the time, with many of his fellow Irish Unionists. Although Carson was prepared to back the Ulster Unionists and Loyalists, he saw this as subordinate to promoting wider British imperial interests.

Therefore, as Carson reluctantly began to accept the growing likelihood of the permanent Partition of Ireland, it was not with any intention of setting up an Ulster Home Rule parliament. He opposed the 1920 Fourth Home Rule Act, which, for the first time, pushed for Home Rule in Northern Ireland, saying, "You want to get a Protestant ascendancy over there {he was speaking at Westminster}... we have always said that it was the fact that this Parliament was aloof entirely from these racial and religious distinctions that was the strongest foundation for the Government of Ulster."¹⁷³⁶

Whilst the aloofness of the Conservative and later C&UP from "racial and religious distinctions" was highly questionable, what Carson meant by the "strongest foundation for the Government of Ulster"¹⁷³⁷ was that it should be run in the same manner as Scotland and Wales, and that was through Westminster Direct Rule, as had been the case up to this being questioned by the introduction of the suspended Third Home Rule Act. When Direct Rule was finally brought to Northern Ireland in 1972, the UK government had to undertake some clearing out of the Ulster Unionist excesses of Northern Ireland's devolved Stormont. Nevertheless, the UK state still made unofficial clandestine deals with highly sectarian Loyalist groups that had always been there, in one form another, to help maintain British rule.

However, in the face of the new Irish Republican threat, following the 1918 general election, Carson felt the need once more to resort to his pre-war allies, the Loyalists in Ulster and their unofficial paramilitary forces. Like Field Marshal Wilson, who reluctantly came to the same view (preferring greater numbers of regular troops), Carson was keen to regularise these forces. Until then, Carson probably thought that they would only be required until the Six Counties were effectively brought under full UK control. Pogroms and sectarian killings may be an unfortunate temporary expedient, but Carson did not want to create a new Devolved Parliament in Ulster, where a sectarian

order would be institutionalised.

The IUA, and particularly its increasingly autonomous UUP contingent, including Carson, had been profoundly disturbed by a number of events in northeast Ulster. The mass participation of Protestant workers in support of the February 1919 Great Engineers Strike, the 100,000 strong 1919 May Day demonstration in Belfast, and the inroads Belfast Labour had made in the Belfast City local council elections, in January 1920, at the expense of the Loyalist Labour Unionists, were severe blows to conservative and reactionary unionism in its heartland. Furthermore, Sinn Fein and the IPP held the Westminster seats of the City of Londonderry, Tyrone North West, Tyrone North East, Armagh South and Down South, and had nearly won Fermanagh South too. In the January 1920 local council elections, the City of Londonderry, and the local councils of Fermanagh and Tyrone voted for Sinn Fein and IPP anti-Partitionist coalitions.

A growing section of the UUP was beginning to consider a break not only with their southern IUP colleagues, but also with the membership of three counties of their own organisation. The fact that such large swathes of territory within their new chosen Six County laager were beyond their immediate control and were also adjacent to the then de facto Irish Republic, caused even greater consternation in their ranks.

Carson knew what was required and he chose his event carefully. Like Randolph Churchill and Bonar Law, he was quite prepared to stir up the forces of reaction, fully knowing what the immediate impact of his inflammatory speeches would be. At the Belfast July 12th, 1920 Orange Order rally, he made a speech, declaring that "we tell you {the British government} this - that if, having offered you help, you yourselves are unable to protect us... we tell you that we will take the matter into our own hands."
1738

On July 21st, this was followed up a well-organised mass expulsion of Catholics, men and women (whether they were pro-IPP, pro-Sinn Fein, pro-Socialist, pro-Belfast Labour or non-aligned) and Protestants (whether they were Belfast Labour, Socialist supporters or trade union militants) from the Belfast shipyards.¹⁷³⁹ Loyalists in Derry had already undertaken attacks on April 20th (as part of an UVF, RIC and Dorset Regiment alliance),¹⁷⁴⁰ again

on May 15th (as the UVF),¹⁷⁴¹ and once more on June 13th (in a Loyalist pogrom in the Waterside).¹⁷⁴² They became involved in more large-scale sectarian attacks in Derry. These coincided with the Belfast workplace expulsions. In the ensuing clashes in both Belfast and Derry, dozens of people were killed.¹⁷⁴³ The fact that Unionism had lost both control of Derry's Westminster constituency (to Sinn Fein) and of the city council (jointly held by Sinn Fein and the IPP), in the symbolic city of the 'No Surrender' Apprentice Boys, placed Derry on the Loyalist frontline of territory to be retrieved, by whatever means this took.

Both Churchill and Lloyd George, despite being Liberals, were as happy as most Unionist diehards, to support the use of the Auxiliaries and Black and Tans - irregular forces. The brutality of these forces had even led to the resignation of the Auxiliaries' commanding officer, Brigadier General F. P. Crozier in disgust!¹⁷⁴⁴ Lloyd George also backed UUP leader, the recently knighted Sir James Craig, a junior minister in the Coalition government, when he called for "a voluntary constabulary "which must be raised from the loyal population"¹⁷⁴⁵ in Ulster.

The Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) was formally set up on October 20th, 1920, although its new members had already been heavily involved in the earlier repressive actions in Belfast and Derry. Wilfrid Spender, the UVF's former Quartermaster General, was put in charge and ensured that old UVF units were "incorporated en masse."¹⁷⁴⁶ The Ulster Labour Unionist Association had also already established its own "'unofficial special constabulary', with members chiefly drawn from the shipyards." They had their own recent experience of expelling all opposition from the Belfast shipyards.

The USC operated alongside a depleted RIC. Most of the Catholic RIC members had either been intimidated out under Republican pressure or had resigned due to the increasingly sectarian nature of its Ulster officers. Sometimes Protestant RIC members from Ulster had been deployed in the South leading to a further depletion in their numbers in the North. Once again there was some opposition to irregular forces from a senior military figure - Sir Nevil Macready, Commander in Chief of the British Army in Ireland.¹⁷⁴⁷ And he was the person who had urged General Maxwell to speed up the executions of those arrested in 1916! Lloyd George overrode his

objections.

Ironically, the first USC member to be killed was shot on January 23rd by the RIC, whilst 15 of its members were looting a pub in Clones in County Monaghan, by now officially recognised as being in the south!¹⁷⁴⁸ Other USC members were to lose their lives at the hands of the IRA. Sometimes the USC retaliated against Republicans,¹⁷⁴⁹ but more often they took their vengeance upon uninvolved Catholics. The most notorious cases were the McMahon murders of six Catholic civilians from the same family in Belfast on March 24th, 1922,¹⁷⁵⁰ and the Arnon Street murders of a further six on April 1st.¹⁷⁵¹

Orange Order member, John William Nixon, District Inspector of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which officially replaced the RIC on April 29th, 1922, was given an MBE in 1923 "for services rendered by him during the troubled period".¹⁷⁵² The actions of the regular RIC and irregular USC forces were just one part of the Ulster Unionist and Loyalists drive to enforce Partition. Other Loyalist forces took their own retaliatory actions. These included the killing of six children, when Loyalists threw a grenade into a schoolyard in Belfast.¹⁷⁵³

By this time, the impact of Partition was such that the nature of the struggle in the North had moved away from the Republicanism, which up until the Anglo-Irish Treaty was the dominant element in the South. Instead, there was a return to Catholic Defenderism. This type of response has appeared whenever Loyalism exerted its control by viciously sectarian methods, e.g. following the activities of the Peep-O-Day Boys in the late 1780s;¹⁷⁵⁴ and the spate of Loyalist shooting of Catholics in South Armagh in 1976, leading to the Kingsmill killings in response.¹⁷⁵⁵ In a sense, Defenderism can be seen as resembling a primitive form of defensive trade unionism, in a situation where the official constitutional order makes no attempt to hide its own partisanship, or its preparedness to rule through intimidation, threats and violence.

Joe Devlin, IPP MP for West Belfast and his Ancient Order of Hibernians, had already developed a more modernised version of Defenderism. This mimicked the organisation of the Orange Order, but for Catholics. Since Catholic Emancipation in 1828, Irish Nationalists had penetrated into the lower and middle levels of many institutions of the UK state in Ireland, and

into the predominantly Catholic-manned RIC in Ireland. This had pushed the earlier Loyalism into retreat and contained some of its more overt manifestations, but certainly not all, in North-east Ulster.

However, Partition threatened to revive the type of Loyalism that had dominated Ireland before the 1801 Act of Union, and which had continued in some forms in the North. Devlin, now a much more isolated Irish Nationalist at Westminster, expressed his anguish, not only at the government's unwillingness to protect Catholic civilians, but in its complicity in helping Sir James Craig to form a Sectarian sub-state in Six Counties Ulster.

Devlin, who had been amongst the foremost recruiters to the British Army during the war, and who was very strongly opposed to Republicanism, already had to accept the IPP's December 1918 electoral deal with Sinn Fein in other parts of Ulster, to ward off the worse threat of Ireland's Partition. But the British government was determined to go ahead, despite the consequences for the Catholics of the North. No doubt, quite a few of Devlin's AOH members in Belfast could see the growing threat and joined or worked alongside the IRA. After a whole series of killings of Catholic civilians by Belfast RIC/USC and Loyalists, the IRA shot four Protestant workers on in Belfast on May 22nd, 1922.¹⁷⁵⁶ This type of retaliatory action also spread to County Armagh, when six people from Protestant farming families, including a woman, were killed in Altnaveigh on June 17th.¹⁷⁵⁷

The mismatch between the largely Republican approach in the South and the increasingly Defenderist approach in the North was highlighted during the 1921 general election to the new Northern Irish parliament. Although Irish Unionists had supported UK rule over the whole of Ireland, in reality they had stood very few candidates in most parts of Ireland outside of Ulster (and not in every Ulster seat either), leaving the field in the rest of Ireland largely uncontested (outside Dublin's Trinity College). This was because they expected the UK state to enforce its rule over the whole of Ireland for the Irish Unionists' benefit. For a long time, the Irish Nationalist IPP had not contested many of the IUP/UUP majority seats in North-east Ulster (or Trinity University). When Irish Home Rule became a political possibility, the IPP, like the IUP, had looked to the UK government to enforce its favoured policy.

Sinn Fein had partly broken with this tradition in the 1918 Westminster general election. It stood in all but one of the IUA dominated constituencies in 9 counties Ulster, not covered by the Sinn Fein/IPP electoral anti-Partitionist pact. In the 1921 Northern Ireland general election, Sinn Fein placed "advertisements in almost 50 northern newspapers making a range of arguments against partition. Sinn Féin also published its own newspaper, *The Unionist*, of which 50,000 copies were sent to prominent Protestants in East Ulster, particularly County Antrim. In particular, Sinn Féin claimed there was widespread ignorance over the situation in Ulster and warned against the economic dangers of partition, particularly in relation to threats of a renewed boycott against northern goods in a manner similar to the "Belfast Boycott". Sinn Féin also attempted to attract Ulster's rural and agricultural workers, arguing partition would put them at the mercy of eastern Ulster's urban elites."¹⁷⁵⁸

However, this media offensive, taken into the Unionist heartlands, was occurring simultaneously with the Loyalist/Defenderist war, which was a response to the UK state's Partition offensive. Not surprisingly, with the deaths of RIC, USC, other Loyalists and civilians, this Republican campaign made little impact upon its intended Unionist targets!

By now, Sir James Craig, in contrast to Carson, focussed his attentions almost solely upon six counties of Ulster. After also opposing the 1920 Fourth Home Rule Act, which had introduced the new Northern Ireland Home Rule parliament, he accepted the creation of new sub-state with its local devolved parliament. He understood that it was British government policy to accept the creation of an Orange garrison. Initially, the UK government may not have seen this as a long-term measure; but Craig was determined if there was to be a devolved parliament for six counties of Ulster, it would become permanent.

Craig appreciated that as long as he made no demands upon the UK government, beyond getting continued UK funding; it would largely turn a blind eye to UUP, Orange Order and Loyalist repression. Craig cared little for southern Unionists, so Partition had come easier to him. He no longer saw Ulster as being in the frontline of anybody else's struggle but wanted to take advantage of the new opportunities Partition would give to businessmen like himself. He could safely leave the organisation of maintenance of the

Empire to the 'mainland' sections of British ruling class.

To this degree, Craig mirrored the attitude of the emerging southern Catholic businessmen, who saw the Twenty-Six Counties as a quite adequate framework to advance their own interests. They were also edging towards an accommodation with the UK government. But Craig was ahead of them in his acceptance of Partition and worked early to enforce this.

Other Unionists, whether Great Britain-based or southern Irish-based, had wanted the UK government either to maintain the Union as it had existed, or make only the most minimal reforms. They expected even greater military force to be used to defeat the Irish Republicans. Craig, now committed only to Ulster Unionism, still faced one remaining problem and that was sacrificing the UUP membership in the three Ulster counties of Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan. But he won majority support for this on the Ulster Unionist Council in March 1920. He appreciated that a nine counties Ulster would not guarantee a Unionist majority, and that any further diminution of territory to either four counties, or even less, would mean the sacrifice of such symbolic places as Londonderry and Enniskillen, despite their Irish Nationalist majorities. He also wanted the full six counties to provide the Belfast Unionist heartland with a large enough economic hinterland.

To achieve six-counties 'Ulster,' which incorporated the City of Londonderry and Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, Craig fully understood that only determined Loyalist forces would be up to the job. Neither did he wait for the passing of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act but moved to have his Orange sub-state largely in place even before this.

Later in life, Craig was dismissed as "highly parochial" and "suffer{ing} from loss of intimacy with British politicians".¹⁷⁵⁹ But he had very valuable imperial experience and had come into contact with many members of the British ruling class. Craig's personal origins lay outside of the British Establishment, like many from his Ulster-Scots Presbyterian background. He had attended Merchiston Castle School in Edinburgh.¹⁷⁶⁰ He joined the Royal Irish Rifles and fought in the Boer War, but after illness he became deputy assistant director of the Imperial Military Railways.¹⁷⁶¹ This organisational experience was to serve him well. He was also elected as the C&UP/IUP/UUC MP for East Down in 1906 and became centrally involved

in the conservative and reactionary unionist alliance to oppose Irish Home Rule. This brought him into contact with the more closely connected ruling class politician, Carson. They put a double act during the Third Home Rule Bill crisis in the lead up to the First World War.

However, Carson was opposed both to the concessions made to the Irish Republicans under the Treaty, and to the setting up of a Northern Ireland parliament. So, Carson, at the very centre of imperial politics, and with a razor-sharp legal mind, felt betrayed when the Coalition government backed both of these policies against his wishes. He had retained a wider Irish Unionist interest and declared, "What a fool I was! I was only a puppet, and so was Ulster, and so was Ireland, in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into Power"¹⁷⁶²

But it was Craig the one-time outsider, but long-time close observer of the British ruling class, who better read their new requirements. Support for an Orange garrison, fronted by a Northern Ireland parliament, better fitted into Lloyd George's scheme to break Irish Republicanism in 'Southern Ireland'. Craig remained committed to establishing a new Loyalist Ascendancy in six counties 'Ulster'. He insisted on the Loyalist character of the Ulster Specials and Belfast division of the RIC (soon to become the RUC). He successfully resisted pressure from Wilson and others to make room for more Catholics in these forces¹⁷⁶³ (mainly RIC officers ousted in the south). The Ulster Specials and the Belfast division of the RIC/RUC were needed for pogroms and indiscriminate reprisals against Catholics. They also had to be prepared either to work with, or to turn a blind eye to, the activities of unofficial Loyalist squads.

On September 7th, 1921, even Lloyd George "acknowledged that his government had a very weak case on the issue of 'forcing these two counties {Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone} against their will' to be part of Northern Ireland".¹⁷⁶⁴ But his colleague Churchill soon turned his back on "the dreary steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone"¹⁷⁶⁵ Catholics in the areas where they formed a majority had only the IRA to fall back on for defence. It had taken Peadar O'Donnell's IRA brigade from neighbouring County Donegal to counter Loyalist and Dorset Regiment attacks in Derry in June 1920.¹⁷⁶⁶

But there had been a long history of the UK government turning a blind eye

to Loyalist threats. Churchill had not even used British troops to get his own voice heard as Cabinet Minister in face of Loyalist intimidation in Belfast in 1912.¹⁷⁶⁷ So Craig, a close observer of these events and of British ruling class behaviour, rightly calculated that he would get away with what was going on in counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, and the cities of Londonderry and Belfast.

It was Lloyd George's and Churchill's decision to deny recognition to an Irish Republic, whether thirty-two or twenty-six-counties, which precipitated the Irish Civil War. The civil war removed the remaining pressure from Craig and his new Six Counties statelet. But he was not finished yet. Having gained greater territorial control over much of Six Counties Ulster, the UUP was able to put up a better showing against the Sinn Fein/IPP opposition in the election to the first Northern Irish Parliament on June 24th, 1921, than they had as part of the IUA in either the 1918 Westminster general or the 1920 local elections.

The UK government imposed the single transferable vote system. The UUP won 67% of the vote and gained 40 seats. Sinn Fein won 20.5% of the vote and 6 seats, whilst the IPP won 12% of the vote and also 6 seats.¹⁷⁶⁸ But Craig would be even more pleased at the Labour Unionists' ability to regain the lead amongst the Protestant working class in Belfast,¹⁷⁶⁹ where in the previous the year's local council elections, they had been beaten by Belfast Labour. Belfast Labour candidates were anti-Partition. The Labour Unionists were stridently pro-Partition and heavily involved in Craig's repressive Loyalist forces.¹⁷⁷⁰

However, Craig and the Ulster Unionists had another major job to undertake. The British government had created a new part of the UK it now termed Northern Ireland. Just as the Irish in British-declared 'Southern Ireland' were no longer prepared to be 'mere Irish' or Irish-British, but became Irish-Irish or Irish, so that one-time vanguard of the Irish-British unionism in Ulster, or at least in six of its counties, no longer wanted to be considered any kind of Irish. They could not alter the official UK-designated name of their sub-state but wherever they had the power, 'Northern Ireland'/'Irish' was replaced by 'Ulster'. They opted to become 'Ulster'-British. The inherited UUP label helped, but nearly every other Loyalist party adopted the Ulster label, whilst the RIC became the RUC, and the Ulster Specials remained as an auxiliary

force.

Despite now having their own devolved parliament, the 'Ulster'-British made no claim to be a separate Nation but saw themselves to be a particularly loyal part of a British 'Nation'. When it came to economic and social policies, debate could only cause division, so it mainly left these to be decided at Westminster. Northern Ireland elections were solely there to legitimate Unionist and Loyalist control. Partition had been designed to give them a substantial inbuilt majority. Catholics were excluded from official state posts as far as possible.

For Loyalists, the fact that the UK has an established Protestant religion in the Church of England was seen as tacit official support for their exclusion of Catholics and underpinned their own Britishness. And in 1934 Craig was publicly to state that his whole object was to run "a Protestant Government for a Protestant people."¹⁷⁷¹

So, with sections of the British ruling class having flirted with Fascism, and Ulster Unionists actually resorting to Fascist methods, what sort of state emerged in Northern Ireland? Northern Ireland was to become the second example of the type of sub-state first established in the American South. Here, in the late 1870s, the US Republicans had abandoned their post-Civil War revolutionary Reconstruction and allowed the southern Democrats to create their own regime south of the Mason-Dixon line. This had been ushered in by a period of vicious extra-constitutional violence organised by the Ku Klux Klan. Jim Crow laws and racist state policing enforced second-class status upon Black Americans. Periodic lynching was designed to maintain a climate of fear. The US government tolerated all of this, whilst the Jim Crow states continued to receive federal funding.

Northern Ireland was set up through a concerted Loyalist campaign of expulsions from workplaces of Irish Republicans and Nationalists, Belfast Labour and Socialists, with pogroms and killings also directed against the first two groups. The local Orange sub-state relied upon the Sectarian armed police and paramilitaries. Regular Orange marches, Loyalist street arches, Unionist flag bedecked streets and red, white and blue painted kerb edges were designed to show who was in control. And the precedent set by the Loyalists in the August expulsion of workers in 1920, was to be repeated in

1935 when Loyalists in Belfast expelled 2000 Catholics from their homes and many others from their jobs. 1969 also saw a Loyalist pogrom in Belfast with burned out streets in Belfast, in which out-of-uniform B Specials were also involved.

Yet in both the Jim Crow South and Orange Ulster, parliamentary forms continued, and the opposition was never completely suppressed. Therefore, neither of these sub-states, nor their whole-state later successors in South Africa or Israel became full-blown Fascist states. Yet despite the existence of some parliamentary forms, the oppressed minority (or majority in apartheid South Africa's case) experienced the kind of repressive politics that are imposed upon all in Fascist states. Although the dominant states, the US and UK, underwrote the Jim Crow South and Orange Ulster in part of their own state territory, both the South African and Israeli states came to enjoy Imperial backing which provided them with life support. Just as there are shared features and variations amongst states that have come to be termed Fascist, so Orange 'Ulster', like the Jim Crow South, Israel and pre-1992 South Africa, are best considered as examples of an Apartheid type of state or sub-state, each with its own features.

Thus, Loyalism (or the traditionalist form of Fascism), which was mobilised between 1912-14 and again from 1920-23, did not lead to the full restoration of the previous traditional order in the UK, nor to a full-blown Fascist state. Instead, it created a more durable Apartheid form of repressive sub-state in Northern Ireland. Orange Ulster lasted from 1922-72 (50 years), whilst the Jim Crow South lasted from the late 1870s to the late 1960s (90 years), Apartheid South Africa from 1948-1992 (44 years) and Israel from 1948 to the present day (over 70 years).

This compares with the shorter life spans of Fascist Italy from 1923-44 (21 years), Estado Novo Portugal from 1934-75 (43 years), Nazi Germany from 1933-45, (12 years) and Falangist Spain from 1939-78 (39 years). Fascist Portugal and Spain enjoyed longer life spans than Fascist Italy and Germany because they did not tread on other imperialist powers' toes, and indeed they had backing from the UK and US.

f) The British ruling class backed overturn of the First Irish Republic freezes the further break-up of the UK state (pp. 567-583)

The UK state's creation of Northern Ireland as an Apartheid-type sub-state cannot be separated from its simultaneous attempt to overthrow the First Irish Republic and to create a 'Southern Ireland', under the Crown and Empire. Lloyd George's attempts in 'Southern Ireland' to combine the Neo-Colonialism being pioneered in places like Egypt and Iraq, with the Dominion status already conceded to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, proved to be more far-sighted in extending the lifespan of the Union than the intransigent Unionists' demand for the military crushing of the Irish Republic.

Sinn Fein had won two earlier elections - the 1918 UK general election and the 1920 Irish local elections - in the face of British military occupation and attempts to suppress their political activities. Furthermore, when Westminster passed the Fourth Home Rule Act in November 1920, which made provision for Home Rule in Northern Ireland and 'Southern Ireland', this was followed by simultaneous elections to the two mooted Home Rule parliaments in May 1921. Such was the support for Sinn Fein in 'Southern Ireland', that 124 out of 128 MPs were elected unopposed (with the IUP only gaining the Dublin Trinity University seats - also unopposed).¹⁷⁷² Therefore, it was hard to see how the UK government could ever have engineered an anti-Sinn Fein electoral majority.

Furthermore, the UK state remained in considerable financial debt to the USA and was having to trim its own imperial ambitions in accordance with those of this rising power. The Irish-American lobby highlighted the repressive role of the British in Ireland. Further stepping up military intervention there was not likely to help maintain US support in other vital British imperial arenas. Therefore, Lloyd George began to look to the more conciliatory wing of Sinn Fein (going back to its Griffith legacy), now backed by conservative business interests, and with support in the USA, to undermine the existing Irish Republic and bring Ireland under the Crown and Empire once more.

Lloyd George appreciated that in order to achieve this there had to be enough economic space for any new Irish state to allow its business leaders to advance their interests. Irish businessmen had spent much of the nineteenth

century overcoming religious, social and political disabilities, which had limited their economic advance within the UK, (although they enjoyed less constricted opportunities in the British Empire). Dominion status had held a certain attraction to some Irish Nationalists. But by the late nineteenth century they had won enough concessions that they then preferred the prospects of Home Rule within the UK to make further economic gains. They saw the existing Canadian and New Zealand Home Rule arrangements within the Empire as something that would diminish their influence at Westminster.

Since the late nineteenth century, though, the situation had changed with continuing economic advances being made not just by Canadian and New Zealand businessmen, but also by those in the two newer Dominions, Australia and South Africa. The case of Jan Smuts, who rose from guerrilla opponent of British imperialism in the Boer War to being member of the British Imperial War Cabinet in the First World War, must also have provided an object lesson in the benefits of Dominion status to one-time Redmond Home Rule supporters.

Although Sinn Fein's Arthur Griffith had entertained notions of a Dual Monarchy and Empire shared by Great Britain and Ireland, the economic reality was that the number and size of most Irish businesses was small compared to British businesses, and the rural gombeen interests in Ireland had few imperial pretensions. The few larger Irish businesses, such as those run by the Unionist Guinness or the Nationalist Murphy families, looked not to challenge British imperialism, but supported the Empire as a framework to advance their own wider economic interests.

As more and more one-time IPP (and AfIL) business supporters switched their support to Sinn Fein, bigger Irish business companies continued their acceptance of the British Crown and Empire. They began to dilute the party's post-1917 commitment to an anti-imperialist Irish Republic. Griffith, the recent Dual Monarchist, led the Treaty negotiations with Lloyd George. He was soon wooed by Dominion status for Ireland within the Empire. The Catholic hierarchy also backed the Treatyites.

When the Treaty was finally negotiated on December 6th, 1921, the UK government gave a ratification vote, not only to the Dail, but also to the rump

Southern Ireland House of Commons set up under the 1920 Fourth Irish Home Rule Act. When the First Irish Republic was overthrown by the Anglo-Irish Treaty and replaced by the Irish Free State on January 14th, 1922, the four Unionist MPs in the Southern Ireland House of Commons became members of the Dail.¹⁷⁷³ This signalled a further increase in the influence of economically and socially conservative interests upon the Irish government, as these former Unionists joined the recent Nationalist and Griffithite Sinn Fein businessmen.

The new pro-Treaty Sinn Fein leaders were eager to create a united Irish ruling class by bringing on board former Irish Nationalist and Irish Unionist businessmen and professional people. They used the creation of the new Irish Seanad, or upper house of the Dail, to appoint people from Irish Nationalist and Unionist backgrounds, in an attempt to achieve this. Nothing similar was attempted in Northern Ireland, which at the time was in the throes of Ulster Unionist and Loyalist repression to minimise the presence of any Catholics or Nationalists, from whatever class, within the new Orange sub-state apparatus.

However, just as Redmond's IPP had faced difficulties with Devlin's northern IPP when it came to Partition, so the emerging pro-Treaty Sinn Fein majority faced difficulties in Ulster, in both nine and the six counties. The Sinn Fein MP Sean MacEntee in Monaghan South,¹⁷⁷⁴ the Sinn Fein councillors, particularly in Irish Nationalist majority counties and districts, and the ordinary party members, especially those involved in the IRA throughout Ulster, were strongly opposed to Ireland's Partition. However, the pro-Treaty leaders had the support of the southern-based MPs, Arthur Griffith and Eoin McNeill, who each held a Sinn Fein seat in Six Counties 'Ulster'.

Lloyd George, following his tortuous attempts to persuade the IUP to accept Partition, in the wider interests of British army recruitment and the Empire during the First World War, had gained considerable experience when addressing this issue. In other words, he had developed an even greater degree of duplicity, useful for winning the acceptance of any new Partition arrangements.

By 1920, the Coalition government's particular version of 'Irish self-determination', now with an associated Northern Ireland Home Rule

parliament, was imposed in under the Fourth Home Rule Act. This was against the wishes of many Unionists as well as Nationalists. However, by late 1921, the UUP led by Sir James Craig and the majority of Sinn Fein leaders accepted this new Partitionist set-up with its two parliaments, established under the Anglo-Irish Treaty.

Following the Easter Rising in 1916, Sir Edward Carson, from a Dublin background, had been one of the first IUP/UUP leaders to agree with Lloyd George and reluctantly concede the need for some form of exclusion (and very limited Irish Home Rule). But Carson was strongly opposed by Walter Long, a leading English C&UP politician (with an Irish link through his Anglo-Irish Ascendancy wife) and Southern Irish Unionists. Long had become closely involved with the IUP/UUP diehards. However, to an even greater degree than Carson, Long prioritised wider British Imperial interests, under which Irish Unionist concerns remained subordinate. This is one reason why Sinn Fein's 1918 general election victory persuaded Long to abandon his total opposition to any form of Irish Home Rule, and to shift his support to a combined Imperial Federalist and Partitionist settlement for Ireland.¹⁷⁷⁵

Long, whilst still First Lord of the Admiralty in the Coalition Cabinet, was made head of the Cabinet committee which prepared the Fourth Home Rule Bill. This recommended Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland Home Rule. There was still strong opposition to any deal with Sinn Fein at Cabinet level, led by the Liberal Imperialist, Sir Hamar Greenwood. In December 1920 he managed to sabotage the initial proposed negotiations.¹⁷⁷⁶

However, continued Republican resistance and Sinn Fein's success in undermining the devolved 'Southern Ireland' parliament in May 1921, led other very significant figures to give their support to a deal with Sinn Fein. Nevil Macready, British Army Commander in Chief in Ireland said, "There are of course one or two wild people about who still hold the absurd idea that if you go on killing long enough, peace will ensue. I do not believe it for one moment but I do believe that the more people are killed the more difficult a final solution becomes."¹⁷⁷⁷ These "wild people" included Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, some state personnel in the security services, and the Far Right. In order to get a deal with Sinn Fein, Lloyd George upgraded the 1920 Home Rule arrangements to Dominion status, but the territorial

Partition provisions remained unchanged.

For people like Lloyd George, Carson and Long, with an overriding British Unionist and Imperialist perspective, Partition remained a tactical issue. If the political independence of the de facto Irish Republic could be rolled back sufficiently then they would have preferred a single Irish parliament under the Crown and Empire.

The Treaty negotiations went a long way to achieving their aims. The First Republic was to be abandoned. King George V would be the head of the new Irish Free State. The TDs in the Dail would swear an oath of allegiance to the king. There would be a British-appointed Governor General. The Irish government would be responsible for a share of the UK's debt (greatly increased as a result of the First World War which Sinn Fein had strongly opposed). Payments for land would continue. The Royal Navy would remain in possession of three Treaty Ports. Furthermore, the Treaty overrode any Irish constitution.¹⁷⁷⁸

Lloyd George was involved in a two-prong strategy. To the horror of Carson and other Irish Unionists, including other members of the UUP, he had abandoned the idea of maintaining six counties 'Ulster' under Direct Rule. He had opted instead for an up-to-now unwanted Home Rule parliament in Northern Ireland. However, Lloyd George had won over Sir James Craig. Craig was also fully aware of the repression of Republicans and Nationalists needed to establish the Orange sub-state. And when it came to it, although initially more reluctant, the pro-Treaty Sinn Feiners were to prove just as ready to suppress the anti-Treaty Republicans, to establish their Irish Free State under the Crown and Empire.

The second prong of Lloyd George's strategy was to test out the possibilities of getting Irish Reunification on British terms (whilst always leaving the option of Partition remaining). To do this, he courted Sinn Fein leaders to give the impression that Northern Ireland could still be reunited with 'Southern Ireland'. When the Treaty went into effect, legally there was a United Ireland for 24 hours. However, Northern Ireland had been given a month to opt out of this.¹⁷⁷⁹ The Council of Ireland, covering Northern Ireland and 'Southern Ireland', had already been created under the Fourth Home Rule Act. This reflected Lloyd George and Long's longer-term desire

to bring about Irish Unification on their terms.¹⁷⁸⁰ The Council of Ireland was continued under the Treaty, but with the modification that its Irish Free State delegates could make recommendations, which could affect Northern Ireland.¹⁷⁸¹ This was another carrot dangled before Sinn Fein's pro-Treaty negotiators. This time, though, it was not Sinn Fein, but the Ulster Unionists who boycotted this particular UK state institution.

However, Lloyd George had another carrot to dangle before those Sinn Fein delegates involved in the Treaty negotiations. If Northern Ireland dropped out of the Irish Free State (which even the most naive Sinn Fein and IPP member could anticipate), then the new Irish Free State was to be represented on a Boundary Commission, which would look again at the territorial extent of Northern Ireland.¹⁷⁸² Lloyd George's comments about Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone would have encouraged those in the Sinn Fein leadership whose main interests lay in the South and who were more easily deceived.

The Boundary Commission had a representative appointed by each of the Irish, Northern Irish and British governments. The Irish representative, Eoin MacNeill (the person who had countermanded the 1916 Rising orders), thought that the British government would pressurise the Ulster Unionists to make such major territorial concessions, and that this would leave Northern Ireland economically unviable. In this he was as naive as Redmond, who had thought that the pre-war Liberal government would pressurise the Irish Unionists to accept Irish Home Rule.

Lloyd George had already given Craig, and his Ulster Unionist and Loyalist backers, a free hand to resort to whatever measures they needed to win complete control of the Six Counties, including the Republican and Nationalist majority areas of Derry, Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, and districts in south Armagh, south Down and south Londonderry, adjacent or near to the then existing Irish Republic.

Indeed, Lloyd George's delegation of such 'duties' to Craig meant he could give the appearance of not being responsible for any 'excesses'. But it was in the South that Lloyd George was able to hand over complete responsibility to others to suppress Irish Republicans in a now 'independent' Irish Free State. Sir Henry Wilson's invasion was never needed.

In the Treaty negotiations with the Irish delegation, Lloyd George threatened to reinvade 'Southern Ireland' and crush the Dail.¹⁷⁸³ However, so far were the British Treaty proposals from the existing Irish Republic that only two negotiators, Arthur Griffith and Eamonn Duggan were really supportive. De Valera, who had been involved in the initial Truce talks, was careful not to take any responsibility for the negotiations.¹⁷⁸⁴ George Gavan Duffy only signed because of the immediate threat of war¹⁷⁸⁵ Richard Barton very reluctantly signed, but then backtracked, and supported the Anti-Treaty side.¹⁷⁸⁶ It would need the additional pressure of Irish business interests and the Catholic hierarchy to persuade other Sinn Fein leaders to back the Treaty.

Typically, Michael Collins made a military assessment of the situation, which in some ways mirrored that of Sir Henry Wilson. Wilson had retreated to the idea of using the Truce period to build up forces in the North to reinvade the south. Collins thought that if British troops could be removed from the South, then this would provide the opportunity to reorganise and rearm the weakened Irish forces for future activities. He was building a new Irish National Army (INA). He argued that the Treaty gave "the freedom to achieve freedom."¹⁷⁸⁷

Even after the Dail Eireann and the British government ratified the Treaty in January 1922, there were remaining doubts on both sides about its longer-term viability, as well as pronounced anti-Treaty forces amongst both the Irish Republicans and the Far-Right Unionists. There was no hold up in Craig's Partitionist offensive in the North, which resulted in the deaths and evictions of many Catholics, nor in the continued activities by the IRA there, more and more in Defenderist rather than Republican mode.

Craig and Collins actually met in May and signed "an agreement declaring peace in the north which promised cooperation between Catholics and Protestants in policing and security, a generous budget for restoring Catholics to homes which had been destroyed, and many other measures. The day after the agreement was published, violence erupted again. A policeman was shot dead in Belfast and in reprisal, police entered Catholic homes nearby and shot residents in their beds, including children. There was no response to Collins's demands for an inquiry."¹⁷⁸⁸

Probably neither Craig nor Collins had much belief in the efficacy of deals and negotiations without physical force backing. Craig's primary aim at this time was to enforce Partition, take full control of six counties of Ulster, including areas with Republican and Nationalist majorities, and eliminate as much Catholic and Nationalist presence in the institutions of the new Northern Ireland sub-state as possible. As in his dealings with Sir Henry Wilson over the composition of the Ulster Specials, so in his dealings with Collins, his 'promises' did not amount to much.

Similarly, Collins, in defiance of the Treaty, continued to give his backing to IRA forces in Northern Ireland. As an astute military and security force leader, Collins must have known that he did not have the armed forces or the local backing to defeat Craig in the Unionist and Loyalist heartlands. But Collins understood that little would come from talks alone on the Boundary Commission. From his prior experience, he knew that some armed pressure would be needed to force the UK government to concede Derry City, Fermanagh and Tyrone and to relieve the position of the Catholic minority elsewhere.

However, Collins' own death on August 22nd, 1922, and the stepped-up Civil War in the south, removed this pressure. Craig was now able to proceed with his plans to enforce the sectarian Orange sub-state, without opposition from the Irish Free State or UK governments.

Once the Treaty had passed the Dail on January 7th, 1922, albeit only by 64 to 57 votes, Eamon de Valera resigned as President, and was replaced by Arthur Griffith, whilst Michael Collins became the Chairman of the Dail. The Supreme Council of the IRB, which Collins had largely made his personal instrument, voted with the sole exception of Liam Lynch, a leading Munster IRA commander, to support Collins' stance.¹⁷⁸⁹ However, on 26th March an IRA Army Convention, made up largely of those forces, which had borne the brunt of the fighting to establish the Irish Republic, voted to repudiate the Treaty. They set up an Army Executive headed by Rory Connor and Liam Mellows.¹⁷⁹⁰ Growing uncertainty prevailed on the Irish side.

As the divisions opened up within the Sinn Fein government and amongst its supporters, Lloyd George and Churchill stepped up their pressure. No attempt was made by the British government to rein in Craig's Ulster

Unionist and Loyalist rampage in Northern Ireland. This, despite the diehard Unionist, Field Marshal Wilson being given a seat by Craig in the new Northern Ireland parliament on February 22nd. Still opposing the Treaty, "Wilson wrote that all his energies would be devoted to overthrowing the {UK} government."¹⁷⁹¹

Craig was happy enough with the scope the Treaty gave him to entrench Orange rule in Northern Ireland. He had no intentions of letting his Ulster Specials/RUC being absorbed as regular British forces and used by Wilson to invade the South. Nevertheless, he valued having such an establishment figure as Wilson as the UUP government's security adviser. This gave him enough political cover to continue and step up his Partitionist offensive.

Craig was to benefit far more from the plans Lloyd George and Churchill were putting in place to further widen the divisions in the Irish government and bring about a civil war in 'Southern Ireland'/Irish Free State. As British troops slowly began to withdraw from those barracks they still occupied, fighting broke out between pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces over who should hold these premises. To begin with local compromises prevented violence from breaking out.¹⁷⁹² On April 14th, Rory O'Connor, leader of the Anti-Treatyite Republican forces, took over the Four Courts in Dublin in defiance of pro-Treaty forces. However, on April 24th, pro-Treaty Brigadier General George Adamson was killed in Athlone, County Westmeath, in a dispute between the two sides.¹⁷⁹³

It was the assassination of Sir Henry Wilson in London on June 22nd by two IRA members that provided Lloyd George with the pretext to give an ultimatum to the Irish government. Collins had wanted to gain a more extended period for the new INA to be built, and Wilson's invasion plans threatened this. The UK's Coalition government never publicly repudiated either Wilson's war plans, nor his support for the Ulster Specials. So, Collins was no doubt as keen to eliminate this threat, as he had been to eliminate the Cairo Gang. He more than likely ordered the assassination. Lloyd George was probably privately quite satisfied at the removal of this diehard Unionist thorn in his flesh, and certainly publicly pleased with the opportunity it provided for a showdown with the First Irish Republic.

Even after the growing tensions following the disputes between the anti-

Treaty and pro-Treaty forces, Collins had continued to try and reconcile the two wings of Sinn Fein and the IRA. He had hoped that Anti-Treaty IRA members could be persuaded to join the IRA in the North in the battle against Craig's Loyalist offensive. He secretly provided both money and arms to do this.¹⁷⁹⁴

Collins was involved in the pact made with De Valera to stand a common slate¹⁷⁹⁵ in the June 16th Irish general election, in which 58 Pro-Treaty, 36 Anti-Treaty Sinn Fein TDs were elected, along with 17 Labour and 17 other pro-Treaty TDs.¹⁷⁹⁶ This led to the formation of a new Provisional Irish government (pending a new Irish Free State constitution). But De Valera and the anti-Treaty Sinn Fein TDs withdrew from the Dail, rather than swear an oath of loyalty to the Crown.

Collins got a team of solicitors to draw up "a republican constitution, which, without repudiating the Treaty, would include no mention of the British king. His object was that the Constitution would allow participation in the Dáil by dissenting TDs who opposed the Treaty and refused to take any oath mentioning the Crown. Under the Treaty, the Free State was obliged to submit its new Constitution to Westminster for approval."¹⁷⁹⁷

Lloyd George was determined not to give any escape clause to Collins or the Provisional Irish government. In June he vetoed the proposals,¹⁷⁹⁸ the better to create the grounds for civil war. Then came Wilson's assassination. Churchill, who had become more bellicose than Lloyd George over Ireland, issued an ultimatum demanding the Provisional Irish government clear the anti-Treaty IRA occupation of the Four Courts or face a full-scale invasion.¹⁷⁹⁹

Collins stuck to his priority of keeping British troops out of the South and took the lead of the Provisional Irish government in accepting the UK demand. Collins was not someone to let others block his plans and he now acted decisively against the Anti-Treatyites. He fully appreciated that the anti-Treatyites' withdrawal from the Dail, coupled to the IRA's continued occupation of former British army and RIC bases, amounted to a situation of Dual Power. His own experience had taught him that a situation of Dual Power could only be resolved by force. The anti-Treaty forces were more divided in their aims, with some like Cathal Brugha and Liam Lynch, Chief

of Staff (CoS), after the capture of O'Connor, initially wanting a negotiated settlement.¹⁸⁰⁰

The INA, which Collins had been building up, was now ten times the size of the IRA forces during the War of Independence.¹⁸⁰¹ It included many recent Irish-British army recruits. Many Irishmen had joined the British army, not out of any loyalty to the UK, but because it had provided one of the few sources of regular income, in rural Ireland in particular.

In September 1922, the conservative Sinn Fein TD, Kevin O'Higgins, and now Irish Vice-President and Minister of Home Affairs, set up a new police force, the Garda Siochana.¹⁸⁰² This recruited extensively from ex-RIC and Dublin Metropolitan Police forces. Another conservative Sinn Fein TD, Eoin O'Duffy, was made general of the INA. After organising the overthrow of the Republicans' fallback Munster Republic, he became Commissioner of the Garda. He imposed a new Catholic ethos upon the police.¹⁸⁰³ Later, he was to move further to the Right, becoming the founder of the pro-British, pro-Franco Blueshirts in 1933.

On June 27th, Collins gave the Anti-Treaty IRA Four Courts garrison an opportunity to surrender. When they refused, he used the artillery provided by the UK government to bombard the Four Courts on June 28th.¹⁸⁰⁴ By June 30th he had forced the Four Courts garrison to capitulate, capturing its leaders, Connor and Mellows, amongst others. Although a key Munster based IRA commander, Ernie O'Malley, escaped.¹⁸⁰⁵

The INA was able to use the armoured cars and artillery provided by the British to oust the anti-Treatyite IRA from Dublin by July 5th. Cathal Brugha was killed in the conflict. Hostilities in Dublin led to the deaths of 16 and the wounding of 122 INA members, the deaths of 49 and the wounding of 158 IRA members, and over 250 civilians were either killed or wounded.

The main Anti-Treaty forces retreated to a line from Limerick to Waterford and declared the Munster Republic¹⁸⁰⁶ (although more sporadic action still continued in Connacht, Ulster and Leinster - including Dublin). Once more though, through the use of armoured cars and artillery, the INA was able to

force the IRA to retreat. The INA captured Limerick and Waterford on 20th July.¹⁸⁰⁷ This was followed on August 2nd by a naval landing of INA troops at Fenit in County Kerry, to the rear of the shrinking Munster Republic. Further landings followed in County Waterford and east County Cork on 8th August 8th. This led to the IRA's abandonment of Cork City on August 10th, and the loss of Fermoy in County Cork, the last IRA held town on August 11th.¹⁸⁰⁸ Again, there were considerable numbers of civilian deaths and injuries, mainly people caught in the crossfire. The INA's use of artillery probably accounted for the majority of these.

