

BOOK REVIEWS



Camilla Fitzsimons and Sinéad Kennedy,

Repealed (Pluto Press, 2021) £16.99/€20.00

Mary Ryder

This is a must-read book. It is an exciting read that highlights the role of the courageous people, individuals and groups, who worked tirelessly to change the attitude to women and sexuality in Ireland leading up to the Repeal Referendum. It makes clear that the Repeal campaign was not only an important issue in Irish society during the two-or-three-year event that caught the public eye but a much longer and deep-rooted campaign going back decades.

It highlights very well how diverse individuals' and groups' continued activism leads to change. It shows how the successful Repeal campaign was born out of the long, difficult, fractious, exciting activism that started decades before the actual vote. It also highlights the duplicity of the established political parties who changed sides, and were given platforms, when they recognised which way the vote was heading. In the introduction, Ruth Coppinger says, "Change has never come from the gift of establishment politicians, but from the movements creating irresistible pressure from outside Parliament. Rights are won, not granted." This book applauds and records those movements and debunks the view of government officials that this was a quiet revolution. It was anything but.

The voices of activists are the basis for the analysis in this fact-filled book portraying the history of the injustices suffered by Irish women under the church, the state and their agents. It outlines in detail how women activists responded, and it applauds the role of the activists, calling for even more activism as the limitations of the legislation are becoming clear.

It offers a very helpful history of the process which led to the success of the Repeal movement, which inflicted a serious defeat on the Catholic Church in Ireland. The authors describe the history as "a struggle of continuity that ebbed and flowed over the course of three decades, culminating in the 2018 explosion of activism." Covering the women's fight for reproductive rights since the 1983 constitutional amendment referendum, it outlines the high-profile cases that shook the country during that period and which brought thousands of people into activism to defend the right to abortion.

In outlining this history, both authors look back at the state-and-church collusion since the foundation of the Republic in 1922 in a Chapter titled "The Dark History of Injustices Against Women." Highly political women active in the period of the foundation of the state were virtually written out of the history they helped make. This set the tone for what was to come. While it makes for depressing, angry reading at times, it does show how, despite the heavy-handed role of enforcers, women fought back, winning concessions and changes in legislation which helped ameliorate aspects of the situation in which Irish women found themselves.

The authors also looked at a wide range of groups and organisations active on the issue of women's reproductive rights and outline their individual roles in the campaign. This is instructive as it shows the level of lively debate and discussion that took place, and it outlines the differences, the splits, the breakaways, the passion and anger of these debates, but most importantly it shows what was learned. It does not shy away from highlighting the experiences of those who felt left out from this "successful" campaign, particularly migrant women and ethnic minorities. This was in clear contrast to the controlled, compartmentalised, limited, often anodyne and boring debates in the public media.

Its analysis of Together for Yes's position as the overarching "leader" of the campaign is both critical from an activist's point of view and yet understanding of its limitations. The slogan "Care, Compassion and Change" was seen by many activists as too general and as not dealing

directly with abortion; a word much feared by the ruling bodies in church and state, and yet one brought up endlessly by people canvassed. Another concern highlighted is how the leadership appeared to be out of touch with the mass of activists. It appeared to be Dublin- or urban-centred, when activists were acutely aware that support and help was most needed in the small towns and rural areas. There were logistical criticisms from activists in relation to posters and leaflets, both in terms of their content and numbers, and of the sheer volume of canvassers in certain urban areas while rural areas were crying out for more support, but these concerns were not acted upon, or if they were, only very slowly. It is clear that lessons need to be learned for future campaigns, and this is addressed in the section on the situation post-Repeal. Notwithstanding these criticisms, Together for Yes played its role successfully in the areas of PR, media and the medical arena.

The book is clearly set in a class analysis of women and their place in the current world and of the role of capitalism in the oppression and exploitation of women. It recognises the importance of collective action and activism for the future, indicating the way forward as consisting in thinking globally and acting locally.