Despite the rising number of casualties on both sides, Collins continued to look for Reconciliation with the Anti-Treaty forces, provided they would accept the results of the recent general election. Collins wanted a policy of Amnesty without sanctions, offering those Anti-Treaty IRA members, who were prepared to accept, a position in the INA or their signing up for clandestine operations in the North.¹⁸⁰⁹ Between August 21st to 22nd, Collins met with neutral IRA men to try and set up a meeting with the Anti-Treaty IRA Tom Barry and Tom Hales. The Peoples Rights Association in Cork encouraged this reconciliation meeting.¹⁸¹⁰ However, on August 22nd Collins was shot at Beal na Blath in west County Cork, by an Anti-Treaty IRA sniper, Denis O'Neill (ironically, as with Wilson's assassins, he had been trained in the British Army).¹⁸¹¹

From this point, all real attempts at Reconciliation were dropped. A new and further Right grouping emerged, consisting of anti-Republican Sinn Fein TDs, councillors and members (sometimes ex-IPP), backed by those one-time IUA members who dissolved their party in 1922. The new Irish Free State's economic policy was to reflect British Treasury orthodoxy, particularly with regard to social spending. Initially the Irish government retained sterling as its currency (whilst later tying a new currency - the punt - introduced in 1928, to the pound).¹⁸¹²

When this new pro-British and anti-Republican Right formed a new party Cumann nan nGaedheal (backed in practice by the Farmers Party, which represented the larger farmer interests), it proceeded to undermine the social Liberal provision inherited from the UK (some had already been excluded by the opposition of the pre-war of IPP). In order to placate the conservative farming interests, they were exempted from national income taxes, whilst local rates were often not collected.

The social effect was even more devastating than the impact of the Geddes Axe in the UK. Instead of state-promoted job creation, mass emigration (ironically, increasingly to Great Britain, as the US tightened up on immigration) was seen to be the solution to unemployment and dire poverty in the Irish Free State. Instead of state welfare provision, which the Catholic hierarchy also opposed, more people were left to Catholic charities. The Catholic church was also able to extend its control over educational and health provision. The notorious Magdalene laundries continued,¹⁸¹³ whilst physical and sexual abuse occurred in the schools run by the Christian Brothers.¹⁸¹⁴

The Irish Civil War now took on some of the characteristics of the War of Independence, only with a change of personnel, especially after the death of Collins. The INA was seen by the Republicans as a surrogate British force and was treated accordingly. Ambushes replaced attempts at occupying territory and buildings, once the INA's use of artillery made this suicidal. The IRA was later to deploy landmines against armoured cars. The IRA extended its operations to attempted bank and post office robberies to raise funds. Some civilians were killed in these operations.

The Irish Provisional government replied by copying the British in forming a special intelligence unit, the Criminal Investigation Department (CID). This was under the direct control of Kevin O'Higgins. The CID was given the task of defending pro-Treaty politicians, but it also arranged the killing of Republicans. Two of the first to be killed by the CID were young boys in

Fianna Eireann, shot on August 26th, after buckets were placed over their heads.¹⁸¹⁵ In all, O'Higgins ordered the execution of 77 Republican prisoners.¹⁸¹⁶ (Like the UK Field Marshal Wilson before him, he was to be assassinated by the IRA, but only in 1928, long after the Civil War was over, so bitter were the memories of his activities.)¹⁸¹⁷

Once the Munster Republic had been toppled and Collins assassinated, the Republican leaders largely switched to rural-based guerrilla action. The CID had already begun its clandestine targeting of selected Republicans, but following an IRA landmine attack on September 11th, which killed nine soldiers, a Republican prisoner was shot dead. Civilians continued to die in the crossfire, including a seven-years old girl, killed in Dublin by the IRA on September 12th. On September 15th, the Irish government suspended habeus corpus. On September 17th, Republicans attacked the CID's HQ in Oriel House, Dublin, but were unable to duplicate Collin's removal of the Cairo Gang, killing one CID member, but losing one of their own. There were to be further attacks on Oriel House, with some loss of life on both sides. On September 27th, the Public Safety Bill was passed (Labour TDs opposed it), which allowed for the execution of men carrying arms or aiding Republican attacks.¹⁸¹⁸

A final attempt was made by the Irish government on October 3rd to offer a brief amnesty period to all Republicans who surrendered, to fragment the opposition. On October 10th the Catholic Bishops issued a statement supporting the Provisional government and condemning the Anti-Treaty campaign. On October 25th, though, the IRA Army Council declared a Republican Cabinet, formed from Anti-Treaty TDs, and headed by De Valera.¹⁸¹⁹

The frequency of IRA ambushes on INA troops and the CID's execution of Republican prisoners were stepped up. The IRA also began to execute spies (the first in County Cork on November 9th); whilst on November 14th, the INA shot and killed one and wounded seven unarmed Republican

demonstrators in Dublin, who were protesting against prison conditions. Erskine Childers, who had been involved in the Irish Volunteers' pre-war gun running and the Treaty negotiations, but who joined the Republican opposition, was arrested and executed on November 24th for carrying a pistol (given to him by Michael Collins).¹⁸²⁰

On November 30th, IRA CoS, Liam Lynch, his earlier more conciliatory policy having failed following the collapse of the Munster Republic, gave the 'Orders of Frightfulness'. These sanctioned the killing of pro-Treaty TDs, senators, judges and certain newspaper editors.¹⁸²¹ From this point until his death Lynch adopted a hard-line position. Sean Hales TD was executed on December 7th.¹⁸²² This was followed the next day by the government's execution of four leading Republican prisoners, including Connor and Mellows.¹⁸²³ The UK government, quite happy with the way things were proceeding, withdrew its last troops on December 17th.¹⁸²⁴

In 1923, the pattern of conflict between the INA and IRA continued, but with the IRA placing more emphasis on burning out the homes of pro-Treaty politicians and attacking railway lines and stations. On February 8th the government suspended executions of Republicans (now over fifty) in return for the surrender and amnesty of IRA men. Tom Barry was tempted by this offer, but Lynch turned it down on February 10th. On February 11th, the IRA killed Kevin O'Higgins' father whilst burning down his house. On February 28th, Lynch turned down another attempt by local IRA commanders to suspend their actions.¹⁸²⁵

On March 7th, INA soldiers tied nine Republican prisoners to a land mine at Ballyseed Cross in County Kerry, killing eight. Similar actions were undertaken by the INA in County Kerry on March 8th (killing four) and March 12th (killing five). On March 24th Tom Barry tried once more unsuccessfully to get the IRA to declare a ceasefire. On March 31st the IRA killed an 80-year-old woman whilst looking for her son, an INA officer.¹⁸²⁶

On April 10th, Lynch was killed in a skirmish with the INA in the Knockmealdown Mountains in County Tipperary, and Austin Stack, the depute CoS, was captured on April 14th. Frank Aiken from County Armagh, who had been one of the most effective IRA commanders in the North, became the IRA CoS.¹⁸²⁷ He had originally supported Collins' approach, which had been to reunite the IRA in the South, by giving support to continued operations in the North. However, when this semi-official government support for continued activity in the north was ended after Collins' death. The Provisional Government had imprisoned Aiken. Somewhat reluctantly, he changed to the anti-Treaty side. He escaped from Dundalk jail and used his IRA forces to attack the INA there in August 1922.¹⁸²⁸

But by the end of April 1923 Aiken could see that the redirection of his Northern-based IRA from any activity in the Six Counties to the South had left Sir James Craig a free hand in his Partitionist offensive in the North. Meanwhile, the INA had almost finished off the remaining IRA guerrilla resistance in the South. On April 30th, with the backing of the Republican Cabinet leader, De Valera, Aiken called an IRA ceasefire.¹⁸²⁹ Desultory action continued for the rest of May.¹⁸³⁰

Craig's Partitionist offensive and the Civil War had widened the gap between North and South, making any reunification under the Crown and Empire far less likely. The UK government had not taken over direct control of Northern Ireland, in an updated version of the 1801 Act of Union. This could have left the Catholics population less open to Loyalist and Orange misrule and intimidation. In 1948, the British Labour government delegated Westminster's power over the future of Northern Ireland to Stormont, providing a permanent Loyalist veto over Irish reunification. Successive British governments retained their policy of maintaining Northern Ireland parliament as a carrot to dangle before the leaders of the Irish Free State. The implicit suggestion was that if the Irish Free State made more

accommodation to a British imperial way of thinking, this might woo the Unionist majority in the Six Counties and reunite Ireland.

The reality was the Irish Free State, like the Dominions, found it necessary to pursue its own political course to avoid complete British Provincialisation and economic subordination. This meant that even the British-backed Irish Free State later found itself in conflict with the policies pushed by the UK state and the City of London as the economic crisis deepened after 1929.

g) Roddy Connolly and James Larkin swimming against the ebbing tide of revolution in Ireland (pp. 583-615)

Roddy, James Connolly's son, tried for some time to create a Communist party in Ireland. However, the obstacles faced by Connolly were of a different nature to those confronting John Maclean in his attempt to set-up a Communist party in Scotland.¹⁸³¹ Because of Ireland's long history of challenging British Imperialism, and the growing strength of the Republicans after 1916, Lenin and the Communist International (CI) acknowledged the need for a specific Communist party in Ireland. Connolly attended the Second Congress of the CI in August 1920. This Congress placed considerable emphasis upon Anti-Imperialist struggles for National Self-Determination, particularly against the British Empire. And, unlike Maclean, Connolly was able to make direct contact with Lenin.¹⁸³²

Yet, in contrast both to Great Britain and the USA, where a united CPGB and a united CPUSA had finally been established in January and May 1921 respectively, there was still no Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), when the Third Congress of the CI met in July 1921, and the political initiative was already passing from the Irish Republicans to the Crown and Empire accommodating pro-Treatyites. The launch of the CPI only happened belatedly in October 1921. It was to have a short lifespan.

Connolly had initially worked with his sister Nora, Sean McLoughlin (the last military leader in Dublin Post Office in 1916) and Walter Carpenter (secretary of the migrant Jewish workers' International Tailors, Machinists and Pressers Union in Dublin¹⁸³³), to win the leadership of the Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI). They had been successful in this by late 1919¹⁸³⁴ The

formation of a James Connolly Workers' Education College was central to SPI plans,¹⁸³⁵ showing the influence of John Maclean's ideas. In taking over the SPI leadership, Connolly and his allies had ousted its leader Cathal O'Shannon, who remained more wedded to the idea of the SPI as Socialist Propagandist organisation, with its members working as individuals, mainly in the ILP&TUC, or in the unions, especially the IT&GWU.

However, when Connolly and McLoughlin were in Glasgow, from December 1919, O'Shannon was able to retake control of the SPI. Although O'Shannon was not averse to the SPI joining up to the CI,¹⁸³⁶ other increasingly Right moving members, such as William O'Brien, were opposed, and O'Shannon did not challenge them. But the SPI leaders' prioritisation of their other arenas of activity, the ILP&TUC and IT&GWU, meant that the SPI largely faded away.¹⁸³⁷

When both Connolly and McLoughlin returned to Dublin, differences emerged over the tactics needed to create a new Communist party. Connolly and Eadmonn MacAlpine, a close comrade of Jim Larkin, who had recently returned to Ireland from the USA, believed that, in the context of British military repression, they needed to organise clandestinely. The Communist Groups (CGs) were set up for this purpose.¹⁸³⁸ They had some success in the IT&GWU,¹⁸³⁹ but less with the much-depleted Irish Citizen's Army (ICA).¹⁸⁴⁰ McLoughlin, however, organised the open Irish Communist Labour Party (ICLP),¹⁸⁴¹ a name possibly inspired by Willie Gallagher's CLP in Scotland, following his political work there from 1919 (which continued with breaks to 1922).¹⁸⁴²

Both the CGs and ICLP were small, and although the ICLP was larger, the CGs had better international contacts, highlighted by Connolly's and MacAlpine's delegate status at the Second Congress of the CI. At this stage, and in the political climate created at this Congress, with its support for Anti-Imperialist struggle against the British Empire, the prospects for a new Communist party in Ireland appeared to greatly improve.

The Executive Committee of the CI (ECCI) tried to gain official recognition for Connolly in the RSFSR's negotiations with the Irish government.¹⁸⁴³ The Irish government, although eager to win international support, preferred that any negotiations were made between states. To this end, they appointed Dr.

Patrick McCartan, who had the confidence of de Valera, when conducting international negotiations. Connolly revisited Moscow in January 1921, meeting McCartan there.¹⁸⁴⁴ Connolly was unable to get the official backing for the CPI he wanted. Some have put this down to the failures of Connolly himself.¹⁸⁴⁵ But neither did McCartan get the RSFSR support he was seeking.

The RSFSR was involved in other negotiations at the time with the UK government. These were concluded in May 1921 meaning that "Britain was the first country {other than the new Baltic states} to accept Lenin's offer of a trade agreement. It ended the British blockade.... Both sides agreed to refrain from hostile propaganda. It amounted to de facto Diplomatic Recognition." As the International Revolutionary Wave ebbed from March 1921, National Bolshevik realpolitik was on the rise.¹⁸⁴⁶

Connolly thought the primary orientation of Irish Communists should be upon the Republican struggle. He hoped to increase the influence of Communists in the Republican milieu through his contact with Seamus Robinson, leader of the IRA's 3rd Tipperary Brigade.¹⁸⁴⁷ Once again the Irish-Scottish links were apparent. Seamus's brother, Joe Robinson had been a Gaelic League, IRB and Irish Volunteer member in Glasgow, and had joined Dublin's Kimmage Garrison in the Easter Rising.¹⁸⁴⁸ He became the leader of the Glasgow IRA and worked closely with closely with Clydeside communists.¹⁸⁴⁹

Seamus Robinson had raised £3000 for arms. Roddy Connolly, Billy Beaumont (an ex-British army officer disgusted at the behaviour of the Black and Tans) and Jack O'Meara of the IRA travelled clandestinely to Germany to buy weapons. Their mission failed, leaving Connolly in the bad books of the IRA, CI and even the CGs, from which he was temporarily suspended.¹⁸⁵⁰

Connolly, though, still attended the Third Congress of the CI in July 1921. This Congress was the first to acknowledge the ebbing of the revolutionary tide. This followed the ending of the mass strike wave in Italy in September 1920,¹⁸⁵¹ and the defeat of the Red Army's northern road to Berlin and the subsequent treaty with Poland in November 1920. The days of the 'theory of the offensive', with its armed actions to stimulate revolution, were over, and the first elements of a united front strategy involving the CI's recent protagonists, the Social Democrats and Labour Parties, were put in place.

The Third Congress was held soon after the last remaining independent soviet at Kronstadt was being crushed. This had coincided with adventurist 1921 March Action in Germany, possibly encouraged by CI Chair, Grigori Zinoviev to divert attention away from the RSFSR's suppression of the Kronstadt Revolt.¹⁸⁵² The Congress was also being held at the same time as the Truce between the UK and Irish government. The prospect of a peace agreement now opened up. Following the Irish government's retreat from the armed struggle with the UK state, the importance of Ireland was downgraded for the CI. The recent Anglo-Soviet Agreement also put more direct pressure on the RSFSR to downplay any challenges against British imperialism.

Connolly, though, spoke directly with Lenin and developed a new argument for the CI to maintain an orientation upon the Irish Republicans. He hoped this would win him more concrete support for the setting up of a Communist party in Ireland. In an article entitled, *Peace or War in Ireland*, Connolly "predicted that peace was the most likely scenario, republicanism would compromise with the British government and would accept a settlement that would keep Ireland in the empire. This would lead to a split in the national moment."¹⁸⁵³

It was the prospect of that split, which now formed the basis for Connolly's orientation upon the Irish Republicans. The July 1921 Anglo-Irish Truce led to the winding down of the British military presence in Ireland. Connolly became persuaded of the need to organise openly, so he transferred his allegiance to the ICLP. Together they revived the SPI, convened a meeting in September, re-established James Connolly's paper *The Workers' Republic* (now edited by Walter Carpenter¹⁸⁵⁴) and applied to affiliate to the CI. Cathal O'Shannon and William O'Brien were expelled from the SPI on the grounds of "reformism, consecutive non-attendance and consistent attempts to render futile all attempts to build up a communist party."¹⁸⁵⁵ The SPI became the CPI on 28th October 1921.¹⁸⁵⁶

The CPI followed the SPI in having members whose primary connections were not through Socialists or Communists led by British organisations with HQs in London, but often through organisations, family members and friends in Scotland and the USA. Their backgrounds made them far more critical of the unquestioned political and cultural assumptions held by the British Left.

The CPI's membership briefly included Liam O'Flaherty. Bilingual in English and Gaelic, he was born on Inishmore, an island in County Galway. O'Flaherty fought in the First World War but was injured and discharged. He left for Canada and joined the IWW, then moved to the USA where he joined the CPUSA.¹⁸⁵⁷ Liam's brother, Tom, after initially joining the Irish Volunteers, migrated to the USA, joined the IWW. He also joined the CPUSA, becoming a close associate of John Reed and James Cannon. In the USA he became the editor of the *Irish People*,¹⁸⁵⁸ which performed a similar role for Irish-American and Irish émigré socialist republicans, as Connolly's *Harp* had done. Peadar O'Donnell an IT&GWU organiser and IRA Executive member was also briefly in the CPI.¹⁸⁵⁹ O'Donnell was born to a Gaelic speaking family in County Donegal. He had Scottish connections, through his attempts to organise Irish migrant tattie-howkers along with the Scottish Farm Workers' Union. O'Donnell's uncle Peter was member of the IWW in Butte, Montana.¹⁸⁶⁰

James Fearon was an important CPI member, who straddled Irish and Scottish trade union, Socialist and Communist politics. Fearon hailed from Newry in County Down. He was an early organiser of dockworkers in Scotland and Ireland, first for Sexton's NUDL and then for Larkin's IT&GWU. During the First World War, Fearon moved to Glasgow. He worked for the Post Office Workers' Union in Scotland. He was heavily involved in a campaign to improve the conditions of the Model Lodging Houses for migrant Irish workers in Glasgow.¹⁸⁶¹ He worked with members of the Clyde Workers Committee. After the war he also became involved in the unemployed workers' movement. This combination of militant trade unionism, housing struggles and fighting for the unemployed thrust Fearon into a political milieu, in which Socialist and early Communist organisation was still fairly fluid in Glasgow. The Irish political situation was very much a topic of discussion and debate. On October 1918 Walter Carpenter of the SPI conducted a tour of Glasgow, where he addressed 16 meetings on the 'Irish Question'.¹⁸⁶²

Then as a direct product of the International Revolutionary Wave, a pro-Bolshevik and explicitly Communist politics emerged in Scotland, focused on Clydeside. John Maclean had been developing a distinctive Communist politics, first as an opposition within the BSP, using *Vanguard*, then in the Tramps Trust Unlimited. This led to his call for a Scottish Communist Party. He then joined those SLP members who were not happy with the early CPGB.

SLP members had long shown an interest in Ireland. The SLP's weekly paper the *Socialist* had a regular column on Ireland written by Kitty Coyle¹⁸⁶³ (under the pseudonym Selma Sigerson).¹⁸⁶⁴ Willie Gallagher had also promoted the formation of the Communist Labour Party before it fused with the CPGB. Indeed, such was the fluidity and overlap of Irish and Clydeside politics that it has been suggested that the CPI had a group in Glasgow.¹⁸⁶⁵

The employers' generalised offensive started later in Ireland (outside the Six Counties) than in Great Britain.¹⁸⁶⁶ The new CPI immediately started organising amongst trade unionists challenging wage cuts, victimisation and unemployment. Like Peadar O'Donnell earlier,¹⁸⁶⁷ Liam O'Flaherty organised an occupation, only this time by unemployed workers from Dublin, who took over the Rotunda Concert Hall, flying a red flag In December 1922.¹⁸⁶⁸ James Fearon, who formed a branch of the CPI in Newry, set up an unemployed action group. He later moved back to Glasgow, where he died in 1924. His funeral, held in the city, was very well attended.¹⁸⁶⁹

Under the leadership of Roddy Connolly, the CPI became primarily a vehicle for reviving his father's Socialist Republican politics. He tried to restore the united front relationship James Connolly had made with the Republican wing of the IV and the IRB, only now with the Republican wing of Sinn Fein and the IRA. In trying to maintain class independence, the CPI's role as a new CI-type party was designed to replace that of the largely Socialist Propagandist SPI.

The outcome of the split in the Irish government and amongst the IRA did not take the form Roddy Connolly had anticipated. He had not considered that this would lead to civil war.¹⁸⁷⁰ During and immediately after the period between the January July 1921 Truce, and the January 1922 Treaty, Connolly was to the forefront of those arguing for a clear political break with the Treatyites, at a time when the Anti-Treatyite Republicans were less clear over how to proceed. Republican Chief of Staff (CoS), Liam Lynch, continued with attempts to come to some sort of accommodation. Connolly presented a class analysis, which pointed out that the Treatyites were "representatives of the 'bigger farmers, manufacturers and traders, the rising capitalist class of Ireland.'"¹⁸⁷¹ He criticised those "anti-Treaty republicans for attempting to commit 'political suicide' by continuing to seek unity with the Treatyites."¹⁸⁷²

Connolly's views reflected the fact that, although the IRA had a significant

working class membership in Dublin (including ex-ICA members), the Republican leadership remained more based on the smaller farmers, agricultural processors, shopkeepers and the Irish Gaelic promoting intelligentsia in the rural and small town areas of Ireland. The IRA was an even more significant component of the post-March 1922 Anti-Treatyite Republicans than the IRB had been of the post-December 1918 Irish Republicans. The IRB had done much to convert Griffith's Sinn Fein into being a Republican party, but the political activities of Anti-Treatyite Republicans were much less important. And amongst their few politicians, Eamon de Valera had an even more dominant role than any single member of the post-1917 Sinn Fein. Connolly was to put down de Valera's initial attempt in May 1922 to form an electoral pact with the Collins' Treatyites to his "abhorrence of working class militancy, following an extensive seizure of creameries throughout {Counties} Cork, Limerick and Tipperary" seven days previously.¹⁸⁷³

Connolly also wrote, "The working class was the only class capable of defeating Imperialism and establishing the Republic." However, to the degree the working class had its own political organisation, this was still mainly through the ILP&TUC. Its leader, Thomas Johnson was, "A most enthusiastic advocate of the Treaty."¹⁸⁷⁴ In April 1922 Johnson led "a one day general strike, supposedly against growing militarism on 'both sides', but directed in fact against only the Anti-Treaty movement."¹⁸⁷⁵

The ILP&TUC's position was reinforced, when the party stood candidates in the June 1922 Irish general election, where it received 21% of the vote and 17 seats. The Treatyite wing of Sinn Fein, led by Arthur Griffith, received 45% of the vote and 58 seats, whilst the Anti-Treatyite Republican wing, led by Eamon de Valera, received 28% of the vote and 36 seats.¹⁸⁷⁶ The CPI, which had hardly got off the ground, was in little better position than the SPI had been in the 1918 UK general election, when it stood down for Sinn Fein.¹⁸⁷⁷ There were no open CPI candidates in the 1922 Irish general election.

Initially Connolly, in a repeat of his father's early attempt in late 1914 and early 1915 to focus upon the whole of the Irish Volunteers when they had challenged Redmond's National Volunteers,¹⁸⁷⁸ offered de Valera six pages in his *Workers Republic*, in January 1922¹⁸⁷⁹ However, just as his father had moved on by later 1915 to link up with the IRB¹⁸⁸⁰ in his united front to

achieve an Irish Republic, so Connolly junior reoriented the CPI upon the forces represented at the IRA's Army Conventions on March 29th and April 9th 1922, which more clearly rejected the Treaty.¹⁸⁸¹ He wrote that some members of the IRA Executive Committee elected on April 9th "who have been influenced by our organ {*The Workers' Republic*} term themselves social republican." During the earlier surge of the International Revolutionary Wave, former Social Democrats in a number of states had moved over to support Communist politics, so the possibility of (social) Republicans moving in a similar direction seemed plausible.

The 16 member IRA EC included Peadar O'Donnell and Liam Mellows (a close friend of James Connolly, whom Nora Connolly had helped to escape from an English prison after the 1916 Rising,¹⁸⁸²) Ernie Malley and Seamus Robinson. They were to give their support either directly to the CPI, or to working with it. However, Connolly now offered the pages of the *Workers' Republic*¹⁸⁸³ to Rory O'Connor, the Catholic Conservative.¹⁸⁸⁴ This was similar to his father's attitude to the romantic Cultural Nationalist, Padraig Pearse in 1915/6.¹⁸⁸⁵

They both saw their chosen figure as being the most committed to the military action that would be needed to either establish or defend the Irish Republic. And other events were beginning to persuade Roddy Connolly of the need for an armed challenge to the Treatyites, which he had not originally foreseen. He warned of the growing dangers represented by the Treatyites, as they built up the Irish National Army, and created the Garda.¹⁸⁸⁶ "These corps are equipped and financed by the governments and capitalist classes and in every instance prove loyal hirelings in the interests of their masters."¹⁸⁸⁷

But a further indication of the difficulties faced by Irish Republican component of the ebbing International Revolutionary Wave, was the inability of the CPI to make any links in Belfast, as the UK backed, Loyalist Partitionist offensive, further marginalised Republican forces in the Six Counties. Here the IRA had to enter into a military equivalent of the 1918 IPP/Sinn Fein Ulster electoral pact against Partition, only now with the Catholic ex-servicemen of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOB), in an attempt to repel the Loyalist Partitionist offensive. Although the IRA was to wrest control of Irish Nationalist defence in Belfast from the AOB,¹⁸⁸⁸ it was at the cost of adopting their Defenderism.¹⁸⁸⁹ The CPI tried to make links

with Belfast, including the ILP(I),¹⁸⁹⁰ which James Connolly had contacted at the outbreak of the First World War,¹⁸⁹¹ only with even less success.

In committing the CPI to the Republican armed struggle against the Treatyites, the party placed its personnel at the disposal of the IRA. Connolly signed up in Dublin.¹⁸⁹² The CPI was now also able to win over a key section of the remaining members of the ICA.¹⁸⁹³ After the IRA was expelled from Dublin, Connolly travelled to London to bring back Sean McLoughlin and to meet up with CI representative Mikhail Borodin, and the two members of the CPGB, Arthur McManus and T. A. Jackson, who were most in sympathy with the struggle in Ireland.¹⁸⁹⁴ *The Workers' Republic* was now banned in Ireland, and the CPGB agreed to print it in London, just as the SLP had printed James Connolly's *The Worker* in Glasgow after the *Irish Worker* was banned.¹⁸⁹⁵ Arthur McManus provided the link on both occasions.

However, the main purpose behind the discussions was to develop a social programme to take into the Republican movement. Borodin and Connolly drew up a 10-point programme. However, Borodin, whose experience was important in pushing the CPI further in this respect, was arrested in Glasgow and imprisoned, then deported to Russia. This followed the precedent the UK government had set with Georgy Chicherin and John Maclean's allies, Peter Petroff and Irma Gellrich in 1918.¹⁸⁹⁶ McLoughlin, who took on the CPI's role in trying to take the social programme to the IRA, spoke to Liam Lynch its Chief of staff. McLoughlin joined Seamus Robinson's 2nd Southern Division of the IRA.¹⁸⁹⁷ At this stage, the CI and the two CPGB members responsible for Irish affairs, Arthur McManus and J. T. Murphy (also ex-SLP) were very supportive.¹⁸⁹⁸

The most immediate effect of these CPI/IRA contacts was the response of Liam Mellows, on the 16 members IRA Executive. Mellows advised them to set up a Provisional Government for the Munster Republic, with a social programme "based directly on that of the CPI", arguing "that these were the type of politics the IRA would need to support 'if the great body of workers are to be kept on the side of independence.'"¹⁸⁹⁹ Ernie O'Malley was also sympathetic.¹⁹⁰⁰ However, a strong indication that the revolutionary tide was ebbing was that Mellows wrote this in a Dublin prison cell, after his arrest in June. Along with Rory O'Connor and two other IRA leaders, Mellows was to be executed in December.

A major problem of orientating solely upon the Social Republicans in the IRA Executive became apparent. Workers in Munster took advantage of the post-January 1922 Treaty period of relative peace to launch a series of actions, some very much inspired by the Russian example. Cork City railway workers took successful action in February to defend the eight-hour day, followed by the worker's seizure of two flourmills in the city. From March Tipperary Town gas works were under workers' control for six weeks. There was similar action in Waterford City (previously considered a bastion of Redmondism), where the workers, half of them women, declared a 'soviet'. Another 'soviet' was declared at Tipperary Town coachworks in April.¹⁹⁰¹

The climax was a series of creamery and depot occupations, from May to August, led by IT&GWU organisers, Sean Dowling, Jack Hedley and Sean McGrath. However, the North Cork, anti-Treaty TD, Sean Moylan and a Catholic priest became involved in Kilmallock. The local IRA arrested, held and beat up Dowling, before a local general strike forced his release.¹⁹⁰² Once the Civil War broke out in May, this area came under the auspices of the Munster Republic. However, when the anti-Treatyite Republicans went down to defeat here in August they sometimes burned down these workplaces. (As the Treatyites took over, they evicted the remaining 'soviets', with the support of Right Wing farmers' militias.)¹⁹⁰³

Yet throughout this period, when Connolly led the CPI, no attempt was made to contact Dowling (who has been a fellow SPI member) or the others leading the 'soviets'. *The Worker's Republic* dismissed the 'soviets' for not being under CPI control.¹⁹⁰⁴ This sectarian stance may have stemmed from the fact that these local organisers were still employed by the IT&GWIU. The union continued to be centrally controlled by O'Shannon and O'Brien, whom Connolly and the CPI had expelled from the SPI, when they took control. However, neither O'Shannon nor O'Brien provided support for their local officials' actions either.

But the Munster Republic only lasted from June until August 1922, without any fixed governing centre, and with an ever-shrinking hold over any urban centres.¹⁹⁰⁵ The effect of Irish National Army (INA) and Garda pressure placed a premium on military defence. Connolly now thought that to be taken more seriously by the IRA, he would have to use his CI contacts to get what they needed most desperately - arms. Once again, the German contact

he sought, this time in the KPD, was unable to deliver but, with Borodin's backing, Connolly flew to Moscow in August.

However, in Moscow, Connolly came up against the competing pressures of the CI still angling for significant anti-British imperialist forces and the RSFSR, which had recently signed its treaty with the UK. Zinoviev wrote that "The international situation does not permit the Soviet Government openly to raise its voice against the repression inflicted by the British Government in Ireland".¹⁹⁰⁶ Compared to Borodin, the CI representative, Zinoviev, in his dual CI and RSFSR state role, was in the difficult position trying to balance between the clandestine activities of the CI, and the public diplomacy of the RSFSR. His emphasis on "the Soviet Government" showed this. And British security forces were monitoring both the CI's clandestine and RSFSR's public activities.¹⁹⁰⁷ No Soviet arms ever reached the IRA.

Furthermore, the CPI felt let down not by only the CI/RSFSR (with their conflicting interests) but by the CPGB. Even at the highpoint of the Irish Republican offensive, Republicans and Republican Socialists had found it difficult to gain the support from the majority of those who went on to form the CPGB, or for them to recognise the centrality of the Irish Republican struggle in the fight against the British imperialism.

The CPGB placed far more emphasis upon trade union and electoral activity. Neither its leaders, nor most of its members, had ever had to act under the levels of repression, or in the kind of revolutionary situation that had existed in Ireland. John Maclean had emphasised the British Left's weakness in relation to the Irish Republican struggle, ever since his visit to Dublin in 1919.¹⁹⁰⁸ At the CPGB leadership level, Arthur McManus and T. A. Jackson were its most informed members when it came to the situation in Ireland. But to win wider support in the party, CI prompting was usually needed, highlighted by Borodin's role.

However, as the International Revolutionary Wave ebbed, and the UK state, with the assistance of the Irish Treatyites, regained the initiative, they pushed back the anti-Treatyite Republicans. Therefore, it is not surprising that the

Irish Republican struggle was quickly erased in the minds of the CPGB majority, especially as the working class in Great Britain was now facing a major ruling class offensive directed at its jobs, wages, working conditions and social provision.

What this meant was that CPGB member activity in support of the Irish Republicans became increasingly confined to individual members from an Irish or other Celtic cultural background. Some Clydeside Communists worked closely with Joe Robinson, Glasgow commander of the IRA.¹⁹⁰⁹ Harry Emery, one of the leaders of the general strike on the Isle of Man, in July 1918, joined the CPGB, and became involved in a raid on a Birmingham munitions factory in 1922, in a bid to supply arms to the IRA.¹⁹¹⁰

With the impending collapse of the Irish Republicans' Anti-Treaty campaign, the CPI's orientation upon the IRA rank and file led to growing problems. Although the CI still upheld a Communist orientation on National Liberation struggles, the fact that the Irish Republican movement was going down to defeat encouraged those who favoured a more Labour Movement orientation, to criticise the pro-Republican strategy in Ireland.

However, the CPI viewed the Irish Labour Party, led by Thomas Johnston, "as the 'heart and soul' of the Free State". Its complicity in the imposition of British Imperial order made Irish Communists even more critical of the Irish Labour Party than other Communists were of their domestic Labour and Social Democratic parties. In the latter two cases, the CI's new united front policy distinguished between their working class base and their more accommodating leadership.

One of the problems the CPI faced was its still limited number of members to conduct work in different arenas. The party gained a TD in the Dail when Paddy Gaffney, was elected for Irish Labour in Carlow-Kilkenny in the June 1922 general election. However, this did not provide a wider public platform since he, along with other Republicans, refused to swear the oath of allegiance.¹⁹¹¹

Connolly, after attending the Fourth CI Congress in November 1923, vacillated between a pro-Republican and a more pro-Labour orientation.¹⁹¹² This was reflected in his article, *Past and Future Policy*, written over three issues of the *Workers' Republic*.¹⁹¹³ It led to the reopening of old and the development of new political divisions in the CPI as the military and political situation worsened. With increased political fragmentation these divisions also took on a more personal slant.¹⁹¹⁴

To make matters worse, the CI increasingly relegated the CPI to a 'colonial appendage' of the CPGB.¹⁹¹⁵ Events took a convoluted turn, when a recent CPGB member, A. B. F. White replaced Connolly as CPI leader. She was briefly the first woman to head an Irish political party. The new CPI leadership now criticised Connolly's *Past and Future Policy* as wanting to "reduce the CPI to the position of 'armchair admirers' and weaken its credibility in republican eyes."¹⁹¹⁶ Given Connolly's (and several others') criticism of the lack of anti-imperialist commitment by the CPGB as a whole, and its leadership's lack of active involvement in anti-imperialist struggles, this must have stung.

Connolly's comrade, Sean McLoughlin had played a leading part in the anti-Treatyite IRA¹⁹¹⁷ and had been jailed along with 11 other CPI members.¹⁹¹⁸ However, the CPGB's new CI-backed stance represented a Left swerve to disguise the up-and-coming Right turn. Furthermore, such specious attacks on Connolly and his allies' commitment to Republicanism, meant that the new CPI "deplored talk of peace and urged republicans to 'fight on'"¹⁹¹⁹ despite defeat staring them in the face.

But, at the behest of the CI, the CPGB was instructed to facilitate the dissolution of the CPI, and pave the way for a new non-Communist organisation, led by Jim Larkin¹⁹²⁰ In a political U-turn, as far as the latest CI/CPGB stance was concerned, Larkin immediately made an attempt to end the Republican armed struggle, when he returned to Ireland in May 1923.

The Irish Republican resistance had petered out. Frank Aiken, by now the IRA CoS, ordered volunteers to dump their arms on May 24th, 1923.¹⁹²¹ If

Irish Republicans had seen their principal enemy in the pro-Treatyite Free Staters, then Communists like Connolly, McLoughlin and Carpenter had seen the Irish Labour Party as the main pro-Treatyite force acting amongst the working class. Together the Free Staters and Irish Labour Party (ILP) had helped the British to impose their will.

Thomas Johnson, though, had hoped the ILP would be suitably rewarded at the August 1923 general election for its role in supporting the Irish Free State. However, the Labour vote fell by nearly 11%, and its seats were reduced from 17 to 14. Amazingly, despite the IRA going down to a severe military defeat, the de Valera-led Republican Party increased its vote by 5.5% and its seats from 36 to 44.¹⁹²² This confirmed the importance of the anti-imperialist Irish Republican struggle.

However, if the ILP had failed to benefit from its pro-Treaty position, the CPI was in an even weaker position following its Anti-Treatyite attempt to take the political leadership of the Irish Republican movement. In the 1923 general election, the vote for Paddy Gaffney, who now stood as a Republican Labour candidate in Carlow-Kilkenny, fell from 35% (when standing as Labour in 1922) to 2%. The Labour vote, with a new candidate, fell to 12%, whilst the Republican vote increased from 14% to 25%.¹⁹²³ And, from January 26th, 1924, there was no longer a Communist party in Ireland, as the CPI, following CI orders, dissolved.

The CI and individual Irish Communists' prime focus was now on Jim Larkin and the proposed new Irish Workers' League (IWL). Larkin had returned to Ireland on April 30th, 1923, just after the IRA ceasefire. He had been away in the USA for nearly nine years. Much of his earlier time there had been devoted to working to prevent the USA entering the First World War. To further this, he had worked with the Socialist Party of America (SPA), and Irish, German and Finnish Socialist groups.

The SPA was the major Socialist party in the USA, and although, like the British Labour Party it had a Right, Centre and Left, the presence of large numbers of recent migrants meant that its Left was stronger. These workers

had not lived so long in the USA or been schooled there, so they had not absorbed much of the US's imperial Republican politics. This experience contrasted to the effects of the widespread acceptance of the UK state and British Empire found amongst members of the British Labour Party.

Furthermore, unlike the British Labour Party, or the more Socialist-inclined ILP, the SPA was not afraid to have 'Socialist' in its name. In this respect, it was more like the European Social Democrat parties. For Larkin, the relatively large, campaigning SPA also contrasted strongly with the small SPI, which acted primarily as a Socialist propagandist organisation. Larkin had very little time for Socialist sects, although he might look favourably upon some of their individual members, as for example, James Connolly, when they involved in wider working class organisations, such as the IT&GWU. And most of Larkin's work in the USA was with the IWW, reflecting his own Syndicalist based politics.

Larkin had initially been doubtful about James Connolly committing the ICA to an insurrection in Ireland.¹⁹²⁴ However, once the Easter Rising had taken place, and the executions had begun, Larkin organised a large meeting in Chicago in support of the insurrectionists.¹⁹²⁵ Larkin got his close ally Jack Carney to bring out a US edition of the *Irish Worker*, its title inspired by Connolly's Irish journal of the same name.¹⁹²⁶

Larkin was involved in some tight scrapes. Much of his own activity during the First World War directed against the USA's entry to the war. This involved organising the disruption of arms shipments by encouraging dockworkers to take strike action. However, others were involved in more violent sabotage operations. A bomb was targeted at a war preparation parade in San Francisco,¹⁹²⁷ which killed ten and wounded forty, when Larkin was in the city.¹⁹²⁸ German agents had undertaken the Black Tom explosion, which killed 4 to 7 people, and destroyed a large amount of munitions in Jersey City,¹⁹²⁹ when Larkin was in nearby New York.¹⁹³⁰

Larkin had been prepared to take German money to organise strike action but did not want to be involved in such sabotage operations.¹⁹³¹ However, the

prospect of Germany supporting a revolution in nearby Mexico proved attractive, and he twice travelled overland to the German embassy in Mexico City.¹⁹³² But, by this time, the US was closer to declaring war, and its security agents had infiltrated German operations.¹⁹³³ Larkin dropped his attempts to support the Mexican Revolution with the assistance of the German state.

Between his two Mexican trips, Larkin was in Chicago. Along with Carney, he spent time campaigning for anti-war SPA leader, Eugene Debs in the Congress elections.¹⁹³⁴ Larkin also tried unsuccessfully to get to the Stockholm Peace Conference in April 1917.¹⁹³⁵ However, despite his failed attempt, he met the journalist, John Reed, who was also trying to get to Stockholm, but who ended up in Petrograd to witness the October Revolution. As a result of his experiences, Reed wrote the very influential, *Ten Days that Shook the World*.¹⁹³⁶ He had also been a journalist covering the Mexican Revolution, whilst embedded in Pancho Villa's army for four months.¹⁹³⁷ Larkin clearly shared some of Reed's revolutionary interests and received a lot of his information about the 'Russian' Revolution from him. Reed contributed to the big change, which was occurring in Larkin's politics.

Two aspects of the International Revolutionary Wave prompted this significant shift in Larkin's politics - the impact of the October Revolution in 1917, and the resurgence of the Irish Revolution in late 1918 and early 1919. The key role, which Bolsheviks played in the 'Russian' Revolution, made Larkin reassess his earlier attitude towards Socialist organisations. He had often associated these with the propagandist sects. He now became a strong supporter of what he considered to be Bolshevik-type organisation. But like so many others at the time, Larkin's interpretation of Bolshevism was coloured by his own particular experiences, as well as by information provided by Reed. Larkin remained very strongly influenced by the Syndicalism represented by the IT&GWU at its highpoint in the Dublin Lock-Out. His subsequent work with the semi-revolutionary IWW in the USA also buttressed his Syndicalist approach.

Larkin also became immersed in Irish-American politics. In New York and elsewhere in the USA, there were large Socialist Foreign Language Federations for particular groups of migrants, e.g. German, Finnish and Russian. But unlike the Irish migrant Socialists, most of these did not have to compete with Right wing, pro-US state organisations, or as the impact of the Irish Revolution grew, with an alternative revolutionary organisation - Clan na Gael (the successor to the Fenian Brotherhood). But this was a National Revolutionary not a Communist organisation. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Principles were attracting Irish-Americans in the USA. Therefore, the Irish-Americans had a wide range of organisations from the Right to the Left.

This reflected the fact that, following the precedent of the 'WASPs', Irish Catholic immigrants had been able to raise themselves up the US economic and social ladder. Many had become leading businessmen, politicians, federal state and city officials. However, most new Irish migrants lived in much the same economic and social conditions as other European migrants to the USA. To reach out to recent Irish migrants, in particular, and to offset the influence of Sinn Fein and Clan na Gael, Larkin formed the James Connolly Socialist Club (JCSC) in New York in March 1918. The JCSC also organised in Boston, Philadelphia and Butte.¹⁹³⁸

Eadmonn MacAlpine was a close comrade of Larkin's in the JCSC. MacAlpine became the associate-editor of the first pro-Bolshevik and Communist journal in the USA, *Revolutionary Age*.¹⁹³⁹ This was published from November 1918 and its editor was Louis Fraina, the Italian-American leader of what was soon to become the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party (LWSotSP).¹⁹⁴⁰ The LWSotSP was the main organisation proposing to organise a new Bolshevik-type Communist party in the USA. As in Great Britain and Ireland, divisions were to open up about the best way to achieve this. The LWSotSP pushed for a special conference of the SPA. The response of the SPA's Right leaders was to expel 110,000 members by July 1919, prior to its party conference in Chicago in August.¹⁹⁴¹

In the face of this, the Foreign Language Federations organised a Convention to set up a Communist party in September.¹⁹⁴² Larkin, with the support of Reed and MacAlpine, held out, so that they could continue to work to win over more of the SPA membership. Despite the remaining LWSOSP delegates being ejected from the SPA's Chicago conference, Larkin, MacAlpine and Reed did not attend the conference in September to set up a Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) but pressed ahead to set up a separate Communist Labour Party (CLP). The new political divide placed Fraina in a different camp, the CPUSA, from Larkin, MacAlpine and Reed, now in the CLP.¹⁹⁴³

The CPUSA had 60,000 members (more than the SPA's 40,000) and the CLP only had 10,000 members. However, even 10,000 members represented a much greater number of Revolutionary Socialists than Larkin had ever encountered in Ireland or Great Britain. Furthermore, Larkin thought that the CLP represented the Communist wave of the future in the USA. A much higher proportion of its members were able to speak English. The CLP had a more definite American political orientation than the Foreign Language Federations.¹⁹⁴⁴ CLP members were also more rooted in the IWW's Syndicalist traditions, and placed more emphasis upon trade union activity than the CPUSA.¹⁹⁴⁵ Despite its larger membership, Larkin also found in the CPUSA a new butt for his anti-theoretical sentiments.¹⁹⁴⁶ These had previously found their outlet in his contempt for the small Marxist sects he had come across in Ireland, Great Britain and the USA.