This book will contribute to the continuation of the lively debates, discussions and arguments that went on during the campaign for Repeal, and will help many as a guide to future action. It indicates some of the lessons that need to be learned in order to ensure that reproductive justice, alongside reproductive rights, is to the forefront of our activism in the future.

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Rick Blackman, *Babylon's Burning—Music, Subcultures and Anti-Fascism in Britain 1958–2020* (Bookmarks, 2021) £10.00/€11.95

Joe Moore

This book accomplishes all that is contained in its title and much more. Rick Blackman chronicles the role played by three musical/cultural movements in challenging and defeating various fascist organisations in Britain from the late '50s to today. These movements are, in chronological order: The Stars Campaign for Interracial Friendship (SCIF); Rock Against Racism (RAR); and Love Music Hate Racism (LMHR).

SCIF was born in September 1958 as a reaction to the Notting Hill riots. It was founded by members of the Musicians Union (MU). The MU had a policy of opposing the colour bar in the entertainment industry since migrants from the West Indies first arrived in Britain in the late '40s. The Notting Hill riots saw days of sustained attacks on West Indians living in the area. The musicians organised against that violence, which was orchestrated by Mosley and fellow fascists and supported by groups of Teddy Boys. The SCIF saw music as a way of bringing all communities together against the far right. Membership of the SCIF crossed all music genres. Members included jazz musicians Cleo Laine and George Melly, the "king of skiffle" Lonnie Donegan as well as rock and rollers Tommy Steele and Marty Wilde. SCIF also had international support from the likes of Frank Sinatra and Paul Robeson.

The most prominent political activist to become involved in the SCIF was undoubtedly Claudia Jones. It was because of Jones that the musicians were able to build links with the local Caribbean organisations. She was the

reason the SCIF was so successful in countering the fascist threat. Jones was born in Trinidad but emigrated at a young age with her family to the US. She became politically involved and joined the Communist Party of the USA. Because of her activities, she was deported and chose to live in London. Jones went on to establish the *West Indian Gazette*, the first wholly owned Black newspaper in Britain. Because of the impact culture had on challenging racism and fascism, Claudia Jones was the prime mover in establishing the Notting Hill Carnival, which has grown to become the biggest event of its type in Europe. For more information on Claudia Jones check out *Claudia Jones: A Life in Exile* by Marika Sherwood.

With the defeat of the fascists and the subsequent exile of Mosley, there was no further need for the SCIF. It is not an exaggeration to say that only for the work done by Rick Blackman the SCIF would have faded from memory. As well as the work under review, Blackman also published a beautifully written booklet in 2017 entitled *Forty Miles of Bad Road: The Stars Campaign for Interracial Friendship and the 1958 Notting Hill Riots*. It is a highly recommended work.

Although the fascists were driven back to the sewers, racism continued against immigrants. Remember, this was the time of the “No Blacks, no Irish, no dogs” signs in B&B windows. Anti-immigrant legislation was introduced in parliament. The racist temperature was increased by the infamous “Rivers of Blood” speech by Enoch Powell in April 1968. This speech became the catalyst for the establishment of the second anti-racist cultural campaign, Rock Against Racism.

One of the stars to emerge from the rock music explosion of the '60s was blues/rock guitarist Eric Clapton. Clapton was a virtuoso guitarist influenced by blues musicians from the US. So popular was Clapton that graffiti appeared stating that “Clapton Is God”. So, it came like a bolt out of the blue when, while playing a concert in Birmingham in 1976, he delivered a drunken racist rant stating that he fully endorsed the views of Enoch Powell. In response, two political activists/artists, Red Saunders and Roger Huddle, wrote a letter to the music press calling out Clapton and asking others who supported their letter to contact them. Over the following weeks they were inundated with mail. Out of this initiative RAR was born. A note for younger readers: At that time, music played a more important role in young people's lives than it does today.

At the same time as Clapton's rant, another fascist group was on the rise in Britain: the National Front (NF). The NF was building a street-fighting movement as well as having electoral success. It needed to be challenged. The music/cultural scene at that time also favoured the building of RAR. Two youth movements with their own music and fashion were emerging. The two were also anti-establishment groups. Punk was a reaction against both “progressive” rock and the situation facing young people with rising unemployment. Black youth, the children of the Windrush generation, began adapting reggae to their experiences in Britain. When RAR began putting on gigs across the country, punk and reggae bands enthusiastically supported the events. This had the effect of attracting multiracial audiences which in turn built strong alliances between both communities. Together with the more political Anti-Nazi League, RAR played a major role in smashing the NF. Two events in that campaign are of historic significance: the Battle of Lewisham in August 1977 and the RAR carnival in Victoria Park in April 1978. It is estimated that up to one hundred thousand people attended the carnival, many of whom had marched five miles from the centre of London. Among the artists who performed that day were The Clash and Steel Pulse.

RAR played a major role not only in smashing the NF but also in uniting young people from all communities Black and White. For a more in-depth study of RAR, I would recommend *Reminiscences of RAR—Rock Against Racism 1976–1982*, edited by Roger Huddle and Red Saunders, republished by Redwords in January 2021.

The final campaign dealt with is Love Music Hate Racism. There are many organic links between LMHR and RAR, with some of the same people active in both. The 2000s again saw the rise of fascist groups across Britain. On the electoral front, the British National Party began to make gains with the election of two MEPs and many councilors. Meanwhile, a number of street movements emerged, the most significant being the English Defence League. Given the success of RAR, it was inevitable that a cultural campaign would be established. However, the name RAR would not resonate with young people in the 2000s as there are so many different genres of both music and fashion compared with the 1970s. The title LMHR was also taken from Huddle and Saunders' now famous '76 letter. The strategy used by LMHR concentrated on getting high-profile artists to endorse the campaign by wearing LMHR T-shirts as well as holding major carnival-type concerts.

Blackman ends his fantastic book by referring to the Black Lives Matter movement. He sees the way forward in challenging racism and fascism as an anti-racist street movement working together with an anti-racist musical organisation. This book is important on two levels: Firstly it is an important historical account from below of three anti-racist musical/cultural movements that played a major role in challenging and defeating the far right. And secondly it offers us in Ireland a blueprint that can help us in building up United Against Racism and Le Chéile for the struggles ahead against both the far right and the racism of the state.

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Seamus Deane. *Small World, Ireland 1798-2018*
(Cambridge University Press, 2021) £20/€23.75

Paul O'Brien

When Seamus Deane died last year, Ireland lost one of its few public intellectuals and its most notable literary critic. Deane's life and work over the last fifty years provide a comprehensive reading of Irish history and literature from the time of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen up to the present day. Deane was never afraid to be at odds with received opinion—which risked hostility from the guardians of orthodoxy, both literary and political. In addition to his writings as a poet and novelist, his collaborative work with the Field Day Theatre Company and his work as an anthologist and general editor of the Field Day Critical Condition series testify to his enormous scholarly commitment to several centuries of Irish writing. The agenda throughout the book is set by his fury at the ongoing injustice inherent in the Northern Irish experience.

Small World presents an unmatched survey of Irish literature and of writing about Irish issues that addresses the political, aesthetic and cultural dimensions of several notable literary and historical moments from the island's past and present. This is a book that demands consideration, as Deane traverses the world of literature and politics examining the work of Edmund Burke, Jonathan Swift, Yeats, Joyce and Heaney, amongst others, through an international and cosmopolitan lens stretching from Marx to William Hazlitt and Rabelais.