Larkin's politics were not just focussed upon events in revolutionary Russia and the USA. At this time Larkin was "making every attempt to get back to Ireland."¹⁹⁴⁷ He was increasingly concerned about political developments in Ireland, which seemed to be pushing the possibility of an Irish Workers' Republic to the political margins. Like John Maclean in Scotland, Larkin saw the activities of the working class in his home country as part of the International Revolutionary Wave. And with his current émigré status, Larkin viewed his activities amongst the Irish-Americans and Irish émigrés in the JCSC as contributing to a wider 'internationalism from below' strategy.

Larkin's contribution was rooted in the Irish Revolution, which he, with some justification, believed to have been prefigured by the 1913-4 Dublin Lock Out. He came to see the 1916 Rising as its continuation. Larkin argued that the IT&GWU, which he had been central in setting up, had played a key role in these events. This is one reason why his ally Jack Carney had published a US edition of the *Irish Worker* after the 1916 Rising. In 1919 Larkin got MacAlpine to publish *The Voice of Labor* for the CLP. *The Voice of Labour* was also the name of the IT&GWU's paper, edited by O'Shannon. Larkin remained the formal IT&GWU general secretary despite his absence from Ireland.

Following his death in 1916, James Connolly's loose, Socialist Republican, Syndicalist and Women's Suffrage alliance of trusted members of the SPI, IT&GWU, ICA and Irish Women's Franchise League¹⁹⁴⁸ had begun to unravel.¹⁹⁴⁹ Larkin, who had been absent in the USA throughout this period now thought that the inspiration provided by the Bolsheviks should give the working class component of the Irish Revolution a new lease of life. His activities, whilst still in the USA, placed a strong emphasis on the Irish in the wider International Revolutionary Wave.

Therefore, Larkin was very annoyed when James Connolly's daughter, Nora Connolly and Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington (now a member of Sinn Fein), who had both had close links with the IT&GWU during the Dublin Lock Out, toured the USA, with Dr. Patrick McCartan. Larkin considered McCartan to be a "rank reactionary". Together, "they make out Arthur Griffith {another Larkin hate figure after his role in the Dublin Lock Out} as a God-given saint and statesman; nobody in Ireland done anything but Sinn Fein. Connolly and other boys all recanted Socialism and Labour and were good Sinn Feiners."¹⁹⁵⁰

Larkin noted that American Sinn Fein support "is anti-Labour. They have tried to impress upon the Americans that the Revolution was a Catholic revolution. They are the most violent American jingoes... In Chicago... they spent... 1700 dollars to erect a special star spangled flag, electrically arrayed

which flashed all through the meeting. They are in a word, super-fine patriots and the most consummate tricksters."¹⁹⁵¹

Larkin was unable to get back to Ireland, his fate sealed under the US government promoted 'Red Scare' led by Attorney-General, A. Mitchell Palmer.¹⁹⁵² In November 1919, Larkin, along with many others from the CPUSA and CLP, was arrested. He was accused of supporting the publication of a left-wing manifesto in the *Revolutionary Age* (which ironically for Larkin had been written by the Marxist theoretician Fraina now in the CPUSA).¹⁹⁵³ In May 1920, following Larkin's own tour-de-force legal defence in a New York court, he was sentenced to five to ten years to be spent at the maximum-security Sing Sing prison in New York State.¹⁹⁵⁴

And it was in the course of this trial, that Larkin emphasised the class divide between those Irish Americans who had become part of the US ruling order, pointing to the Clan na Gael officers of court, the Chief City Magistrate,¹⁹⁵⁵ and the prosecutor. This was in contrast to those like himself, who were part of the international migrant section of the American working class, including his Jewish-American CLP comrade, Benjamin Gitlow,¹⁹⁵⁶ who had also been imprisoned.¹⁹⁵⁷

In the face of the rising revolutionary tide, the US government resorted to the sort of repressive response the UK government used in Ireland, rather than the more trade union leader accommodating response the UK government used in Great Britain. The Seattle General Strike in February 1919 (around the same time as the Glasgow and Belfast general strikes) worried the authorities. However, the government and employers were able to take advantage of the considerable numbers of White Racists, who took part in the Race Riots over the summer of 1919. In an indication that Racism continued to be present in Irish-American migrant ranks, they led the white mobs in Chicago, when 23 African-Americans were killed, 537 injured and 1000 left homeless.¹⁹⁵⁸ Throughout the USA, hundreds more African-Americans were killed, thousands injured or made homeless.¹⁹⁵⁹ These numbers far exceeded

those killed, injured or rendered homeless in the British race riots of 1919,¹⁹⁶⁰ and the pogroms in Belfast in 1920.¹⁹⁶¹

The National Equal Rights League wrote to President Wilson. "We appeal to you to have your country undertake for its racial minority that which you forced Poland and Austria to undertake for their racial minorities."¹⁹⁶² But African-Americans lived in an imperial victor nation, so Wilson's Fourteen Points, were never designed for them.¹⁹⁶³ Therefore, the second Pan-African Congress being held in London, Paris and Brussels to coincide with the setting up of the League of Nations negotiations,¹⁹⁶⁴ made no more impact on the proceedings than De Valera's Irish delegation did to the post-war peace conference.¹⁹⁶⁵

Wilson wrote that, "The American Negro returning from abroad would be our greatest medium in conveying Bolshevism to America."¹⁹⁶⁶ Wilson was a great admirer of the Ku Klux Klan, helping to promote the film *The Clansman/Birth of a Nation*.¹⁹⁶⁷ The US government subsumed its repressive response to the Race Riots under its 'Red Scare' offensive, led by Attorney-General Palmer, assisted by the sinister J. Edgar Hoover.¹⁹⁶⁸

Whilst in jail, Larkin sent a telegram of support to the newly founded CI. "In the name of the Irish revolutionary socialist proletarian movement... Yours for the Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁹⁶⁹ Clearly Larkin had taken on Bolshevik language, which he would not have used prior to the October Revolution. However, at this time, Larkin was not speaking for any "revolutionary socialist proletarian movement" in Ireland, since none existed, just individuals with more limited support.

Roddy Connolly, Sean McLoughlin and a few friends were undertaking the patient, but still small-scale work needed to set up a Communist party. However, Larkin's close ally, Eadmonn MacAlpine was able to return to Ireland. He helped Connolly set up the Communist Groups. He joined Connolly as one of the two Irish delegates to the Second Congress of the CI. As long as the International Revolutionary Wave was pushing forward, then Larkin's still strong support amongst the IT&GWU (highlighted by the two-

hour walkout of Dublin dockers when he was jailed in the USA¹⁹⁷⁰) could have countered the increasingly Sinn Fein-accommodating Thomas O'Brien and Thomas Johnson; and complemented the Communist-led initiatives in the Republican movement being conducted by Connolly and McLoughlin.

Larkin's imprisonment, however, removed him from any direct involvement in CI, CLP or SPI/CPI politics. MacAlpine attended the Second Congress of the CI in 1920, the Larkin-backed CLP went on to merge with the CPUSA in May 1921 (without Larkin providing his own response to this merger). The SPI became the CPI in October 1921 with MacAlpine's backing.

However, four days after the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London on December 6th, 1921, Larkin issued a statement from prison in which he wrote, "We pledge ourselves, now and in the future, to destroy this plan of a nation's destruction."¹⁹⁷¹ "Larkin's bitter antipathy towards the 'Treaty' was reinforced by his intense dislike of the chief supporter and architect of the document, Arthur Griffith."¹⁹⁷² Larkin, still the general secretary of the IT&GWU, was able to get his statement published in the union journal, *Voice of Labour*. Given that the IT&GWU's current leaders were moving in an increasingly pro-Treaty direction, the paper wrote a disclaimer.¹⁹⁷³

And when it came to action, it was the pro-Treaty ILP&TUC leader William Johnson who called for what was in effect a pro-Treaty general strike in April 1922. This "was widely applauded by the pro-Treaty government by the press the Catholic Church."¹⁹⁷⁴ And it was Johnson's Irish Labour Party, which stood candidates in the June 1922 election. Larkin made no call for IT&GWU members to strike against the Treaty at a time when civil war had not yet broken out. He declined to stand as an official Irish Labour candidate, despite being nominated for the Dublin North constituency.¹⁹⁷⁵

What Larkin resorted to, to avoid any specific independent working class action to counter the Treatyites, was the ILP&TUC's stance in the 1918 Westminster general election. He used the rhetoric of the 'Workers' Republic'¹⁹⁷⁶ only in more colourful language. "We propose carrying on the

fight until we make the land of Erin a land fit for men and women - A Workers' Republic or Death."

Larkin looked to de Valera to give a Republican political lead in this period. He had a "warm admiration and respect for Eamonn de Valera, though they differed on social questions."¹⁹⁷⁷ He would perhaps have held a different opinion of de Valera if he had been able to contact Jack Carney, who had written earlier to IT&GWU treasurer, Thomas Foran. He wrote that, "In Butte De Valera made the statement that Larkin was an Englishman and that during the Dublin strike that he attempted to have Irish children sent to England for the purpose of UNDERMINING THEIR RELIGIOUS FAITH" (emphasis in the original).¹⁹⁷⁸

During the earliest period of the Truce negotiations, Roddy Connolly had also looked to De Valera to lead the Republican forces in opposition to the Treatyites. But Connolly quickly understood what de Valera was really about. When Larkin provided no IT&GWU led alternative, Connolly had to look to others. He thought that armed struggle was necessary to defend the Republic.

But Larkin, having declined to organise any independent working class challenge to the Treaty, was understandably horrified at the prospect of a civil war, which placed two sections of the Irish working class in armed conflict with each other. He had not anticipated this outcome when he made his strong anti-Treaty speech. This is possibly why Larkin now left it to the Irish-based IT&GWU, pro-Treaty leaders and the ILP&TUC to proceed without providing any real opposition to their political course of action.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that a serious debate and discussion was required in the new CPI. There was a widening gap between De Valera and the IRA Executive moving to an armed confrontation with the pro-Treatyites on the one hand, and the ILP&TUC and IT&GWU leadership confining its activities to attempts to resist the employers' attacks on the other. But Connolly's and the CPI's main links were with the Irish Republicans, whilst Larkin's orientation remained primarily upon the IT&GWU.

The ebbing International Revolutionary Wave accentuated the split. In the Civil War, the IRA went down to defeat, and buried their arms. The CI, on the advice of the CPGB, decommissioned the CPI.¹⁹⁷⁹ And on the Irish Labour movement front, it was not just an electoral setback, which the Irish Labour Party experienced in the 1923 general election. Trade unions now faced the Treatyites' increased resort to the Irish National Army, beginning with the Post Office Workers' Strike in September 1922¹⁹⁸⁰ The Free State's counter-offensive culminated in the brutal suppression of the County Waterford agricultural workers' strike in 1923. Here they deployed "an official White guard organisation, the Special Infantry Corps (SPC) and unofficial vigilante gang to break the strike."¹⁹⁸¹ Waterford was where Redmond had mobilised the AOH and others to suppress any political opposition in the 1918 Westminster general election. Redmond's pro-British IPP, anti-working class politics and his vigilantes were now quite at home in the Irish Free State.

Connolly feared that the "Free State Army might attempt to set up a military dictatorship similar to the Mussolini regime in Italy."¹⁹⁸² However, the Irish Free State did not need to do this, with both the Republican and soon the working class challenges defeated, although the activities of Eoin O'Duffy (head of the Garda Siochana) and the 'White guards' at the time anticipated the rise of the Irish fascist Blueshirts in the 1930s.

As the inevitability of the Republicans' military defeat grew, Connolly and the CI had found it more and more difficult to disengage from this struggle without losing face. This had been a major factor leading to growing divisions in CPI ranks. When Larkin finally returned to Ireland in May 1923, he first met William Gallacher, on behalf of the CPGB, in Southampton. Gallacher knew how to appeal to Larkin's prejudices. He soon dismissively rejected the CPI, seeing in them nothing more than "little wasps."¹⁹⁸³ After Larkin's experience in the large CLP (soon to be merged into the CPUSA) and the impact of the globally influential CI, Larkin could only see in the small CPI another of those Marxist sects he had always been so dismissive of. And the CI was now looking to 'Big Jim' Larkin to turn things around.

When Larkin returned to Ireland, he faced a hero's welcome. 5000 welcomed him in Dublin.¹⁹⁸⁴ This was followed the next day by a large Labour Day demonstration in Dublin's Croke Park¹⁹⁸⁵ Larkin used his undoubted prestige and popularity amongst workers, coupled to their acknowledgement of the sacrifices he had made culminating in his almost three years jail sentence, to make the appeal that CPI members had found it hard to make.

At a meeting in Dublin, called to commemorate the seventh anniversary of James Connolly's death, he called for "the Republicans to give up the armed and to take up the constitutional struggle."¹⁹⁸⁶ He then began a two weeks tour of IT&GWU branches, and in each city and town he visited received extensive local press coverage, whilst many members took a day's holiday.¹⁹⁸⁷ He repeated his peace message, saying that "If Connolly and Pearse and Clarke and others who formed the galaxy of heroes of 1916 were big enough to give up their arms for a time... there can be no dishonour in giving up arms."¹⁹⁸⁸ Ten days after Larkin's original call, the new IRA CoS, Frank Aiken ordered his forces to "cease fire and dump arms."¹⁹⁸⁹

Larkin now turned to the IT&GWU to open up the struggle on the industrial front. However, the Irish Free State government, which had just ruthlessly crushed the last armed Republican resistance, was now fully behind the employers' economic counter-offensive. This placed workers' organisations in a defensive position. William O'Brien, the influential IT&GWU general treasurer, came to represent this mood most clearly.

O'Brien had been with Larkin from the earliest days of the IT&GWU. Before that he had been with James Connolly in the ISRP, and then the SPI and later the ITUC&LP. He had been centrally involved with the IT&GWU during the heroic times of the Dublin Lock-Out. However, O'Brien did not join the ICA and, at the prompting of Connolly, took no part in the in the 1916 Easter Rising. This was probably because Connolly thought O'Brien to be the most capable Socialist Republican, whose services would be required after Connolly and others had sacrificed their own lives.

O'Brien continued to separate the industrial and political sides of his Socialist Republicanism. After the near organisational destruction of the IT&GWU brought about by the Dublin Lock Out and several key members' involvement in the Easter Rising, O'Brien, along with Thomas Foran, the president of the key Dublin no. 1 branch, devoted themselves to rebuilding the IT&GWU's membership. They ended the union's debts, employed new officials, restored old and obtained new union premises.

In this they proved to be very successful. The IT&GWU reached its maximum size in December 1920, which was largely maintained for a couple of years, when unemployment and an employers' counter-offensive began to reverse the gains. Before the 1918 general election, O'Brien had endeavoured to shift the IT&GWU to keeping the political division between Irish Home Rulers and Irish Republicans out of its own activities, following the precedent of the ILP&TUC. Paper support for a Workers' Republic sometime in the future helped to paper over this divide.

However, despite playing no part in the 1916 Rising, O'Brien was still arrested and jailed. He was quite prepared to show his Republican commitment outside an IT&GWU framework. He had supported the National Society of Volunteers' Dependents.¹⁹⁹⁰ The IT&GWU also played a key role in the Anti-Conscription campaign in April 1918, helped by the fact that action in this case was supported by both Sinn Fein and the IPP.

O'Brien also understood the need for an 'internationalism from below' approach in the struggle for Irish self-determination. He attended the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies in Leeds in June 1917. He met Chicherin to get assistance in the international socialist and labour recognition of Ireland. Whilst in jail again in 1920, O'Brien stood as the Irish Workers' Republican Party candidate in the Southport by-election, to embarrass the Labour Party into taking some action over Ireland.¹⁹⁹¹

But William O'Brien, like Cathal O'Shannon, initially very enthusiastic about the October Revolution, kept his distance from the Bolsheviks and the CI. As individual members of the SPI, their commitment was to the IT&GWU

and the ILP&TUC. Whether a continued surge in the International Revolutionary Wave could have pushed O'Brien (or O'Shannon) further is a moot point. However, as the International Revolutionary Wave ebbed, O'Brien's concern above all else was to hold the IT&GWU together.

The emergence of a split between the pro-Treatyite and anti-Treatyite Sinn Fein put some considerable strains upon the union,¹⁹⁹² as it tried to uphold its political self-denying ordinance. However, in 1923, O'Brien sacked three of its organisers, Sean Dowling, Jack Hedley and Dean McGrath¹⁹⁹³ following their leading part in the second wave of County Limerick and County Tipperary creamery 'soviets'. It might seem that Jim Larkin's return to Ireland and the IT&GWU, and his successful appeal for Irish Republicans to lay down their arms and for workers to reunite, could have contributed to overcoming this particular political divide. But Larkin misread the political situation.

Larkin thought that the ending of the Republican/Treatyite armed conflict opened the way for a new united working class fight back. He had not fully appreciated that it wasn't only on the political front, but also on the industrial front, that the Irish government and the employers were mounting a full-blooded counter-offensive, where the use of troops, armed police and the white guards were all to be used. The IT&GWU's *The Voice of Labour* compared the Farmers' Freedom Force, a paramilitary organisation, with "the Italian fascists and the Ku Klux Klan."¹⁹⁹⁴

Despite Partition, some employers still coordinated their action at an all-Ireland level. Having got the sort of regime they wanted in the North, the growing success of the Treatyites against the Republicans in the South gave them the confidence to launch their counter-offensive.¹⁹⁹⁵ In January 1922, "a lock-out in Belfast was followed by a general lock out of thirty-five flour mills throughout Ireland."¹⁹⁹⁶ Following the collapse of the Republican armed struggle in May 1923, the Free State government made no effort to disguise its pro-employer politics. The Dublin Dock employers felt they

could take on the very heart of the IT&GWU to set a wider example. In July they announced a major pay cut to be imposed on the dockers.¹⁹⁹⁷

O'Brien recognised the defensive position the IT&GWU was now placed in, to which some of his own actions had contributed. Larkin, however, was determined to make an impact now he had returned. He backed the dockers in their determined resistance, which went on until October 1923. By this time O'Brien was increasingly worried about the cost of maintaining strike pay, and the employers' intransigence. He seized upon a mediating offer made by President Cosgrove, which halved the proposed pay cut and promised no victimisations. The dockers rejected this compromise in a ballot, but returned to work, nevertheless. They probably realised there would be no more union strike pay from union HQ.

Larkin was furious and would have fought on as long as he enjoyed majority support. In siding with the majority, he showed why, compared to O'Brien and his followers, he long continued to enjoy the support of the Dublin dockers and other members of the city's working class. But he could not build on this to renew the Dublin dockers' defiance. The defeat of the dockers was followed by employers' imposition of pay cuts on the carters, coalheavers, grainmen, seamen and firemen. Larkin had to reluctantly accept this.¹⁹⁹⁸

Resentments had been building up for some time in the IT&GWU. Initially, with the help of Jim Larkin's wider family, brother Peter, sister Delia, and son Jim Larkin junior, fellow trade unionists and friends, Barney Conway and Michael Mullin, P. T. Daly,¹⁹⁹⁹ and especially the two Dublin IT&GWU branches, Larkin tried to take back control of the union. Although commanding majority support in Dublin (in an analogous way to Charles Parnell had after the Irish National League split following the Kitty O'Shea affair), he did not enjoy majority support in the union throughout Ireland. After failing spectacularly in an ill-considered legal challenge to O'Brien, Larkin returned to the one thing he excelled at - a direct appeal to the rank-and-file members.

In the meantime, Larkin, at the prompting of the CPGB had become the chosen vehicle for re-establishing Communist politics in Ireland after the CI had closed down the CPI. In September 1923, Larkin set up the Irish Worker League (IWL), which was accepted as a CI affiliate. 500 attended the founding conference and 6000 attended the march in Dublin organised by the IWL to commemorate Lenin after his death.²⁰⁰⁰ Larkin, having made overtures to the Republicans to call off their armed action, ensured that the IWL collected money for IRA prisoners' dependents, as well as for striking workers.

The IWL had nominal branches in Dublin and London (where former County Antrim IRA commandant, Sean Murray,²⁰⁰¹ now CPGB member and Captain Jack White campaigned for the release of IRA prisoners)²⁰⁰² The IWL's executive included Muriel McSwiney (the Communist widow of Terence, the martyred Lord Mayor of Cork), P. T. Daly and for a brief period, CPI members, Bob Murray,²⁰⁰³ Sean McLoughlin and even Roddy Connolly.

The IWL executive also included Jack Dempsey, then world boxing heavyweight champion, whom Larkin had befriended in the USA. The adoption of a celebrity executive member was one indication of how he saw the IWL. Larkin also enjoyed the support of his old comrade, Jack Carney in the USA and Sean O'Casey, the first ICA general secretary, during the Dublin Lock-out, and now a controversial playwright at The Abbey in Dublin.²⁰⁰⁴ However, the IWL was not a party and there were no membership dues.²⁰⁰⁵ Any activity in Ireland was at the discretion of Larkin himself. The IWL became in effect Larkin's vanity project.

In the 1923 general election Larkin backed three candidates, including Daly, in two of the three Dublin constituencies. None were elected, but Daly did better than the official Irish Labour candidate in Dublin North,²⁰⁰⁶ whilst the two Trades Council candidates possibly took away enough votes to prevent O'Brien from being elected as a TD in Dublin South.²⁰⁰⁷ Furthermore, the overall position of the Irish Labour Party declined in 1923 from its highpoint a year previously.

But Constance Markiewicz²⁰⁰⁸ and Kathleen Lynn,²⁰⁰⁹ two Republican women, who had been associated with the Dublin Lock-Out and the ICA, were elected in Dublin. Larkin had probably hoped that with the Republicans dropping armed struggle, and standing in the 1923 election, they would take their seats in the Dail (hopefully alongside his own favoured independent Labour candidates). He was to be disappointed in this hope, as the Republican candidates declined to take their seats, rather than have to swear the oath of allegiance to the Crown.

The political strain, that had existed in the IT&GWU during the Civil War, between the pro-Treatyite leadership and their supporters and some pro-Republican officials and other pro-Republican members, was now 'resolved' by the division into the IT&GWU and ILP&TUC on one hand, and the dissident mainly Dublin IT&GWU branches (soon to form a new union) and the IWL on the other.

On behalf of the IWL, Larkin attended the Fifth Congress of the CI in Moscow in September 1924. Having been promoted by the CPGB as their preferred Irish Communist leader, Larkin gave support to "the British delegation's contention that the British Communist Party should attempt to form a 'united front' with the British Labour Party."²⁰¹⁰ After giving a eulogy to the recently deceased Lenin, Larkin was asked to address the Congress over the issue of Ireland. Perhaps he was looking for some adulation in return, but he never received it.

Larkin noted that "Comrade Zinoviev... said that the Congress was interested in Ireland", to which he replied. "I have failed to see it."²⁰¹¹ Larkin was looking to the CI to boost Larkin, not to advance Communist politics in Ireland. Nevertheless, the CI leaders appealed to Larkin's vanity by taking him on tour of the USSR, making him a chief of battalion in the Red Army, and electing him to the ECCI. Upon his return to Dublin, he boasted that he was now "one of the 25 Commissioners to rule and govern the earth."²⁰¹²

However, it was at the conference of the Red International of Labour Unions (Profintern), later held in Moscow that Larkin most clearly revealed his

underlying politics. He strongly resisted the idea that a collective political strategy could be made to address the conduct of industrial struggles, when its General Secretary Solomon Losovsky²⁰¹³ submitted his paper, *The Strategy of Strikes*. Larkin emphasised the role of charismatic leaders who "see men as they are. One must understand human emotions, the psychology of workers."²⁰¹⁴ Larkin had little time for fellow CI or even RILU members.²⁰¹⁵ He wanted their uncritical adulation and their money to build his own support in Ireland.

In a watered-down version of Roddy Connolly's failed attempt to win direct RSFSR/First Irish Republic mutual diplomatic recognition and a secret arms deal through the CI, Larkin was also looking for a RSFSR trade agreement with Ireland. But Larkin was hoping to boost his own political weight in Ireland. Whilst in Moscow, he privately lobbied for an RSFSR backed cooperative in Dublin, hoping to get a funded job.²⁰¹⁶ But neither the RSFSR nor the Irish Free State wanted to upset their own recent accommodations to the UK, and by now Larkin was an even less suitable intermediary for the Irish Free State than Connolly had been for the First Irish Republic.

Whilst Jim Larkin was away, his brother and others moved to set up breakaway Workers' Union of Ireland (WUI) in 1924.²⁰¹⁷ Worsted in Larkin's legal challenge to O'Brien, the dissident no. 1, IT&GWU branch threw its support behind Dublin gas workers, whose strike for a member's reinstatement, had not been backed by the IT&GWU executive. The gas workers won.

From this point on, nearly all the WUI's activities were targeted at ousting the IT&GWU from Dublin. This fratricidal struggle took place in the context of a continuing employers' offensive. The WUI was able to increase its membership, not by recruiting new non-unionised workers, but by taking in IT&GWU members, after ferocious inter-union battles. By 1925 total Irish trade union membership had declined from 126,522 to 98,986 and was to continue to fall yearly after that until the 1930s.²⁰¹⁸ The WUI was fishing in an ever-smaller pond. And although the WUI signed up new members, its

membership income fell from £9212 in 1924 to £5,830 in 1926 and stayed at this level until the 1931.²⁰¹⁹

Furthermore, in July 1925 the Dublin coal merchants, with the backing of the Dublin Employers' Federation, decided to end the disruption caused by the inter-union battles and by mid-September, striking WUI members were forced to return to work.²⁰²⁰ "The WUI's attempted role as a revolutionary union was over."²⁰²¹

Larkin's previous supporters, the CPGB and CI leaderships were growing increasingly concerned. Larkin had showed no inclination to convert the IWL into the new Irish Communist party they had been looking for. His famed advocacy of industrial militancy was now being mainly used to divide the working class in Ireland. Bob Stewart, the CPGB Scottish Organiser from Dundee, was sent over to stay with the Larkin family. Stewart would have gained prior knowledge about Ireland from the migrant Irish workers and their families in Dundee. Stewart and Larkin got on very well.²⁰²²

The CPGB and CI plan was to use the IWL to launch a new party, with the CI providing international backing to two new front organisations, the International Class War Prisoners' Aid (ICWPA) and Workers' International Relief (WIR). The ICWPA was stillborn in Ireland, with the Free State government defusing the issue in Ireland through the phased release of the Republican prisoners.²⁰²³ The WIR, which had the backing of the CPGB's Helen Crawford (a leading Clydeside Rents Strike activist in 1915), Republicans like Maud Gonne MacBride, Charlotte Despard, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington and Peadar O'Donnell, was more promising. Stewart became its Irish organiser, with Larkin providing him an office in the WUI HQ.²⁰²⁴

A meeting was set up in Dublin to create a new Communist party, with former Communist MP, Shapurja Sakalatva, to address it. Larkin showed little interest and refused to back it.²⁰²⁵ A disillusioned Stewart returned to Scotland. He later wrote that, "Big Jim would never accept the democracy of a disciplined Marxist party. He always had to be centre stage all the time,

and so a party where the emphasis is put on collective work was not for him."²⁰²⁶

The break-up of the International Revolutionary Wave had the effect of accentuating negative characteristics in Ireland as elsewhere. At the highpoint of the International Revolutionary Wave, whilst Larkin was still in the USA, he had been able to undertake disciplined work with others to help set up a new Communist party. Whilst even then, his egotism probably exaggerated the problems which led to the initial split between the CLP and CPUSA, this divide still reflected deeper political differences that needed to be resolved before effective Communist unity could be attained.

During this period, Larkin worked with John Reed, Jack Carney, Eadmonn MacAlpine and others. However, it was also the case that Larkin's well-deserved fame, dating from the Dublin Lock Out, came out of a dispute that was forced upon the infant IT&GWU, but which took place in a period of rising class struggle throughout the UK. With little sense of strategy, when Larkin returned to Ireland in 1923, he would launch often ill-considered industrial actions in a period of working class retreat. Larkin was a Labour 'Napoleon' (later Arthur Scargill, leader of the NUM would show similar characteristics).

h) John Maclean swimming against the ebbing tide of revolution in Scotland (pp. 615-635)

Meanwhile, in Scotland, John Maclean's attempt to set up a Scottish Communist Party had been thwarted by Willie Gallagher's sabotage of the meeting organised for this purpose in December 1920. In the absence of Maclean's desired Scottish Communist Party, Maclean now joined the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). Maclean's practical work was conducted alongside SLP members and his comrades in the Tramps Trust Unlimited (TTU). James Clunie became a close friend and comrade of Maclean at this time. Clunie, who was from Fife, had been a conscientious objector during the First World War. He had been jailed in several prisons. When released, Clunie joined the SLP, and lectured for the Scottish Labour College. Clunie

became the editor the SLP's paper, the *Socialist*.²⁰²⁷ Maclean used its pages to publish his *Open Letter to Lenin*.²⁰²⁸

This letter represented an attempt to warn Lenin of the political dangers involved in the unity conference, which was being organised to bring the CLP(S) and CP(BSotTI) into the CPGB. The conference was held in Leeds from January 29th-30th 1921. An important focus of Maclean's critique was upon those who sought the official CI franchise by trying to make Lenin "believe that large numbers of workers are organised on a workshop basis ready for the signal of revolution, and that a well-organised and disciplined party will be got ready to head the way through the revolution."

Maclean went on to attack Gallacher, "who has led you to believe that there is a workshop movement in Scotland. That is a black lie. I have been at work gates all summer and autumn up and down the Clyde valley, and I am positive when I say that victimisation after the premature forty hours strike crushed the workshop movement. Unemployment today has struck terror into the hearts of those at work, as starvation is meant to tame the workless. No industrial movement of a radical character is possible at present outside the ranks of the miners... I am of the belief that the workshop movement in England is as dead as it is in Scotland." ²⁰²⁹

Instead, of the workshop movement, Maclean's *Open Letter* showed that his comrades had moved their work to another arena. "Three thousand five hundred unemployed meet twice a week in the {Glasgow} City Hall, so that we may discuss principles and tactics applied to the present situation from a marxian point of view."²⁰³⁰ Maclean mentions, in passing, his other great concern - independent working class education.

Maclean also berated "the Gallacher gang {which had} thrice tried to seize control {of the unemployment movement} out of our hands" and "bust up comrade Clunie's classes in Fife, where our comrade conducts a number of classes on the principles of marxism."²⁰³¹ Maclean also highlighted the bureaucratic role of Rothstein, and showed his contempt for Malone and Meynell, who were being given prominence in the new CPGB.

Although Maclean was keenly aware that not only the revolutionary movement, but all attempts to organise working class resistance in Glasgow, Scotland and England had been pushed back, he nevertheless remained

convinced that the International Revolutionary Wave was continuing, reopening the prospect of a domestic revolutionary challenge. He shared this optimism with the majority of other Communists at the time. This optimism was fed by the successful efforts of the Bolsheviks to prevent the overthrow of the infant RSFSR, either by the Whites or by direct imperialist invasion. Maclean continued to emphasise the significance of the Irish Republic and of Irish workers, Although he now put more emphasis on those in Scotland and the rest of Great Britain. "Wage-slaves here are Irishmen, whose country is being more and more cunningly and cruelly tortured."²⁰³²

However, there was a hiatus in Maclean's attempt to create a political organisation, which supported the Scottish Workers' Republic. He had first advocated this in the *Vanguard* the previous year. The remnant of the SLP retained its British orientation but was quite happy to have Maclean as a member. And when Maclean wrote his *Open Letter* there was no longer any mention of the Scottish Workers' Republic, nor even the Scottish Communist Party, which had featured in Maclean's recent *Vanguard* articles. Clunie took Maclean's *Open Letter* directly to Lenin in Moscow in 1921. Here he also met Nadezhda Krupskaya²⁰³³ and made contact with Maclean's old allies Peter Petroff and his wife Irma Gellrich.²⁰³⁴

But 1921 proved to be a fateful year for the Communist movement. March saw the crushing of the Kronstadt Revolt and the introduction of the New Economic Policy in the RSFSR - a state-managed form of national capitalism, which Lenin and the majority of the CPSU argued was now rendered necessary by the ebbing of the wider revolutionary tide. This month also witnessed the defeat of the March Action in Germany. This undermined a lot of the work, which had won over a majority of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany at its Halle Convention in October 1920, making the Communist Party of Germany a mass party.²⁰³⁵ And, with more immediate effects closer to home, the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement was also finalised on March 16th. The ending of the UK state's regulation of the coal industry also took place on March 31st.

Even after the independent workers' committees collapse, Maclean had still held out hopes that would the miners once more to take the lead. This was shown in his *Open Letter*. However, on April 15th, 1921, Black Friday marked Jimmy Thomas's betrayal of the Triple Alliance, which had brought together the NTWF, NUR and the MFGB.²⁰³⁶ The miners were left isolated,

paving the way for a major employer counter-offensive. There was some independent solidarity action from Glasgow, Ayr, Ardrossan, Bo'ness, Leith and Dundee dockers, and a refusal by Scottish railworkers to carry coal, but the defeat of the miners left them demoralised.²⁰³⁷

But with the final end to the prospect of any immediate workers' industrial action, Maclean was later to acknowledge the significance of a new right-wing force, which appeared to break the solidarity action. "The Clyde dockers were men enough to line up with the miners, but Scotland's Fascisti, White Guards, or National Citizens' Union, provided middle class scabs to load and unload ships."²⁰³⁸

With the miners now defeated, Maclean also looked to the Reform movement within the MFGB to prepare the union for future struggles. Here his earlier work in the Lanarkshire coalfields with James McDougall, and his own campaigning in South Wales helped. Maclean noted in one of his letters to Clunie, that the Gallacher's disruptive activity had been ended in Lanarkshire, and that he had a contact Dr. Jim McNabb in Rhondda.²⁰³⁹ Clunie was a regular writer for the MFGB's paper, *The Miner*.

However, there was another blow awaiting Maclean's revolutionary expectations - the Anglo-Irish Truce on July 11th, 1921. He had seen the Irish Republicans' ability to establish and maintain the First Irish Republic over so much of the island's territory, in the face of brutal British repression, as a major achievement. However, over the next year, before the outbreak of the Irish Civil War, the Griffith-led wing of Sinn Fein retreated from this Irish Republican advance. They were prepared to accommodate British imperialism and were never really Republican. Griffith and his allies received the support of former IPP and southern Unionist politicians, large business owners and big farmers. They also had the backing of the Catholic hierarchy. Communist forces were still weak. Maclean continued to visit Ireland, but developments there were now troubling him.

Maclean and his comrades in the SLP and TTU continued to find themselves in conflict with the local CPGB, which was now working in Glasgow to buttress the Labour Party. And it was in May 1921 that Maclean faced the first of his post-war sentences in jail, after appearing in Airdrie Sheriff Court. Harry McShane covered the case in the *Socialist*.²⁰⁴⁰ James McDougall took over Maclean's classes. But now, quite apart from the continued CPGB

attempts to remove him and his comrades from the Scottish Labour College, falling union membership led to declining college income to pay the lecturers for workers' educational classes.²⁰⁴¹

But Maclean made a distinction between the political parties he rejected, such as the CPGB and the Labour Party, and individuals within them. In August 1921, Maclean was in South Wales campaigning for Bob Stewart, the CPGB Scottish organiser (and perhaps significantly from Dundee not Glasgow).²⁰⁴² Stewart was standing in the Caerphilly by-election against the official Labour candidate, despite him having been an ILP conscientious objector.

As soon as Maclean was out of jail, he joined McShane and others in helping women, particularly widows, to get parish relief and resist evictions. Maclean had earlier been somewhat dismissive of Women's Suffrage campaigners, including Helen Crawford, and many of his articles made an appeal to the 'boys'. But the new street activities brought Maclean and his comrades closer to women activists. It was these street based activities, with the unemployed and women, which provided Maclean with a new political base, largely replacing the 'boys' or skilled workers he had been involved with in the BSP and Clyde Workers Committee (including SLP members) during and immediately after the war. It was this new social base that he carried over into the Scottish Workers Republican Party (SWRP). This ensured that he was no more marginalised than the official CPGB in his political activities. He also enjoyed the support of some of the most active Irish activists, many in Sinn Fein. His writings at the time were lucid, undermining Willie Gallacher's claims of Maclean having lost his mental faculties.

One such activist, whom Maclean had long held in esteem for challenging the First World War in a militant manner, and showing him a higher level of solidarity with the Easter Rising, was Sylvia Pankhurst. Pankhurst had been involved in the early moves to develop a new communist party. Like Gallacher, she had initially been wooed into the infant CPGB by Lenin's arguments, but she soon found herself in conflict with the leadership over the tactics to be pursued in the rates struggle in Poplar in East London. So, she left the party.²⁰⁴³ Maclean differed with Pankhurst over Labour Party affiliation and parliamentary participation, but he appreciated her longstanding commitment and involvement in workers' struggles, and opposition to Unionism and Imperialism and racism from the First World

War and afterwards. This respect was clearly mutual and transcended their other political differences.

Sylvia Pankhurst also differed with George Lansbury. He was the epitome of the kind of Labour Party (and ILP) member, Maclean was to describe to as Red Labour. He led Poplar Borough Council in defying London County Council and the High Courts and refused to collect the local rates. Lansbury and other Labour councillors were jailed for six weeks, but they won some significant concessions.²⁰⁴⁴

But Lansbury represented one of those dockland areas where post-war militant industrial action had been marred by racism. Despite having supported the locked-out Dublin workers in 1913, opposing the First World War, visiting Russia after the October Revolution and campaigning strongly against British intervention there,²⁰⁴⁵ Lansbury refused to publish Claude McKay's reply to a racist article by leading ILP member, Ed Morel in the *Daily Herald*.²⁰⁴⁶

Pankhurst never openly broke with Lansbury, occasionally writing for the *Daily Herald* and sometimes received money from him for the *Workers Dreadnought*. Indeed, she refused to publish another article by Claude McKay, who was made the East London docklands correspondent of *Workers Weekly*, which exposed Lansbury's use of blackleg workers in his sawmills.²⁰⁴⁷ But politically Pankhurst's approach was different from Maclean's.

Maclean and Pankhurst both shared an agreement about the negative role played by some local CPGB members in various struggles, especially from those who had retained their anti-revolutionary politics inherited from the ILP and BSP. But the local political situations in Glasgow and East London were different. There was no Left Labour controlled council in Glasgow, nor anywhere elsewhere on Clydeside. In early 1921, before the defeat of the miners, Maclean had accused "the tame, insane leaders such as Clynes and Henderson...{of} turn{ing} the workers' thoughts last March {1920} from industrial to political action."²⁰⁴⁸ But Maclean wasn't opposed to political action but thought that it should be used to openly advocate Communism/Socialism or a Workers' Republic. He also pointed out the heinous imperial activities of the UK state, not only in Ireland, but in India and Egypt too and providing solidarity to those opposing such repression.

And he was constantly looking for new means of reinvigorating industrial struggle.

Maclean also held Constance Markiewicz in great respect, and she continued to be another political ally. Maclean first met her in Glasgow on May Day 1919. She had been part of James Connolly's wider Socialist Republican, Syndicalist, and Women's Suffrage alliance. However, once this had collapsed, Markiewicz became more firmly aligned with Sinn Fein. She became the Minister for Labour in the First Dail. But she remained firmly on Sinn Fein's Social Republican wing, along with others like Liam Mellows. Under certain political conditions those holding such politics could pass over to Socialist Republicanism, just as some ILP and BSP members passed over to Communism.

Maclean's now growing concern, stemmed from the behaviour of the official Labour leadership during the war. He thought that the British ruling class would continue its National Labour accommodating tactics, once the Coalition government had been finally discredited. This would be done to derail any independent working class resistance to their planned offensive against workers' jobs, pay, conditions and social welfare. Maclean saw plenty of evidence of the grooming of leading Labour politicians, such as one-time ILP pacifist Ramsay Macdonald, and trade union leaders such as Jimmy Thomas, to fulfil this role.

This sowed the seeds of a distinction Maclean was going to make between 'Pink Labour' (National Labour) and 'Red Labour' (Socialist Labour). Maclean fought tooth and nail against any Labour or CPGB member prepared to give support to 'Pink Labour' with its National Labourist politics, highlighted by their support for the First World War, or by those, such as Ramsay Macdonald now in cahoots with these people.

Although party lines were beginning to harden on the Left, and there were also local differences, some elements of a shared Communist strategy seemed to emerge in Scotland over how to handle developments in the Labour Party and the conflict between National Labourism - 'Pink Labour' - and a more working class-based approach, involving the ILP activists and militant trade unionists - 'Red Labour'. Unlike the CPGB in England, the party's candidates in Scotland only got local Labour and trade union backing in the 1922 Westminster general election, not national Labour Party endorsement.

So, there was some commonality in their approach between Maclean and the CPGB, despite the emphasis only Maclean and his supporters placed upon a Scottish Workers' Republic, and his refusal to support voting for 'Pink Labour' candidates. And although Maclean considered Buchanan a 'Red Labour' candidate, Maclean had been the official Labour candidate in the Gorbals 1918 and had built up a new base of support amongst women and the unemployed. The official CPGB had been prepared to stand against a Red inclined official Labour (and ILP) candidate at Caerphilly in 1922., with Maclean's active support.

Two CPGB members were elected in the UK, highlighting the contrasting conditions in England and Scotland. Shapurji Saklavata became the MP in Battersea North with National Labour Party backing and took the Labour whip. However, Walton Newbold became MP in Motherwell with only local Labour and trade union backing. He was not taken into the Westminster Labour group. Alex Geddes, following the same path as Newbold, came within 774 votes of winning in Greenock.²⁰⁴⁹ In Dundee, where there were two parliamentary seats, the ILP/Labour Party only contested one. Willie Gallacher stood as a CPGB candidate, hoping to get ILP members' second vote. He wasn't as successful in this as he might have hoped, since many workers gave their vote to the Scottish Prohibitionist Party candidate, Edwin Scrymgeour,²⁰⁵⁰ in order to oust the now detested Winston Churchill. They were successful in this. Gallacher received 5906 votes and came 6th out of 6 candidates.

Maclean standing directly against the official Labour/ILP candidate in Glasgow Gorbals won 4027 coming third out of four candidates. Maclean's method of appealing to ILP voters in his manifesto had been different, but the aim of encouraging a split between 'Pink Labour' and the more accountable local ILP and trade union-based 'Red Labour' representatives was shared by CPGB members in Scotland.

Maclean had been jailed for a second time in October 1921, this time for a year. It was in his trial that he publicly stated that, "I for one am out for a Scottish Workers' Republic."²⁰⁵¹ Nevertheless, both Maclean and McShane still stood as SLP candidates, in Glasgow's local council elections in November. Maclean was in jail at the time.²⁰⁵² He won 4,208 votes in the Kinning Park ward, coming second.

During Maclean's year-long captivity in Barlinnie Prison between October 1921 and October 1922, the TTU disbanded, and the SLP fell away too. Maclean's closest comrade, Harry McShane could see that more and more activists were joining the CPGB, so he stopped working as a member of the TTU and also gave up his membership of the SLP. To Maclean's chagrin McShane joined the CPGB. James Clunie of the SLP remained a close comrade and was in contact with Maclean throughout his prison sentence and later, despite them taking different organisational paths. Whilst in prison, Maclean also met Guy Aldred, who had founded the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation in 1921,²⁰⁵³ with politics closer to Sylvia Pankhurst's.²⁰⁵⁴ Aldred retained his admiration for Maclean after their release.

In the 1922 Westminster general election, Maclean, was no longer in the SLP, but stood as an Independent Communist candidate and came out openly for "a Scottish workers' republic". His address, in an 'internationalism from below' appeal, urged "Scottish workers to be joined in one big industrial union with their British comrades against industrial capitalism."²⁰⁵⁵ Now the independent workers' committee movement no longer existed, many Socialists were looking to unite the unions on more Syndicalist principles - One Big Union - to create the framework for greater unity in the future. (Here Maclean was clearly influenced by Larkin and Connolly). So despite wish{ing to bring about} a Scottish workers' republic, {Maclean wanted} "Scottish workers to be joined in one big industrial union with their British comrades against industrial capitalism."²⁰⁵⁶ This demonstrated Maclean's internationalism. He was quite prepared to join with British (English, Scottish and Welsh) comrades in organisations which were under their own democratic control, whilst fully realising that the UK or British Unionist state and Empire could never be a vehicle for transition to the new Communist/Socialist society Maclean wanted above all else.

Maclean finished off his 1922 Westminster general election address with, "If you cannot agree with me then vote for George Buchanan, the representative of the Labour Party. On no account vote for anyone else."²⁰⁵⁷ In this election there were also National Liberal and Liberal candidates. Buchanan alongside David Kirkwood, Neil Maclean, James Maxton, Neil Maclean, Mannie Shinwell, and John Wheatley, all ILP members, were elected to Westminster,

and became known as the 'Red Clydesiders'. These included some of the people Maclean was prepared to consider 'Red Labour'. 40 out of the 43 Labour Scottish candidates in the 1922 general election were ILP members (although they wouldn't necessarily have all been considered 'Red Labour' by Maclean), and Labour increased its number of MPs from 1 to 10 of the 15 Glasgow seats. They gained a further 19 seats in the rest of Scotland. Thousands attended Glasgow's St. Enoch station to see off the 'Red Clydesiders' as they left for Westminster.

Maclean, although recognising recent working class setbacks, still anticipated an early return to militant action. In the meantime, he thought that the majority of the Scottish working class would have to go through the experience of learning that little could be achieved at Westminster. To push this point Maclean's electoral address stated that, "To get a Scottish workers' republic I shall not go to the London House of Commons, but stay in Scotland helping the unemployed, standing by those at work, educating in the Scottish Labour College, and carrying revolutionary propaganda all over Scotland (and into England too)." ²⁰⁵⁸

This was an indication of the impact of the Irish Republican struggle and the stance of Sinn Fein on Maclean's thinking. Sinn Fein had always held an abstentionist position over attendance at Westminster. But in 1918 they had been able to offer an alternative - the Dail of the First Irish Republic, based on their winning a majority of Irish seats in the UK general election. Maclean's decision to adopt an individual abstentionist position seems to have been motivated by his belief that there was only a temporary lull in the revolutionary wave. However, by this time, unknown to the many Communists across the world, the current revolutionary ebb would not be reversed.

During the November 1922 general election, Maclean still had no specific political party to promote a Scottish Workers' Republic. Instead, he depended on a lot of personal support. This was not a satisfactory situation for Maclean, who understood the need for a public political party to a considerably greater degree than James Connolly had in the run-up to the 1916. Maclean finally resolved this though on 23rd February 1923, when the Scottish Workers' Republican Party (SWRP) was set up. ²⁰⁵⁹

Although among Maclean's old comrades in the TTU, only Peter Ross joined the SWRP, Maclean soon built a new base of support amongst the women and unemployed he had been working with after declining to join the CPGB. Maclean remained non-sectarian in his approach. Maclean's previously close comrade McShane, who had left the TTU/SLP for the CPGB, was evicted from his house, Maclean led a demonstration to support him. He also made a collection for another CPGB member, Thomas Hitman, who was awaiting trial.²⁰⁶⁰ Hitman left the CPGB and went on to join the Scottish Workers' Republican Party, standing as a candidate.²⁰⁶¹ This highlighted the significance of the new political base Maclean had built which acted as a countervailing attraction to the CPGB.

For Maclean, a major issue, which he raised was the increasing possibility of National or 'Pink' Labour becoming the next government, workers had to be prepared for this. Maclean was just not prepared to assist 'Pink Labour', or any of its CPGB helpers, in getting what could only be a National Labour government into office. Labour Party Socialists faced the same dilemma in the 2019 election, when despite the official Labour Party being led by Jeremy Corbyn, the overwhelming majority of Labour candidates were from the Right. They would have determined the nature of any new Labour government ditching Corbyn in the process.

Maclean emphasised the distinction again when standing as a Communist or 'Red Labour' candidate for the newly formed SWRP in the February 1923 Glasgow council by-election. The winning Moderate gained 3186 votes, followed by Maclean with 2008 votes, beating the official Labour candidate backed by the CPGB, who came last.²⁰⁶²

In Maclean's SWRP council election address also linked immediate demands over unemployment, housing and public transport, with calls for further municipalisation, the creation of a Clyde valley wide council, preparatory to the setting up of a Scottish Workers' Republic.²⁰⁶³ Interestingly, his manifesto also raised the demand for a "Scottish Parliament" prior to the creation of a Scottish Workers' Republic.²⁰⁶⁴ Maclean could have been trying to further emphasise to 'Red Clydeside' MP supporters, the contradiction between campaigning for the Scottish Home Rule they desired to help change Scottish society, and these MPs' likely seduction by the National Labour politics of the 'Pink Labour' parliamentary party at Westminster.

Maclean stood again in the Gorbals constituency in the November 1923 general election and the Glasgow local elections. It is worth noting some important changes between Maclean's Independent Communist November 1922 general election address, his February SWRP 1923 local election addresses and his November SWRP 1923 general election manifesto. On the international front, Maclean returned to the issue he had first taken up in his *The Coming War with America*.

The US government had notched up a considerable success in the Washington Naval Treaty negotiations, concluded on February 1922. This awarded the US naval parity with the UK.²⁰⁶⁵ Maclean noted that since then the US government had organised the Pan-Pacific Conference "to lay the basis for American supremacy in the Far East markets", as well as introducing the "Fordney Tariff Bill... to tax certain European imports by 50% of their value". In reply, the new post-1922 C&UP government organised the "Imperial Trade Conference." Maclean concluded that, "the war with America is rapidly rushing upon us"²⁰⁶⁶ linking this to the first half of the SWRP manifesto's final sentence, "Every vote for me is a vote for World Peace"²⁰⁶⁷

Maclean was fully aware that the UK could only engage in a major imperial war with the active participation of Dominion and colonial troops. However, in his assessment of the potential for inter-imperial war, Maclean underestimated the decisive setback the UK had faced when Canada and South Africa refused to back Lloyd George's war plans with Turkey during the Chanak Crisis.²⁰⁶⁸

The Canadian government had also been able to negotiate the Halibut Treaty with the USA without British government permission, something that further demonstrated the new rise of US power.²⁰⁶⁹ Maclean referred to this Imperial Trade Conference, in his 1923 general election manifesto.²⁰⁷⁰ His emphasis, though, was on British imperial aims. He did not mention the challenges that the UK government had faced from formerly reliable British dominions (partly spurred on by the Irish example of defiance). Without the prospect of such support, a new inter-imperial war was ruled out for the immediate future.

Maclean's language doesn't clearly distinguish between England and the UK,

although he does distinguish between an 'English' ruling class (which would be better termed British) and an English working class. In the language of the time, both Larkin and Maclean used British in a territorial sense, when they wanted to refer to all the workers in Great Britain. Maclean argued for extending Communist and trade union campaigning from Scotland to England (and Wales) on an 'internationalism from below' basis, instead of the bureaucratic 'internationalism from above' of the British Left, with its tacit acceptance of the UK state, and sometimes of the British Empire too.

It is also noticeable that Maclean wrote in his 1923 manifesto that, "I stand as a Scottish Republican candidate."²⁰⁷¹ Elsewhere in this manifesto he still supported a "Workers' Republic in Scotland". However, with the retreat of independent working class organisation, Maclean does not see a Workers' Republic as something that can be brought about immediately. The spur might still come from outside events. In the meantime, by taking up the demand for a Scottish Republic, Maclean hoped to wean away supporters of the Scottish Home Rule 'Red Clydesider' MPs.

Furthermore, since the 1922 general election, Maclean argued that George Buchanan "and his friends have spent a fruitless year and have returned home empty of hand. So, after all, I was right. Had the Labour men stayed in Glasgow and started a Scottish Parliament, as did the genuine Irish in Dublin in 1918, England would have set up and made concessions to Scotland just to keep her ramshackle Empire intact to bluff other countries."²⁰⁷² Maclean clearly thought that this year's experience meant that he should come out openly for a Scottish Republic as the immediate aim, still making a clear break with the UK's imperial, unionist and monarchist state.

However, there was a sting in the tail. "The curious feature in the Gorbals was that the block Irish vote sent Buchanan into the Parliament of the 'Hated English' whilst the Irish chorus being sung was *Ireland a Nation Once Again*. It is the Irish vote that prevents Scotland being a Nation once again and prevents us all as slaves getting our freedom. I appeal to Irishmen not to be led any longer by the old Nationalist wirepullers, but to think out the situation clearly and calmly. Ireland will only get her Republic when Scotland gets hers."²⁰⁷³

Back in the 1890s, Connolly and other Socialists had berated Irish voters in Scotland and England, who gave their support to the IPP and their votes to

their Liberal allies, rather than to Socialist candidates. Now, Labour had inherited that old Irish Nationalist vote, which supported the Irish Free State break from Westminster, but not from the Crown and British Empire.

And Maclean's 'internationalism from below' approach led him to maintain his contact with two key women, Sylvia Pankhurst in England and Constance Markiewicz in Ireland. The situation in Ireland, which had initially been so close to Maclean's heart, had become more disheartening. He and many other Communists, both in Scotland and Ireland, had shared some vision of a united working class struggle to help establish or defend the First Irish Republic. This would prepare the ground for an Irish Workers' Republic and provide further inspiration in Scotland and beyond. However, Communists now had to live with the retreats heralded by the Truce of July 1921, followed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921/January 1922, and then most devastating of all, the Civil War from June 1922 to May 1923. The Republican campaign had been directed outwards towards challenging the UK state and British empire and had united the majority of the Irish working class. Now it had turned inwards to a fratricidal civil war, which also divided the working class.

In his prison correspondence with James Clunie, dated 25.11.21,²⁰⁷⁴ Maclean mentioned his discussions with Delia Larkin about a campaign to get both Jim Larkin and Eugene Debs released. He highlighted the opportunities then provided by the Anglo-Irish Truce. However, by 23.7.23 following a recent visit to Dublin, after the end of the Irish Civil War, Maclean criticised his friend James Larkin (recently released from prison) for now promoting 'Pink Labour' in his *Workers' Republic*.²⁰⁷⁵

Maclean's closest Irish comrade remained Constance Markiewicz. After the 1922 Dail general election, she was no longer a TD or the Minister of Labour. Following the 1923 Dail general election, although elected as a Republican, she declined to take her seat. This gave her time to campaign. Indeed, she spoke three times during Maclean's last local council election campaign for the SWRP.²⁰⁷⁶ Sylvia Pankhurst also joined him on platforms,²⁰⁷⁷ at very well attended campaign meetings. Clearly Pankhurst's strongly shared feeling of comradeship with Maclean over many difficult struggles, over-rode her opposition to standing for parliament.

However unexpectedly, and in the midst of the Westminster general and

Glasgow local elections, Maclean died of pneumonia on November 30th, 1923.²⁰⁷⁸ Maclean's health had been badly affected by his periods of imprisonment, and the very frugal lifestyle he had been forced to adopt, when not in jail. Characteristically, he had also loaned his overcoat to black Socialist, Neil Johnston, who was staying in his house.²⁰⁷⁹ Maclean had been campaigning in Govan as the SWRP candidate.

In the period before John Maclean's death, the SWRP had been a contender for the advanced or 'Red Labour' vote, which the CPGB also competed for. Maclean's and the SWRP's support were based on their tireless campaigning, especially around the issues of unemployment and housing. They also emphasised the need for an international solidarity and a Communist challenge to the existing capitalist imperialist order.

Maclean's electoral candidature was withdrawn following his death. There was now only one other candidate than Buchanan, an open Unionist who would not have been acceptable to many Liberals, who no longer had their own candidate. This, and the withdrawal of Maclean's candidature, contributed to Buchanan increasing his vote by 13%. But there was a significant drop in the percentage turnout in Govan (which was largely restored in the subsequent general election),²⁰⁸⁰ suggesting that many missed Maclean's candidature. And Maclean's funeral, soon afterwards, in 1923 was the largest ever seen in Glasgow.²⁰⁸¹ This cannot be adequately explained by those who dismiss Maclean as a marginalised political figure, since the end of the 40 Hours Strike and his refusal to join the CPGB.

It is not possible to ascertain exactly how well Maclean would have fared in the 1923 Westminster general election. If the events following March 1921 could, in retrospect, be seen as the ebbing of the International Revolutionary Wave, which began to surge forward in April 1916, then the failure of the Hamburg Uprising in October 1923,²⁰⁸² a month before Maclean's death, ended any possibility of reversing the outgoing tide in Europe or the USA at this time. In his last election address, Maclean sensed the retreat in the infant USSR. "Russia could not produce the World Revolution. Neither can we in the Gorbals, in Scotland, in Great Britain."²⁰⁸³

Maclean already saw the need for a new 'Internationalism from Below' strategy. The "working-class policy ought to be to break up the Empire to avert war and enable the workers to triumph in every country and colony.

Scottish separation is part of the process of England's {better British or the UK's} Imperial disintegration and is a help towards the ultimate triumph of the workers of the world."²⁰⁸⁴ This was the important legacy that Maclean, building on James Connolly, bequeathed to later Socialist Republicans or Communists.

It is worth examining how the CPGB, the other Communist competitor for the 'Red Labour' vote, fared in the years following the ebbing of the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, and Maclean's death in November 1923. In the November 1923 general election, Alec Geddes (himself a recent supporter of Maclean's Scottish Republican approach) standing as the local Labour-backed Communist candidate in Greenock increased his vote by nearly five percentage points despite a small fall in the turnout. Walton Newbold, standing once more as the local Labour-backed Communist candidate in Motherwell increased his vote by four percentage points, again despite a small reduction in the turnout.²⁰⁸⁵ However, Newbold now faced two instead of three other candidates, so he lost his seat (and soon left the CPGB).

Willie Gallacher, standing as a CPGB candidate, again without official Labour backing in the two-seat Dundee constituency, increased his vote by five percentage points.²⁰⁸⁶ This was possibly helped by some of Labour's 1922 general election voters now being prepared to give their second vote to Gallacher, with Edwin Scrymgeour having already seen off Winston Churchill the year before. However, Scrymgeour, a popular local figure, was also a semi-official Labour MP, so Gallacher still faced problems trying to get Labour supporters' second vote, therefore his increased vote was significant.

It was not until 1924 that the ebbing of the International Revolutionary Wave made its impact felt upon CPGB candidates in Scotland. Their votes all declined. The British Labour Party executive, strengthening its stranglehold over the party, had sent out instructions that no local constituency party was to back CPGB candidates. This meant that where the CPGB candidates stood, they now faced official Labour candidates. In Greenock, Alex Geddes was still able to come ahead of the official Labour candidate, but his vote fell by nearly ten percentage points, and the Liberals continued to hold the seat.²⁰⁸⁷ In Dundee, Bob Stewart was now the CPGB candidate, up against the

informal E. D. Morel (domestic racist, ILP and now Labour) and E. Scrymgeour (Scottish Prohibition) slate, and the CPGB vote fell by just over three percentage points.²⁰⁸⁸

By 1924, 'Pink Labour', under Ramsay Macdonald, had side-lined 'Red Labour'. Macdonald led a Labour/Liberal coalition government, pursuing a course that accepted the limitations of the UK state. To the dismay of many of his colleagues, Macdonald turned up at Westminster in full court dress.²⁰⁸⁹ He made his distaste for Jim Connell's Socialist/Labour anthem, *The Red Flag* known.²⁰⁹⁰ He distanced himself from the recent working struggles. "Poplarism, strikes for increased wages, limitation of output, not only are not Socialism, but may mislead the spirit and policy of the Socialist movement."²⁰⁹¹ Philip Snowden "became a rigidly orthodox chancellor of the exchequer."

In the minds of many of the more conservative members of the electorate, post-war weariness had helped to rehabilitate these two anti-First World War ILP MPs, who had lost their seats in 1918. Thus, they provided an ideal front for the pro-First World War, National Labour old guard. This included Jimmy Thomas, who became Colonial Secretary, J. R. Clynes who became Lord Privy Seal and William Adamson, Privy Councillor, who became Scottish Secretary.²⁰⁹²

Yet this wasn't quite the Counter-Revolutionary, National Labour government, which John Maclean had anticipated. There had been no continued rise in revolutionary activity to counter. Instead, the International Revolutionary Wave had ebbed away, and the immediate fortunes of the Communists were in decline, highlighted in Great Britain by their October 1924 general election vote.

Partly due to the containment of the infant USSR and the removal of any immediate revolutionary threat, and partly due to the greater economic optimism created by Dawes Plan²⁰⁹³ for Germany in September, a large enough section of the British ruling class was prepared to accept some reforms which could benefit the working class, in order to wean them fully away from any future 'Red Labour' threat. Independent strike action had fallen away, and 'Pink Labour' leadership showed no sign of challenging the City of London's role in the economy, nor the British ruling class attempts to

hang on to as much of their empire as they could in the dramatically changed circumstances following the First World War.

Glasgow Bridgeton ILP member John Wheatley was one of two Left-wingers brought into the Labour/Liberal coalition government. He introduced a Housing Act, which brought in some real improvements for the working class.²⁰⁹⁴ Earlier ILP supporters of independent working class action began to look more to a Westminster focus, and tacitly accepted the UK state and British empire. Thus, as Maclean had anticipated, 'Pink Labour' won out in these one-time 'Red Labour' circles too, despite this not initially taking on the form he had predicted. However, it was the final ebbing of the International Revolutionary Wave that determined the political trajectory of those remaining 'Red Labour' MPs over the next few years.

'Pink Labour' leaders, both in the Labour Party and TUC, abandoned the miners in the 1926 General Strike. Some fully capitulated to the demands of the City of London, in 1931. In some ways, Macdonald and Snowden (like Hardie) were the lineal descendants of radical Liberalism, which the outbreak of the First World War had finally torpedoed. The National Government of 1931 reunited them - 13 National Labour and 68 Liberal National and Liberal MPs. However, it wasn't to be a revived Lloyd George-style, Labour supported, pre-First World War Social Liberalism that they pursued. Instead, they both joined the 473 Conservative MPs in imposing draconian Austerity,²⁰⁹⁵ as the British ruling class united to ensure the working class paid the costs of the Great Crash produced by the preceding years of speculative boom. Does this sound familiar!

Maclean's death had coincided with the final ebbing of the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, closing off any further advance to a possible new world order. But by raising the banner of a Scottish Workers' Republic he put down a marker for a Scotland, no longer British nor an imperial partner. But it would need the further decline of the British Empire to reveal the longer term significance of Maclean's new politics.

Had he lived on, Maclean's anti-imperialist politics, which extended beyond the white colonies, would have placed him in a better position to relate to all the colonial struggles for national self-determination, which took place after his death. Maclean's anti-Unionism would have also placed him in a good position to criticise those, in the CI and the revived Second International (SI)

(the Labour and Socialist International formed in Hamburg in May 1923)²⁰⁹⁶ who looked at the situation in their state's particular empires through National Bolshevik or National Labour lenses. But the ebbing of the revolution could not have been reversed from Scotland alone.

But, looking back only to the political fragments and dead ends, left by the International Revolutionary Wave's final ebbing in 1923, underestimates the real possibilities that had existed at the wave's highpoint. It also underplays the considerable support still enjoyed by those Communists who had been most identified with working class struggle, even after the wave began to ebb. John Maclean continued to enjoy substantial backing in Glasgow up until his death. Jim Larkin, despite his counter-productive actions following his return to Ireland, from either a Communist or wider working class viewpoint, was able to win a seat in the Dail for the Irish Workers League as late as 1927.²⁰⁹⁷ Perhaps the political and personal fates of Sylvia Pankhurst and Constance Markiewicz illustrate the problems faced by sincere revolutionaries as the International Revolutionary Wave finally ebbed.

John Maclean had been widely recognised as one of the principal contenders for leadership of 'Red Labour' politics in Glasgow whilst he lived. But even 'Pink Labour' (National Labour) did not gain control of Glasgow Corporation until 1933. In contrast, Sylvia Pankhurst, despite inspiring so many, was up against 'Red Labour' George Lansbury, who led Poplar Borough Council from as early as 1919. One consequence of this was that Pankhurst's own Socialist Feminist, anti-racist and 'internationalism from below' politics were mainly confined to a particular London milieu, more like the Revolutionary Nationalist politics to be found in specific London-Irish and London-Indian arenas. However, Pankhurst's personal links did extend to Ireland, including Connolly and Markiewicz, and to Scotland, where she campaigned for Maclean's Scottish Workers' Republican Party in 1923.

In later life, Pankhurst became involved in Anti-Fascist and Anti-Colonial struggles. She became particularly associated with the struggle to defend Abyssinia, against Mussolini's invasion in 1935. Abyssinia's head of state was the traditionalist Emperor Haile Selassie. Nevertheless, Pankhurst saw the resistance to Mussolini's forces as both Anti-Fascist and Anti-Colonial. She took her inspiration both from Socialists and Pan-Africanists (indeed there was some overlap between them), in a similar manner to which she

taken inspiration from Claude McKay in 1920. And in terms of inflicted deaths, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia led to considerably greater numbers (760,300²⁰⁹⁸) than any other European Fascist actions, including the original takeovers of Italy in 1923, of Germany in 1933, or their joint crushing with Franco of the Spanish Revolution, between 1936-39. And the British colonial authorities proved to be more effective in preventing those from Jamaica or British Guiana, who wanted to form international brigades, from going to Abyssinia,²⁰⁹⁹ than they did with those from the UK who managed to join the International Brigades in Spain. Here, in contrast to its stance over Abyssinia, the UK government tacitly backed Franco's Spain. Pankhurst died in 1960 and was given a full state funeral in what was now Ethiopia. Just after her death, Selassie was to face his first internal challenge and two years later he directly annexed Eritrea. The world had changed, since Pankhurst had developed her Anti-Colonial politics.

Constance Markiewicz died in July 1927, having "given away the last of her wealth, and died in a public ward among the poor where she wanted to be. One of the doctors attending her was her revolutionary colleague Kathleen Lynn... Also at her bedside were... Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington {and} Kathleen Moloney... Refused a state funeral by the Free State government she was laid out in the Rotunda, where she had spoken at so many political meetings. Thousands of the Dubliners who loved her lined O'Connell Street and Parnell Square to pass by her body and pay their respects to 'Madame'. It took four hours for the beginning of the funeral, starting from the Rotunda, to reach the gates of Glasnevin Cemetery."²¹⁰⁰

As the International Revolutionary Wave faded, and its memory became ideologically policed by official Communism (i.e. the USSR-backed, CI version), the political significance of Republican Socialists and Communists James Connolly, Jim Larkin, John Maclean and Sylvia Pankhurst, and a Social Republican like Constance Markiewicz was largely forgotten, including in Socialist and Communist circles. Otherwise, their political legacy was reinterpreted, so they could be more easily accommodated to the thinking of those with quite different politics. Connolly became a Catholic Irish Nationalist; Larkin a one-off charismatic trade union leader; Maclean a brilliant working class educator who disillusioned fell into the embrace of Scottish Nationalism; and Pankhurst a fiery Suffragette who ended up supporting Emperor Haile Selassie. Markiewicz became the symbolic Irish woman in an Irish national not an attempted social revolution.

But the memories of Connolly and Maclean, lost in the political world, were mainly kept alive in the cultural world. This follows a long history where political defeats or major setbacks drive oppositional political forces underground or to the margins. The memories and commemorations of past achievements, heroes and heroines became confined for a period to the world of song, poetry, and drama. Nevertheless, these have still provided a cultural reservoir, which contribute to later political revivals.

PART SIX (pp. 636-739)

DARKENING SKIES AND CLEARING SHOWERS - REARGUARD ACTION TO SAVE WHAT IS LEFT OF EMPIRE AND UNION IN THE FACE OF CHALLENGES FROM ABOVE AND BELOW

1. TWO STALLED BREAK-UPS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UK

The importance of the legacy of the 1916-21 International Revolutionary Wave for the break-up of the UK and Britishness; and renewed challenges after the Second World War

a) The forgotten legacy of the challenge to the UK state up to the Second World War (pp. 636-640)

The rising International Revolutionary Wave had threatened to overwhelm the old order between 1916 and 1921. This tide of revolution had represented a very real challenge, with each success triggering off considerably wider action. The various ruling classes had fully appreciated this and reacted accordingly, whether by making concessions, e.g. pursuing a National Labourist strategy in Great Britain, or by utilising Fascist/White and military forces, e.g. in Russia, Germany and Italy. The UK state also resorted to such methods in Ireland.

Yet, the British ruling class Counter-offensive was unable to set the clock back to the pre-war heyday of Empire and Union. Working class struggles across these islands, and the struggles of small farmers in Ireland, had changed the nature of the UK's Unionist state. Conservative Unionists (with the backing of Reactionary Unionists) had looked set to derail any Liberal Unionist (i.e. Home Rule) reform of the UK just before the First World War. The Conservative Unionist triumph, they sought, through their challenge to

the Liberal Unionists and Constitutional Nationalists at Westminster, and by pushing for war with Germany, was badly undermined by the unforeseen prospect of the anti-Imperialist Republican breakaway of Ireland. The UK lost twenty-six counties of Ireland from its state territory. And in the Irish Free State, a whole section of people, who once considered themselves to be Irish-British, abandoned Britishness altogether. They became Irish-Irish or just Irish.

In the Irish Free State, it was possible for Protestants (once overwhelmingly Irish-British) to become Irish too, and for their well-off members to gain positions in the state, nationally and locally. The six Irish counties still left within the UK (now inaccurately called 'Ulster' by the majority living there), were reconstituted as Northern Ireland, in an attempt to give the British ruling class some political, economic and military leverage over 'Southern Ireland'. In Northern Ireland, the British ruling class had to devise a new form of sub-state. But they were unable to rule this through the usual parliamentary forms, which fronted British ruling class political hegemony elsewhere in the UK.

In Northern Ireland, the remnant Irish-British created a new hybrid, but exclusively Protestant, 'Ulster'-British identity for themselves. They opposed any attempt to broaden the social base of their Orange sub-state, by winning over the one-time Irish-British IPP supporters into becoming Northern Irish-British.

And the example of the Irish Republican struggle, in the UK heartland of the British Empire, also helped to undermine British support in the colonies. This contributed to further struggles for national self-determination. And even in those white-settler dominions, the empire's decline began a reversal in the emphasis of the two sides of earlier hybrid British identities, whether they were Canadian-British, Australian-British or New Zealand-British.

When the Irish Free State delegation turned up at the Imperial Conference in London in the autumn of 1923, it was to witness the impact of Canadian Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie's refusal to supply Dominion troops during the Chanak Crisis. This contributed to Lloyd George's downfall in 1922. The resulting 1923 Treaty of Lausanne represented a major victory for Kemal Ataturk's new Turkish state over the designs of various imperial powers led by Lloyd George. The world had changed, and

the Welsh Wizard's magic no longer worked.

Another indication that the British and other major imperial ruling classes (e.g. German, French, US and Japanese) were unable to turn back the clock, was the survival of the Russian Soviet Republic and its transformation into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. Although, the major imperial powers were successful in derailing the wider 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, the USSR's survival led to new forms of mutual accommodation, although these tended to be unstable.

The Communist International's (CI) thinking and actions were increasingly influenced by the needs of a USSR state facing continued major imperialist threats. This led to some distinctive political developments, as the USSR adopted the National Bolshevik realpolitik needed to survive under conditions of continued wider imperial hegemony.

The USSR, like the UK, became another unionist state. The UK state has provided an over-arching Britishness, which encompasses British, Greater English, Scottish-British, Welsh-British and 'Ulster'-British identities. The USSR state provided an over-arching 'Soviet Man' (and sometimes 'Soviet Woman') which encompassed Soviet, Greater Russian and a large number of hybrid identities e.g. Ukrainian-Soviet, Latvian-Soviet, Georgian-Soviet.

Britishness has allowed Liberal and Left Unionist upholders of the UK to see their British state in non-national terms, whilst accusing all those contesting the Union of being petty nationalists. Promoting 'Soviet Man' also allowed the CPSU to see the USSR in non-national terms. Its supporters accuse those Communists resisting the denial of effective national self-determination of being 'National Bolsheviks'. Meanwhile the CPSU pursued its own National Bolshevik ambitions, focussed on the wider USSR state. Some, like Stalin, hoped to recover the full extent of the old Tsarist Empire.

Thus, both the USSR and UK promoted their own nationalism and imperialism. These states went on to give succour to stridently Nationalist forces, including Greater Russian/'Soviet' (some of whom have taken on the label 'National Bolshevik' since the collapse of the USSR)²¹⁰¹ and Greater English/Great British. National Bolshevik and national Labour protagonists have often provided Left Unionist defences for their states.

Efforts to attain a greater degree of national democratic self-determination still went on in both the USSR and UK. But their main domestic advocates tried to pursue these aims constitutionally within their existing state. In the USSR this became increasingly difficult particularly after Stalin came to power. In Scotland, the ILP continued to promote Scottish Home Rule. But as Maclean had anticipated, their efforts were fruitless. This was shown by the failure of George Buchanan, Gorbals MP, Maclean's 1922 and 1923 general election electoral competitor, to get his 1924 Scottish Home Rule Bill passed by Macdonald's Labour-led government (and Macdonald had been a member of the London branch of the old Scottish Home Rule Association). Two other ILP members, the Reverend James Barr, Motherwell MP,²¹⁰² and Tom Johnston, Dundee MP and co-editor of *Forward*,²¹⁰³ failed to get another Scottish Home Rule Bill passed in 1927.

This failure directly contributed to the formation of the National Party of Scotland (NPS) in 1928. Roland Muirhead, former (Liberal) Young Scots and then ILP member and co-editor of *Forward*, became the NPS leader.²¹⁰⁴ Robert Cunninghame Graham, one-time Socialist Liberal MP, and British Socialist Party member chaired the first meeting.²¹⁰⁵ Other prominent members included John MacCormick,²¹⁰⁶ former ILP member, then member of the Glasgow University Scottish Nationalist Association, and Hugh MacDiarmid a former ILP member and poet, and the authors Eric Linklater and Neil Gunn.²¹⁰⁷ The failure to complete the Scottish Liberals and the ILP's' Home Rule business, from 1913 and continuing to 1927, contributed to the formation of the NPS. The NPS became the major constituent of the Scottish National Party formed in 1934.

In Wales, the Welsh Liberals initially seemed to have some success in their resort to administrative devolution. The 1914 Welsh Church Act disestablished the Church of England in Wales. This act had been suspended pending the end of the First World War. It took effect in 1920. A new Anglican Archbishopric of Wales was set-up, for the six dioceses that had previously been subordinated to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Church of England. This provided another official step in recognising a Welsh nation within the UK. But there was a sting in the tail. Parishes straddling the Wales/England border, instead of being divided on a national basis between England and Wales, were given a vote on which country they wished to belong to. Some parishes in Flintshire, Monmouthshire and Radnorshire stayed under the control of the Church of England.²¹⁰⁸

Consequently, the Conservative Anglo-Welsh still retained an ecclesiastical territorial foothold to supplement their continued presence in the upper echelons of society in Wales. Furthermore, Welsh denominational churches' attendance was falling. This contributed to the continuing decline of the Liberals' Welsh-British nation.

The disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales marked the highpoint of Welsh Liberals' achievement. However, their Welsh-British nation was now giving way to Labour's Welsh-British nation, especially in South Wales, where the overwhelming majority of the Welsh lived. After the 1918 general election, the Liberals were no longer the majority party in either South Wales (where Labour now came first) or elsewhere in Wales, where the Coalition Liberals and their C&UP partners dominated. Even the Liberals' partial recovery in 1924 still left the C&UP with a significant presence in one-time former Liberal strongholds in North and Central Wales. And the other key aspect of the Liberals' Welsh-Britain was being undermined. It was in this area that the Welsh language had retained the largest proportion of speakers, but it was also now in decline.

The inability of the Liberals to defend their Welsh-British nation, and the increasing domination of the English language in what was now Labour's Welsh-British nation, led Welsh Nationalists not to a demand for greater political devolution - Welsh Home Rule - but to a renewed emphasis on administrative devolution. Plaid Cymru²¹⁰⁹ was set up in 1925 to defend and promote the Welsh language. The hope was to get the UK government to recognise Welsh as the official language of Wales. At the time this was seen as being more important than trying to win Welsh Home Rule. The Welsh language promoting, Cultural Nationalists of Plaid Cymru feared domination by the much more populous, English-speaking, locally Labour administered South Wales.

1926 saw a major working class defeat after the TUC called off the nine days' General Strike. This left the miners struggling alone for a further few months. Following this, and the Great Depression from 1929, the working class was forced back into to a bitter and protracted defense of their livelihoods. They were under constant attack by the employers and successive governments. This led to an increased dependence on whatever backing was on hand, particularly at the local level. This included local community organisations, retail cooperatives, trade union-based health and retiral home provision,

Labour and trade union social clubs, and in particular, local councils responsible for providing a wide range of services.

Local councils came under increased attack. London Poplar Council's successful resistance in 1921 was partially rolled back by the Conservative government in 1925.²¹¹⁰ Despite such setbacks, most workers thought it was still necessary for the Labour Party to win and retain control of local councils, because Conservative, Liberal, Moderate or Ratepayer controlled councils cut back even more on the limited social provision that existed.

It was in this period, that certain regional identities were reinforced. Labour took control of Durham County Council in 1919 and held this throughout the interwar period.²¹¹¹ The Durham Miners' Association was a powerful body within the county and on the local council. The annual Durham Miners' Gala²¹¹² became a major institution in British Labour politics. In the process, County Durham emerged as part of a wider North-Eastern English regional culture, which stood out against others, particularly in the South. However, this North-Eastern regional culture also had its own internal city centred competition, e.g. between Newcastle and Sunderland. Some of this though was channelled into sporting competition, particularly football.

In South Wales, Labour also took control of the counties of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, and county boroughs, such as Merthyr Tydfil and Swansea. Here the South Wales Miners' Federation (SWMF), with its local lodges, provided a wider social focus, and contributed to a Labour dominated South Wales regional culture, again with local urban competition. The power of the SWMF in propping up a distinctive South Wales region could be seen.

The Welsh Liberals had seen the transfer of some Welsh parishes to England when the Welsh Church Act was implemented in 1920. But in 1918, the short-lived Communist Party of South Wales and West of England was dominated by its mainly South Wales members. Many of these, including A.J. Cook, came from the tried and tested SWMF. And in 1940, the Gloucester-based Forest of Dean Miners' Association, just over the border in England joined the SWMF.²¹¹³ These two related examples may be the only time in the history of the relationship between England and Wales that such Welsh dominated territorial arrangements were made.

On Clydeside, Glasgow Corporation did not become Labour controlled until

1933.²¹¹⁴ The impact of Orangeism and Far Right Protestant organisations held up Labour advance in many areas of the Central Belt. In some local areas the Labour Party adapted to this, as well as to Catholic social conservatism. Instead of secularism, Labour promoted a form of toleration, linked to wheeler-dealing between politicians from the two communities. Nevertheless, Labour took control of other county and burgh councils on Clydeside before Glasgow.

Red Clydeside is a more appropriate name for the active, participatory working class culture, which existed between 1919-23. But local Labour politicians from the National Labour tradition, began to bask in its glory, after the immediate threat of Red Labour, backed by Communists, had ended. In the process, a Clydeside Regional culture was created, which like the South Wales Regional culture, sometimes presented itself as the National culture - Scottish and Welsh respectively. These versions of the Scottish-British or a Welsh-British Nation often led to an easy dismissal of others in the wider Nation.

As long as the existence of the British Empire continued to underpin British unionism, then Labour Unionism could thrive and survive. When later National Democratic challenges to the UK state emerged as the British Empire went into rapid decline, it was often Scottish and Welsh Labour politicians and trade union leaders, who stepped forward first in defence of the Empire's inner core - the Union. They had advanced their careers, in the Local Councils, British trade union bureaucracies, the UK state's Administrative Devolved machinery and Westminster. These links developed further in the dark days of Devolutionary Administration, following the post-1926 and post-1931 defeats in Depression UK; then later when the UK state was given a new lease of life, following the Second World War. This enabled Labour Unionists to celebrate the 'Spirit of 45' and the post-war Social Monarchist and Imperialist Welfare State during the Festival of Britain in 1951.²¹¹⁵

A Left version of British Unionism, upheld by a Labour Party minority and by CPGB members, also contributed to a rearguard defence of the Union. For in the interwar years, it was not only a Labour council like Poplar, which defied the UK state. A few CPGB dominated 'Little Moscow's emerged in places like Chopwell in County Durham, Maerdy in Rhondda in South Wales and the Vale of Leven in Dunbartonshire on Clydeside.

When wider Welsh or Scottish movements for National Self-Determination emerged, first in the immediate post-Second World War period, then again from the late 1960s onwards, British Left Unionists in South Wales and Red Clydeside mounted their special defences of the Union. In the process they became torn between supporting Administrative or Political Devolution. Some saw their Regional identities as subordinate to a Britishness, which they claimed united the working class of England, North and South, Scotland, Wales and in some cases Northern Ireland too. Others equated South Wales and Red Clydeside with their Welsh-British and Scottish-British Nations. This allowed them to claim these areas' heroic working class history and special vanguard role amongst the wider British working class.

It took a long time before the thinking behind Connolly's and Maclean's Socialist Republican, 'Internationalism from Below', 'break-up of the UK and British Empire' strategy could resurface. Its memories were kept alive in the cultural world of song and poetry. Between the two world wars, the locally influential Tom Anderson,²¹¹⁶ founder of the Proletarian School Movement and former member of the SLP, and Guy Aldred, wrote sympathetic biographies of John Maclean, but ignored his 'Internationalism from Below', 'break-up of the UK and British Empire' approach to world Communism.

b) The reappearance of the National Question during and after the Second World War (pp. 643-646)

There was a resurgence of the demand for greater National Self-Determination during the last phase of, and immediately after the Second World War. This happened twenty years after the end of the post-First World War challenge to the Empire and Union.

Between 1943 to 1949 there was a more limited International Revolutionary Wave in terms of the depth of social change struggled for in Europe and North America. A key reason for this was the CPSU and then Cominform's policing role in the movements that did arise. Revolutionary Democratic movements in which Communist Party influence was strong - Greece, Italy and France - but had been allotted to the West at the Yalta Conference in 1945 USA – ended up limiting their actions to what was acceptable to the USSR, US and UK signatories.

Any Revolutionary Democratic movements in the USSR's Eastern European zone, including Yugoslavia, which showed signs of political independence, were also targeted by Stalin. These struggles and the newly established regimes set up there were subordinated to the needs of the USSR. Only Tito in Yugoslavia was able to hold out due to the Partisans' lesser dependence on the USSR during the Second World War. Elsewhere non-Stalin compliant local leaderships were removed and replaced by reliable Stalinist stooges.

All the states in Western Europe continued with minimal territorial readjustment, apart from Germany, which was divided West and East, and was shorn of large areas of its eastern territories. The USSR presided over the territorial rearrangement of most of the Eastern European states it controlled but did not create any new nation-states.

However, in the colonies and semi-colonies, Anti-Imperialist struggles proved to be more resilient and less capable of being defeated or brought back under direct imperial rule. China was able to break free first from Japanese occupation in 1945, and then from a US neo-colonial relationship in 1949. The imperialist powers certainly fought back viciously, e.g. France in Vietnam, and the UK in Malaya. India was able to win its independence from the British Empire in 1947, although at the high cost of Partition, a poisonous legacy promoted and left by the UK. Yet, although it took until the mid-1970s (and in a few cases even the 1980s - e.g. Zimbabwe) for most colonies to achieve political independence, there was little doubt that this would be the eventual outcome.

In the imperialist heartlands, including the UK, politicians and ideologues from a National Labour or National Bolshevik tradition often tarred anyone raising the demands for greater national self-determination with the brush of Fascist Nationalism. However, some National Democrats drew a different conclusion. They saw the Fascist steamroller as the crusher of small nations. And in raising the demand for greater self-determination, they had some success.

The Scottish Covenant Association led by John MacCormick,²¹¹⁷ and the Irish reunification campaign led by the Irish Anti-Partition League and the Friends of Ireland²¹¹⁸ initially made some impact. In the face of the re-emergence of National Democratic challenges during and immediately after the Second World War, official Communists felt the pressure to respond.

R.M. Fox wrote *James Connolly – The Forerunner*, in 1943 and Tom Bell wrote *John Maclean – Fighter for Freedom* in 1944. Fox and Bell were both CPGB members. Whilst acknowledging Connolly and Maclean's contributions to Republican Socialist and Communist struggles, they ignored, downplayed or misrepresented aspects of Connolly's and Maclean's politics, which conflicted with the current party line.

c) The marginalisation of the National Democratic opposition in the UK during the Social Democratic-led Keynesian post-war boom (pp. 645-651)

The British victory in the Second World War, and Labour's post-1945 reforms, on the back of the economic recovery, following the massive destruction of capital during the war, gave the UK and British Empire (now with the more benign name of the Commonwealth) a new lease of life. The UK became a Social Monarchist, Unionist and Imperialist state. It pursued welfarist and Keynesian economic policies along with other economically advanced, European, North American and Pacific states. Social Democrats, Labour, Christian Democrats, 'One Nation' Conservatives, US Democrats and Republicans and Japanese National Liberals all adopted versions of this Social Market approach.

There was a wide British ruling class consensus over the need to use the state to help the economy recover. Even the Conservatives accepted the need for quite extensive nationalisation, e.g. coal and railways. This was expressed in the politics of Butskellism (named after the Conservative depute PM, Rab Butler and the Labour leader, Hugh Gaitskell). For the Left, Britishness became linked with extensive nationalisation, more centrally directed economic policies, and most of all, the National Health Service, where 'National' meant 'British'. British Labour politicians and many on the Left, including the CPGB, promoted such thinking.

The introduction of extensive economic and social reforms ensured that, despite the initial wide support for the Scottish Covenant, the UK government did not feel the need to make much of an administrative devolutionary response, as earlier Liberal or Liberal-led governments had done in the face of the Home Rule challenges from 1886 to 1921. The newly nationalised British Railways did get a Scottish Region, but the Welsh railway network was subsumed into the wider Western Region.

In Scotland, the shift from a less state-based and more devolutionary approach associated with the earlier ILP, to a more National Labourist administrative devolutionary approach could be seen very clearly in Tom Johnston. This one-time ILP, pro-Scottish Home Rule, co-editor of *Forward*, became the Scottish Secretary in the Second World War coalition government, and then the chairman of the North of Scotland Hydro-Electricity Board.²¹¹⁹

His associate, Arthur Woodburn, once more left wing than Johnston, became Scottish Secretary in 1947. In defiance of public opinion, Woodburn upheld Fascist-supporting, Lord Brocket's court order to evict the land raiders of Knoydart. They had fought against Nazi Germany, and invoked the Land Settlement Act, which permitted returning servicemen to take over land which was under-used and farm it as their own.²¹²⁰ Woodburn had also been made a Privy Councillor in 1947.²¹²¹

The ILP, which still had three Glasgow MPs in 1945, had none by 1947, due to deaths and defections to Labour.²¹²² The British Labour leadership (including its Scottish-British component) rolled back Scottish Labour's onetime ILP-inherited Liberal Unionism and the challenge first provided by John MacCormick's Scottish Covenant Association. MacCormick's essentially Liberal Unionist, Scottish Home Rule politics had earlier sucked him into alliances with Scottish Tories,²¹²³ some of whom saw Stormont as a possible model! The original National Covenant, although originally directed against the monarch of the day, Charles I, had long become associated with later Scottish Presbyterian sectarianism and was hardly a name likely to appeal to Scotland's Irish or Irish-descended Catholic population.

The Labour Party was able to use these contradictions in Scotland to help divide and roll back the Scottish Home Rule challenge. As with the failure of the Scottish ILP and SHRA-backed 1924 and 1927 Home Rule Bills, the failure of the Scottish Covenant led some of its supporters into the SNP. But after its brief election success in the Motherwell by-election in April 1945²¹²⁴ the SNP had become a marginal political force once more.

In the post-Second World War political climate, Plaid Cymru found fighting for the rights of minority language speakers in Wales difficult. For National Labourist thinkers, English was the language of progress, especially after the wartime alliance with the Roosevelt's New Deal USA. For National

Bolshevik thinkers, English was also the language of progress, especially after the UK's wartime alliance with the USSR. Plaid Cymru's language-based, Cultural Nationalism made little progress.

However, this provoked a split in 1949, with the formation of the Welsh Republican Movement "some of whom had previously been members of the Labour Party. {They} aimed to build a base in industrial south east Wales by focusing on socialism and republicanism, rather than... the Welsh language."²¹²⁵ But they too were marginalised, with members joining or rejoining the Labour Party or Plaid Cymru in the 1950s.