In one of his better-known articles from 1991, “Wherever Green is Read,” he demolishes Roy Foster and his fellow revisionists, such as Conor Cruise O'Brien, who attempted to erase the significance

of the 1916 Rising at the time of the seventy-fifth anniversary in the way their pseudoscientific orthodoxy was so obviously tailored to match the prevailing political climate, especially in relation to Northern Ireland.

Over several decades Seamus Deane revolutionised the study of Irish literature and culture, and his critical innovations helped to shape the fields of postcolonial and transnational studies. *Small World* brings together some of Deane's most influential essays, though they are not an easy read: each page needs thought and attention, but they repay the effort as Deane forces us to rethink and reposition Ireland's place in the past and present in light of the Enlightenment and the project of modernity in its various shades. He explores the style of Swift, the continuing influence of Edmund Burke on political thought in the USA, aspects of James Joyce's and of Elizabeth Bowen's relation to modernism, and an analysis of the representation of Northern Ireland in Anna Burns' novel *Milkman* (Faber, 2018).

His critique of the damaging role of the Catholic Church is surveyed in a chapter on the novels of Mary Lavin, examining the way she explores the role of the Virgin Mary and the crippling emphasis on chastity in independent Ireland.

The essay "Emergency Aesthetics" calls attention to the fact that so few countries have known a "state of emergency" as regularly as Ireland has, especially in the period 1801–1922, and in Northern Ireland in its mutant phase (1922–72), when emergency was the rule rather than the exception. Deane surveys works from John Mitchel's *Jail Journal* (1854) and Ernie O'Malley's *On Another Man's Wound* (Rich and Cowan, 1936) up to Anna Burns' *Milkman* (Faber, 2018), in a compelling examination of the way literature responds to repression without glamorising or aestheticising violence. He explores the passing of the literature of the Irish Ascendancy in two essays on Elizabeth Bowen, and its brief replacement by the novels of Catholic Ireland as exemplified in the work of Mary Lavin.

In the final essay, "The End of the World," he surveys the impact of globalisation on national cultures and how James Joyce was recruited as an American cultural presence in the US's mission of world domination. In an extended discussion on the Blasket Islands, he lays stress on the way the literature of the islands in the twentieth century is woven around a belief held by and about the islanders themselves and how their work is a memorial to the island people, the Irish language and the passing of a communal way of life. Deane also highlights how the past, and in particular the communal way of life, has been transformed into an artifact or a kind of cultural supermarket in which to sell nostalgia to tourists.

Paul Foot, *Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian Revolution* (Redwords, 2021) £8.00/€10.00

Willy Cumming

This small book publishes for the first time two talks, delivered 1978 and 1991, by the campaigning journalist and socialist Paul Foot. Although on the same subject, they describe different aspects of the Haitian Revolution, so are complementary.

I attended the first talk in '78, and I still clearly remember the energy, enthusiasm and detail of Foot's presentation, confirmed when I read it. The talk was based on C.L.R. James's classic *The Black Jacobins*. Foot advised that there were limited copies available on the bookstall. I rushed out at the end of the talk to get a copy, a copy I still have.

The abolition of slavery in Haiti was not the act of well-intentioned philanthropists handing the slaves their freedom, but a twelve-year war wherein the slaves, inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution, fought for their liberty. Toussaint Louverture was finally tricked and captured by the French, but without any military training he had managed to build the slave army that defeated three experienced imperial armies, the French, Spanish and British. He died in a French prison before victory, but his leadership had built an army that finally won their freedom—the abolition of slavery.

Foot concluded both talks with a Wordsworth sonnet which ends with these lines:

There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies:
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Liam Cahill, *From Suir to Jarama* (Orla Kelly Publishing, 2021) €10.00

Johnny Cloono

This book is a microhistory of one of the eleven Waterford lads that went to fight against fascism in Spain in 1936: Mossie Quinlan, who was killed at Jarama. Liam Cahill, a distant cousin, rescues him from obscurity and outlines his early family life and formative years in Waterford. His family were not radicals but lower-middle-class pig buyers and butcher shop owners, politically aligned to Redmond and later Fine Gael. Cahill describes how Mossie joined the International Brigade in London via the Communist Party, and his undercover, circuitous journey to Spain.