Revealingly, the only place where Political Devolution was reinforced was in Northern Ireland, but in a Reactionary Unionist manner. In response to the Anti-Partition League, and the 1948 Declaration of the Republic of Ireland, the British Labour government resorted to the 1949 Ireland Act. This act copper-fastened Partition, by giving the Devolved Orange Stormont a veto.²¹²⁶

However, the overriding contributory factor, which undermined the late and post-war National Democratic challenges to the UK state, was the post-war economic boom. This underpinned British Labour's Social Unionism. The British economy received an early post-war boost, since it had been less devastated than its cross-Channel neighbours. So, it was able to continue industrial production and recommence exporting sooner, without much initial competition. Such had been the devastation caused by the war that other European states often had to rebuild many of their industries from scratch. But this was eventually to give them an economic advantage following their investment in the latest technology.

And, at the same time, the UK government had the expense associated with opposing the resistance to its continued presence in a still extensive British Empire. In this it was not alone, with the Netherlands, France, and later Belgium, Portugal and Spain were all involved in wars to suppress National Self-determination in their colonies. Germany had been the most devastated of all the Western European states and had been partitioned and occupied. However, in the process of reconstruction, a strong new West German economy rose from the ashes. It had to rebuild far more of its economy, leading to the most thorough industrial modernisation process of all in Europe. Furthermore, as a defeated power, with no remaining Empire, West

Germany did not have to bear the burden of state expenditure wasted on losing Imperial wars. Indeed, as an occupied power it did not have to spend much on military or naval forces at all.

Six West European states, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands, went on to form the European Iron and Steel Community in 1951 and the European Economic Community under the Treaty of Rome, in 1957. This was done to ensure rapid economic recovery and to provide each national economy with access to vital raw materials and nearby markets. Their economies had all been badly damaged during the Second World War.

But the political background to the emergence of this new Europe (so far confined to six states) was the USA's rise to global domination. It was in the interests of US businesses to provide immediate loans under the Marshall Plan to a wide range of European powers, including the UK. This was to ensure that US industry, largely undamaged, and indeed greatly boosted by the Second World War, could maintain and expand war-level production through greater post-war exports. The Marshall Plan led to European state financial dependence upon the US, and hence to Wall Street, as each borrower state had to pay back interest. The Marshall Plan also "set the stage for large amounts of private US investment in Europe, establishing the basis for modern transnational corporations."²¹²⁷

5% of Marshall Plan loans went to the CIA.²¹²⁸ And beyond the role of its security agencies, the US had another important string to its bow - NATO founded in 1949. It grew out of an alliance of the US with the five co-signatories of the 1948 Treaty of Brussels - the UK, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. NATO also drew in Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. Lord Ismay (Churchill's wartime chief military assistant) was appointed as NATO's first general secretary. He outlined NATO's role - "to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down."²¹²⁹

This revealed the centrality of the UK to US plans to limit any prospects for greater European unity, and to ensure that moves in that direction remained subordinate to US Imperial designs. NATO was not confined to European parliamentary democracies, as the membership of Portugal showed, and Turkish and Greek membership continued after military coups. And Spain (excluded because of its Fascist nature) became a close ally of the USA

following the 1953 Pact of Madrid. This pact made provision for four US military bases in Spain.²¹³⁰

Once France had recovered economically and been forced to abandon its Imperial holdings in Indo-China in 1954 and Algeria in 1962, it made a bid for European leadership by leaving NATO in 1966. However, the US continued to occupy West Germany, and the USSR's military forces presented their own threat, highlighted by the mounting East-West friction following the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. But the UK remained a completely reliable US ally, after its independent Imperial pretensions had been badly dented at Suez in 1956, with a little US 'prompting'. So French European leadership ambitions were boxed in. To further constrain France, the US became a more urgent backer of the UK's EEC membership, which, once General de Gaulle had stepped down, was finally agreed in 1973.

However, by the mid-1960s, West Germany had also recovered to become Europe's leading economic power.²¹³¹ Reflecting this newfound economic strength, but also recognising Germany's lack of any military clout to back it, Willy Brandt's new post-1970 Social Democratic government adopted a policy of Ostpolitik or rapprochement with East Germany and the USSR.²¹³²

Both Ostpolitik and growing West German (and Japanese) economic competition led to new strains with the USA. Therefore, the UK became even more essential to the USA's European and wider Imperial policy. But even Harold Wilson declined to give military support to the US in Vietnam in the face of massive anti-war protests in 1967. He became the target of accusations from James Angleton, the CIA's Counter Intelligence Chief, of being a 'Moscow agent', along with other Social Democratic and Labour leaders, Willy Brandt and Sweden's Olaf Palme and Canada's Liberal Lester Pearson.²¹³³ Two of these politicians were forced to resign and the other was assassinated in mysterious circumstances.

After Suez, the UK's days as a major imperial power were over. In 1960, the Conservative Prime Minister, Harold MacMillan made his 'Wind of Change' speech in Cape Town. The majority of the British ruling class now prepared for an orderly retreat from what remained of the Empire, hoping to leave behind pliant local ruling classes to protect their remaining business interests. The invisible Imperial strings of The City were still there, along with the

forerunners of BP (Anglo-Iranian Oil), Unilever (Royal Niger) and Lonrho (London Rhodesian Land and Mining).

Following Suez, the UK now had to seek US permission for overseas military intervention. And, as far as they could, British governments have backed US imperial wars ever since. But for the British ruling class, this was not an unrequited and altruistic act. The British ruling class expected a quid pro quo. But it was no longer support for losing wars in British Imperial territories that was sought, but diplomatic and military protection for The City's global financial interests.

The most significant part of the British Imperial economy had long been the City of London. Furthermore, The City has a privileged position in the UK's constitutional set-up. It also conducts its activities in largely unregulated onshore financial havens, including like the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, the Caymans and British Virgin Islands. These lie beyond any UK state scrutiny. This made The City an attractive place for US corporations. The City had once presided over an extensive sterling area, which had brought in immense profits from arbitrage. But in line with the retreat from British Imperial territory, the extent of the sterling area also declined. Newly independent states often replaced previously sterling-aligned currencies with dollar-aligned currencies.²¹³⁴

However, The City found a new role for itself, which did not depend on the UK's one-time large Imperial territories. US corporations came to play a significant part in The City. This led to a considerable interpenetration of banking and other financial institutions and commercial interests. The City became the major handler of eurodollars,²¹³⁵ which became a eurocurrency, aiding further US and UK financial penetration of the EEC and later the EU. So, a strongly shared, financial sector interest has underpinned the US/UK political role in opposing any greater financial regulation and reining in any European unity ambitions outside their control.

Over this period Conservative Unionist, constitutional thinking continued to inform the Social Unionism of the Labour Party and CPGB. The UK state was seen as an adequate instrument for Labour's social democratic reforms. In 1951, the CPGB adopted *The British Road to Socialism*²¹³⁶ with its appeal to the "British people". It made a call for "the restoration of British national

independence” (a throwback to the National Bolshevik thinking that saw post First World War Germany as an imperial colony). Such British Nationalist thinking allowed later slippages from seeking independence from the USA to seeking independence from the EEC/EU. The CPGB also saw any National Democratic challenges to the UK state (except in Ireland, where political independence had created a new situation) as a threat to its ‘British road’.

Once again, the thinking of Connolly and Maclean, and even the Left and Liberal Unionist, Scottish Home Rulers were pushed to the margins. Their memories were mainly kept alive in the cultural world of song and poetry. In Ireland, one-time prominent Socialist Republican, Peadar O’Donnell edited, *The Bell*,²¹³⁷ whilst IRA member, Brendan Behan wrote socially concerned drama in the English and Irish Gaelic languages and made his own radical cultural links in New York.²¹³⁸ In Scotland, the poet and songwriter, Hamish Henderson, for a time CPGB fellow traveller, was part of a more underground Scottish internationalist cultural tradition, following the demise of the Edinburgh Peoples Festival in 1954.²¹³⁹ Later, dissident Dundee CPGB member and songwriter, Mary Brooksbank, also looked back to Scotland’s radical historical traditions.²¹⁴⁰

2. THE ACCELERATED BREAK-UP OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ITS EFFECT ON THE UK

The break-up of the British Empire from the mid-1960s loosens the bonds holding the UK together; and the British ruling class turn to the EEC creates new problems

a) The retreat of the British Empire and the reappearance of the National Question (pp. 651-654)

But with the formation and maintenance of the UK being so linked to the creation and defence of the British Empire, its continued decline had an unexpected knock-on effect within the UK itself. Within a few years of Macmillan's 1960 ‘Wind of Change’ speech, the British ruling class found that its own Unionist state was being challenged.

In Northern Ireland, where the post-war economic recovery was weakest, any benefits were distributed unequally within the sectarian Stormont statelet. However, the combination of greatly improved educational provision, up to tertiary level, fuelled resentment amongst Irish Nationalists at the lack of access to jobs and housing, underpinned by the lack of civil rights. A high percentage of Catholic Irish were forced to emigrate, mostly to England. Here they met others forced to emigrate from the still Neo-Colonial 26 counties Ireland.

This combination led to the founding of the Campaign for Social Justice in 1964, which in turn contributed to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in 1967.²¹⁴¹ The CPGB-backed Connolly Association provided the England/Ireland link. The renewed significance of the Radical US link for the Left was shown in the Civil Rights name given to NICRA.

A parallel but nevertheless distinct National Democratic challenge also began to emerge in Wales and Scotland, spurred on by the continued decline of the industrial heartlands and the agricultural/quarrying periphery. Imperial decline led to the beginnings of a rebalancing of the importance of the two terms of Welsh-British and Scottish-British subjects' hybrid identities, with an upgrading of the first component. From the mid-1960s the National Question in Northern Ireland/Ireland, Scotland and Wales became a permanent feature of UK politics.

In Wales there was a return to the Radicalism that had once been based on the land, slate quarrying and language struggles in the Welsh speaking heartlands. The UK government promoted the construction of reservoirs to provide water for English cities, drowning Welsh rural communities in the process. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg/Welsh Language Society (CyIG) was formed in 1963. It also attracted support outside the remaining Welsh speaking areas and began a campaign to make Welsh an official language. CyIG took part in direct action, and over time thousands appeared before the courts, with many receiving prison sentences. In the 1960s campaigning was concentrated on the demand for Welsh language road signs. In the 1970s CYiG took up the demand for Welsh radio and television channels.²¹⁴² Not constrained by the limits of Plaid Cymru's Constitutional Nationalism, this proved to be quite successful.

These developments also signalled a move away from the old Welsh Liberals'

Welsh-British Nation in the Welsh speaking areas to a new Welsh-Welsh Nation amongst a small but growing number of people. Plaid Cymru was able to take political advantage of these developments. However, these changes also led to a new version of the older English/Welsh language divide found amongst the Liberal and Labour supporters in their own particular Welsh-Britain. A CyIG breakaway group, Mudias Adfer was formed in the 1970s with the aim of establishing a Welsh language Wales in the heartlands of northern and western Wales.²¹⁴³

The SNP began to experience growth in the early 1960s. It adopted a Populist politics with a Left face in Labour dominated areas and a Right face in Conservative/National Liberal dominated areas. However, being in a Nation with a ruling class, which had shared in the benefits of Union and of the Empire (with many Scottish firms operating there), the SNP found it hard to ditch a lot of this imperial baggage. Scottish regiments' records were celebrated and hostility to Irish Nationalism remained an important characteristic of the SNP. The Cultural component of the SNP's Nationalism was (and remains) considerably weaker than that of Welsh or Irish Nationalism.

In the second half of the 1960s, the previously marginal Plaid Cymru and SNP became political players in the UK's politics. The election of Gwynfor Evans as Plaid Cymru MP for Carmarthen in 1966, and Winnie Ewing as SNP MP for Hamilton in 1967 highlighted this new political situation. Both these parties were able to win wider backing by supporting greater Political Devolution (previously called Home Rule) for their respective Nations.

The later fluctuating electoral performances of Plaid Cymru and the SNP could not disguise the fact that decline of the older Welsh-British and Scottish-British Nations was irreversible, and the issue of greater National Self-Determination had become a permanent feature of UK politics. From 1974, both Plaid Cymru and the SNP were to be continually represented at Westminster, their presence no longer just due to short-lived by-election victories.

Initially the post-1969 Civil Rights Movement in Ireland gave the superficial appearance of being a call for the extension of British rights to the UK's benighted 'Ulster'-British Province. However, Bloody Sunday in Derry, on January 1972, revealed the lengths the UK state was still prepared to go to, to

maintain as much as possible of its Anti-Democratic, Northern Ireland set-up. The brutal UK response meant that greater numbers of the still marginalised Irish in the Six Counties began to support a 'Republican road to Irish Reunification' outside of the UK.

b) The renewed significance of the Regions, particularly in England and the ambiguous legacy of English Regionalism (pp. 654-658)

But it was not only in the Nations and part-Nation constituting the UK, where significant changes occurred. Ironically, as the British Empire declined, with new States gaining Independence, the consequences of Empire became more visible within the UK. The post-war boom led to a much greater demand for labour, leading to immigration from what was now called the Commonwealth. Apart from the continued immigration from the Republic of Ireland, most migrants now came from the West Indies, the Indian sub-continent, Hong Kong and later from Africa.

The post-1948 Windrush generation²¹⁴⁴ from the West Indies was just one part of what later came to be seen as a wider Black community. In the 1960s, 'Black' took on a political meaning, once these migrants and their UK-born children demanded equality of rights and treatment. Some Irish, only partly in jest, even signed up as 'White Niggers', in response to such things as the notorious landlord, pub and restaurant notice, 'No Blacks, No Irish, No Dogs'.²¹⁴⁵

Just as it had taken many struggles for Irish and Jewish migrants to become more widely accepted, and to rise up the economic ladder, so it took much campaigning before the 1965 and 1976 Race Relations Acts (the latter establishing the Commission for Racial Equality), were passed. These addressed some of the concerns raised by post-war Black migrants and their families.

However, alongside the UK's eventual official state acceptance of Black British subjects, came mounting attempts to exclude new Non-White migrants (including close relatives of those already living in the UK). Despite the passing of the first Race Relations Act in 1965, Harold Wilson's Labour government reinforced the 1962 Conservatives' Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1968. The growing economic crisis in the late 1970s fuelled the rise of the Far Right, with the Fascist National Front gaining more

support. The NFs highest average vote per candidate (1423) was in the February 1974 general election, and its largest total vote (191,719) in the 1979 general election.²¹⁴⁶

Margaret Thatcher responded to the rise of the NF in a well-reported speech. "People are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture."²¹⁴⁷ She became prime minister in 1979 and the British Nationality Act was passed in 1981.²¹⁴⁸ This made entitlement for any new immigrants being accepted as British dependent upon racial criteria. Thus, compared to the white British, even those Black families and individuals already officially recognised as being British subjects were treated quite differently. This was shown when they attempted to bring over or visit their overseas families or when they returned from visits and holidays abroad. And their very different domestic treatment at the hands of the state, particularly the police, continued.

Furthermore, following a series of riots in 1980 and 1981, in response to growing police discrimination and attacks, Conservative governments "facilitated the final balkanisation of Black politics into ethnicism and... the rise of a strident New Right ideology with a supply chain running from the dreaming spires, via parliament and think tanks, to the tabloids."²¹⁴⁹

Post-WW2 migration had two contradictory effects. The original intention of those politicians opening up the UK, and those employers opening up their businesses to migrant labour, was never to create a multi-racial or multi-national society. However, there was another response from below. Black migrants joined others at work, made neighbours and friends and sometimes married outside their community. They developed links through trade unions and political organisations. Many other people in the UK also appreciated the greater diversity in music, food, and other features of the different cultures that migrant communities brought.

However, this positive effect was countered by a negative, resentful racism, publicly promoted by Far-Right parties, first the National Front (NF), then later the British National Party (BNP). But they were able to take advantage of the UK state's own different treatment of migrants and their families. There was a division between the Fascist and neo-Fascist Right on one hand and the Tory Right on the other. The latter preferred the management and

control of migrants to be handled by the state. In this way, the harassment of and discrimination against migrants and long-standing black residents remained out of public view. Jobs in policing and immigration control attract racists. And the state has always been quick to step in to protect the police when non-whites have died or have been severely injured after being arrested or taken into custody.

In ports like London, Bristol, Liverpool, Cardiff and Glasgow, which had attracted earlier migrants, a new generation of non-white migrants made their homes. But it was the industrial heartlands left behind by the Industrial Revolution and British imperial commerce - Lancashire, West Yorkshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and London - that took in most migrant workers. In several old industrial cities and towns, migrants formed new Ethnic communities, in a similar manner to those of earlier Irish and Jewish migrants.

Successive UK governments made attempts to provide economic development frameworks involving planning and new agencies for the eight long established English Regions. However, when suggestions or attempts were made to give these Regions some political recognition, with Regional Assemblies, little thought was given to how the new migrant communities might take on English Regional identities. In the absence of such thinking, an unofficial Right-wing Regionalism developed. This tried to set White residents in traditional, once industrial regions, cities or towns against Non-White migrants. Thus, it was in these one-time industrial heartland or port and docks regions, that the National Front, and later the BNP, were able to develop support.

Some White working class families had relatives in the Dominions with their Whites-only immigration policies. Others had migrated to White dominated, but Black majority countries like South Africa, but had since returned to the UK. They were more susceptible to Far Right Racist appeals. Another source of Far-Right support was found amongst small businessmen who had their own personal or family connections with Empire. British imperialism had led to the seizure of Black African-held land in Rhodesia and Kenya, but this could no longer be guaranteed in the days of colonial retreat. Others employed in the colonial service had enjoyed considerable privileges, often having Black servants. When these people lost those jobs and returned to the

UK, they were often appalled at the presence and the non-deferential attitudes of Black migrants and their families. These new migrants, though, could have reminded them that, "We are here, because you were there".²¹⁵⁰

However, the economic decline of the UK's old industrial heartlands did produce a governmental response by the mid-1960s. Eight English Regions, which had long been acknowledged, whether for political purposes in 1913, or later for economic planning purposes, were finally given shape by the 1964-70 Labour governments. Administratively Devolved Regional Planning bodies were introduced.

But the pressure of rising support for the SNP and Plaid Cymru did not lead to Scottish and Welsh Development agencies until 1975, despite these two Nations also being badly affected by industrial decline. The Labour government was happier introducing the Highland and Islands Development Board in 1965 (following on the 1943 North of Scotland Hydro-Electricity Board precedent), since this could clearly be seen as Regional Administrative Devolutionary measure, with fewer National ramifications.

Meanwhile the Crown dependencies of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands (particularly Jersey and Guernsey) remained detached from any democratic scrutiny. These islands had long used their Autonomous status to offer the better-off middle class from England and Scotland a place with low income taxes and other benefits. Now these islands' economies were increasingly based on companies whose main operations were in the rest of the UK and elsewhere. They used island offices to avoid corporate taxation. The Isle of Man also had poorer building controls, highlighted the Summerland disaster in 1973²¹⁵¹ and fewer civil rights, highlighted by the continued use of the birch until 1976. Before becoming a major tax haven under Thatcher, the Isle of Man had already become a casino economy. Jersey preceded the Isle of Man in becoming a tax haven, much helped by the 'Jersey Way', with its "culture that involved the protection of powerful interests and resistance to change, and a pervasive culture of fear that deterred whistle-blowers."²¹⁵²

In the 1970s and 1980s France coordinated its rule over a number of far-flung Dependencies, all of which became directly represented in the French parliament. Amongst other things, this prevented the emergence of tax haven,

casino or even gangster run economies. However, under both Conservatives and Labour, the UK's geographically much closer Dependencies - the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, as well as other tax havens in the Caribbean, have remained beyond any Westminster scrutiny. They continue to act as offshore extensions of the City of London, which itself enjoys a privileged position under the UK constitution.

c) The re-emergence of a Liberal Unionist response to the new challenges from the National Democratic movements (pp. 658-661)

Nevertheless, there was some overlap between the Labour government responses to the political and economic challenges in Scotland and Wales and to the economic challenges in the Regions of England. The government response to the rise of the SNP and Plaid Cymru was to appoint a Royal Commission on the Constitution under Lord Crowther, and later Lord Kilbrandon. This took over four years to report.²¹⁵³ During the same period, the government appointed the Royal Commission on Local Government under Lord Redcliffe-Maud (1966-9). It made extensive Administrative Devolutionary recommendations covering the eight English Regions.²¹⁵⁴

The political situations in Scotland and Wales appeared to be similar enough to the dominant liberal wing of the British ruling class of the time, that the Kilbrandon Report addressed them in the same manner. It resurrected the older Liberal Unionist, 'Political Devolution (Home Rule) for the first time since 1922. The second post-1974 Labour government gave its backing to Scottish and Welsh assemblies. But it was so divided that it could not win the support needed in the two 1979 Devolution referenda.

This failure reflected a deepening split both in the British ruling class and the Labour Party and trade union leaderships. In the face of a growing economic crisis and increased international pressure, there was less willingness to try out any Liberal constitutional experiments. These reasons and ruling class ambiguity had already been seen in the lead up to the First World War and were to reappear again from 2012, when the prospect of a Scottish Independence referendum loomed.

In the late 1960s and the 1970s, the situation in Northern Ireland seemed to be quite different to that in Scotland and Wales. Northern Ireland held a

semi-detached position in relation to Great Britain under the Union. The reawakening of opposition to the devolved Orange Stormont, heralded by the militant Civil Rights Movement, led to a British ruling class realisation that their old system of control in Northern Ireland was no longer working.

Edward Heath's Conservative government was eventually forced to close down Stormont in 1972. But neither his, nor Harold Wilson's successor Labour government, were able to revive Stormont and give it a new Liberal Unionist makeover under the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement.²¹⁵⁵ This agreement collapsed under Conservative and Reactionary unionist pressure mounted by sections of the UUP, the DUP, the semi-Fascist Vanguard Party, and other Loyalists in 1974.

Northern Ireland, although it still retained its semi-detached political status, was now placed under Westminster Direct Rule, like Scotland and Wales had long been. However, Westminster's Scottish and Welsh Secretaries presided over their respective jurisdictions using the open institutions of the UK state and shared political parties. Westminster's Northern Irish Secretary ruled through emergency legislation, close coordination with the leading officers of the armed forces and security services, and only limited consultation with Northern Ireland's own parties.

During Labour's term in office, the 'Ulsterisation'²¹⁵⁶ of the conflict in Northern Ireland was put in place from 1975. This represented a fall back to the original purpose of the Six Counties statelet - UK state dependence on an Orange garrison. Only now this was in the form of the RUC, UDR, Unionist-run Diplock courts, and behind-the-scenes, the Loyalist death squads. 'Ulsterisation' perpetuated the sectarian nature of the UK state's handling of any real opposition to its policies. It brought about striking changes in the casualty patterns, with military/police casualties from Northern Ireland exceeding those from Britain for the rest of the conflict, reversing the previous pattern."²¹⁵⁷ 'Ulsterisation' was supplemented by the 'Criminalisation' of Irish Republicans from 1976 to delegitimise any political opposition to the UK government's clampdown.²¹⁵⁸

With the ending of the devolved Stormont, the Callaghan government also took the opportunity to increase the number of Northern Irish Westminster constituencies so the UUP could provide support for the Labour minority government. Both Conservative and Labour governments dispensed with any

Liberal Unionist gloss and fell back on Reactionary Unionist repression to maintain the UK's hold over Northern Ireland.

Another significant feature of UK state control was the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1975.²¹⁵⁹ This act was also designed to silence Irish families living in Great Britain, and censorship measures were added in 1980.²¹⁶⁰ The Right-Wing sections of the media actively encouraged anti-Irish racism. This repression led to such major injustices as the Birmingham Six in 1975,²¹⁶¹ Guildford Four in 1975, the Maguire Seven in 1976,²¹⁶² and the shooting of Harry Stanley on the streets of London in 1999.²¹⁶³ This combination of repressive state legislation and Right-wing media vilification became the template for the UK's later 'anti-terrorist' Islamophobic offensive. It also provided a reminder that the UK state has been quite prepared to resort to a wider ethnic (culturally based) racism that did not depend on biological racist roots.

By 1979, the Callaghan government had retreated on so many fronts, following its capitulation to the IMF's demands in 1975,²¹⁶⁴ that its days were clearly numbered. However, it was Labour's inability to provide any democratic answers to the pressing National Questions, which proved to be its undoing. This led to a 'No confidence' vote. It was the failure of the Labour government to challenge the Anti-Devolution, Conservative Unionists in its ranks, or to bring about any meaningful change in Northern Ireland, that led to the downfall of the Callaghan government.

During this period, the growing impact of the National Question began to impinge upon the British Left again. As early as 1961, Desmond Greaves, CPGB (and Connolly Association) member, wrote *The Life and Times of James Connolly*, partly to retrieve Connolly's Socialist Republicanism from Irish Nationalist attempts to appropriate his legacy. However, it was the impact of the later Irish Civil Rights Movement, and Greave's influential role in the Connolly Association, that made his work more generally known on the British Left and beyond. Greaves' path-breaking book also highlighted Connolly's buried links with Scottish Socialist politics. However, Greave's attempt to make Connolly into some kind of proto-Bolshevik also reflected his need to accommodate him to official Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) politics. As the Irish Republican struggle returned, Connolly was taken up in the cultural arena too, e.g. *The Non-Stop Connolly Show* by Margaretta D'Arcy and John Arden (1971).

1973 saw two new books addressing the political legacy of John Maclean, with biographies by his daughter, Nan Milton, a Scottish Republican and by John Broom, a Scottish Left Nationalist. And following the earlier more underground cultural celebration of Maclean, new plays, songs and poems added to these political writings. These included 7.84's *The Game's a Bogey* (1974) and *Krassivy* by Freddy Anderson (1979). The latter was very much influenced by the Irish/Scottish (particularly Glasgow) connections.

Indeed, it was in the Cultural arena that a wider Irish and Scottish Socialist Republican culture both contributed to a broadened base of opposition to the UK state and Britishness. This helped to sustain such politics through the long period of UK state repression in Ireland from 1969, and the set-back represented by defeat of Scottish Devolution in 1979.

d) The impact of the UK joining the EEC (pp. 661-663)

Following the decline in British global Imperial influence, and with even the White Dominions looking increasingly to other trading partners, a significant section of the British ruling class began to look to the European Economic Community (EEC). It saw the economically expanding EEC as a market in which to make profits. Conservative Prime Minister, Edward Heath had to overcome Charles de Gaulle's earlier veto over the UK joining, as well as opposition from the reactionary and openly Racist section of the Tories led by Enoch Powell. The UK was accepted as an EEC member in 1973.

It took some deft manoeuvring by Harold Wilson's incoming Labour government and an EEC membership referendum the 1975 to see off his own party's anti-EEC wing. The British Chauvinist Right were allied to Labour Left MPs and trade union officials, influenced by the CPGB's 'British road to socialism'. Public meetings were held, often organised by CPGB/Left Labour-run trades councils, with a spectrum of speakers ranging from the CPGB to Powellite Tories. The Union Jack sometimes featured prominently behind the platform party.

At this stage, the pro-EEC forces in the UK enjoyed the support of the US state. Following General De Gaulle's announcement of France's departure from full membership of NATO in 1966, and Willie Brandt's Ostpolitik overture to East Germany (and hence the USSR) from 1970, the US was keen

to have the UK acting as a 'Trojan horse' inside the EEC. The growing economic strength of the EEC, previously welcomed as a defence against USSR designs, also worried those running a stalling US economy. Could the EEC emerge as an alternative Imperial power? Therefore, the US backed UK membership to act as a brake on such possible developments.

Once the UK had joined the EEC, transnational companies, some headquartered in the UK and others not, began to locate their production facilities across several EEC member states. The ownership of commercial and industrial capital also became more interconnected. The City of London had already been operating, with the backing of the US financial sector, in the euro-dollar market, and quickly took on an important banking and commercial role within the EEC. US/UK economic links became even stronger.

During the early stage, there was little new immigration of workers from other EEC member countries to the UK. Indeed, when Margaret Thatcher's incoming government launched a major unemployment drive to break trade union power, many skilled British workers moved to the more economically buoyant EEC countries, especially West Germany, to find work. This phenomenon was widely enough appreciated to lead to a TV series, *Auf Wiedersehen Pet*²¹⁶⁵ in 1983, about English bricklayers working in Germany.

The Reactionary and openly Racist, anti-EEC section of the British ruling class became increasingly marginal. They still looked to the old days of Empire, and for preferential trade with the White Commonwealth. They sought to preserve their White, Male-dominated, Greater British world alongside Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Rhodesia, whilst giving support to Apartheid South Africa. They also wanted to ditch most connections with the old non-White Empire, which had contributed to post-war Black immigration. But, the 1970s anti-Racist legislation, which undermined earlier UK state, Conservative and (and some Labour) backing for racist attitudes, also contributed to the Reactionary Right's marginalisation.

Enoch Powell, the Tory Right's leading political representative, was forced to join the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). He became MP for South Down in October 1979. Keen to remain relevant to all-UK politics, he argued, for the full integration of Northern Ireland within the UK²¹⁶⁶, without any success,

even in the UUP. However, Powell continued to connect his vision of a Greater Britain outside the EEC with his opposition to Non-Whites within the UK.²¹⁶⁷ The Right often supplemented their anti-EEC National Chauvinism, Racism and Homophobia. The Fascist NF emerged to continue this legacy. This was also taken up by later Neo-Fascists (e.g. the BNP), Right Populists (UKIP and the Brexit Party), and never disappeared amongst the Hard Right section of the Tories (from the Monday Club²¹⁶⁸ to the European Research Group²¹⁶⁹).

The hybrid Right/Left Populist SNP was also Anti-EEC at this time. It viewed EEC membership as another layer of external control on top of that of the UK. The SNP looked to the northern Scandinavian countries (then not members of the EEC) as an inspiration. However, there was already another view developing, which would only really gain much wider support forty years later. In 1976, the newly elected SNP MP, Margaret Bain told the House of Commons that “she identified as a Scot, a European.... but did not ‘feel British’”. To this she added that she was also “a citizen of the world”,²¹⁷⁰ going back to the Universalist tradition of the Scottish Friends of the People leader, Thomas Muir.²¹⁷¹ And Tom Nairn already challenged the Left’s overwhelmingly British National orientation in *The Left Against Europe* (1973) and the *Break-up of Britain* (1977).

At this time, both Plaid Cymru and Sinn Fein were also opposed to Wales’s and Ireland’s EEC membership for similar reasons to the SNP. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) formed by Iain Paisley in 1971, had its own unique Right Populist reasons to oppose the EEC, seeing it as a Trojan horse for the Vatican. Paisley linked his ‘No Popery’ to ‘No Surrender.’

3. THE RISE OF NEO-LIBERALISM AND THE UK STATE’S FAILED ATTEMPT TO CONTAIN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGES

The ruling class falls back again on Conservative and Reactionary Unionism before being forced to adopt Liberal Unionist ‘Devolution-all-round’

a) The UK state's Conservative and Reactionary Unionist counter-offensive under Thatcher's Neo-Liberalism (pp. 664-665)

The background to the next stage in the longer-term decline of the UK state, and to the continued impact of the National Question, was the global economic crisis, which struck in the latter half of the 1970s. In many states, including the UK, this took the form of stagflation. This crisis undermined the Social Democratic/Christian Democratic/New Deal, Social Market hegemony, which had underpinned the world economic order since 1945. The formidable post-war expansion of investment, following the massive destruction of capital during the Second World War, had led to high profits. But by the 1970s, the rate of profit was falling globally. Keynesian economic policies, which had worked nationally to smooth over the recessions that took place within this overall period of economic expansion, were no longer able to overcome the global crisis of profitability.

To counter this, the elements of what later became full-blown Neo-Liberalism were developed. These were first pioneered in Right Wing think tanks, and then later through government attempts to put some of these policies into practice. Neo-Liberalism did not start out as a single, fully thought-out, economic or political system, any more than the Keynesian Social Democracy which preceded it had.

A key element of Neo-Liberalism was to roll back state responsibility for production (nationalised industries or state regulation) and social welfare, greatly increasing the direct role of the private sector. However, as Neo-Liberal governments took office, there was never any rolling back of gross state expenditure (as the utopian Right Libertarians argued should happen). State finance was diverted to supporting private business (resulting in much greater corruption) and to the repressive parts of the state, e.g. the security and armed forces.

The manner in which Neo-Liberalism developed was largely determined by the growth of Transnational Capital, especially in the Finance Sector, increasingly able to evade National State Regulation. New technological developments, especially in IT, also became important. But the outcomes of particular class struggles were fundamental. An early attempt was made in

the early 1970s to introduce some of the elements of later Neo-Liberalism to the UK. However, Edward Heath's 'Selsdon Man' project failed in the face of working class resistance.

It took a CIA-backed military coup and the bloody suppression of workers' organisations in Chile in 1973 before the Chicago Boys could step in and promote the roll back and privatisation of much social welfare. Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher became warm supporters of Chile's General Pinochet. Before this though, Chile was just acting as a national testing ground for elements of a future Neo-Liberalism. It was not until Thatcher took office in the UK in 1979 and Reagan in the USA in 1980 that Neo-Liberalism became globally dominant.

By 1979, Thatcher better represented the requirements of a British ruling class trying to cope with the growing global economic crisis, which nationally based Social Democratic Keynesianism could no longer deal with. This led to attacks on the long established Butskellite consensus. This had underpinned the Keynesian economic and social welfare, post-war order. In the process, most British business leaders, the Tory Right and senior military and security agency officers also abandoned any Liberal Unionist constitutional reform (and the proposed liberal democratisation of industrial relations proposed in the Bullock Report).²¹⁷² They prepared to batten down the hatches of 'Britannia plc' for what became a full-blown Neo-Liberal offensive.

With Northern Ireland already subjected to a Reactionary Unionist counter-offensive by Labour since 1975, Scotland and Wales were also to be denied any Political Devolutionary reform under Thatcher's new Tory government after 1979. Instead, although to a much lesser degree than in Northern Ireland, Scotland was to become a testing ground for Reactionary Devolved Administrative measures. The Scottish Local Government Finance Act was introduced in 1982 to counter the challenges from then Left Labour Lothian Region and Edinburgh and Stirling District Councils.²¹⁷³ Similar legislation was introduced later in England and Wales in 1984. The Abolition of Domestic Rates Act (Scotland) was also introduced in 1987 to test out the poll tax a year earlier than in England and Wales.²¹⁷⁴

b) The return of National Democratic resistance leads to a ‘New Unionist’ response in Ireland under the Tories (pp. 666-669)

However, it was only to take until 1981 with the Irish Hunger Strike and the election of Bobby Sands to Westminster, before the Tories' Conservative and Reactionary Unionism was challenged in Ireland by Irish Republicans. This had been preceded by the prisoners' dirty protests at Long Kesh's H-Block²¹⁷⁵ from 1979, and the women's protest at Armagh prison²¹⁷⁶ from 1980, in response to Labour's Criminalisation policy. But it took nine years, the effect of the attempt to impose the poll tax first in Scotland, and the election of the SNP's Jim Sillars in the 1988 Govan by-election, to begin the undermining of Conservative Unionism in Scotland.

Therefore, initially confronting determined opposition only in Ireland, Thatcher, with US state prompting, came up with a liberal political mask to cover the UK state's reactionary unionist, security force rule in Northern Ireland (with operations sometimes extending over the Border). The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement (A-IA)²¹⁷⁷ was designed to bring the moderate Irish Nationalists of the SDLP and the Irish government on board to help the British government to run Northern Ireland in the UK state's wider interests.

Thatcher's breach with full-spectrum Reactionary Unionism led to massive opposition from all the Ulster Unionist parties, the Orange Order and the Loyalist paramilitaries. However, ironically, her promotion of Neo-Liberal economics had undermined the position of many Loyalist workers, since their strike against the Sunningdale Agreement in 1974, as deindustrialisation took its toll. This was only partly compensated for by the increasing number of jobs available in the RIC, UDR and prison service, under 'Ulsterisation'.

Despite massive Unionist and Loyalist demonstrations throughout Northern Ireland, the UK government did not abandon the A-IA. When all Northern Ireland's Unionist MPs resigned in protest in 1986, precipitating by-elections, they lost a seat to the SDLP.²¹⁷⁸ This was followed by a further two losses in the 1987 general election.²¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams managed to hold on to his Belfast West seat from 1982 to 1992, and its one-term loss then, disguised continuing Sinn Fein gains at the local council level.²¹⁸⁰

Under the A-IA, the British ruling class began to move over to a 'New Unionist' strategy. This did not succeed in breaking the Republican resistance, though, so the next major step was taken after Thatcher resigned. The 1993 Downing Street Declaration (DSD) was designed to wean the Republicans from their 'Ballots and Bullets' strategy into accepting a Constitutional Nationalist road, with Sinn Fein, the Republicans' political wing, completely replacing the IRA, its military wing. The Loyalist paramilitaries, which the UK state had resorted to for operations it did not want to be directly involved in, would be bribed to give up their arms, and pressured into entering the electoral arena.

The principal aim of the DSD was the same as for the A-IA - but with a broader political basis of support for UK rule in Northern Ireland. Central to this was a reformed Stormont, or a Sunningdale Mark 2. It had taken more than twenty years of armed struggle to push 'No Surrender' Conservative and Reactionary Unionism, both official and unofficial, into a very reluctant acceptance of some form of accommodation with Irish Nationalists. But Ulster Unionists' continued reservations undermined John Major's ability to deliver on the DSD, since his Conservative minority government depended upon UUP support at Westminster.

However, another limitation of the Conservatives' 'New Unionism' was that it continued to treat the political situation in Northern Ireland/Ireland on the one hand, and that in Scotland and Wales on the other, in quite different political ways. Yet the National Democratic movements in these nations began to represent a political continuum in their challenge to the constitution and the territorial integrity of the UK state. This was something which had been partly disguised by Northern Ireland's semi-detached status, the intensity of the Republican resistance and the level of UK state repression. Thus, the Conservatives' 'New Unionism' did not extend to Scotland and Wales. The DSD confined any proposed new political devolutionary arrangements to Northern Ireland.

But the shared working class resentment against Thatcher, particularly in the former industrial heartlands throughout the UK, facing deindustrialisation under Neo-Liberalism, was also given a national fillip in Scotland. Thatcher was confident that after defeating the miners in 1985 and seeing off Left Labour led councils in 1986 (Militant Labour-led Liverpool and Ken Livingston's Labour-led Greater London Council), she could take on the

whole of the working class, except in the still untamed Northern Ireland.

Thatcher had initially faced some lack of enthusiasm for her full-blooded Neo-Liberalism amongst senior Scottish Conservatives. She was anxious to side-step them by unleashing her 'Blue Guards' in Scotland, led by Michael Forsyth. He had connections to St. Andrews University, which contained the Neo-Liberal Chicago School-type Adam Smith Institute.²¹⁸¹ Together they were keen to use the unionist nature of the UK state to test-out a poll tax in Scotland, where the Tories only held 10 of Scotland's 72 Westminster seats.²¹⁸² This had the added advantage of rubbing Scottish Labour and the STUCs' faces in the dirt, since the Thatcher knew they would mount no serious resistance.

What neither the Conservatives nor Labour had expected was the growth of the large community-based, Anti-Poll Tax Movement, beginning in Scotland.²¹⁸³ This lay beyond the policing powers of the Labour Party and trade union officials. In some ways it resembled the early days of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland in its willingness to participate in civil disobedience. In other ways it resembled the Land Leagues in their ability to extend themselves on 'internationalism from below' lines from Ireland and Scotland respectively to Wales and England. The opposition to the poll tax in Scotland also contributed to the spectacular victory of the SNP's Jim Sillars in the Govan by-election in 1988.²¹⁸⁴ The wider Anti-Poll Tax Movement had defeated the poll tax by 1991. Thatcher, her policy in Ireland already failing, was replaced soon afterwards as Tory leader.

One of the key things Socialists in Scotland (the majority of whom had been British Left unionists) learned from the Anti-Poll Tax Movement was that neither the UK state, nor the official British Labour Party, united the working class - in fact the opposite, they divided it. It was from this point, that significant sections of Left in Scotland began to move over to a Scottish independence stance, with breaks from the Labour Party - the Scottish Socialist Movement; from the CPGB - the Communist Party of Scotland; from the Trotskyist tradition - Scottish Militant Labour (SML) and the Fourth International's International Socialist Group. SML was the largest of these organisations, but it took a considerable period to overcome its Labour entrism record. The Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) was only formed in 1996. And the SML still carried a lot of British Left Unionist baggage, particularly in relation to Ireland.

It was from this experience of struggles, beginning in the Scottish Anti-Poll Tax Federations, that dissident Communists (mainly Trotskyist) began to replace the now rapidly declining, no longer official Communist CPGB (and its spin-offs - *Morning Star*, Democratic Left, Communist Party of Britain and Communist Party of Scotland). More Socialists in Scotland looked anew to John Maclean, questioning their earlier British Left assumptions. New books and articles appeared, as older political stances appeared to be less and less adequate to explain the new challenges.

But strains emerged amongst Socialists in Scotland. Some still wanted to maintain an all-Britain politics (which mirrored the existing UK state, whilst retaining their long-standing ambiguity over the National Question in Northern Ireland/Ireland). Most of these people continued their orientation upon the British Labour Party, either through entrism or backing the party electorally. But they were now countered by those who recognised the ongoing decline of the UK state and, instead of supporting Labour, began to tail end the Constitutional Nationalism of the rising SNP.

None of these ex-official or Trotskyist organisations was able to get to grips with the linked Constitutional Monarchist, Unionist and Imperialist nature of the UK state, and the need for a Socialist Republican, ‘internationalism from below’ strategy to counter this. However, the small Republican Communist Network, a platform in the new SSA (which became the Scottish Socialist Party in 1998), took up the legacy left by James Connolly and John Maclean and outlined its contemporary relevance. The growing National Democratic challenge to the UK constitution in Northern Ireland/Ireland, Scotland and Wales, was linked to economic, social and cultural struggles.

c) Labour widens the Tories’ Irish ‘New Unionism’ to cover Scotland and Wales and resurrects the old liberal unionist project as Devolution-all-round (pp. 669-672)

But Labour had also learned some lessons from their miserable showing during the Anti-Poll Tax campaign. Perhaps there might not have been a Tory attempt to test out the poll tax in Scotland, if there had been a devolved Scottish assembly. In 1979, key members in the party, including Tam Dalyell and Alistair Darling, had undermined the Labour government’s

Devolution proposals. This had left Labour particularly exposed in Scotland once Thatcher took power. This realisation eventually led to the Scottish Labour leadership making a greater commitment to the Liberal Unionist reform of the UK constitution in the later 1980s than they had in the 1970s. In 1989, Labour joined others in the Scottish Constitutional Convention,²¹⁸⁵ committing the party more firmly to political devolution for Scotland.

In Wales, during the 1979 Welsh Devolution campaign, both Conservative and Labour Conservative Unionists had resorted to Welsh Unionism's longstanding divide-and-rule strategy. Welsh speakers in the North were told that if they voted 'Yes', they would be ruled over by English speakers from the South. English speakers in the South were told if they voted 'Yes' they would be ruled over by Welsh speakers from the North. An even greater proportion of Labour members in Wales, compared to Scotland, opposed Political Devolution. Neil Kinnock and Leo Abse were prominent amongst them.

For a brief period, the Conservatives made use of the language divide by trying to get their own foot in the Welsh language camp. Their 1979 election manifesto contained a promise to create a new Welsh language television channel.²¹⁸⁶ Cultural Devolution was adopted as an alternative to Political Devolution. Keith Best, a Welsh language learner, won the Anglesey/Ynys Mon constituency for the Conservatives for the first time ever in 1979, and held it until 1987. Labour also made a similar election promise in 1979. But Ednyfed Davies, the Welsh speaking Labour MP for Conwy, seemed to inherit the old Liberal Welsh-British sycophancy towards the monarchy. He claimed that "the Prince of Wales had done more for Welsh by learning the language than 'those people who take it upon themselves to daub road signs'"!²¹⁸⁷

“Those people”, Davies referred to, were the Welsh language activists of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeth. They continued with their direct-action struggle, now against the Conservative government. Gwynfor Evans, a Plaid Cymru former MP, went on a hunger strike, once the Tories reneged on their election promise to provide a Welsh language TV channel.²¹⁸⁸ The government was forced to back down. However, the drastic impact of Thatcher's Neo-Liberal policies on both industrial and largely English-speaking South Wales, and the more rural and Welsh-speaking North Wales brought about a new all-Wales politics. This happened in the aftermath of

the defeats of the Miners' Strike in the South Wales valleys (1984-5) and the Slate Quarriers' Strike (1985-6) in the Welsh-speaking heartland of Gwynedd.²¹⁸⁹ Welsh Labour began to reassess its attitude to Welsh Political Devolution.

Plaid Cymru, still more associated with Welsh-language Cultural Nationalism, did not offer the same electoral challenge to Labour as the SNP did in Scotland. But when the Welsh Labour Party committed itself to the creation of a Welsh assembly,²¹⁹⁰ there was still much stronger residual internal party opposition from Conservative Unionists than was the case when a chastened Scottish Labour Party backed the creation of a Scottish assembly in the late 1980s.

As the Conservatives' electoral base shrank in Wales and Scotland, the Labour Party became aware that the 'New Unionist' commitment to political devolution in Northern Ireland with a reformed Stormont, needed to be extended to cover Scotland and Wales. The 1997 general election result, which wiped out every Conservative MP in Scotland and Wales, emphasised this. So New Labour, under Tony Blair, outlined a more comprehensive 'New Unionist' response to the situation in Scotland, Wales and (Northern) Ireland, for the first time since William Gladstone (Home Rule-all round) and Walter Long (Federal Imperial Westminster), and this was 'Devolution-all-round'. Scottish and Welsh Devolution were also meant to normalise Northern Irish Devolution to reassure 'Ulster' Unionists and Loyalists.

Unlike Gladstone and Long, though, Blair was able to deliver Liberal Unionist reform of the constitution, in successive referenda in Scotland on the 11th September 1997,²¹⁹¹ and Wales on the 18th September.²¹⁹² And he was able to put a liberal gloss on the neo-Partitionist Belfast or Good Friday Agreement (GFA) in Ireland in the two referenda held on May 22nd 1998, one in Northern Ireland and one in the Republic of Ireland.

Because of the depth of the Irish Republicans' challenge to the UK state, setting up a reformed Stormont was the centrepiece of Blair's 'Devolution-all-round' strategy. The Republican challenge had to be neutralised, but in the process 'Devolution-all-round' ensured that the cases of Northern Ireland/Ireland, Scotland and Wales became officially linked for the first time since the 1916-23 International Revolutionary Wave.

Wider Unionist and Nationalist support in the Northern Irish/Irish referenda was largely obtained as a result of an understandable war-weariness (nearly thirty years). The GFA was heavily promoted through a liberal notion of 'peace' - the absence of military conflict. The Peace Process was in effect a pacification process, something emphasised by the construction of more Peace Walls in Belfast over the following years. To this was added another key Liberal notion – 'parity of esteem'. The constitutional effect of 'parity of esteem' was the UK state's recognition of two communities – Unionist/Loyalist and Nationalist/Republican. Others were effectively politically excluded.

The GFA's Neo-Partitionist deal moved the old divide from the Border to the streets of Belfast and to the chambers of the revived Stormont (and the other devolved institutions in Northern Ireland). Whereas the UK state had earlier relied upon Orange Stormont and its repressive forces to maintain its control, it now placed itself as arbiter between Unionists and Nationalists, to achieve the same end. Unlike the devolution arrangements in Scotland and Wales, which were genuine Liberal Unionist constitutional measures (whatever their limitations), the GFA was a Conservative Unionist measure with a liberal gloss. Partition remained and the Unionists retained a veto.

Labour's 'Devolution-all-round' was designed to create the optimum political conditions for the maximisation of corporate profitability throughout these islands (including the Republic of Ireland). When New Labour took office, it continued Thatcher's Neo-Liberal economic offensive. Chancellor Gordon Brown removed the last government constraints over the Bank of England, signalling New Labour's full subordination to the City.²¹⁹³ In 1999, Tony Blair ordered the ending of the singing of *The Red Flag* at the Labour Party conference,²¹⁹⁴ something that Ramsay MacDonald had been unable to do in 1924.

d) The re-emergence of a Northern Irish-British identity (pp. 672-674)

The UK state acknowledged that the old 'Ulster'-British identity had been strongly associated with Orange Loyalist Unionism. An attempt was made to move away from the Protestant sectarianism associated with the word 'Ulster', to create a more acceptable Northern Irish-Britishness. It was hoped that this could attract Catholics, from the middle class at least. It was also

thought that the opening up of jobs and promotion in the administration, previously denied to them, would assist this process. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was renamed the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) and Catholic recruitment was actively promoted.

Back in 1921, once the UK had created the official sub-state of Northern Ireland, successive British governments were quite happy for every other institution and organisation there to adopt the 'Ulster' label. That was necessary to have a reliable Orange garrison in the North. But following the GFA in 1998, the term 'Northern Ireland' was given a firmer basis. Furthermore, there were now also devolved parliaments in Scotland and Wales. These developments, coupled to the ending of armed conflict, made so now smaller groups still adhering to Trotskyism tried to maintain themselves by clinging on to Trotsky's 1938 *Transitional Programme* (albeit with still heated sectarian debates amongst the fragments over which group is the 'true heir'). Others, though, stepped into the political shoes abandoned by the former official Communists, becoming defenders not only of the 'progressive' legacy of old USSR and Mao's China, but also of Putin's Russia and Xi Jinping's China (these states former 'Socialist' credentials have been replaced by viewing them as victims of US/western imperialism, rather than as declining and rising imperial powers respectively).

A greater number of Trotskyists, though, looked to and occupied the Left Social Democratic space vacated by New Labour and Irish Labour, themselves becoming Left Social Democrats in the process. The rise of Left Populist and Social Democratic Nationalism (e.g. Syriza, Podemos, Sinn Fein, SNP and Plaid Cymru) led others to tail end these parties' Left Populism or their Constitutional Nationalism. Others held aloof from the wider National Democratic movements, or argued that, if only things could return to 1945 or the 1970s, then such political diversions would disappear.

Some Socialists did begin to look back at James Connolly, John Maclean, Jim Larkin and Sylvia Pankhurst (whose legacy had also been addressed by Socialist Feminists), as well as a growing number of lesser-known Socialist Republicans and non-official Communists from the late nineteenth century up to the end of the 1916-23 International Revolutionary Wave. In the absence of a new coherent Socialism, much of this valuable recovery work was confined to the scholarly level in Left academia. The remaining Socialist sects did engage with some of this work but tried to shoehorn it into

their current dogmatic political thinking-

In the newer academic writing, the political experience gained during the lead-up to, and the period of the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, has tended to be seen mainly as past history. Socialist Republican and Communist attempts to overthrow the UK state and British Empire are seen to be of little relevance today. And despite the abundant historical evidence, there has been little appreciation of the lengths the British ruling class would go to hold on to power, and how they continue to use their Monarchist, Unionist and Imperialist UK state to do this.

Since 2008, leading sections of an acutely self-aware and class-conscious British ruling class have realised they face a continued crisis, which has engulfed the global capitalist economic system and its local UK state component. This could further accelerate British imperial (now mainly exerted by The City through the 'Informal Empire') decline and even lead to the demise of the UK itself. Their sharp turn to various forms of Reaction, and the creation of new 'internationalism from above' alliances, represent an attempt to pre-empt that possibility.

Socialists' continued lack of appreciation of the UK state's Unionist nature means that many still talk about 'the break-up of Britain' (a multi-million year tectonic not a political process), and not the break-up of the UK. There is also a political passivity associated with such thinking, leaving it to others, especially Nationalist parties to take the political initiative. This flows from their inability to develop a Socialist Republican 'Internationalism from Below' strategy.

e) New Labour's failed attempt at Political Devolution for the English Regions (pp. 674-

A key a feature in Liberal Unionists' promotion of the 'Devolution-all-round' deal was the idea of a 'partnership of equals' – England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Revealingly, the UK's state Union Flag was not redesigned to recognise this. But to further muddy the distinction between Nations and Regions, New Labour proposed a new element to the deal. They looked to Regional Political Devolution in England to rein in any greater National Democratic ambitions in Scotland and Wales. The distinction

between Nations and Regions would be diluted. This differentiated devolutionary response was borrowed from post-Franco Spain. Euskadi, Catalunya and Galicia have a similar relationship to Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the UK, but devolution in Spain has also been extended to fourteen Regional or Island Communities with their asymmetrical powers.²¹⁹⁵ In the North African cities of Ceuta and Melilla, Spain even has its own 'Gibraltar's.

However, an important difference is that Spain remains a Unitary State, denying the existence of subordinate Nations but with more comprehensive Political Devolution to what are seen as Constituent Provinces and Regions. The UK is a Unionist State, with some recognition of the existence of Nations and a part Nation, but with no Regional Political Devolution in England. The principal means used to deny the Democratic Right of National Self-determination are different in Spain and the UK, although both have been prepared to resort to force.

In 2004 a proposal was made to introduce an English Regional Devolution Bill. Blair off-loaded New Labour's attempt to bring about Regional Political Devolution on to his northern English deputy, John Prescott. A trial referendum in the North East failed to win support, so this form of Political Devolution was quietly shelved.²¹⁹⁶

However, in 1988, there had also been a successful referendum to establish a Greater London Authority Assembly (GLAA). This has only 25 elected members.²¹⁹⁷ The GLAA was tied to the election of a City Mayor. The thinking behind this came from the USA, where City Mayors and their appointed officials have much greater control over local affairs. They are far easier to pressure (and bribe) through corporate lobbying, than a large number of elected councillors. Before this, senior council officials drew up development and investment plans, which were then put to the local councillors for approval. But sometimes these were questioned. So, many senior council officials prefer to work closely with mayors and business figures, with whom they often share similar incomes and lifestyles. Thus, instead of enhancing Local Democracy, the Elected Mayor has become the

preferred model for Conservatives and the Labour Right, when running cities, regions and other local authorities.²¹⁹⁸ Mayors do not exist in Scotland, Northern Ireland²¹⁹⁹ or Wales (where the one attempt in Ceredigion to introduce one was rejected)²²⁰⁰

f) The 2008 Crash and the re-emergence of Reactionary Unionism in Northern Ireland (pp. 676-678)

‘Devolution-all-round’ was implemented at the highpoint of Neo-Liberal economic and political influence. Both Clinton’s Democrats and Blair’s New Labour ditched the socially conservative aspects of Reagan’s and Thatcher’s neo-Liberal governments. The Democrats and New Labour responded to the growing movements, which demanded more sexual and gender self-determination. These parties promoted an identity politics, which created new niche markets and sought increased access to the hierarchy of managerial jobs in the private and state sectors. Simultaneously this led to the break-up wider solidarities that had developed in the earlier social struggles. Competition was encouraged between people from more fragmented identities attempting to break various ‘glass ceilings.’

This new phase of Neo-Liberalism would best be characterised as Social Neo-Liberalism. This went along with a denial of any overarching capitalist exploitative system. The pursuit of individual identity politics tends to reduce the reality of class to just another competing identity. However, all forms of oppression are sustained and moulded by wider class society, based on capitalist exploitation.

In contrast to the Social Neo-Liberals (some calling themselves Post-Marxists), a Socialist recognition of being ‘united in diversity’, means pushing for class solidarity to end exploitation and offering a vision of a new society, where the many social oppressions and restrictions imposed by capitalism can be overcome. And linked to this is the opposition to the many forms of alienation we experience under capitalism, and the shared social struggle for self-determination in its widest senses.²²⁰¹

In Ireland/Northern Ireland, the political climate surrounding the GFA led to the celebration of Social Neo-Liberal identities. Orange Order marches were no longer seen as assertions of Loyalist supremacy, but as the quaint folk tradition of a particular community. But nobody would bring an Irish tricolour along to one of these events or try and involve a wider Rainbow Alliance. And cross-dressing whilst watching the Loyalist bonfires would not be a good idea either!

In 2006, at the highpoint of the Neo-Liberal economic boom, the previous political outsiders - the DUP and Sinn Fein – were able to come to a deal over the St. Andrews Agreement. This replaced the GFA Northern Ireland Assembly arrangements, which the DUP had been boycotting. Now there were mouth-watering temptations, especially for DUP insiders, whose businesses stood to make easy profits. Ian Paisley, somewhat like Sir James Craig in 1922, removed himself from the front line of a wider Reactionary Unionist and Imperialist defence. Other leading DUP members, including Ian Paisley Junior, Peter Robinson and his partner, Iris, rushed to take advantage of the new situation and obtained favourable business contracts and deals. The DUP became deeply embroiled in the financial corruption that always accompanies Neo-Liberalism. Sinn Fein too used its official role as the recognised representative of the Nationalists to assert its power over local communities through its control of community and leisure provision.

But as soon as the DUP had abandoned its long-standing ‘No Surrender’ intransigence, Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV), founded in 2007 by Jim Allister, former DUP MEP, took up the mantle of Reactionary Unionist leadership. TUV went on to make its own pacts with Loyalist paramilitaries and various Orange orders who, despite the Peace Process, had kept up their intimidation of Catholics at the Church of Our Lady in Harryville, Ballymena (1996-8),²²⁰² and Holy Cross Girls Primary School in the Ardoyne, Belfast (2001-2),²²⁰³ along with the annual coat-trailing marches, through overwhelmingly Nationalist areas in the North.²²⁰⁴

But it would take the growing economic crisis, following the 2008 Financial Crash, and the absence of any real ‘peace dividend’ for workers (in either community) before this Reactionary Unionist alliance could gel. But in an early harbinger of future attempts to create greater pan-UK Reactionary Unionism, before he founded TUV, Allister was first approached by the still marginal UKIP to join it, shortly after Nigel Farage became its leader.²²⁰⁵

Blair was able to use the British Labour Party to put a rein upon further devolutionary developments in Scotland and Wales. Initially British Labour formed the largest party at both Holyrood and Cardiff Bay (although Labour needed the support of the Lib-Dems in Scotland from 1999-2007²²⁰⁶ and in Wales, from 2003 to 2007²²⁰⁷). This was not an option in Northern Ireland despite some unofficial attempts to organise the Labour Party there. The SDLP remained the British Labour’s sister party. Conservatives had also tried to organise independently in Northern Ireland, with the Ulster Unionists having severed their organisational links. But this attempt proved to be little more successful, since it also challenged the UK state preference to keep Northern Ireland semi-detached.

Therefore, successive British governments have had to assert their control over Northern Ireland through the UK state’s administratively devolved agencies. There was greater emphasis on the security forces before the GFA/St. Andrews Agreement. Now there is more emphasis on the senior officials of the civil service. The role of the judiciary has remained central throughout. And the suspension of Stormont between 2017-20 demonstrated that such behind-the-scenes links are enough for British rule to be administered. But, although there was a wind down of non-Northern Irish, British troops stationed in Northern Ireland, a new MI5 HQ has been built at the Palace Barracks in Holywood, County Down, just outside Belfast. ‘The Brits’ – ‘they haven’t gone away you know!’

g) The Left tries to grapple with the new political situation and new challenges (pp. 679-680)

During this period, the Left in Ireland, Scotland and Wales tried to grapple with the political changes, brought about by the decline of the UK. The ending of official (i.e. USSR state-backed) Communism in 1989, and the morphing of Red China into Chinese CP-led, turbo-charged, State Capitalism, led some from this background to become Neo-Liberal apologists. This was anticipated in the UK by the development of the 'New Times' wing of the CPGB and *Marxism Today*.²²⁰⁸ Some became closely associated with the rise of New Labour. The retreat, then the collapse of the USSR and the official Communist Parties was also to produce a response from the former-Trotskyist, Revolutionary Communist Party, initially in the form of *Living Marxism*, before it became the full-blooded, Right Libertarian *Spiked*.

But, those other dissident Communists, mainly from a Trotskyist background, became almost as disorientated and continued to split into more fragments. Many had seen themselves as the political heirs to a USSR now no longer run by the old CPSU. For more than fifty years, Trotskyists had predicted the 'Stalinists' would sell-out to capitalism. But there was no Trotskyist inspired Political Revolution in Eastern Europe states after 1989, just a more brutal dismantling of the nationalised industries, services and welfare provision that was also happening in Western Europe.

Those now smaller groups still adhering to Trotskyism tried to maintain themselves by clinging to Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* (albeit with still heated sectarian debates amongst the fragments over which group is the 'true heir'). Others, though, stepped into the political shoes, now abandoned by the former official Communists, becoming defenders not only of the 'progressive' legacy of the old USSR and Mao's China, but also Putin's Russia and Xi Jinping's China (these states former 'Socialist' credentials have been replaced by viewing them as victims of US/Western imperialism, rather than respectively as declining and rising Imperial powers.)

Another group of Trotskyists have looked to and occupied the Left Social Democratic space abandoned by New Labour and the Irish Labour Party, themselves becoming Left Social Democrats in the process. The rise of Left Populist and Left Social Democratic parties (e.g. Syriza, Podemos, Sinn Fein, SNP and Plaid Cymru) led others to tailend these parties. Others equated National Democratic movements, e.g. in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Catalunya or Euskadi, with the Constitutional Nationalist parties and held aloof. They looked forward to their demise. In the UK they argued that, if only things could return to 1945 or the 1970s, then such political diversions would disappear.

Other Socialists though have begun to look back at James Connolly, John Maclean, Jim Larkin and Sylvia Pankhurst (whose legacy had also been addressed by Socialist Feminists), as well as a growing number of lesser-known Socialist Republicans and non-official Communists from the late nineteenth century up to the end of the 1916-23 International Revolutionary Wave. In the absence of a new coherent Socialism, much of this valuable recovery work has been confined to the scholarly level in Left academia. The remaining Socialist sects have engaged with some of this work but tried to shoehorn it into their current dogmatic political thinking.

In the newer academic writing, the political experience gained during the lead-up to, and the period of the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, has tended to be seen mainly as past history. Socialist Republican and Communist attempts to overthrow the UK state and British Empire are seen to be of little relevance today. And despite the abundant historical evidence, there has been little appreciation of the lengths the British ruling class would go to hold on to power, and how they continue to use their Monarchist, Unionist and Imperialist UK state to do this.

4. THE RISE OF NATIONAL POPULISM AND REACTIONARY UNIONISM -A LAST DITCH ATTEMPT TO HOLD TOGETHER THE UK

**After the Brexit vote, the ruling class turns to Right Populism and
Reactionary Unionism**

a) Scotland's 2014 IndyRef1 and the inept British ruling class Conservative Unionist response (pp. 681-683)

Although successfully implemented, 'Devolution-all-round' did not see off the demand for greater National Self-determination. The 2008 Financial Crisis contributed to undermining the Scottish component of the 'New Unionist' settlement, leading to the election of a majority SNP government at Holyrood in 2011.

The incoming David Cameron-led Conservative/Lib-Dem government initially maintained the Liberal Unionist momentum of the previous New Labour governments. Westminster approved a referendum to give the Welsh Assembly legislative powers. This had been initiated by the 2007-11 Labour/Plaid Cymru 'One Nation' coalition.²²⁰⁹ There was a low turnout, but the referendum approved this reform in every constituency except Monmouthshire, where it was only narrowly defeated.²²¹⁰ This represented a new highpoint for a Unionist Welshness, but one that could be claimed by both Welsh-British and Welsh-Welsh supporters.

Later events were to reopen the divide between Labour dominated, English-speaking Labour South Wales with its north-east Wales outlier and the English-speaking Conservative Welsh Borders and its north coast holiday resort and retiral extension – the Welsh British - on the one hand; and Plaid Cymru dominated, Welsh speaking north and central Wales – the Welsh-Welsh on the other.

From 1979, political developments with regard to the nature of the UK state, and its relationship to the wider world, were largely determined by the change from global Social Market hegemony, led by Social Democrats, to Neo-Liberal hegemony initially led by Thatcher's Tories and Reagan's

Republicans. The centrality of the financial sector, under the Neo-Liberal order, led to a massive expansion of fictitious capital at the expense of productive capital. Once this sector showed signs of severe stress, the whole house of cards, with its toxic assets and junk bonds, came tumbling down.

This created the political space for another British identity – Northern Irish-British. However, amongst the Unionists in 'Ulster'/Northern Ireland, only the relatively small, Liberal Unionist, Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI) accepted this new Northern Irish-British identity and put forward Catholic candidates. APNI was formed in 1970 from the New Ulster Movement. Its appeal was mainly to the sections of the Unionist middle class. However, it realised that in order to win Catholic middle class support, the 'Ulster' had to be dropped and 'Northern Ireland' substituted.

In some ways this attempt at a Non-Sectarian Unionist identity represented an update of the original Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP), which became an openly Unionist party in 1949. However, a combination of the impact of 'The Troubles' and the refusal of the British Labour Party to accept NILP as a constituent unit of the party (in the manner as the Scottish Labour Party) made the NILP untenable and it faded away in the early 1980s.

Before there were any devolved parliaments in Scotland and Wales, the logic of NILP becoming a section of the British Labour Party, would have meant the open abandonment of any commitment to reforming Stormont, pushing instead for its abolition and drawing Northern Ireland fully into Westminster-only politics, with devolution confined to administrative matters. This was something the British Labour Party was opposed to, since it backed the continuation of the UK state's semi-detached relationship with Northern Ireland.

Yet, despite its promotion of Devolution for Northern Ireland, successive British governments have maintained a preference for working with 'Ulster' Unionist parties – the UUP and DUP. These accept their official allotted Unionist/Loyalist designation in the bi-sectarian post-GFA constitutional set-up, which APNI does not (with some lapses when they are offered ministerial jobs). Buttressed by the post-GFA arrangements, the 'Ulster' Unionist parties (UUP, DUP, Traditional Unionist Voice – TUV, Progressive Unionist Party - PUP) have clung on to their old Ulster Protestant Sectarianism. The DUP and TUV have pursued a Reactionary Unionist policy from within the

Stormont set-up to undermine any ‘parity of esteem’. This was a term the UK state and Liberal Unionists eagerly promoted, and which the DUP and TUV have been determined to end, sometimes in league with the PUP and other Loyalist organisations acting outside Stormont.

But the GFA also continued the UK state policy of trying to retain leverage over the Republic of Ireland by dangling a carrot. The British-Irish Council (B-IC) was created with representation from the UK and Irish governments, the devolved administrations in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and the Crown dependencies of Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man.²²¹¹ However B-IC’s political function has remained largely decorative.

The EU and US governments also underwrote the GFA, making it an international treaty. Amongst other things, Irish Nationalists have been able to use the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU²²¹² and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Rights²²¹³ to promote the Irish language in Northern Ireland. In the UK, language rights have no such constitutional underpinning, and depend on the vagaries of Westminster politics. The UK state and the British Unionist parties have often shown either indifference or sometimes hostility to minority languages. The DUP has been particularly hostile, although it has adopted Ullans (Ulster-Scots), but more as a political counter to Irish Gaelic than from any deeper commitment.

But even more important for Sinn Fein has been Northern Ireland’s and the Republic of Ireland’s shared membership of the EU. Sinn Fein thought that, after the end of armed conflict, this would provide a political and economic framework, in which they hoped Ulster Unionist resistance to, and Irish government wariness towards a Unitary Ireland, would eventually be overcome.

b) After the 2008 Financial Crisis the British ruling class hardens its Euro-scepticism whilst New Labour steps up the UK state anti-migrant offensive (pp. 683-689)

If the political situation in Scotland had been causing the British ruling class increasing problems, then they were now faced with an additional problem, which highlighted its declining position in the wider world. The 2008 Crisis had shown that the British economy was not bearing up too well. British politicians could see that their influence amongst the Council of Ministers on

the top table of the European Union (EU) was shrinking.

By the late 1980s, even many one-time, anti-EEC, trade union leaders and officials (usually from an old CPGB 'Socialism in one country' and Germanophobic background who had joined with the Powellites in the 1975 referendum campaign, in opposition to EEC membership)²²¹⁴ had switched to giving it some guarded support. By 1985, the trade unions had suffered a major setback following the defeat of the Miners' Strike. The EEC now offered some limited protection for workers' conditions, as well as providing regional and social funding. Only an old guard of dedicated pro-USSR, CPGB members had maintained their total opposition to the EEC, to be supplemented later by the Trotskyist 'British roaders' in Militant, and some trade union officials looking to protect 'British jobs for British workers'.

It took until 1993 for the EEC to reach the Maastricht Agreement, which entrenched the Single European Market, and marked the triumph of Neo-Liberalism in what now became the European Union (EU). Finance-led Neo-Liberalism was now dominant across the globe. But in the original EEC core member states, the residual strength of the trade unions meant that moves towards the more market fundamentalist US/UK Neo-Liberal approach were partly offset by the retention of some features of the older Social Market approach, e.g. the Social Chapter provision.

Thatcher and later New Labour were able to resist much of the EEC/EU's Social Chapter provisions. After Tony Blair's New Labour electoral victory in 1997, he extended his alliance with Bill Clinton's Neo-Liberal Democrats, to George Bush's Neo-Liberal Republicans. He joined Bush in the Iraq War in 2003, at a time when all the original six EEC, now EU member states, declined to become involved. Both the Conservatives and New Labour continued to see their role as acting in the EU as a 'Trojan Horse' for full-blown US Neo-Liberal and Imperial interests.

The EU is a treaty organisation between existing states and is not a state itself. It has no army, police force or local bureaucracy to override those of its member states. It does have a powerful executive - the Council of Ministers - but it derives its power from the executives of its member states. However, the UK executive, based on the Prime Minister and his/her inner cabinet, has direct links to senior state officers in the armed forces and security agencies, leading members of the House of Lords, and to the Monarchy through the

Privy Council, to sanction the use of the anti-democratic Crown Powers. The UK executive also has close links with the senior judiciary and civil servants. In the EU, in the absence of the key features of a state, there are no equivalent links.

The individual states represented on the Council of Ministers have shown they can ignore the European Court of Justice (the most pan-EU institution). The Commission's members are nominated by the member states. They have a similar function to the senior civil servants in the UK. All those civil servants working for the UK executive, as well as the UK's MPs, MSPs and MWAs, and senior state officers, swear an oath of loyalty to the Crown. All those serving the EU executive work to a written constitution based on rules and regulations.

The European Parliament remains a largely decorative feature, with limited legislative powers for the EU, and hence more limited consequences for its member states. The UK parliament has far more legislative powers, but these can be overridden using the anti-democratic Crown Powers, especially in times of crisis. Through these the Prime Minister can use the Royal Prerogative to railroad through executive decisions, and 'Henry VIII clauses'²²¹⁵ to amend legislation, or just override the House of Commons altogether.

Given the anti-democratic nature of the UK they administer, the lack of democracy in the EU has been of no concern to British governments. For British business leaders and their supporting politicians, the main purpose of the EEC and EU has always been economic, its success being measured by access to profitable markets and to funding. They understood that the Liberal clothing decorating the political institutions of the EU is so much window dressing. So, democratising these institutions has been of even less concern to them than democratising the UK state.

The UK state does not recognise popular sovereignty, and its executive power is more concentrated than that of the EU. The EU's Council of Ministers faces competing pressures from the leaders of its constituent states. The brutal treatment by the Troika - IMF, European Central Bank (ECB) and European Commission - of Greece and Ireland after member states turned private banking debts into sovereign public debt, following the 2008 Crisis, has also been of little concern to British governments. New Labour

chancellor Darling worked to impose his own draconian Austerity policies, not only throughout the UK, but also upon Ireland - leaving many mortgage payers there at the mercy of British headquartered banks, vulture fund holders and losing their homes. Gordon Brown invoked the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Act to try to force the Icelandic government to pay for private bank debts.²²¹⁶

If British governments have showed any concern, it is that the 'Schengen Wall', designed to restrict immigration from beyond the EU's borders, is not high enough. And their other fear has been that the EU might tighten up control over banking. This was very much opposed by the City of London, to which both Conservative and New Labour governments kow-towed.

Ever since the 1994 Maastricht Treaty, the inner core of the EU leadership has been pursuing its own Neo-Liberal course, albeit at a slower rate than the UK and USA. Wall Street and the City remain the first and second placed global financial centres, whilst Frankfurt is only the tenth, and Paris is twenty-seventh.²²¹⁷ The City has compensated for the declining role of sterling in the world (and hence the profits to be made from arbitrage) by trading in all the major currencies. 47% of all hedge funds in Europe are based in the UK, with business tax-friendly non-EU Switzerland as the base for a further 26%.²²¹⁸

The holders of these hedge funds are not tied to sterling. Those financial institutions still headquartered in The City can profit from both sterling gains and losses. And they will move as much of their operations as necessary to wherever the highest profits are to be made. They will still maintain their connections, with the highly profitable and largely unregulated British overseas tax havens. The City still has very considerable interests in London (and its Edinburgh outlier), so will continue to pressurise the UK government to prioritise these at the expense of other sections of the UK economy, and the interests of the working class.

The ECB is one EU institution, though, which has been developing a life of its own, very much like the City of London. This reflects the increased role of finance capital beyond the control of national states. Within the ECB, the German Bundesbank is the dominant partner, and as yet, unlike The City, has no unregulated base of operations beyond state control. The key mechanism for asserting this control is the EU's euro currency, established in 1995 and

now used by 19 member states and 1 non-member state (Montenegro). The euro has replaced sterling as the second most traded currency in the world. Through the ECB, the Bundesbank can exercise greater control over European finances than it could from Frankfurt, with its relatively low position in the global financial order.

However, unlike the dollar in the USA or sterling in the UK, the euro does not operate within a single state with shared fiscal and taxation policies. These policies can go some way to mitigate the effects of a currency crisis within a single state's boundaries. So, the Troika's handling of the 2007 Credit Crisis, based on the Bundesbank's dominant position in the ECB, led to challenges in Portugal, Ireland, Greece, Spain and Italy from National Populists in some of these states both from the Left (e.g. Alex Tsipiras' Syriza in Greece and Pablo Iglesias' Podemos in Spain) and the Right (e.g. Beppe Grille's Five Stars Movement in Italy and the National Patriotic Alliance in Greece).

To contain any such challenges, Angela Merkel in Germany and Emmanuel Macron in France want to push for a more integrated EU state. However, any common fiscal, taxation, security and military policies would conflict with so many member states' interests. They would also open up the likelihood of political conflict between France and Germany, as well as meeting growing internal opposition within both states. The unresolved economic crisis afflicting the EU, and in particular the Eurozone, is not creating the political conditions to establish greater unity.

Indeed, there are many pressures to loosen up the EU's existing controls. Calls to extend the EU further into eastern Europe, e.g. Montenegro and Albania are being resisted. Beyond these there is a political shatter belt including Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosova, North Macedonia, Moldova and Ukraine, where the EU faces destabilising competition from both Putin's Russia attempting to resist and a USA seeking to extend NATO membership.

Both the City and the ECB have been strong proponents of Neo-Liberal Austerity. The City prefers to couple this with acceptance of UK state-backed quantitative easing (printing money) on the US Federal Reserve Bank model, in return for light regulation of its activities, especially its offshore tax havens. The ECB prefers to link Austerity with strict budgetary controls and

greater regulation of bankers' activities on the Bundesbank model.

After Thatcher's involvement in the initial European Single Market negotiations in the 1980s, which she supported as a Neo-Liberal measure, she opposed any further integration of the EU. She made her feelings known about the Maastricht Treaty, but she had been forced to resign as prime minister by then. After this, she provided an inspiration to the Europhobic Right Tories and also the founders of the UKIP.²²¹⁹ They all dreamed of leaving the EU one day. However, John Major, followed by Tony Blair, continued Thatcher's original Eurosceptic approach. This meant using the UK's membership to promote the most thoroughgoing US style Neo-Liberalism and to undermine any ambitions for a more united EU, with an independent foreign and military policy.

Gordon Brown, as the New Labour chancellor, positioned himself to the forefront of the US-led Neo-Liberal and Imperialist offensive in the EU. One of his first deeds in 1998 was to remove any government accountability over the Bank of England. In 2003 he supported Bush's US-promoted Iraq War stating that, "My official role leading up to the conflict was to find the funds for it."²²²⁰ An estimated 31,000 civilians died directly and 360,000 indirectly in Afghanistan,²²²¹ and over a million in Iraq,²²²² followed by further deaths in wars directed against Libya and Syria.

These wars have contributed to a major movement of asylum seekers. Successive UK governments have been the most hostile of the major EU states to taking in asylum seekers.²²²³ This is despite the UK having been one of the two most active EU member states (the other being France) in creating the mayhem, which produced the mass movement of refugees in the Middle East and North Africa.

From 2001, the New Labour government opened up eight new immigration detention centres (to supplement the two the Conservatives had set up), mostly run by private companies.²²²⁴ There are no legal limits to how long a person can be detained and there have been over thirty deaths in custody.²²²⁵ From 2009 to the end of 2017, between 2500 and 3500 migrants have been held in detention at any one time.²²²⁶ New Labour also brought in eight Terrorism Acts between 2000 and 2010.²²²⁷

A constant Right-Wing media offensive accompanied all these events. As

with the 1973 Prevention of Terrorism Act, which had been partly designed to silence Irish opposition to UK repression, the later Terrorism Acts, under both New Labour and the Conservative/Lib-Dem coalition, have also been designed to silence opposition to repression, but this time of Muslims in Afghanistan, the Middle East, North Africa and also domestically. And just as the Metropolitan Police gunned down the innocent Harry Stanley in 1999, so they gunned down the innocent Brazilian, Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005, in what appeared to be a 'kill first/ask questions later' policy, introduced following the London bombings.²²²⁸

c) New Labour and Con-Dem governments seek an Ethnic (Cultural) underpinning for Britishness (pp. 689-691)

Things had taken a new turn, with a considerable bearing on official Britishness, once New Labour's Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act was passed in 2002.²²²⁹ Under this act, anybody seeking naturalisation or permanent residency had to pass a test on "British values, history, traditions and everyday life."²²³⁰ In 2005, Brown issued a public statement, "The days of Britain having to apologise for its colonial history are over."²²³¹ But there had never been any apologies, far less recompense, for the role the British Empire had played across the globe, and the effects are far from over.

The British Empire has been responsible for the greatest extension of chattel slavery in history, the genocide of whole ethnic groups, e.g. the Boethuk in Newfoundland and the Tasmanian Aborigines, the state-backed imposition of the opium trade on China, the deaths of millions in famines in Ireland and India, and a divide-and-rule legacy that has led to this day to continued strife in partitioned Ireland, India/Pakistan, Iraq/Kurdistan, Israel/Palestine and Cyprus. Brown still supports the Israeli government, which has continued one old British imperial policy - ethnic cleansing.

But in the first decade of the 2000s, Brown wanted to airbrush such 'British values' from history. He was attempting to create a new ethnic or cultural basis for being officially recognised as being British. Not surprisingly this Right-Wing way of thinking was seized upon eagerly by the Conservatives when they took office. Michael Gove, the Tory Right Education Minister, stated that, "We want to create and enforce a clear and rigorous expectation

in all schools to promote fundamental British values...{including} tolerance {not equal rights} of those with different faiths and beliefs". Unless of course they were Muslims, in which case schools would be subjected to the government's counterterrorism 'Prevent' strategy.²²³² This is "a domestic spying programme collecting intelligence about the beliefs of British Muslims not involved in criminal activity."²²³³

The result of all this has been to further undermine hybrid-Britishness. Following the anti-racist legislation of the mid 1970s, the UK state had begun to officially accept the Britishness of non-white British subjects. Many former colonial subjects now resident in the UK became Asian- (or Indian-, Pakistani-, Bangla Deshi-), West Indian- or African-British. And some people from these backgrounds were able to advance their careers to such an extent that even the previously openly racist Conservative Party accepted them.

One such person was the Pakistani-British, Sayeeda Warsi, who became Conservative Party vice-chair and was later made a baroness. However, after criticising the Conservative government policy on Israel over its bombing of Gaza in 2014,²²³⁴ she has been increasingly slipped out of her Pakistani-British status and been treated more as a suspect Muslim. The UK state and Right-wing sections of the media promote Islamophobia. A consequence of this is the tendency to push all Muslims, including the British-born, into being non-British. Warsi, no longer on the up, began to notice the strong Islamophobia in the Conservative Party, particularly apparent in Zac Goldsmith's London mayoral campaign against Sadiq Khan in 2016.²²³⁵

When Cameron's Conservative/Lib-Dem coalition took office, those working in state and state-financed privatised agencies were given a strong indication of what was required by the introduction of the government's official 'hostile environment' policy. This term has been used to describe the government's attitude to migration and asylum seekers, e.g. Home Secretary, Theresa May's notorious 'Go Home' vans²²³⁶ and its knock-on effect upon non-white British residents, highlighted by the Windrush Scandal.²²³⁷

Gordon Brown had flagged up this approach to perceived outsiders, when he borrowed the old Fascist "British jobs for British workers" slogan in 2007. It was still acknowledged that the economy needed migrant workers, but the 'hostile environment' is meant to impose constant pressure, so that such

workers become fearful of complaining about, or fighting against, precarious work, low-pay and poor conditions, and poor access to housing and welfare.

However, the government's 'hostile environment' policy has also been extended to all British subjects who need access to social security. Under Work and Pensions Secretary, Iain Duncan-Smith, the 2012 Welfare Reform Act and the 2016 follow up Welfare Reform and Work Act introduced Universal Credit²²³⁸ (originally inspired by New Labour advisor, Lord Freud). Like the nineteenth century workhouses, these acts are designed to enforce draconian labour discipline, but today mainly upon on those in precarious jobs. The majority claiming Universal Credit are in work. Universal Credit is there to force these workers, often facing frequent changes of jobs, to accept whatever is offered, however poor the conditions or pay. And the effects on those with disabilities, unable to do work, have been treated as acceptable 'collateral damage'. Just as migration detention centres have led to severe ill health, mental breakdown and suicides, so has the pressure of applying for Universal Credit.

In response to continuing economic crisis, a strategy was beginning to emerge amongst employers to lower labour costs. The Conservative/Lib-Dem government introduced the draconian Immigration Act of 2014. The even more draconian Conservative Immigration Act of 2016 followed this. These are designed to put maximum pressure on migrant workers. They would either be forced to leave the country, or 'go underground', where they could be subjected to the super-exploitation of gang-masters, exposed in the 2004 Morecambe Bay tragedy.²²³⁹ The new laws turned employers, landlords, teachers, health and benefit workers into agents of state migration control.

d) The rise of the Hard Right and the move from Euroscepticism to Europhobia (pp. 691-696)

However, the 2.9 million EU migrants living in the UK were largely exempt from the impact of the Immigration Acts. These undermined employers' attempts to lower wage costs, especially as some EU migrants come from countries with more militant trade union traditions. They are prepared to join trade unions and to defend their pay and conditions.

The Tories responded to this pressure to limit migrant worker rights, by extending its 'hostile environment' policy to a small group of non-UK EU residents - those accused of committing crimes. There has been a six-fold increase in the number of Europeans held in immigration detention/removal centres.²²⁴⁰ An emphasis was placed on the detainees' criminal actions. This was done to add a further chain in the link to connect migrants with 'benefits scroungers' and now with criminals.

Although more successful in the wider scapegoating of East Europeans, the UK state still faced a limit to how far it could go in attacks on EU migrants using criminal procedures alone. Cameron's later pre-EU referendum attempt to limit the welfare rights of new EU migrants, for a four to seven year period, was also part of this demonising process. But again, it was likely to be limited in its overall effect on EU residents living in the UK. However, by adopting this 'hostile environment' approach the government prepared the grounds for the Right Populists and Neo-Fascists to make the next jump, which was to leave the EU altogether.

Growing numbers of workers with official British subject status have experienced a sharp decline in their living standards and have become subject to lower pay, often in precarious work. Now atomised and alienated, they are more likely to have a dog-eat-dog view of a world, based on individual competition, where 'others' are seen as a threat. The government is also keen to draw attention away from the bankers, other employers and its own role in creating and perpetuating their plight. So, the scapegoating of migrants and benefits claimants has become a central feature of government policy. The demonising of migrants and asylum seekers as potential 'benefit scroungers' and 'criminals' highlights the link they want to make.

Until the 2008 Crisis, the Europhobic Right remained marginal. Indeed, for a long time, the Tory Right could be seen as just as trapped and neutered within the Conservative Party as the Left was inside the Labour Party. In frustration, an independent chauvinist, racist and Europhobic Right organised outside the Conservative Party. The 2008 Crisis, though, ended the neo-Liberals' almost total political hegemony, and placed a new spotlight on their running of the central institutions of the UK and EU (and USA). These buttressed the Neo-Liberal political order. This opened a political space for the Europhobic Right - the BNP and a reconstituted UKIP under Nigel Farage.

By 2008, the British National Party (BNP) had largely replaced the older National Front (NF). The BNP ditched the NF's earlier German Nazi nostalgia, and became a British Right Populist party, but still with a Neo-Fascist fringe. In the 2010 general election, the BNP reached its highest average vote per candidate (1663 over 339 constituencies) and its largest total Westminster vote (563,743). By 2010 it also had 55 councillors. But the BNP's biggest electoral advance was in the 2009 European election, where it gained 943,598 votes and 2 seats.²²⁴¹ The BNP took over the longstanding anti-EEC/EU and racist stance of the Right, linking it to hostility to east European immigration and asylum seekers, especially Muslims.

UKIP had been formed in 1993, but it wasn't until after the 2008 crisis, under the new leadership of Farage, that it made significant progress. UKIP took over the anti-East European immigration and asylum seeker politics of BNP, but wanted to ditch the BNP's Neo-Fascist baggage, associated with anti-Semitism and street racism. There had already been some political reorientation on the Right, which placed less emphasis on biological race-based politics and concentrated more on ethnic or cultural-based racism. This had the added advantage for UKIP that they could also oppose white Eastern European EU migrants and a religious group - Muslims.

UKIP downplayed the full-spectrum Islamophobia of the Far Right, and used a more dog whistle Islamophobic message, directed at 'terrorists' and asylum seekers. Over these issues, UKIP was more firmly placed in the mainstream of politics established by the Tories and New Labour. UKIP also supported Apartheid Israel. This also located UKIP's politics in the UK political mainstream, as well as that of the USA. Farage, the ex-fee-paying schoolboy and City of London commodities broker, learned how to smoke cigarettes and drink beer in public. He presented himself in Right Populist colours as a 'man of the people'.

UKIP had to wait for the demise of a BNP, which still had too many Neo-Fascist trappings to win enough backing for leaving the EU. UKIP, confining itself to Right Populist politics, hoovered up most of the BNP's wider support. UKIP also lived up to the first two initials of its name and provided a cross-UK Reactionary Unionist party. An all-UK Unionist party had not been seen since the C&UP in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²²⁴² By 2014, UKIP had over 300 local councillors in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. In the 2014 EU election, UKIP received

4,376,635 votes and became the largest UK party at Brussels, with 24 seats in England, Wales and Scotland. It also held a seat at Stormont between 2012-16, and in 2016 it gained 7 seats in the Welsh Assembly and 2 in the London Assembly. UKIP made considerable impact in the 2015 general election, where despite the first-past-the-post system, it received 3,991,099 votes.²²⁴³

The Reactionary Unionists in Northern Ireland would provide particular inspiration, from as far back as Farage's early links with Jim Allister, leader of the TUV. Reactionary Unionism had shown how to undermine the UK's devolved institutions from within, whilst still allowing its elected representatives to pick up a fat pay cheque. Once UKIP gained MEPs, this twofold strategy of trying to obstruct existing political institutions and lining one's pockets was extended to the EU.

Although UKIP represented a challenge to the Conservatives in some leafier suburbs and rural areas, it also became a threat to Labour in the deindustrialised regions of the North and English Midlands and in South Wales. Secure, skilled, better-paid and unionised jobs had largely disappeared to be replaced by insecure, less-skilled, poorer paid and often non-unionised jobs. Following Thatcher's council house sales, home ownership had also become privatised and fragmented, and the upkeep of remaining council housing downgraded. Tenant organisations also fell apart, in the face of management led housing association takeovers or the higher turnover of private lets. Education, health, social care, community centres and other social provision had been savaged by privatisation and cuts.

A big impact was made in the eastern and southern English coastal areas, which attracted large numbers of Eastern European agricultural and service workers. The pressure on public services led to longer waits for medical attention and to crowded and under-resourced schools. Migrants also paid taxes, but they received a smaller proportion back in social provision than UK subjects. But along with British subjects' taxes, the migrants' taxes were also increasingly going to bail-out banks and provide their managers with obscene bonuses.