The main section is about the Battle of Jarama, where Mossie and seventeen other Irish Brigadiers died. Cahill gets down into the gullies, valleys and hills of Jarama with the anti-fascists, and one can almost hear the bullets fly, the noise of the overhead fascist aircraft, and smell the blood and death. It was a battle where another of the Irish dead, the poet Charlie Donnelly, described how "even the olives were bleeding."

For me the book is an important reminder of the commitment, bravery and activism of those early class warriors in Waterford as they fought rack-renting, unemployment, poverty, corruption and

the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church. They were also a direct inspiration to the cohort of local activists that emerged in Waterford in the mid-60s to lead struggles over the last fifty years on the streets and on the shop floors of factories like Waterford Crystal.

A well-written book, illustrated with extensive maps, pictures and source references. Recommended.

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Diarmaid Ferriter, *Between Two Hells. The Irish Civil War* (Profile Books, 2021) £20.00/€23.85

Willy Cumming

“...every instinct of mine would indicate that I was to be a dyed-in-the-wool Tory, or even a Bishop, rather than the leader of a revolution.”

—Eamon de Valera to Mary MacSwiney, 11 September 1922¹

“Objectivity in historical essays is difficult; in a historical analysis of the Civil War, virtually impossible. To concentrate on the facts leads only to improbabilities while to ignore the facts indicates bias. Perhaps the Civil War is just too recent... The debate on the Treaty took place in January, 1922, but it could be said that the debate continues.”²

This second quote is taken from the website of the National Graves Association, a body established in 1926 to maintain the graves of those who “died in the cause of Irish freedom.” It gives a sense of the reluctance to address the history of the Civil War. Interestingly, a similar view was held by the Kilmainham Gaol Restoration Committee, established in 1960 with the objective of restoring the gaol for the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising.³ But this was not just the attitude of commemorative associations: my school history course in the 1960s ended with the Anglo-Irish Treaty—the Civil War was just not addressed.

In that context, Ferriter’s book is to be welcomed, contributing to the debate on the period and to our understanding of the strengths and limitations of nationalism. It is in two halves, the first focussed on the Civil War itself, and the second (drawing in particular from the Military Pensions archive) about the aftermath of the war up to the present.

After almost three months of negotiations, the treaty was signed on the 6th of December, 1921. Lloyd George had threatened the Irish delegates with a renewal of “terrible and immediate war” if they did not sign it. The question is often raised as to the reality of that threat. There was no doubt that militarily the IRA were under pressure and short of supplies. However, there is equally no doubt that Britain needed to settle. It faced significant threats elsewhere: in its empire, from the large Irish community in Britain itself and from the significant international sympathy for the Irish struggle. An all-out war in Ireland might well have been logistically possible, but politically impossible to prosecute. Bombing and machine gunning from the air, as was happening at that time in Iraq, might have been difficult to undertake less than 100 kilometres off the coast of the “mainland.”⁴

The Dáil debate to ratify the treaty was dominated by the question of an oath of allegiance. Partition was hardly mentioned.

The treaty version of the oath was:

I [name] do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

De Valera’s alternative was: I (name) do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State, to the Treaty of Association, and to recognise the King of Great Britain as Head of Associated States.

As often, the real arguments were not raised. After ten years of revolutionary turmoil, the wealthy interests—businesses and large farmers—wanted stability. Only three newspapers, the *Connachtman*, *Donegal Vindicator* and *Waterford News*, took anti-Treaty positions. Cardinal Logue suggested that opponents of the treaty did nothing but “talk and wrangle for days about their shadowy republic and their obligations to it.”⁵ He and his fellow bishops were later to issue a pastoral letter excommunicating active anti-Treaty opponents.

Ratification of the treaty was approved by the Dáil on 7 January 1922, by 64–57 votes.

The final break, on 28 June 1922, the start of the Civil War, was pushed by Churchill. Initially he ordered the remaining British troops to clear the occupation of the Four Courts by anti-Treaty forces. He was advised against this by his own officials, recommending that this was best done by the Free State army.⁶ After two days’ bombardment with field guns provided by the British, the garrison surrendered. British naval support was later also provided to move Free State troops by sea, outflanking anti-Treaty positions in the South and West.

The war was brutal. By its end, the government had authorised the execution of seventy-seven people, fifty three more than the British had executed during the War of Independence. And these were just the official executions. Others were unofficially killed. Cosgrave was later to say, “I am not going to hesitate and if the country is to live and if we have to exterminate 10,000 republicans, the three millions of our people are bigger than the ten thousand.”⁷

The tragedy is that the anti-Treaty forces had no political strategy to win the war, seeing victory only in military terms. Liam Mellows, one of those executed as a reprisal, wrote “...we suffered badly because the responsible officers in their desire to act as soldiers...could only judge the situation in terms of guns and men.”⁸ Peadar O’Donnell, socialist republican and member of the IRA Executive, suggested that “we were a very pathetic executive, an absolutely bankrupt executive. It had no policy of its own.”⁹

In an interview late in his life he commented in greater detail:

“The economic framework and social relationships...were declared outside the scope of the Republican struggle; even the explosive landlord-tenant relationship, the rancher-small farmer tension. The Republican movement was inspired by ‘pure ideals’. In the grip of this philosophy the Republican struggle could present itself as a democratic movement of mass revolt without any danger to the social pattern; without any danger to the haves from the have-nots...under the shelter of pure ideals the Irish middle-class held its place within a movement it feared.”¹⁰

A study of voting patterns suggested that “the highest percentage of first-preference anti-Treaty votes were concentrated in the poorest, highest-emigration and heavily subsistence-farming regions of the south and west, whereas pro-government support predominated in the comparatively more prosperous east and midlands.”¹¹ Those voting against the treaty were not voting over forms of an oath of allegiance but in hope for a better future. But that aspiration for such a future was never mobilised. It is also notable

that of the 572 members of the 1916 GPO garrison, 41 percent remained neutral.¹²

In Limerick, Cork, Waterford and Tipperary, flour mills, gas works and creameries were occupied and held as soviet.¹³ The railway companies attempted to impose wage cuts throughout the island. Although finally sold out by their union leadership, the Cork railway workers decided to go ahead with a symbolic takeover of the lines in the county. On 11 February 1922 they established the Cork Railway Soviet. For two days, in defiance of the companies and the Free State government, they ran an emergency timetable of trains.¹⁴

Farm labourers, organised in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), faced cuts in wages, with the struggles often broken by the IRA.¹⁵ In his autobiography, young IRA member George Lennon describes one such incident:

“‘What’s the matter with you? I thought you would be the last person in the world to do this to us.’ We pushed the strikers back to the end of the street and held them there at bayonet point...I sat on a stone wondering what the boy meant. You and Us ...Then it began to dawn on me. No wonder they were mad ... men in green jackets were putting them back in their place. Poor landless men, people of no property...It was almost a relief when the pro-Treaty forces attacked us.”¹⁶

ITGWU membership collapsed to 15,453 members in 1929, back to its pre-war levels of membership following the defeat of 1913.¹⁷

The Free Staters were clear in their hatreds, demonstrating naked class and misogynistic contempt. Jesuit-educated historian and Free State officer James Hogan, writing in his diary, recorded his views of the burning of the “Big Houses.” Burnings were “done by neighbours in order to consolidate their chances of getting the land. This is the peasant mind...set against all possessing more worldly things than himself.”¹⁸