So, at the same time that more social expenditure was required to meet the increased demand for local services by migrant workers' families, the UK government was stepping up its Austerity offensive upon local authorities. It also refused to lower earlier high interest rates on loans. Attempts to pay

these off were taking up an increasing proportion of local government expenditure. But the banks responsible for the triggering of the Financial Crisis were offered low interest loans by the Treasury. In the absence of the earlier working class self-organisation, the Right Populists and Neo-Fascists made appeals to atomised and alienated individuals looking for saviours and using migrants as scapegoats.

UKIP's first MP, Douglas Carswell, who defected from the Tories, held on to his seat in Clacton in Essex, which he had won in a by-election.²²⁴⁴ Following UKIP's 2015 general election result, it successfully pressured the new majority Conservative government to hold an EU-membership referendum in 2016. Neither Cameron nor Miliband, who had both bowed to the Right's anti-migrant politics, were prepared to argue for the inclusion of EU residents or 16–18-year-olds, those mostly affected, in the EU referendum franchise. Yet Cameron and Miliband had accepted these two groups for IndyRef1.

This decision underlined a fundamental difference between IndyRef1's 'Project Hope', which was based on a civic national view of Scottish society, and both 'Britain's Stronger in Europe's 'Project Fear' and the Brexiteers' 'Project Hate', which were based on an ethnic nationalist view of British society. In its defence of the UK's constitutional status quo, the Cameron-led, Labour-backed, 'Better Together' 'Project Fear' had donned a Liberal mask to take on 'Project Hope' and to defend Conservative Unionism. But in its attempt to buttress UK state power within the EU, the leaders of 'Britain's Stronger in Europe's 'Project Fear' pulled on a Reactionary mask to take on 'Project Hate's Europhobia, and to defend its own Conservative Euro-scepticism.

By this time a broader new Right Populist politics, which challenged Neo-Liberalism, was making its impact felt. Up to this point, Right Populist governments had been confined to less central states in the still Neo-Liberal dominated world order, e.g. Putin's Russian Federation (2000 onwards), Orbán's Hungary (2010), Modi's (India 2014), Kaczyński's Poland (2015), Duterte's Philippines (2016). As in the early days of what eventually became full-blown Neo-Liberalism, there was no overall economic coherence to this Right Populism, although all shared hostility to migrants and ethnic minorities. But up until 2016, specific national characteristics (including different selected targets for 'othering' dependent on each state's traditions)

seemed more important than shared features.

However, the impact of the 2008 Crash led to a split in both the US and British ruling classes. One section began to turn to the Right Populists, who had remained at the margins of official economic discourse in these states. To begin with the Republican Party contained the Tea Party challenge, which had been largely financed by the Koch brothers, at the time jointly the richest men in the world. In the UK, Right Populism began to win wider support from both the owners and senior managers of more nationally based companies, which had not benefitted so much from transnational Neo-Liberalism, but also and more significantly from those companies whose operations were more global than the EU, e.g. hedge fund owners and managers. They felt restricted by the regulations and multi-lateral agreements, which had accompanied the period of Neo-Liberal ascendancy.

The growth of Right Populism outside of the Conservative Party, led by Farage's UKIP, gave the Tory Right a new lease of life inside the party. It was no longer political outsiders, but such key Establishment figures as Nigel Lawson and Boris Johnson, who were to lead the official anti-EU campaign. They represented the interests of the Reactionary wing of the British ruling class, given a boost by the impact of the continuing economic crisis. They wanted to move politics further to the Right, using the opportunity of 'never letting a good crisis go to waste'.

e) The Reactionary nature of the Brexit campaign and its aim to buttress the UK state reinforce migration controls and move politics further to the Right (pp. 696-700)

Differences emerged amongst Brexit politicians over how far to the Right politics can be shifted. The official 'Vote Leave' campaign was designed first to win over greater numbers of the Eurosceptic, but up to now, reluctant Remain supporters. The 'Vote Leave' campaign tempted the British ruling class with the prospect of a more profitable future, with further deregulation and privatisation, and a vision of Empire^{2.2245}. They looked to a time when the old Empire filled the City's coffers once more, and the 'lower orders' respected 'their betters' and knew their place.

'Vote Leave' had the backing of Peter Cruddas, "the richest man in the City of

London",²²⁴⁶ hedge fund managers Crispin Odey and Stuart Wheeler,²²⁴⁷ and other business leaders. For a time, Nigel Lawson chaired the campaign. It had a long list of Tory Right members, but also two of the most consistently Right-Wing Labour MPs, Gisella Stuart, 'Vote Leave' co-convenor and Frank Field.²²⁴⁸ It also had the support of Douglas Carswell, UKIP's sole MP, Lord Owen, former SDP leader, Nigel Dodds, deputy leader of the DUP, and David (now Lord) Trimble, the former UUP leader.²²⁴⁹

Lawson argued that the 'Vote Leave' campaign would "give us a chance to finish the Thatcherite {counter} revolution".²²⁵⁰ This meant removing EU regulations covering workers' rights, consumer and environmental protection and ending the threat of greater financial regulation of the City. 'Vote Leave' also wanted to place the 2.9 million EU residents living in the UK under the same draconian laws - the 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts - as non-EU residents. 'Vote Leave' co-convenor, Michael Gove explained the reasoning behind this. He complained that EU agricultural workers from Romania and Bulgaria weren't prepared to accept the low wages that could be paid to non-EU Ukrainian agricultural workers.²²⁵¹ So, instead of the existing largely free movement of workers within the EU, key 'Vote Leave' backers want to introduce a much more restrictive, state-managed labour control, to access much cheaper migrant labour.

'Vote Leave' could out-racist Cameron's 'Britain Stronger in the EU' campaign. His campaign emphasised the withdrawal of work and child benefits access to new EU migrants for four to seven years.²²⁵² But the likely impact of Cameron's deal was far more limited, compared to the drastically worsened conditions of employment for the 2.9 million existing (and any future EU) migrants if the UK left the EU. Yet, the official 'Vote Leave' leaders still felt constrained by their desire to meet the needs of employers wanting to access other lower paid, migrant workers after 'Brexit'. So, they resorted to dog whistle racism.

The slogan designed to do the trick was 'take back control'. Dominic Cummings, Hard Right campaign director, dreamt this up. Those in the know fully appreciated that this meant resorting to and reinforcing all the most anti-democratic features of the UK state. But leading Brexiteers also wanted the wider public to understand that to 'take back control' meant controlling borders and migration and prioritising 'British Jobs for British Workers' – despite more and more of these being short-term contract jobs,

zero hours jobs, jobs without pensions rights and jobs without effective union rights.

This is where the official 'Vote Leave' campaign benefitted from having the unofficial but also well financed 'Leave.EU'/'Grassroots Out'²²⁵³ outrider - led by Right Populist UKIP leader, Farage. Although political rivalry and personal jealousies were to break out both within and between the 'Vote Leave' and 'Leave.EU'/'Grassroots Out' campaigns, they enjoyed a symbiotic relationship during the EU referendum campaign. 'Leave.EU'/'Grassroots Out' could use a more strident racism designed to reach out to the atomised and alienated. They also pointed to the much larger number of asylum seekers that other EU states had received, emphasising their Muslim or African origin. They claimed these people would 'flood' into the UK. The 'Calais Jungle'²²⁵⁴ became a particular target of their hatred. This culminated in Farage's notorious 'Breaking Point' poster just before the referendum vote.²²⁵⁵

Paul Hargreaves, a big financier, bankrolled 'Leave.EU', stating that, "Brexit will lead to insecurity, which will turn out to be very effective."²²⁵⁶ But perhaps more significant was the role of Arron Banks, the owner of several offshore insurance companies, which donated £4.3M to the campaign.²²⁵⁷ In this way, 'dark money' from non-UK sources could be channelled to 'Brexit' campaigns. At this time, Donald Trump and his then Breitbart associates were still waiting in the wings of US politics. They were in the process of battering their way into the Republican Party, with the aim of winning the US presidency for their 'America First', Right Populism.

The 'Leave.EU'/'Grassroots Out' campaign also included Liam Fox from the Tory Right, Sammy Wilson ultra-Loyalist DUP member, Kate Hoey the Labour maverick (chair of Countryside Alliance, supporter of Ulster Unionism and a nominee of Jeremy Corbyn for Labour leader), and George Galloway²²⁵⁸ hybrid Left/Right Populist with his dog whistle attacks on Romanians.

There were two Left Brexit campaigns. The CPB/Labour Left campaign looked nostalgically back to the 'Spirit of 45' and the highpoint of British-wide trade union organisation in the earlier 1970s, but also trimmed to the new populist mood, trying to present themselves as Left Populists. The Socialist Party of England and Wales, SP (E&W), had also worked in the

past in this milieu through No2EU. The Socialist Workers Party and its breakaways supplemented the Left Brexiteers with its Lexit campaign. They made no attempt to influence those workers attracted to the two main Right Brexit campaigns. They largely confined themselves to arguing against those on the Left who supported a Remain vote. SP (E&W) and Lexit supporters had supported Scottish independence, but this was often more from an anti-Tory than an anti-UK stance, so it was relatively easy for them to flip back to being 'British roaders'.

However, the Left Brexiteers and the Lexiters were completely unable to counter the overwhelmingly Right-wing trajectory of the main Brexit campaigns. With the murder of Jo Cox MP by a British Fascist just before the referendum; followed after the referendum, by the murder of Arkadiusz Jozwik on the streets of Harlow for speaking Polish, and the suicide of Dagmara Przybysz in her Devon school after racial harassment, casual then organised racism began to rise. The police noted a post-'Brexit' vote spike in racist attacks and then, despite a subsequent fall back, their continuation at a higher level than before the EU referendum.²²⁵⁹ The Brexit campaign and vote moved politics sharply to the Right.

At the outset of the Euro-referendum campaign, the reactionary Europhobic Brexiteers did not enjoy the support of the majority of the British ruling class. They still adhered to a conservative Eurosceptic Remain position. They supported Cameron in getting further exemptions from EU regulations covering workers, including migrants. However, the Brexiteers lacked nothing in finance and media backing. "71 percent of funding for campaigns on both sides of the argument came from the UK's richest people."²²⁶⁰ *The Daily Express, The Daily Mail, The Sun, The Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Times* supported 'Brexit', so "over 80% of consumers who buy a daily newspaper read a title favouring British withdrawal from the EU."²²⁶¹ This was very different from IndyRef1, so too was BBC coverage of the two referenda, with Farage getting disproportionate coverage in both, and Johnson in the latter. With the exclusion of the EU residents from the debate, following the restricted franchise, the media gave them no public voice.

A major purpose behind 'Vote Leave' had been to shift the axis of the Conservatives to the Right, to remove the UK, particularly the City from the threat of new EU regulations and create the best conditions to further divide the working class and lower production costs. But the British ruling class

was very reluctant to split its centuries long party of first choice, the Conservatives.

Thus, following the 'No' victory in the referendum on June 23rd, 2016, in order to prevent any split, previously reluctant Conservative Remainers were taken on board, particularly those who had already shown more Right-wing, especially anti-migrant attitudes. Theresa May, with her Home Office, anti-migrant 'Go Home' vans fitted the bill. She now presented herself as Thatcher mark 2. Therefore, to extend their base of control in the Conservative Party and to bring in increasingly sceptical Remainers to move them further Right, leading figures from 'Vote Leave' accepted May as leader (even if extremely reluctantly in the case of the constantly self-promoting 'Boris').

e) Donald Trump, the global ascendancy of Right Populism, and the emergence of a UK-wide reactionary unionist Brexit alliance (pp. 700-702)

Donald Trump's close involvement in the Brexit campaign led him to launch his US presidential campaign in the UK within days of the 'Leave' referendum victory, with the slogan 'Brexit, plus, plus, plus'. Within a few months he became US president. In an uncanny repeat of the Thatcher and Reagan elections of 1979 and 1980, which heralded the ascendancy of global Neo-Liberalism; the Leave vote in the UK followed by the election of Trump in 2016, heralded the global ascendancy of Right Populism.

However, in an even more crisis-ridden world, events have moved faster and further. For Trump, May still had too many connections to the older Neo-Liberal world. He wanted a British Populist politician to aid him in his 'America First/Britain Second' (when it did not get in the way of US corporate and state interests) project. He favoured Farage but came to understand that the Tories wanted an insider. So, Boris Johnson, who had been born in the USA, became his Tory politician of choice. Trump thought that a post-Brexit trade deal with the US offered the British ruling class more than the chimera of reviving Empire 2. He was also looking for a partner who would go along with his gung-ho foreign policy, unrestrained by any earlier alliances and deals, especially in the Middle East.

May, facing continued pressure from the Tory Hard Right, and knowing they enjoyed Trump's backing, kept to a rightwards course, even after her initial setback in the 2017 Westminster general election. Labour's new leader, Jeremy Corbyn, with his own hardening Brexit stance, offered little challenge. Corbyn, like Miliband in 2015, bowed to Right pressure over migration, transmitted by Len 'British Jobs for British Workers' McCluskey, and other close associates from an old CPB background. And like Miliband, Corbyn supported the existing UK state, and opposed any Scottish IndyRef2. This despite the 'Leave' vote rejection in Scotland, and any attempt to remove Scotland from the EU being in breach of the promises made in the 2012-14 IndyRef1 campaign. So, most Tories, including May, knew there would be little consistent opposition coming from Labour.

Therefore, instead of coming to some softer Brexit deal, in recognition of the Tories' electoral setback, May entered into a governmental alliance with the most Reactionary party in mainstream UK politics - the DUP. Thus, the Tories, the British ruling class's party of first choice, moved from Liberal Unionism in 2011, to Conservative Unionism in 2012, and on to Reactionary Unionism in 2017. The consequences of this soon became clear in Northern Ireland when Loyalists in South Belfast (with its new DUP MP, Emma Little-Pengelly) drove Catholic/Nationalist residents out of new mixed community housing.²²⁶² But given Northern Ireland's continued semi-detached status, such events hardly registered in Great Britain.

Central to the DUP's involvement in this new wider Reactionary Unionist Brexit alliance, was its desire to end EU constitutional underpinning for the post-Good Friday Agreement order in Northern Ireland. The 2008 Crisis had undermined the Paisley/McGuinness, DUP/Sinn Fein rapprochement. The more hard-line Arlene Foster became DUP leader, and behind-the-scenes arrangements were made with Loyalist organisations, with the intention of ending 'parity of esteem,' and reassert as much as possible of the old Unionist supremacy.

In the post-2016 negotiations with the EU, the Northern Ireland/Republic of Ireland border re-emerged as a significant political issue. The GFA had rendered the border virtually invisible. To defend this, EU leaders pushed for a post-Brexit 'Backstop' customs border in the Celtic Sea, rather than along

the lengthy border, with all the unwanted consequences that would bring. The DUP resisted this, pushed by its Loyalist base. The ERG and Johnson backed them, in their campaign to move UK politics even further to the Right.

The DUP leaders should have remembered the precedent of Irish and Ulster Unionist, Sir Edward Carson. He also placed himself to the fore of a Reactionary Unionist alliance from 1912, before the Conservative Unionist-led government unceremoniously ditched him in 1921. They had wider Imperial interests to protect than 'Ulster' not least in 'Southern Ireland', soon to be the Irish Free State. Upon becoming Prime Minister, Johnson quickly adopted the EU 'Backstop' proposal he had recently rejected. Whatever fall-out the newly elected Johnson would have with the DUP, he knew that it had nowhere else to go than the UK government, when it came to keeping 'Ulster' within the UK.

A post-Brexit deal with the Republic of Ireland's Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar, was far more important for the longer-term economic interests of British business operating there, especially the British banks – the Anglo-Irish, Royal Bank of Scotland and Bank of Scotland. The economic interests of British companies guide UK state policy in the Republic of Ireland because of the substantial profits they make there.

Holding on to Northern Ireland is economically much more costly for the UK state. However, Northern Ireland is politically vital (like Trident) if the UK is to maintain its 'great power' status. 'Great powers' don't lose chunks of their own state territory., and possession of nuclear weapons is a mark of Imperial ambitions. The last time the UK lost state territory was in 1921, it coincided with the US overtaking it as a 'great power'.

g) Completing the Right Populist takeover of the UK state in 2019 (pp. 702-708)

But from 2017 until 2019, despite the anti-May plotting by many Hard Right Tories, they still needed her to move politics in their direction. They recognised May's ability to resort to the formidable range of anti-democratic Crown Powers at her disposal under the UK constitution. And 'taking back control' was always about using these powers. After initially attempting to

take much greater personal control of 'Brexit' through resort to the 'Henry VIII clauses' and getting a setback, she soon found her dictatorial feet. She used the royal prerogative to override parliament and decide which votes were 'meaningful'. May's ability to survive major defeats over her 'deals', which would have seen off any leader in another parliamentary democracy, showed that her robotic personal characteristics were quite suited to fronting the UK's Anti-Democratic political order.

However, as May's popularity plummeted, the Hard Right in the party thought (following Trump's example) the time had come to front their campaign with a real Populist. And in 'Boris', they had a figure who could upstage Farage. In the meantime, the Hard Right Tories tested out how far they could push May to support their longer-term plans. Johnson gained confidence both from Trump's backing, and Labour's Westminster facilitation of harder and harder Brexit stances, anti-migrant legislation and upholding the unity of the UK state. After the short-lived 2017 Westminster surge, successive local elections, an EU election and Westminster by-elections, all showed that vacillating Corbyn-led Labour was almost as unpopular as out-of-touch May.

Hard Right Tories saw growing opportunities to replace May and to ditch Corbyn. Having used May, they now intended to break the 'Maybyst' political paralysis. And just as they had benefitted from Farage's UKIP and his 'Grassroots Out' campaign, so they came to benefit from Farage's latest creation – the Brexit Party formed in the lead-up to the May 2019 Euro-election.

After the electoral demise of UKIP (now tainted by a Neo-Fascist fringe) Farage formed his new party, with the backing of Trump. He was assisted by the defection of prominent Tories like Ann Widdecombe and Annunziata Rees Mogg. In the privacy of the EU election ballot box, many Tories gave their vote to the Brexit Party. It managed to upstage even UKIP. In the 2015 Euro-elections UKIP had gained 24 MEPs; in the May 2019 the Brexit Party gained 29 MEPs. With May's 'Brexit Deal' Tory MEPs reduced from 19 to 4, and the Corbyn-led Labour MEPs reduced from 20 to 10, Johnson felt his time had come. He was elected Tory leader on July 24th becoming Prime Minister and appointing himself Minister for the Union. Dominic Cummings (former director of the 'Vote Leave campaign) acted as his now more up-

front ‘Rasputin’, becoming Johnson’s political advisor.

Johnson began to prepare for a general election, resorting to all the Crown Powers, including the Monarchy to prorogue Westminster. Failing this, Johnston’s backers were quite prepared for his government to be removed in a ‘No confidence’ vote, the better to run a general election campaign, fronted by Johnson ‘man of the people’ up against the insider ‘Westminster elite’. Johnson, with the help of Cummings, had a ‘Plan A’ and a ‘Plan B. The opposition didn’t even have a ‘Plan A’, highlighted by its failure to mount a ‘No confidence’ vote, and their dithering over support for a general election.

Those Neo-Liberals and Left Brexiteers who looked to the British ruling class, the first in hope, the second with an “I told you so” sneer (to justify their support for Brexit), found that very little support came to the parliamentary Remainers from ruling class circles. They did not back the Europhile Liberal Party, nor support a Macron-style breakaway, leaving Change UK and its 11 MPs high and dry. And, the City of London, rightly seen as being at the very core of British ruling class, did not organise any economic destabilisation (which it could also profit from) or pour billions into financing a Remain campaign. Mark Carney, Bank of England governor, came out in favour of Johnson’s proposed Brexit deal in October. 2019.²²⁶⁴ The majority of the British ruling class were now prepared to back the Hard Right and see how far they could change UK politics to serve their interests in an increasingly crisis-ridden world.

Therefore, when the general election results came in on December 13th, Johnson’s electoral victory was far from unexpected. In the face of the Tories’ and the Labour Right’s sustained offensive, Corbyn had backed down so often, he failed to persuade many people that an incoming Labour government would stand up to the forces that would be ranged against his *Time for Real Change* manifesto promises. Although the Tories’ vote share only rose by 1.2% to 43.6%, Labour’s vote share fell by 7.8% to 32.2%. The number of Tory MPs increased from 317 to 365, and the number of Labour MPs fell from 262 to 202.

Corbyn’s *Time for Real Change* highlighted the Right Wing pressure over migration²²⁶⁵ and over Scottish self-determination,²²⁶⁶ just as Corbyn’s *For the Many, Not the Few* manifesto had in 2017. When it came to key aspects

of Corbyn's politics, he had not broken from Ed Miliband in 2015, from Gordon Brown's attempt to define Britishness in Ethnic terms, nor from his 'British Jobs for British Workers'. In an election when Johnson and his Right Populists were foregrounding such issues, Corbynistas hoped that economic issues or the future of the NHS would displace them. But the Tories, with their own economic agenda, knew that despite the UK state's formidable Anti-Democratic Crown Powers, these need to be supplemented and updated, to further their aims.

Following Corbyn's and Labour's general election defeat, Rebecca Long-Baillie, the Left's Labour leadership candidate, still believed that the existing UK state and constitution is largely adequate for her proposed Social Democratic reforms. Thus, in one of her leadership appeals she wrote, "I'm fully committed to the union and I don't think that should be shaken in any way."²²⁶⁷ On free movement of people from the EU, she wrote, "We've got to be pragmatic about this", arguing for "a system that's based on values and not targets,"²²⁶⁸ without any hint of what those 'values' might be (although Gordon Brown's British Ethnic criteria for UK subject acceptability seem to be lurking about in there).

The reality is that the British Labour Party is now moving rapidly to the Right. Corbyn retreated before the Israeli state, Zionist and British Right offensive, accepting the pro-Israeli bias of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance statement. Rebecca Long-Baillie signed up to the Jewish Board of Deputies' 'Ten Pledges'.²²⁶⁹ These give support to Apartheid Israel, with its oppression and expulsion of Palestinians, Jewish supremacist nationality laws, and the demand for a witch-hunt against those supporting Palestinian rights and self-determination.

Clearly the post-Corbyn 'Left' represent a further retreat into Labour Right's acceptance that foreign policy is decided by the British ruling class and that Labour will back whatever diplomatic or military course of action is required by the UK state and its US ally. A lot of this flows from Labour's longstanding attitude to the UK state, with occasional critical comments and paper proposals soon ditched in the face of any real challenges.

Another contributory factor to the British Labour Left's defeat and continuing retreat has been their largely unquestioning acceptance of Identity politics. These were originally a hallmark of Social Neo-Liberalism.

However, many on the Left pushed individual Identity politics beyond this, appearing to support the idea that, when pushed to its limits, they could transcend their domination by Social Neo-Liberal thinking. The effect of this, though, has been to increasingly place each Identity in competition with others. This has undermined the earlier wider Social Movement Solidarity based on a shared recognition of oppression and exploitation, which could have formed the basis for a wider ‘unity in diversity’.

Once the notion of shared oppression and exploitation gets removed, then celebration of Individual identity takes over. The door is then opened to the Conservative, Reactionary and Far Right identities. They add Male, White, Christian and (pro-Israeli) Jewish Identities, claiming these have been ‘ignored’ or ‘discriminated’ against in the Social Neo-Liberals ‘and Left’s ‘politically correct’ world. And as those on the Left who promote competing Identity politics fall out, the Right has responded with great relish and inserted itself politically into the so-called ‘culture wars’. They intend to use the divisions amongst the oppressed to promote their Right Populist or Neo-Fascist politics.

The extent to which the Labour Left (and others) has fallen into this trap, was revealed by Corbyn’s complete inability to respond the Right’s drummed up anti-Semitic accusations. These allow the Right to equate the defence of the oppressor Apartheid Israeli state with the need to suppress those who support the oppressed Palestinians. Zionists, who support a Jewish supremacist Apartheid state and the continued oppression or Ethnic Cleansing of Palestinians, set the limits for any debate in the Corbyn-led Labour Party, and will continue to do so in the post-Corbyn Labour Party.

However, it goes further than this. The Far Right in the UK have taken inspiration from the Israeli state’s new Jewish supremacist ‘nation’-state legislation.²²⁷⁰ This is the Ethnic (version of Racism) based precedent they want introduced in the UK. Thus Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, a strong supporter of Israel, wants a British Ethnic Supremacist 'nation'-state. If the Labour Left can’t publicly oppose Israel’s constitutional racist basis, then they are no better than Gordon Brown, who mainstreamed the Neo-Conservative Right’s idea of Ethnic/Cultural racism, as an alternative to the Right’s earlier Biological Racism.

And it is not just Identity politics and Israeli state practice the Right can draw

upon .There have been decades of Tory, Labour and Tory/Lib-Dem immigration and ‘citizenship’ laws, and the exclusion of ‘non-British’ residents from the franchise. This issue emerged in the clash between the Scottish Independence Movement’s support for a Civic view of Nation and Nationality (i.e. all those who live in the Nation and choose to adopt Citizenship) and the restricted Ethnic view of Nationality, upheld by the UK state and promoted by Gordon Brown (along with ‘British jobs for British workers’), Michael Gove et al. This is not much challenged by Corbyn, and especially his closest advisors. Brown’s and Gove’s attempts to create a British cultural identity, and demonise those, particularly Muslims, who do not conform, have provided a half-way house to the Far Right’s way of thinking. Corbyn’s constant wavering over migrant rights also gave succour to the Right.

The first thing needed to challenge the Right Populism is to see how deeply it has already penetrated the Left, following the Brexit campaign and vote. So, perhaps in the face of all the problems confronting the Left, brought to the surface by Brexit, it is not surprising that the Hard and Far Right in the UK have wet dreams over how much further Right they can push politics.

In the transition from the old Social Democratic view of society under Old Labour in the 1960 and 70s, to the full acceptance of Neo-Liberalism under New Labour (with its Social Neo-Liberal add-on in the 1990s), a series of political adjustments were made, e.g. 'Dented Shield' Labour. But, because of the depth of the current multi-faceted crisis, the pressure to join the Right in adopting Populism is taking place much more rapidly. It took 18 years for a fully-fledged, Neo-Liberal Blatcherism to develop. Before this, *Marxism Today* had emerged as a journal advocating a particular British accommodation to the 'New Times'. The ex-CPGB Democratic Left helped to pave the way for New Labour and Social Neo-Liberalism. But, under Corbyn some of their former opponents, the 'Tankies', had hoped the day had come for their very 'British Road to Socialism' via Brexit and British Left Social Democracy.

December 12th brought that immediate illusion to an end. But just as the ‘New Times’ wing of the old CPGB did not make much progress under Neil Kinnock in the run-up to the 1992 general election, but had to wait for the Tony Blair’s Social Neo-Liberalism to find their place in the sun; so there is a

possibility that some Left Brexiters, will eventually find their place under a new National Populist order, which like Blair's Neo-Liberalism has accepted the main features of its Hard Right predecessors.

Outside Labour, George Galloway, a USSR and Ceausescu's Romania sentimentalist, continues to promote himself as the missing British Left Populist leader. He had opposed Scottish independence with his 'Just Say Naw' campaign, campaigned for 'Brexit' and backed Farage's 'Leave.EU'/'Grassroots Out'. He also campaigned for a vote for the Brexit Party. As with Johnson and the Hard Right Tories, Galloway hoped to use these parties for his own ends. The ex-Trotskyist, but now Right Libertarian, Clair Fox, co-editor of *Spiked*, went one further and joined the Brexit Party. Right Populism had already penetrated the Left, and this will increase following the December 12th, 2019, general election.

h) 'Brexit' undermines the position of EU migrants and opens up the prospect of further working class divisions in the UK (pp. 708-711)

A feature of Brexiteer thinking, which unites its Right and Left, is its invocation of the 'democratic' legitimacy of the 2016 'Brexit' vote. In the 2014 IndyRef, a combination of 'Project Hope', which helped to extend the vote to 16-to-18-year-olds and a growing new Scottish-European Internationalism, ensured that EU residents were also included in the franchise. This contributed to the Democratic Revolution in Scotland²²⁷¹

However, the two major acts of the subsequent Anti-Democratic Counter-Revolution were the 'English votes for English Laws' and the denial of the vote for EU residents and 16–18-year-olds in the 2016 Euro-referendum. Anybody trying to invoke the term 'democratic' to justify Brexit, with a franchise that excludes these people, is trying to disguise the latest face of Right Populist, British Chauvinism and Racism. Large numbers of EU residents were also prevented by 'administrative' means from voting in the June 2019 EU general election.²²⁷² And the Tories now want to remove the vote from significant sections of the working class, by demanding official ID documents.²²⁷³ 'First they came for the EU residents, then....'

And some on the Left, including organisations that originally opposed Brexit,

have now accepted Johnson and Cummings' electoral pitch – 'Get Brexit Done'. They have equated the UK's departure from the institutions of the EU on January 31st, 2020, with having 'got Brexit done' and the ending of Brexit as an immediate political issue. They argue that now trade negotiations with the EU are being conducted out of public sight, the way is cleared for 'class' or 'bread and butter' issues. The Scottish Socialist Party provides an example of such thinking.²²⁷⁴ This involves giving a retrospective legitimacy to the 'mandate', which excluded EU residents and 16-to-18-year-olds, and to the continued legitimacy of the IndyRef1 'No' vote, despite the Brexiteers' overthrowing the key 'Better Together' promise to keep Scotland in the EU.

But, despite the economistic Left's belief that 'Brexit is now largely done', Johnson, Cummings and others have no intention of letting Brexit go. It is part of their wider Right Populist project. In early October, Arron Banks posted a photo of Angela Merkel with the caption. "After two world wars who wants to be pushed about by a kraut?"²²⁷⁵ Banks, following Trump, knew full well he would have to officially withdraw such a provocative statement. But he was appealing over their heads to the Brexiteer audience he was cultivating for the longer-term Hard Right project. He called on Brexiteers to vote for Johnson's Tories in the December general election.

And in the context of the EU trade negotiations, Johnson will not be slow to resort to similar racist language, with appropriate denials, saying 'it was all a joke'. But as with Right Populism in general, the aim is to mainstream National Chauvinist, Racist and Misogynist language. EU residents are to be treated as 'hostages', asylum seekers as 'invaders'. And Johnson, in his own version of Trump's attempt to break-up migrant families on the US/Mexican borders, has attempted to deport 50 Jamaican-born residents. Like Trump, Johnson is unlikely to be deterred for very long by court action, and more post-Windrush-type scandals are only too likely.

And Johnson's new Immigration Bill provides a continuing political backdrop, designed to divide and stymie any working class resistance. Any attempt to separate 'bread and butter' politics from the Right Populists' continuing Brexit project, especially accepting its democratic legitimacy and denying its wider British Chauvinist and Racist purpose, just further undermines Socialists in the face of the ruling class offensive.

At present those Tory Right Populists, determining the direction of UK politics, would prefer to have their Anti-Migrant policies conducted by a reinforced state with considerably extended repressive powers. This way they could contain the Far Right, just as Thatcher was able to take the steam out the National Front after 1979. She brought in the new racist 1981 British Nationality Act, promoted the police offensive against Black communities and further stepped up of repression in Ireland.

However, under today's conditions of global Right Populist ascendancy, the Far Right today in Europe is trying to find the best way to utilise this for its own ends. In November 2016, the Far Right mobilised 60,000 people in Warsaw for its vision of a 'White Christian Europe'.²²⁷⁶ Despite its own divisions and tensions, the Far Right's 'internationalism' is still ahead of the lukewarm diplomatic 'internationalism' of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left, which is also divided over the future of the EU. Unlike the Far Right, this body's 'internationalism' provides no real vision of an alternative Europe.

An Anti-Capitalist Left, which could once mobilise hundreds of thousands across Europe against the Neo-Liberal G8 Summits and millions against the Iraq War, hardly lifted a finger when the Greek people were under attack from the Troika. Sometimes, Socialist parties like the SP(E&W)/Committee for a Workers International (CWI), fall back on such propagandist slogans as a Socialist Federation of Europe. This is completely disconnected from the social forces that could bring this about. Their stance only provides some justification for a sect-International, which organises no significant forces in practical activity on an international basis.

The Left Brexiters and Lexiters are also politically disarmed because they tend to see racism as a nasty foreign import – it's just not British! - but the responsibility of Fascist street gangs. This sort of thinking underpinned the naming of the Anti-Nazi League (ANL), launched in 1977. The ANL separated combatting 'Nazis' from challenging the Racism of the state (and from the main form of Fascism found in the UK - the Loyalist paramilitaries). Today, another SWP front organisation, Stand Up to Racism (SUR), concentrates its attention on the Far Right. It does nothing to challenge the State Racism, from which the Far Right draws much of its sustenance. SUR remains largely blind to the role of state agencies - immigration, security and police - in the Everyday Racism that both migrants and long established non-

white British residents face.

5. THE BREAK-UP OF THE UK STATE AND THE UNDERMINING OF HYBRID BRITISHNESS

A UK state Brexit and US Right Populist alliance, fragmented Constitutional Nationalist responses; and the possibility of a Socialist Republican, ex-Brit and ‘Internationalism from Below’ alliance across Europe

a) ‘Brexit’ and Johnson’s Right Populist election victory further undermine hybrid-Britishness (pp. 711-727)

Today’s Right Populist political offensive has consequences for state-promoted Britishness. The Reactionary Unionists are challenging the Britishness, which was opened up to Non-White UK residents from the 1970s. Both ‘multiculturalism from above’ and ‘multiculturalism from below’ have been under attack. Conservative and Labour parties had already attacked the former, in favour of promoting a British Culture, based on fabricated Ethnic/Cultural criteria. Those one-time British Asians, who are also Muslims, have been the first to be peeled away from a state recognised hybrid Non-White Britishness. Others will follow, with demands that even long-standing EU residents become subject to state checks, whilst equally long-standing Non-White British subjects are targetted for harassment and deportation by the state.

But it goes further even than that. The post 1998 ‘Devolution-all-round’ deal acknowledged that there were four (in reality three and a bit) Nations making up the UK state – England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The setting up of the new Parliaments/Assemblies at Holyrood and Cardiff Bay, and a reconstituted Stormont represented a constitutional recognition of long-established Scottish-, Welsh-, ‘Ulster’- and Northern Irish-Britishness. Westminster, though, following New Labour’s failure to bring about English Regional Political Devolution, continues to double up as the UK and English Parliament. Thus is one reason why many in England find it difficult to distinguish between English and British, with a vocal Right seeing Great

Britain as a Greater England.

During the 2012-14 IndyRef1 campaign, ‘Better Together’ had invoked the post-1998 Liberal Unionist mantra of the UK being a “partnership of equals”. But since the defeat of IndyRef1, successive Tory governments, have backtracked from this. There has been minimal opposition from ‘One {State} Nation’ Labour, Corbyn-led Labour or the Lib-Dems. Only a still Liberal Unionist, Welsh Labour, unlike Conservative Unionist, Scottish Labour, has tried to defend and advance the Political Devolutionary, constitutional settlement in its nation.

At a UK level, the 2016 EU referendum ‘Leave’ vote effectively handed the political baton to the Reactionary Unionists. Reactionary Unionists want to turn back the ‘New Unionist’ Devolution-all-round settlement, with its “partnership of equals” and “parity of esteem”. When the SNP-led Scottish Government put forward the idea for a differentiated deal or a compromise for the whole of the United Kingdom at an early stage this was completely ignored. The UK Government cut the Scottish Government out of the Brexit negotiations entirely. When the Scottish Parliament voted - with the cross-party support of everyone apart from the Tories and one Lib-Dem - to withhold consent to the European Union (Withdrawal) Bill that too was ignored. When the Scottish Parliament tried to pass its own Legal Continuity Bill, dealing with the consequences of Brexit for devolution, it was challenged by the UK Government in the Supreme Court, and while the hearing of the case was pending, the Tories in the House of Lords retrospectively changed the law to make large parts of the Bill ultra vires. When amendments to the Withdrawal Bill came back from the House of Lords to House of Commons, Scottish MPs got 19 minutes to debate the implications of those amendments, with all of the rest of the time being taken up by the government minister.

That is what prompted the SNP walkout²²⁷⁷ on June 13th, 2019. This was at a time, when May was still in government, and was prepared to work with the DUP over Brexit, despite the fact it did not represent wishes of the electorate in Northern Ireland over this issue. But even the DUP was soon to find that this relationship was far from a “partnership of equals”.

The election of Johnson’s Right Populist government on December 12th, 2019, opens up the prospect of the complete marginalisation of the Scottish

and Welsh Parliaments. In this, Johnson would even be going beyond the original wish of Tony Blair that “Scotland would have no more powers than an English parish council because sovereignty would remain ‘with me’ at Westminster.”²²⁷⁸ But Blair’s personal wish, like Nigel Lawson’s, that Brexit might bring 26 counties of Ireland back into the UK, were never serious possibilities at the time. The political dynamics that were pushing Scottish Devolution from 1998 to 2014, and the Republic of Ireland’s constitutional relationship with the UK between 2016-20 lay in other directions. But the eclipse of Liberal Unionism, and Johnson’s preparedness to undermine Conservative Unionism as part of his Reactionary Unionist offensive, highlights the seriousness of the British ruling class threat to the current constitutional set-up.

Johnson’s Reactionary Unionist, ‘take back control’ offensive has even less chance of creating a new popular Scottish-Britishness than Blair’s Liberal Unionist ‘Devolution-all-round’ deal. This had been linked to the simultaneous Neo-Liberal dismantlement of the post-war Social Monarchist, Welfare State. As a consequence, growing numbers in Scotland began to abandon the British suffix of their former Scottish identities, opting for Scottish or Scottish–European identities instead. The SNP was able to make advances by adopting the Social Democratic legacy being abandoned by Labour.

Therefore, in the absence of a now lost Scottish-British social and political hegemony in Scotland, Johnson will increasingly substitute the centralised power of the UK state – ‘take back control’. After Brexit, Scotland will be re-Provincialised under the UK government and The City, enforcing patterns of economic development designed solely for wider British business interests. As part of the UK, Scotland has a historical record of boom-and-bust local economic investment and disinvestment. This has left behind devastated communities.

Scotland also has Europe’s most unequal land ownership pattern, along with its economically and environmentally distorted rural development. Vast areas have been given over to meet the leisure requirements of the rich. Johnson’s decision to maintain Dumfriesshire businessman, turned landowner and field sports advocate, Alistair Jack, as his Scottish Secretary, gives some indication of the sort of Scotland the British ruling class dream

about.

The SNP government has only made some half-hearted attempts to break free from oil-based energy-led development. But the UK government has already undermined research and investment into alternatives. It looks to profit from sea-based oil extraction and land-based fracking until reserves are exhausted. They will then leave behind communities as devastated as those following the closure of the coal and other industries. But the SNP government remains tied to the Scottish business orientated Neo-Liberal Sustainable Growth Commission. So, it will only be able to offer token opposition to the corporate driven destruction of the human life sustaining circuits of our global environment.

The SNP government's continued attempts to keep Scottish business on board could be undermined when Scottish-based business leaders find that the source of patronage lies not through Holyrood but through Westminster. This is unlikely, though, to lead to a reorientation of SNP government policy. It will lead to more desperate attempts to woo Scottish business.

When the referendum to support a Catalan Republic was finally agreed by the Catalan parliament in 2017, a prime condition was the non-involvement of the leaders of the main Catalan Nationalist Party, Convergence and Union. They had been heavily implicated in business corruption after running Catalunya from 1980-2003 and from 2010 onwards. The closer the SNP government becomes involved with business, either at local council or national level, the more it will also become tangled up with the corruption this inevitably brings.

The SNP entered the 2015, 2017 and 2019 general elections looking for British Liberal Unionist allies, first to introduce the promised 'Devo-Max' in 2015; then following the Brexit vote, to obtain a Section 30 order for IndyRef2. Although the SNP had a successful general election in Scotland on December 12th, 2019, increasing its vote share by 8.1% points to 45%, and its number of MPs from 35 to 48, the UK wide result was a victory for Johnson's Reactionary Unionism. Under this there is little likelihood of either a Section 30 order, or the SNP's demand that the right to hold IndyRef2 be transferred to Holyrood.

The SNP government's other hoped for allies, including Plaid Cymru and the Green Party, made no significant gains (their number of MPs remained the same), whilst in Wales, the Reactionary Unionist Tories gained 6 seats at the expense of a still Liberal Unionist dominated Labour Party. In Northern Ireland neither Sinn Fein nor the SDLP have a position on Scottish independence. The SDLP, with 2 seats, is still the fraternal party of British Labour.

Under Johnson, the Reactionary Unionists have 373 MPs (Tories plus DUP), a majority of 98, to the Conservative and Liberal Unionists (Labour, Lib-Dems and Green Party of England and Wales) 214 MPs and the Constitutional Nationalists (SNP, Plaid Cymru, SDLP and Sinn Fein) 61 MPs. On top of this, Sinn Fein do not take their 7 seats. There are also plenty of Labour and Lib-Dem MPs who would support Johnson in denying the right to hold IndyRef2. The SNP's constitutional road to independence is blocked.

However, beyond the SNP leadership there is growing movement. The election result prompted some in the Scottish Labour Party to consider pushing for Westminster to concede Holyrood's right to have IndyRef2. Scottish Labour for Radical Democracy was formed on December 15th 2019²²⁷⁹ with this end in mind. On February 16th, 2020, Labour for Independence announced it had been reformed.²²⁸⁰

The All Under One Banner events have been sizeable, with 150,000 attending the Edinburgh demo on October 5th, 2019, and 80,000 the Glasgow demo on January 11th, 2020. AUOB held its first National Assembly on February 15th, whilst the Radical Independence Campaign reformed nationally after holding a 500 strong conference on October 26th, 2019. And, as between 2012-14, many local and autonomous 'Yes' groups have formed/reformed across Scotland.

Although, the SNP leadership's prevarication over InfyRef2 is causing increasing concern, it could be the actions of the Johnson government in further marginalising the existing devolved institutions, or dragging Scotland into the UK's increasingly bellicose activities, that leads to a severe constitutional crisis. This could place the independence movement up against the UK state's Crown Powers, highlighting the need for a Socialist Republican response. This means contesting the SNP leadership's

acceptance that a UK state agreed constitutional road to independence is the only way forward. Genuine Republicanism in the UK is not some future commitment to abolish the Monarchy, but a challenge to the UK state's Anti-Democratic Crown Powers today, and developing a movement, which acts as if Sovereignty lies with the People.

In such a scenario, most of the British Labour Party would most likely once more help Johnson, just as it did over Brexit. The three Labour leader candidates visited Scotland for their sole hustings in Glasgow on 15th February. 'Left' leader candidate, Rebecca Long-Baillie very reluctantly conceded that Holyrood had the right to IndyRef2, but added, "I am proud to be part of the UK". Sir Keith Starmer said that "Whether the Scottish parliament should have the power over an independence referendum is an interesting question, but we shouldn't get sucked into that."²²⁸¹ Labour's attempts to buttress British Unionism are unlikely to put Scottish Labour back at the head of the Unionism in Scotland, or to reinforce a declining Scottish-Britishness.

Both of Long-Baillie's and Starmer's stances were entirely predictable, but the third Labour leader candidate, Lisa Nandy, promoted a 'solution', which breaks with the mould of British Unionism. She called for devolution to a "much more radical power settlement than federalism with power pushed out to local authorities".²²⁸² Nandy is arguing not for a reformed British Union state, but for a British unitary state. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland shouldn't really be given constitutional recognition but be dissolved into British 'international' Westminster politics, with Edinburgh, Glasgow, Cardiff, Swansea, Belfast and Derry being British cities like London, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle and Bristol. Although Nandy's particular Labour version of British 'internationalism' has few supporters, her view that 'Britishness' equals 'internationalism' has a very long pedigree in British Labour circles, including the Left. They are completely blind to their own very British Nationalism, and Labour's long record in supporting British imperialist interests. The most recent Labour governments under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown were involved in 5 wars.

In denying the existence of a National Question in the UK, Nandy has found a Unitary state, which knows how to deal with this problem – the semi-Francoist Castilian/Spanish state. When that state's vicious suppression of

the Catalan Republican referendum was pointed out to Nandy, she backtracked. She said that she did not support these actions, but the policies of British Labour's fraternal, Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE).²²⁸³ The PSOE is now in government and hasn't lifted a finger to bring the vicious actions of the Spanish police to account in Catalunya, nor the actions of Spanish judges in sentencing 9 Catalan political prisoners to 9-13 years imprisonment.