William T. Cosgrave described anti-Treaty women as “the mainstay of the trouble we have had...I fear that it is not possible to consider these women as ordinary females.”¹⁹ And in response to heckle, he commented, “Most of these women are unmarried – for a very good reason.”²⁰

But for some, life continued as normal, even for those coming from opposite sides of the conflict. Desmond Fitzgerald’s wife Mabel and Séan MacEntee’s wife Margaret “took turns at bringing their children to stay the night in each other’s houses on either side of Marlborough Road.”²¹

Séan Moylan, elected as a Fianna Fáil TD in 1932, described it as a triumph for “the owners of the donkey cart over the pony and trap class.”²² But it was not to be long before the donkey carts were abandoned and the poachers turned gamekeepers.

One of many cases discussed by Ferriter is that of Laurence Sweeney, killed in July 1922. In 1934, his elderly father’s dependent’s gratuity was reduced from £112.10s to £100 following objections by the Fianna Fáil minister for finance Séan MacEntee; a man of short memory, for ironically it was MacEntee who had only ten years beforehand given the commemorative oration at Sweeney’s grave: “Yes, Laurence Sweeney, you were not born to riches; you were not born to power, but you were born to immortality...poor working boy, born to toil and hardship.”²³

MacEntee was to live in comfort, with his veteran’s, Dáil and ministerial pensions, to the ripe old age of ninety-four, the last surviving member of the first Dáil.

In poverty or disillusionment, thousands emigrated in the 1920s—220,000 to the US, and 185,000 to Britain or its dominions.²⁴

Seven IRA men were executed and three died on hunger strike in Fianna Fáil jails during the Second World War. Ireland’s counter-revolution was finally sealed.\

¹ E. de Valera to M. MacSwiney, 11 September 1922. Ferriter, *Between Two Hells* (Profile Books, 2021) p 1.

² National Graves Association, available online from: <http://www.nga.ie/Civil%20War.php>

³ Rory O’Dwyer, *The Bastille of Ireland. Kilmainham Gaol: From Ruin to Restoration* (History Press, 2010) p 36.

⁴ John Newsinger, *The Blood Never Dried: A People’s History of the British Empire* (Bookmarks, 2006) p 118.

⁵ Ferriter, p 20.

⁶ Ferriter, p 45.

⁷ Ferriter, “Hearts of Stone in Ireland’s Civil War”, *Irish Times*, available online from: <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/hearts-of-stone-in-ireland-s-civil-war-1.2125800>

⁸ Michael Hopkinson, *Green Against Green* (Gill and Macmillan, 1988) p 186.

⁹ Ferriter, p 34.

¹⁰ James Plunkett, *The Gems She Wore* (Arrow Books, 1978), p 161.

¹¹ Gavin Foster, *The Social Basis of the Civil War Divide*. Quoted in Ferriter, p 122.

¹² Ferriter, p 10.

¹³ Conor Kostick, *Revolution in Ireland. Popular Militancy 1917 to 1923* (Pluto Press, 1996) pp 187–93.

¹⁴ Dominic Haugh, Facebook post, 8February 2022

¹⁵ Oliver Coogan, *Politics and War in Meath 1913–23* (1983) pp 254–5.

¹⁶ Waterford County Museum, “Memoirs of George Lennon”, available online from: https://www.waterfordmuseum.ie/exhibit/web/Display/article/317/21/Memoirs_Of_George_Lennon_1922_Waterford_City_Part_2_.html ; quoted in Ferriter, p 50.

¹⁷ Kostick, p 197.

¹⁸ Ferriter, p 98.

¹⁹ Ferriter, p 112.

²⁰ Ferriter, pp 99-100.

²¹ Ferriter, p 217.

²² Ferriter, p 209.

²³ Ferriter, p 191, available online from: <https://militarypensions.wordpress.com/2021/08/06/born-to-immortality-laurence-sweeneys-file-in-the-military-service-1916-1923-pension-collection/>

²⁴ Ferriter, p 127.