But, in contrast to Nandy, even if Johnson wants to reign in existing Political Devolution, he still wants to maintain the UK as a Unionist state, with its specific Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish components. Acting as Minister for the Union, and using his appointed Secretaries of State, Reactionary Unionists want to marginalise Political Devolution with a greater concentration on top-down managed Administrative Devolution. Nandy's own 'Left' British Radical Unitary state arguments will just help the Tory Right Populists in their designs, in a similar manner to Farage's Hard Right arguments about Brexit reversing immigration. These have paved the way for the introduction Johnson's new Immigration Bill, which will not necessarily reduce labour migration, but lead to a cheaper, more exploitable migrant labour force, through a state managed hierarchy of employment, access, residency and political rights.

In Wales, the rise of Right Populism had already begun to undermine the Welsh-British Nation that had been created between 1997 and 2011 through the Welsh Labour, Lib-Dem Liberal Unionist and Plaid Cymru Constitutional Nationalist alliance. This Welsh-British Nation, finally officially recognised under New Labour's 'Devolution-all-round settlement' in 1998 formed the basis for the successful Welsh Devolution referendum of 2011. Voters agreed to increased powers for the Welsh Assembly (on the lines of 'the Scottish parliament) by 64.5% to 35.5%. This was a much greater margin than for the original Welsh Devolution Act of 1997. There was a majority vote in all the three main areas of Wales – the largely English-speaking former coalfield and steelmaking industrial area of South Wales with its north-east Wales outlier; the Welsh Borders (with the single exception of Monmouthshire) with its north coast extension and Pembrokeshire outlier; and Welsh speaking North and West Wales. This was a big advance on the divided vote between these three areas 1997.

However, the former South Wales and northeast Wales industrial areas have been as devastated by Neo-Liberal deindustrialisation as their equivalents in the North and Midlands of England. Whilst there are also similarly devastated old industrial areas in the Central Belt of Scotland, the SNP had managed to inherit much of the old Labour vote. Initially, Plaid Cymru also made some impact in South Wales. As recently as 2016, Leanne Wood, Plaid's then Republican leader, and Welsh language learner, topped the poll in the Rhondda constituency of the Welsh Assembly.

However, in the 2015 Westminster general election, UKIP had already overtaken Plaid in terms of votes (but not seats). And in the 2016 Welsh Assembly elections, UKIP made bigger gains across South Wales and northeast Wales than Plaid. Then the EU referendum vote, held a month later, pushed both the Labour and Tory voting areas of Wales into the 'Leave' camp, with only the Welsh-speaking Wales voting to Remain. This reopened the divisions in the Welsh-British Nation that seemed to have been overcome between 1997 and 2011.

By the time of the 2017 Westminster general election, Plaid's vote declined by 1.7%, and this was particularly marked in the Non-Welsh speaking areas. Plaid was still able to consolidate its vote in the Welsh-speaking areas, largely at the expense of the Lib-Dems. However, a somewhat chastened Plaid Cymru voted to replace South Wales Leanne Wood with Adam Price, MP from a more Welsh-speaking area. Plaid was retreating into its heartlands. Although in the 2019 EU election, Plaid won over most of the wider Remain vote in Wales (from both Liberal Unionist, Welsh Lib-Dems and Welsh Labour), its second place with 19.6% share of the vote and 1 MEP (same as before), was well behind that of the Brexit Party, which topped the poll on 32.5% gaining 2 MEPs.

In the December 12th general election Johnson's Right Populist Tories made substantial gains in Wales. The overall Tory vote rose by 2.5%, a greater percentage than in England. They gained 6 new seats bringing their total number of Welsh MPs to 14. Labour's vote in Wales fell by 8%, as badly as in England. In South Wales and its northeast Wales outlier, Labour had long been dominant. However, the election produced the first Tory breach in Labour South Wales at Bridgend, whilst they took 4 of the 5 Labour-held seats in northeast Wales. They came second in all but one of the Labour held seats in these areas. Plaid's Cymru's overall vote fell back by 0.5% to 9.9%.

Plaid held on to its 4 seats but was second in no seats, third in 14, fourth in 12, fifth in 4 seats, whilst it lost its deposit in 10 seats.

One aim of Reactionary Unionism is to break up Liberal Unionist Wales. The Border counties, their north coast extension, Pembrokeshire outlier, and possibly North-East Wales, will be encouraged to adopt a counties-based or other localised form of Britishness, akin to those of the English counties. South Wales, though, with its own distinctive Regional identity, will be encouraged to adopt a form of Britishness, akin to the English North and Midlands. Any such Regional South Wales-Britishness will be encouraged to celebrate its past contributions to the Union and Empire.

From this, greater attempts will be made to pull supporters in these areas into fully accepting the Right Populists' Europhobia and their willingness to jump at Trump's bidding. Welsh-speaking Wales will be treated more like the 'Ulster' Unionists treat the Gaelic speakers supported by the Irish Nationalist minority. Welsh language culture could be reduced to providing niche marketing opportunities for tourists, with far less official support.

The new political situation is going to put a considerable strain upon Welsh Labour. It has tried to maintain an all-Wales orientation based around the promotion of a gradual Liberal Unionist extension of the UK's devolved powers for Wales. Since the foundation of the Welsh Assembly, Welsh Labour has also had a positive attitude to the Welsh language. This Liberal Unionist approach has been pursued in alliance with the Lib-Dems, Plaid Cymru and the now much reduced Liberal Unionist section of the Welsh Tories. Most Tory MPs and MWAs have gone over to support Johnson's Reactionary Unionism and their numbers have increased.

Johnson's Reactionary Unionist threat could lead to a revival of Conservative Unionism in Welsh Labour's ranks. This was a strong feature of Pre-Devolution Wales. Welsh MPs were amongst the 32 Labour MPs who did not turn up to vote against Johnson's final EU Withdrawal Act on 9th January 2020. This despite the act's final removal of safeguards in relation to workers' and consumer rights, the environment, EU nationals living in the UK and child refugees. And a Tory Right Brexit means curtailing existing Welsh Devolved Powers.

Johnson's closing off of further Liberal Unionist, Devolutionary Reform in

Wales also poses a problem for Plaid Cymru. In the Westminster general election, Plaid Cymru was confirmed as the dominant party in North and West Wales. It managed to hold on to its 4 existing seats, increasing its percentage vote in the 3 most Welsh-speaking constituencies, but falling back relative to the Tories in Carmarthen East and Dinefwr. Plaid failed to take Yns Mon from Labour. The Tories took it instead. The Tories are the main challengers in the 4 Plaid held seats.

In the face of the growing threat to the Liberal Unionist/Constitutional Nationalist run Welsh Assembly, will Plaid try to come to a deal with Welsh Labour's Liberal Unionists (if they still remain dominant in the party)? The passing of the Senedd and Elections (Wales) Act²²⁸⁴ on November 27th, just prior to the Westminster general election, shows that Liberal Unionism is still a force within the Labour controlled Welsh Assembly/Parliament. With the continuing decline of the Welsh Lib-Dems, Plaid could replace them as Welsh Labour's main ally?

Or does Plaid use Johnson's Reactionary Unionist roadblock and Welsh Labour and the rapidly declining Lib-Dems' inability to get around this, to come out more clearly as a Welsh independence party? This route means taking their lead from the Constitutional Nationalist SNP. Plaid's leadership (unlike the SNP's) has backed the openly pro-independence 'All Under One Banner' (AUOB) strategy of mass mobilisations to build support for an independence referendum. And AUOB (Cymru) has taken its marches to Labour Unionist and Brexit-voting Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales and intends to march in now Tory unionist and Brexit-voting Wrexham in North-east Wales. But Plaid could also retreat into a defence of existing Political and Cultural Devolution, instead of openly campaigning for Political Independence.

However, with the existing Liberal Unionist, Welsh British under attack, a Welsh movement for greater National Self-Determination, which so far has been the least challenging at a political level to the UK state (although with an impressive record of Civil Disobedience around language rights) could well come to the fore. This will depend on two things. First its ability to break out of the Welsh-speaking areas and get back into English speaking South Wales; and secondly a close alliance with those other National Democratic movements challenging the UK state. And, as in Scotland, this will lead to a greater rejection of the 'British' suffix of the UK state-

promoted Welsh-British identity and the reinforcement of the ‘Welsh’ prefix. And amongst Welsh Internationalists this will lead to a ‘European’ replacing a ‘British’ suffix.

In Northern Ireland, the DUP had been to the fore of the Reactionary Unionist offensive. If the Right Populist Tories wanted to end the ‘partnership of equals’ promised under ‘Devolution-all-round’, the DUP’s Reactionary Unionism had a more specific purpose. This was to end the ‘parity of esteem’, which was supposed to underpin the Good Friday Agreement. The DUP decided to support May’s post-2017 Westminster government and then backed the ERG and Johnson, when they said they opposed the EU ‘Backstop’. They hoped this was a reciprocal arrangement. But the DUP overplayed its hand. The UK government was just as dismissive of Northern Ireland as it was of Scotland and Wales.

The DUP’s position was further undermined in the December 12th general election, when it lost its overall majority of Northern Irish seats at Westminster in the general election. The number of DUP MPs fell from 10 to 8 out of the total of 18. The DUP entered the election somewhat chastened by its attempt to dictate Tory policy towards Ireland in the aftermath of Brexit. The DUP leadership forgot that as far as British companies, especially the banks, are concerned, they have far more profitable interests to maintain in the Republic. This is one of the main reasons why the UK holds on to Northern Ireland to retain some leverage over the Republic. But the British ruling class, despite the greater economic cost of holding on to Northern Ireland, cannot let it go. To give up any state territory would puncture the UK’s continued Imperial pretensions, which have been central to the Brexiteers’ politics.

The British government holds the whip hand when it comes to determining the nature of the relationship between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. So once the general election results were announced, the DUP was subjected to Tory government pressure to re-join the Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly. Forced to abandon its grander UK wide pretensions, the DUP is now free to pursue its obstructionist tactics, largely out of Westminster’s sight – normal ‘Ulster’-British service would be resumed.

The Northern Ireland Executive and Assembly were reconstituted on January 9th and 11th. 2020. Neither the DUP nor Sinn Fein fancied the alternative,

which was another NI Assembly election, where both parties would likely lose seats, primarily to APNI and the SDLP respectively. Stormont's reconstitution has been welcomed, not only by the UK government, but by the Irish government and by Bill Clinton.

At first glance, Johnson's reconstitution of the NI Executive and Assembly appears to be going against Tory Reactionary Unionist attempts to curtail the powers of the Devolved Parliaments elsewhere in the UK. However, that is because the political nature of Stormont is different. The setting up of Holyrood and Cardiff Bay were genuine Liberal Unionist measures, whilst the post-1998 Stormont acted a Liberal cover for a Conservative Unionist order, which retained Partition but in a new form. And on this basis, it did not take long before a Reactionary Unionism, based on old 'Ulster'-British Unionism, expressed through the Loyalists, the various Orange orders, the DUP, sections of the UUP, TUV and PUP, made its influence felt.

In the run-up to the general election, the most reactionary wing of the DUP, along with the TUV and 'past' UVF, UDA, Red Hand Commando leaders and current Orange Order leader organised a 'Stop the Betrayal Act, Defend the Union' meeting in Ulster Hall, invoking both Sir Edward Carson in 1913 and Ian Paisley in 1986. The meeting threatened civil disobedience. Despite this, the DUP lost two of its Belfast MPs. Therefore, the DUP's constant resort to the Loyalist and Orange base has been showing diminishing political returns. Although this is to be welcomed, the DUP has other options in Trump's new 'America First' dominated world.

A key component of Trump's Right Populist alliance is to be found amongst the evangelical Protestant Fundamentalists. The evangelical Protestant Caleb Foundation (CF) was set up in Northern Ireland by George Dawson of the DUP and Independent Orange Lodge. Many influential DUP and TUV politicians support it. Indeed, with its claimed support of 200,000 evangelicals, it has been suggested that the CF has "overtaken the Orange Order as the most influential pressure group within Unionism".²²⁸⁵ The CF could provide more openings to the Protestant Right from the USA. They have been increasingly active in Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK, over abortion, gay rights and the peddling of creation theory. The CF draws attention to the 1857 Christian Revival, which was also inspired by prior events in the USA. So, having lost any Westminster leverage, the DUP may look to other influential friends, with their US backing.

However, it was the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI) (sister party to the Lib-Dems in Great Britain) which made the biggest impact amongst Unionists in the general election. But although APNI increased its vote by an impressive 8.8%, it only gained 1 MP – in North Down. APNI does not form part of the official Unionist/Loyalist block but supports a Non-Sectarian Northern Ireland within the UK. It is a Liberal Unionist party primarily based in the traditional Unionist held areas. Underscoring APNI's Unionist nature, it performed best in seats where its intervention would not cost the Unionists an MP. The Unionists now only hold half the seats at Westminster, 8 Reactionary Unionist DUP MPs and 1 Liberal Unionist APNI MP.

The APNI, like the constitutional nationalist parties, was looking for the victory of wider British Liberal Unionist, anti-Brexit allies in the general election. The APNI's aim to build a Non-Sectarian Northern Ireland depends upon improving relations with the Republic of Ireland. Good inter-state relations between the Republic and Northern Ireland would lead to good inter-community relations within Northern Ireland. APNI sees these as being underpinned by the EU-backed Good Friday Agreement.

However, the post-Brexit 'Backstop', whether it be in the Celtic Sea, or later along the Republic of Ireland/Northern Ireland border, when the transitional period has come to an end, can only reverse the current open border. Even, if the formal 'Backstop' remains in the Celtic Sea, this will create tensions over migrants at the border, and new opportunities for smuggling. Both of these will necessitate state action to counter illegality and gangsterism. This means that under the Johnson's Right Populist, Reactionary Unionist regime, the grounds for the APNI's Liberal Unionist accommodation are being undermined.

Despite some now claiming, following the general election results, that there is a pro-Irish unity electoral majority, this is not the case. In a breakdown of the votes (and it is the sum of individual votes that would count if there were to be a new Border Poll, not who currently holds the constituency seats), the Unionists (DUP, APNI, UUP, Northern Ireland Conservatives and UKIP) gained 59.5% of the vote. Those most likely to vote 'Yes' to a United Ireland (Sinn Fein, SDLP, Aontu, People before Profit and the Irish Freedom Party) – only gained just under 40% of the vote.

And like the Unionist camp, split between the official Reactionary (and a few

Conservative UUP) Unionists/Loyalists and the Liberal Unionist APNI, there are divisions in the Irish Nationalist camp. Sinn Fein emerged as the largest party in the Nationalist/Republican camp with 7 MPs, the same number it held before, despite its vote share falling 6.7%, the largest drop of any major party in Northern Ireland.

On the basis of the majority in Northern Ireland voting against Brexit, Sinn Fein wants a Border Poll to bring about Irish reunification. But whereas the SNP had looked to wider UK Liberal Unionist and anti-Brexit support for the right to hold IndyRef2 following the general election, there was no hint of support for a new Border Poll in any of the British Unionist parties' manifestos (or the SDLP, SNP, Plaid Cymru manifestos for that matter). The Labour Party and SDLP manifestos were much more in tune with each other in calling for a restoration of Stormont.²²⁸⁶ The SDLP increased its share of the vote by 3.1%, winning 2 MPs and easily taking Foyle from Sinn Fein.

The rising electoral fortunes of the Constitutional Nationalist SDLP since the 2019 Northern Irish local elections and the substantial growth of APNI in the Liberal Unionist camp are more likely to make sections of the SDLP think in terms of an alliance to try to reform Northern Ireland, than to follow Sinn Fein in pushing for a new Border Poll. Thus, the general election results are closing off the always unlikely possibility of a constitutional road to Irish reunification. The SDLP could benefit in the short term from the reconstituted Stormont. But the inability of either the Northern Ireland Executive or Assembly to break free from its real role in dividing out the shrinking Westminster subventions between the Unionist/Loyalist and Nationalist/Republican communities, will undermine any attempt to extend a rapprochement between the two communities based on the GFA's Sectarian constitutional premise.

In an attempt to undercut Sinn Fein, the SDLP has considered joining Fianna Fail. This has led to other members suggesting organising as part of the British Labour Party in Northern Ireland. And this in turn has promoted some in the Irish Labour Party to suggest that this would justify this party once more trying to organise in the North.²²⁸⁷ The recent record of both Fianna Fail and Irish Labour in imposing Austerity in the South, and the crash of Corbyn's British Labour Party in the UK December general election, leaves the SDLP without credible wider allies.

Nevertheless, the SDLP's emphasis upon the institutions of the Northern Ireland sub-state could well be reinforced when it becomes clear that the continued Unionist/Loyalist veto at Stormont leaves little prospect of a Border Poll getting past first base. Sinn Fein's Irish reunification strategy, based on an alliance of Irish Constitutional Nationalism and British Liberal Unionism, has hit a metaphorical brick wall, but still one as hard as the concrete 'Peace Walls' of Belfast.

However, Sinn Fein's hopes have been raised by the results of the Irish Dail elections held on February 8th, 2020. It emerged as the party with the largest first preference vote – 24.5%, a 10.7% increase from 2016. Sinn Fein underestimated its own likely prospects because it had performed badly in the presidential election in October 2018 (support down from 13.7% to 6.8%); in the Irish local council elections in June 2019 (support down from 15.1% to 9.5% and the number of local councillors down from 159 to 78); and in the EU elections on the same day (support down from 19.8% to 11.7% and a drop from 3 MEPs to 1 MEP).

Sinn Fein, though, was able to make its gains in the February Dail elections by campaigning on the health and housing crises in the Republic. This represented a turn to the Left for Sinn Fein. It was able to take votes from the People before Profit (PbP) and Solidarity electoral alliance. Their vote fell from 3.9% to 2.6% and would likely have fallen further if Sinn Fein had stood more candidates.

However, whilst clearly breaking from Fine Gael and Fianna Fail on economic issues, Sinn Fein had tail ended Fine Gael's Leo Varadkar on the EU post-Brexit negotiations. In doing this, Sinn Fein has lined itself behind Irish business interests as reflected through the Republic of Ireland state. Sinn Fein will not mount an all-Ireland defence of that section of the Irish working class most effected by Brexit - the migrant workers. Nor will it challenge the partitionist activities of the trade union bureaucracies tied to the bosses and state through Social Partnership in the Republic of Ireland and Fresh Start in Northern Ireland.

Sinn Fein has no real prospects of getting support for Irish reunification anytime soon from either Fine Gael or Fianna Fail. Constitutionally this is in the hands of the UK government and Stormont, which holds a veto over any new Border Poll. To justify their lack of any concrete proposals, Fianna Fail

and Fine Gael will use their own versions of Sinn Fein's argument that Irish reunification is inevitable, but only over a considerably longer period – probably about 50 years in Varadkar's case, much the same time that the UK will finally see the benefits of Brexit according to Jacob Rees-Mogg!

However, in Northern Ireland, as well as the challenge from the more moderate Constitutional Nationalist SDLP with its renewed Stormont focus, Sinn Fein has also been under some pressure from the Left, mainly from the PbP. In contrast to the Republic, Sinn Fein has been office in Northern Ireland since 2006, and so is held co-responsible with the DUP for the lack of any real 'Peace Dividend' (except for business insiders) and the Westminster-originated, but Stormont-transmitted Austerity. On December 12th, PbP increased its vote in West Belfast by 5.8%, coming second with 16% of the vote.

But PbP's unfortunate support for Brexit/Irexit in 2016 had placed it alongside the Loyalists (keen on bringing back border posts) and dissident Republicans (eager to launch military attacks on such posts). This cost PbP heavily in the 2017 Westminster general election, when it lost nearly 30% of its 2015 general election vote, whilst it had also fallen back in the earlier 2017 Northern Ireland Assembly election losing 1 of its 2 MLAs. Since then, PbP has back-pedalled over its Lexit version of Brexit/Irexit, preferring to join others in an opposition to a post-Brexit hard border. PbP's newfound support for Irish reunification is not going to have much effect until others make this call an active possibility, and that is not going to happen any time soon.

In the absence of a Sinn Fein as target for criticism in a Stormont suspended since January 2017, PbP became the earliest party to support Stormont's re-establishment. In August 2018 PbP backed the middle class and trade union bureaucrat supported #wedeseverbetter campaign, which had this objective in mind.²²⁸⁸ In the meantime, PbP is more likely to concentrate its attention in Stormont upon 'bread and butter' economic demands to win over trade unionists, and social demands that are popular with younger people. Taking the lead on constitutional matters will largely be left to others.

But Sinn Fein is also being challenged within the Nationalist camp from the Right. Up until 2018, Sinn Fein had passively gone along with 'liberalisation from above', which had largely come about through Ireland's membership of

the EEC/EU, in order to hold on to both progressive and socially reactionary voters. But Sinn Fein, at its June 2018 Ard Fheis, belatedly decided to back the Irish government in the referendum over repeal of the Eighth Amendment on abortion. In response Peadar Toibin, Sinn Fein's Meath TD, formed Aontu as an anti-abortion party in January 2019.

Aontu sees the EU as being responsible for creating a more liberal social framework throughout Ireland, which has undermined traditional Irish conservative Catholic morality over abortion and gays. Therefore, along with the reactionary Irish Freedom Party (IFP)²²⁸⁹ Aontu supports Brexit for Northern Ireland and Irexit for Ireland. In the May 2nd, 2019 Northern Irish local elections Aontu gained 1 councillor, and in the May 29th Republic of Ireland elections it gained 3 councillors. In the December 12th Westminster general election Aontu's 7 candidates and IFP's 1 candidate received between 1.2% and 4.4% of the vote. This was a greater total vote than for the PbP (partly due to standing more candidates). But Aontu overtook PbP in the Foyle constituency. In the February 8th Dail election, sitting TD, Toibin held on to his seat.

Fortunately, the earlier rise of Right Populist candidates, shown in the 2018 Irish presidential election, and the 2019 Irish local elections, was largely thwarted in the 2020 Dail general election. But, given the growing economic problems for the Republic that will follow the EU/UK post-Brexit negotiations, this setback for the Right Populists could prove temporary. If the Left cannot organise large scale action outside a paralysed Dail, to enforce voter demands for improved housing and health (and to prevent a backdoor privatisation of water), then the Right Populists will return in greater force in the Republic.

b) Competing strategies in the face of the break-up of the UK and the need for a Socialist Republican, 'internationalism from below' response (pp. 727-731)

Although Johnson gained an overall Right Populist electoral victory in the UK on December 12th, this disguises the fact that in Scotland the Constitutional Nationalist SNP emerged as the electoral victor, pushing the Tories and Scottish Labour into retreat. In Wales, the still largely Liberal

Unionist, Welsh Labour and the Constitutional Nationalist, Plaid Cymru retained an overall majority, but the Tories made substantial gains. In Northern Ireland, the Reactionary Unionist DUP lost its overall majority, giving a tentative majority to Constitutional Nationalist (Sinn Fein and SDLP) and Liberal Unionist (APNI) alliance. Furthermore, there are wider National Democratic movements in Scotland, Wales and Ireland/Northern Ireland, which could challenge Johnson's Reactionary Unionist clampdown. This is a recipe for continued constitutional crisis, with Scotland in the front line at present.

The Reactionary Unionist attempts being made to hold a crisis-ridden, post-Brexit UK together could contribute to its break-up. However, this could still occur in a reactionary manner. The increased Little Englander/Greater British ethnic nationalism, which Right Populists like Johnson and Farage are promoting, could lead to an ethnic Nationalist response in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, in a break from the earlier dominance of civic Nationalism, particularly in Scotland. The development of anti-English sentiment on the fringe of the Scottish independence movement and the development of potentially anti-‘others’ groups – anti-trans, anti-secular, anti-Irish, anti-Gaelic – in the ‘culture wars’, have become more prominent with a politically stalemated SNP. This represents a real political danger in Scotland.

The emergence of Alex Salmond's Alba party is one indication of this. A retreat into Cultural Nationalism, based on the primacy of the Welsh language, would be an indication of this in Wales. The surge in the anti-migrant, anti-Traveller vote in the 2018 Irish presidential election and the formation of the socially reactionary all-Ireland Aontu and Irish Freedom Party (IFP) are indications of this danger in Ireland.

For the European capitalist classes, the EU's ‘internationalism from above’ was designed to encourage the free flow of capital and profits, with the internal free flow of labour subordinate to these. But the EU framework led to another ‘Internationalism from Below’ response. Migrants from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in all EU member states have taken up jobs, studentships and formed personal relationships, across the existing EU state boundaries. There are still approximately 2.3 million EU migrants living in the UK,²²⁹⁰ and 439,500²²⁹¹ (including those from the UK) living in Ireland. And, when it comes to taking industrial action, some of these migrants have been to the forefront of militant action, e.g. Latin American cleaners in

London and Turkish GAMA workers in Ireland.

Migrants have contributed to an even wider range of new hybrid European identities. These include Scottish-European, Welsh-European and Irish-European. This growing Europeanisation has developed into a national form of resistance to Brexit in Scotland, Northern Ireland/Ireland and Welsh-speaking Wales. This is coupled to opposition to the re-provincialisation of these nations under the UK's Reactionary Unionism. But the greatest number of hybrid Europeans living in these islands, although currently a minority, are to be found in England – the English-Europeans – especially amongst the young. And England includes a world city, London, as well as substantial multi-ethnic, largely working class communities in other cities.

Although the currently more politically advanced Scotland, Ireland and Wales, highlighted by election results, are more likely to take the lead in challenging the existing anti-democratic UK state, this could also provide inspiration for Socialists in England, just as the Black-led, Anti-Racist movements of the 1970s did, both politically and culturally. The old NF liked to shout, 'There ain't no black in the Union Jack'. And the Windrush and Grenfell Tower scandals, and the attempted expulsion of 50 black British subjects to Jamaica, show that for the Right, Black British residents should know their place in post-Brexit UK if they are going to be tolerated.

Along with Muslims and Travellers, East Europeans have also become the target of Irish Right Populist attacks. There are 40,000 EU migrants living in Northern Ireland.²²⁹² East Europeans (especially Roma) have been attacked,²²⁹³ whilst Muslims have also faced hostility, including from Right Populist DUP politicians. Beyond them (and often linked behind the scenes) lie the Neo-Fascist Loyalists with their full spectrum racism and resort to physical attacks.

The thing that unites the Right Populists and the Hard Right is their support for Brexit and/or Irexit. They see the EU as being responsible for immigration and the social liberalisation of society. Yet the big majority of EU migrants and their families form part of the working class in the UK and the Republic of Ireland. Along with Irish and UK workers and students, these migrants enjoyed freedom of movement and the existing rights of citizens throughout the EU. Brexit represents a major attack on this freedom of movement and those rights, highlighted by Johnson's latest Immigration

Bill.

But whereas Brexit also means a further strengthening of the UK state, Irexit would mean Ireland changing subordination to the EU bureaucracy for even greater subordination to the UK and USA. The Irish government is operating in the context of the unresolved global economic crisis, increased tensions between the EU and the UK, whilst Trump's 'America First' government will play these off in US corporate interests. A Partitioned Ireland remains a relatively easy plaything for competing Imperialisms.

If the Republic of Ireland were to leave the EU, where would the alternative trade links be found? There is no prospect for a viable Irish (or any other) capitalist state outside the current economically integrated, global imperial order. Even prosperous Norway has opted for a close relationship with the EU, rather than individual state-to-state relationships on WTO terms. And should the Republic of Ireland seek alternative deals with the rising Imperial power, China, US pressure will soon be exerted.

A post- Brexit UK has found itself unable bring about Empire2. India now has the economic clout to ensure that a Neo-Colonial relationship cannot be enforced there. Instead, Johnson's government has had to kowtow to Trump's US. Any new trade deal with the US will lead to far worse workers and consumers' rights, undermine existing environmental protection and the NHS. Under Johnson, the UK will become even more subordinate to US Imperialism and its war mongering.

If the UK is in a relatively weak bargaining position with the EU, the one place it has some influence, though, is over the Republic of Ireland, a peripheral member state. Here the UK still has a significant economic clout, particularly through its City (and Edinburgh) based banks, with their extensive links to property developers. Nigel Lawson has welcomed Brexit, going as far as to suggest that "it would be great' if the Irish free state realised it had 'made a mistake' in getting independence from Britain in 1922."²²⁹⁴ If the GFA has been termed "Sunningdale for slow learners", then maybe Lawson's suggested deal (or something like it) could be termed the (unamended 1912 all-Ireland) 'Third Irish Home Rule Bill for even slower learners'! It is very unlikely though, that the UK could ever bring a United Ireland fully back into the UK state, and Irish-American opposition would also work against this in the USA. But both the UK and US have long

experience in creating different forms of Neo-Colonial ‘independent’ states to disguise who is in real control.

In February 2018, the Irish Freedom Party (IFP) organised an Irexit/Brexit conference in Dublin to which Nigel Farage and Communist Party of Ireland fellow-traveller, Anthony Coughlan, were invited to speak²²⁹⁵ (such Left/Right line-ups have a long history in CP and CP-influenced circles). In the December 12th Westminster general election, Conor Rafferty stood for IFP, in Mid-Ulster, supported by Aontu.

But, just as the economic logic of Brexit leads the UK into even deeper dependence upon the USA; so, the logic of Brexit/Irexit, would lead to Ireland becoming a British neo-colony once more, but with increased ties to the USA. So, it is easy to see why Farage was interested in the conference. The Right Populists, like IFP, also see that such attempts to turn the clock back provide better conditions to hold on to the socially reactionary aspects of their state’s past. Any Left retreat into tail ending ‘Little Englander’/Greater British, traditionalist Irish, or provincial ‘Ulster’ Right Populism could only give succour to the re-imposition of greater British Unionist and Imperialist control over the whole of Ireland, under the wider auspices of US imperialism.

In Northern Ireland, it is clear that the re-establishment of the NI Executive and Assembly, following Brexit, will not lead to any longer-term improvement for the vast majority. Johnson’s new Union-Jack flagged funds and infrastructure projects, targeted at the North and Midlands of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (probably in that order) are going to be somewhat stretched. They will be blown away in the event of a further deepening of the on-going economic crisis. But whilst the funds are still being dispensed, they will be diverted away from the Devolved Parliaments and handed over to shady politicians with their personal business links, ensuring very little gets into the hands of local working-class communities.

Johnson’s Tory Right Populists are organised, have an all-islands strategy, and a wider anti-EU strategy in alliance with Trump’s USA. They can use the formidable UK state with its Crown Powers and the Right Populists’ willingness to override supposed judicial restraints to enforce this. Ironically, the Constitutional Nationalist parties place more faith in the UK’s ‘liberal’ institutions than Johnson’s Right Populists. Dependence on these will not be

enough to fend off Johnson's rollback of 'Devolution-all-round'.

Furthermore, the Constitutional Nationalist parties have only developed a shallow, and sometimes sentimentalist (pan-Celtic) 'Internationalism'. This is because they defend and promote the interests of existing or would-be national ruling classes. So, their diplomatic 'Internationalism' can only reflect these interests. Thus, Constitutional Nationalists concentrate their attentions upon limited, self-serving 'internationalism from above' alliances. Currently these are focussed upon the EU bureaucracy and appeals to the increasingly jaded, post-Obama Democrats in the USA. This does not match, never mind challenge the British 'internationalist' links of the Reactionary Unionist Right.

In contrast, Socialist Republicans can promote genuine 'Internationalism from Below' based on the shared interests of the exploited and oppressed. And, unlike the Constitutional Nationalists, who accept the constitutional legitimacy of the existing Anti-Democratic UK state, based on the Sovereignty of the Crown-in-Westminster, Socialist Republicans base can their strategy on the Sovereignty of the Peoples of the four Nations in these islands – a Reunited Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England.

There is no shortage of economic and social issues and unrest, whether over housing, land, water, women's and LBGT rights. To date, widely supported Social Movements – over gay rights and abortion – fighting against socially conservative and reactionary values, both south and north of the border, have produced the strongest all-Ireland focus for actions. Young people, in particular, have contributed to two impressive referenda victories in what had been a socially conservative Catholic Ireland – the first over gay marriage, the second over abortion rights. Many younger Irish workers and students, following their own European experiences, have already ensured that Ireland's traditional social conservatism has been thoroughly undermined. This has also given heart to many from both communities living under the 'Ulster' Unionists' and Loyalists' socially benighted Six Counties regime.

And, even on the immediate pressing issue of the Border itself, there would seem to be all-Ireland possibilities beyond the Sinn Fein/SDLP backed Border Communities Against Brexit, which places its main emphasis on lobbying the EU parliament and the USA government. A neglected issue, with consequences for the current border, is the plight of migrants, under

attack in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Migrants are going to be amongst the worst affected by any hardening of the Border. So, they have the greatest interest in Ireland's full Re-unification.

The housing issue has figured prominently, both in the Republic and Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland has a particular problem when it comes to overcoming Loyalist attempts to enforce sectarian housing allocation. The Bi-sectarian state is unable to challenge this. The PSNI sometimes warns residents of Loyalist threats, suggesting they move to a safer area. This just cuts out the next level of Loyalist intimidation. In the process, the PSNI becomes responsible removing the tenants!

However, Northern Ireland, even if not to the same extent as the Republic of Ireland, also has a wider deficit of housing provision. And behind this, lie British (and Scottish-based) banks with their funding of property speculators playing a prominent role. The Irish government has sent in the gardai to enforce evictions. The history of evictions in Ireland makes this a potent issue.

But for Socialists to be effective in Ireland, they need to unite the economic, social and constitutional issues and become part of a wider 'Internationalism from Below' alliance. And for any possibility of longer-term success, those leading all-Ireland organisations and campaigns would have to move beyond just pressuring the Dail or Stormont. These two institutions are locked into a subservient role, the first indirectly, the second directly, to the British Imperial set-up. This is supported by the US and will likely soon be backed by the EU as part of any post-Brexit deal. Both Irish governments and the Northern Irish Executive continue to support Partition, whatever modifications are found necessary to ameliorate or disguise its negative effects.

Merely pressuring the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), or the Northern Irish Committee of ICTU (NIC-ICTU) and their affiliated union bureaucracies does not lead to a fundamental challenge to either the EU's ECB or UK's City of London. The ICTU has long been involved in Social Partnership deals which reduce trade union leaders to acting as personnel managers for the state-business directed management of the Irish economy. The NIC-ICTU's similar 'Fresh Start' deals tie it to upholding the bi-sectarian Stormont set-up, in the hope this will ameliorate the attacks being

made by the UK state and Northern Irish business leaders.

It will require independent action, ready to defy ICTU in the Republic of Ireland and NIC-ICTU in Northern Ireland, to counter this more effectively. Upholding the Sovereignty of union members in their workplaces over the Sovereignty of union bureaucrats in their HQs (and local offices) is central to any Socialist Republican agenda.

The majority of current British, English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish Socialists do not make independent constitutional challenges to the Reactionary Unionist, Right Populists (with some even tail ending their Brexit) or to the Constitutional Nationalists (with some tail ending their immediate 'Independence' proposals). These Socialists often see their role as concentrating upon economic and social issues and think that constitutional struggles belong to the competing sections of the ruling class/es. These Socialists have no immediate Democratic political agenda of their own.

Little concerned with the nature of the UK – Unionist, Imperialist, Constitutional Monarchist – these Socialists are unable to appreciate the significance of the mounting National Democratic opposition across these islands. Thus, they have made no attempt to mount coordinated campaigns to link up the various economic, social and constitutional challenges which have already emerged. This despite some Socialists being members of supposed Internationals, e.g. the SWP's International Socialist Tendency and the SP(E&W)'s Committee for a Workers' International. Indeed, as these Internationals fall apart, what is revealed is their historic dominance by their British sections – the SWP and SP(E&W). Their Lexit Brexits represent an extension of their essentially 'British roads to socialism' via Left Social Democracy.

This is sometimes given a 'revolutionary' cover by drawing on Trotsky's idea of a 'transition' to Socialism. Yet, without widespread countervailing power, independent of the institutions of the capitalist state, there can be no transition to Socialism. Particularly during a period of economic crisis, Social Democracy takes on a state-orientated defence of capitalism, acting not as a transition to Socialism but to intensified capitalist exploitation.²²⁹⁶ This trajectory is true even in Social Democracy's more Left forms, e.g. Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain.

c) Conclusion (pp. 735-739)

Despite the claims of Liberal EU supporters, the EEC did not bring peace to its member states. Although armed conflicts were ended between member states, both the UK and Spain were able to conduct ‘dirty wars’ in Northern Ireland and Euskadi, without any challenge from an EEC/EU based upon the sovereignty of existing states. The current activities of the semi-Francoist Spanish Castilian state in Catalunya highlight the International and Democratic Deficit underpinning the EU today.

Ever since the 2008 Crisis, EU’s leaders have abandoned any pretence that they want to maintain European unity for the benefit of anybody but themselves. For them, any liberal laws under the EU’s Charter of Fundamental Rights are dispensable in times of crisis. The Right Populists want either to redefine or break-up the EU on an Ethnic National state basis.

The EU’s Schengen walls, erected by Neo-Liberals (without much opposition from Social Democrats), were designed to ensure that only those workers required by the Euro-bosses, and a limited number of asylum seekers, gained access . And this is completely without regard to both past and current Neo-Liberal and Right Populist supporting corporations’ own role in plundering resources, promoting wars, dumping waste and imposing environmental degradation, which has contributed to much of the global movements of people. Today the ruling classes of the EU, and UK (and of course the USA) claim to support the freest movement of capital and profits, although protectionist measures often extend to imported commodities, when domestic profits are endangered. When it comes to people, they have certainly promoted the free movement of the rich and powerful. But when it comes to migrant labour and asylum seekers – the exploited and oppressed - they face ‘walls’ and ‘moats’, and countless deaths.

The Right Populists currently in control of the UK, want even higher walls (or deeper moats) both to further limit inward migration and to virtually end asylum seeker rights. British bosses also want to access cheaper labour, with even fewer rights, from outside the EU. And the Far-Right wants a White Christian Europe. The Populist Right and Neo-Liberals have both been prepared to humour the Far Right to further their own agendas.

But today’s migrants and asylum seekers remind us that Europe has always

had connections – sometimes dependent, sometimes dominating – with the wider world. Southern Europe was part of several cross-Mediterranean empires (Greek, Roman, Byzantine); and following this the Iberian peninsula and Sicily became parts of consecutive Arab Moslem empires; large parts of Eastern Europe were peopled by Magyars, Bulgars and others from Central Asia; later large parts of Eastern Europe became part of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire; whilst Mongols and Tatars had a big impact on Russia. And ever since the later European empires colonised the globe, their metropolitan heartlands have attracted wealthy immigrants (e.g. nabobs and oil sheikhs), traders, sailors, large numbers serving in their Imperial armed forces, and workers usually labouring in the worst jobs, sometimes bringing their families. Many of these new and not-so-new migrants are now Europeans descended from Africans, Asians and Latin American and Oceanians,

These global movements have changed not only economic and political set-ups, but also genetic, linguistic and cultural patterns. They have led to a great deal of intermixing both imposed from above and entered into voluntarily from below. Recent research has shown that even in the lands of those Scandinavian Vikings, long celebrated by white racists as the homeland of ‘pure blooded Teutons’, these were more generically and ethnically mixed, as non-Scandinavian adventurers, traders, missionaries and slaves took up residence.²²⁹⁷

Global Black Lives Matter resistance and solidarity protests have reminded us of how deeply embedded British Imperialism was in the slave trade. Indeed, it was only in 2015 that the debts arising from compensating British slave owners were finally paid off.²²⁹⁸ In 2020, the Colston statue was toppled in the old slave shipping city of Bristol. However, when it was suggested that a critical plaque be placed alongside the statue of Henry Dundas (Viscount, later Lord Melville) in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, Sir Tom Devine OBE, Scotland’s premier historian, objected. In 1792, Dundas had added his support to the wording of a Bill to delay the abolition of the Transatlantic slave trade. But Devine, looks no further than what was acceptable to the British ruling class of the day, and to the fears they held about slave revolt. For them, slaves were not justified in trying to free themselves from everyday violence and repression but had to wait for their masters’ say-so. It has also been argued that because Dundas acted as an advocate for Afro-Jamaican slave, James Knight, in a Scottish court case in

1778, he should not be judged a Racist upholder of slavery. This is bit like saying that because Priti Patel must have approved a handful of asylum seeker applications, she upholds asylum seeker rights.

Dundas' record is very clear, "As Minister for War and Colonies (1794-1801), Dundas prioritised seizing France's Caribbean slaveholding Empire, especially the profitable colony of Saint Domingue {Haiti}, 'with the view of enlarging our national wealth and security.' Between 1793 and 1798, across the Caribbean, 40,000 British troops, most of them sent there by Dundas, died or were incapacitated in a bloody struggle to expand British slavery. What stopped Pitt and his government were not their own misgivings, parliamentary abolitionists, the French, or the British public, but enslaved rebels in Saint Domingue – the British empire's Vietnam."²²⁹⁹

And this was the same Dundas who ensured that Thomas Muir was transported to Botany Bay in 1793 for his part in the British Convention convened to champion democracy. This convention was hosted by the Edinburgh Friends of the People.²³⁰⁰ Dundas also urged that troops be sent to Scotland from England to put down the anti-conscription riots following the 1797 Scottish Militia Act.²³⁰¹ Twelve people were killed at Tranent, East Lothian, in August that year.

What is clear is that Dundas was to the forefront of defending his class and the British Empire and Union. This was being challenged by an 'Internationalism from Below' alliance led by the United Irishmen (which also drew in the United Scotsmen and the London Corresponding Society amongst others). And the most advanced leaders of the United Irish, also knew where they stood. They supported Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the world's first ever successful slave revolt in Haiti.²³⁰²

At the beginning of the 1789-1815 International Revolutionary Wave, Nation-states formed a small part of the global system. Many of the exploited and oppressed did not want to create new Nation-states but championed a new 'Universalism from Below' world order. Today, states claiming to be 'Nation-states' (as recognised by the United Nations - UN) cover the whole globe. However, any close examination shows that few of these states are based upon the UN's principles in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1966 International Covenants of Human and Civil Rights, and of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; or the 2006

Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Whereas the power in the EU lies with the leaders of the main member states (particularly Germany, France and until recently the UK), the real power in the UN lies in its Security Council. This is dominated by its 5 permanent members – the imperial and nuclear armed USA, China, Russia, France and the UK. And just as the EU Parliament, meeting in Brussels and Strasbourg, has proved powerless to deal with violent repression within its member states, so the UN General Assembly is powerless to take any action in defence of stateless Nations, Nationalities and Indigenous Peoples, which are not unanimously approved by its 5 competing imperial Security Council member states, as the current plight of the Palestinian nation, the Kurdish Nationality in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria and the Mapuche Indigenous People in Chile show.

Today a genuine Socialist Republican ‘Internationalism from Below’ strategy begins by uniting those who think and are prepared to fight in outward looking European-wide terms. This would involve those mounting National Democratic challenges within Non-state nations, e.g. Scotland and Catalunya, Indigenous People, e.g. Sami, denied the right of self-determination by their existing states, or by the EU bureaucracy based upon these states.

The problem with the bosses’ EU is not its supra-national basis but that it is too politically, economically and socially restricted to meet the needs of those living within or immediately beyond its borders. The material and practical base for being or becoming Scottish, Irish, Welsh, English, English, Catalan, Basque or other hybrid-Europeans already exist. It now falls upon Socialist Republicans to take up the EU leaders’ abandoned baton of claimed greater European unity for the benefit of the majority. Their Lexit Brexits need to be replaced by an Ex-Brit strategy as part of an all- islands ‘Internationalism from Below’ alliance which seeks allies within the EU.

Unlike James Connolly and John Maclean, we are not yet living in the days of an International Revolutionary Wave. Nevertheless, there is a pre-revolutionary situation latent within the present crisis. The ruling class understands this and is acting accordingly. This is why Connolly, Maclean, Larkin, Pankhurst and others, who worked together in the 1916-21/3 International Revolutionary Wave, remain relevant today.

Campaigning for an immediate ex-Brit, Reunited Ireland and a Scotland, Wales and England within a federal, democratic, secular, environmentally sustainable, social, European Republic provides the best basis for us all to eventually become ‘Citizens of the World’. And taking responsibility for this world is something already becoming an imperative due to global environmental degradation and pandemics. The best long-term basis upon which the Right Populists’ and Neo-Liberals’ dystopian futures can be avoided is the creation of a Global Commune. And time is running short.

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