PRESS RELEASE

The Director of Operations, Lt Gen Sir Ian Freeland, has declared that there is to be an immediate curfew until further notice in the area of the Lower Falls bounded by:-

In The North - Falls Road from the junction of Falls Road and Grosvenor Road to the junction of Falls Road and Albert Street.

In The East - Albert Street from the junction of Falls Road and Albert Street to the junction of Albert Street and Cullingtree Road.

In The South East - Cullingtree Road from the junction of Cullingtree Road and Albert Street to the junction of Cullingtree Road and Grosvenor Road.

In The South - Grosvenor Road from the junction of Grosvenor Road and Cullingtree Road to the junction of Grosvenor Road and Falls Road.

All civilians in the locality are to get into their houses immediately and to stay there. After military occupation anyone found on the street will be arrested.

3 July 1970

THE STORY OF THE BELFAST 'CURFEW'

3—5 JULY 1970

LAW (?) AND ORDERS

THE BELFAST 'CURFEW' OF 3-5 JULY, 1970

by
Seán Óg Ó Fearghail

Published for the Central Citizens' Defence Committee
1970

Dundalgan Press, Dundalk

CHARLES O'NEILL
with mother, niece and great-niece

WILLIAM BURNS
with young friends

PATRICK ELLIMAN
with neighbours

THE IRISH DEAD

PLATE II

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3 July 1970

The actual press release proclaiming the 'curfew' as distributed by a representative of General Freeland on the night of 3/4 July, 1970

FOREWORD

By

MÍCHEÁL Ó DATHLAOICH, M.R.I.A.

The invitation to contribute a few words of introduction to this little work is one that has moved me greatly, and it is an honour of which I must protest that I am entirely unworthy. As an academic historian, though, I should just like to say that I am very impressed by the way that Mr. Ó Fearghail's collaborators have worked to arrive at the truth, even if there are many things which I would have expressed very differently or even added or omitted. It is, of course, by its very nature, a book written in anger, but there is such a thing as ' God's holy wrath,' and it seems to me that they have been at very considerable pains to sift fact from rumour. Already on 4th July there had filtered through, even to the Malone, an allegation that troops searching a house in Balkan Street had lifted from her coffin the body of a girl, but the embroidery is one that has found no place in the indictment that is here presented. For several weeks after the lifting of the ' curfew ' it was my privilege to spend a considerable part of my day working on the Lower Falls, and I am left with a number of impressions of the people, and also of the military. I am satisfied that, quite literally, thousands of truthful men and women have been very grievously wronged, and for an explanation of the real cause and also of the depth of their resentment I would appeal to a line from perhaps the greatest of our seventeenth-century Munster poets, a line which has been by no means inadequately Englished:

' Whatever suit be trumps their knave will take our king.'

The truth is that the people of the Falls trusted the British army, and trusted especially General Dyball, the reasons for and timing of whose removal from the Irish scene are questions that assuredly will exercise historians for years to come. Like so many Irishmen from the thirteenth century onwards, too, the victims of General Freeland's ' curfew that was not,' appear to have had a great respect for and confidence in the English common law. In this context it should be recalled that retention of the common law was one of the extremely generous concessions made on the Irish side in 1922 as part of a provisional settlement which the religious minority in the Republic of Ireland has never been given the least cause to regret. Thus the people of the Falls had every right to expect of the English that the due processes of the rule of law would be observed. The ' curfew,' though, was not just a knavish trick. It was a blunder of blunders, and deplorably has put off still further the day when there can be unqualified friendship between the English on their island and all who rejoice in the common name of Irishman.

In festo assumptionis BVM, 1970

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PART I. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

INTRODUCTION

The district originally defined and publicly proclaimed as the ' curfew area ' is that bounded by the lower part of the Falls Road, part of Albert Street, part of Cullingtree Road, and the upper part of Grosvenor Road. It is a roughly diamond-shaped enclave of some fifty streets of mid-nineteenth-century terrace houses of which the front doors give directly from the living-room on to the pavement. Behind are tiny paved courts almost entirely taken up by coal bunkers and by the outdoor privies that are the norm for sanitation. Within the two-bedroom houses access to the upper floor is by a steep staircase rising out of the small living-room which normally occupies the entire frontage. Luxuries which are virtually unknown, but of which the absence could be thought extremely relevant to the impact of the ' curfew,' include bathrooms, refrigerators and the telephone. Except along the main streets de-limiting the ' curfew area ' shops of any description are few and far between. A substantial proportion of the men and women of the area are unemployed, and of those more fortunate the great majority are weekly wage-earners who forfeit a proportion of their pay if prevented from attending at their place of work. Many are casually employed in the docks and on construction work, so that week-end overtime is reflected largely in their pay packets. Saturday is the traditional day for shopping, and the general dampness of the brick-built houses without proper foundations causes foodstuffs such as bread to mildew after only a day or so. Consequently there are few houses where, on a Friday night, the larder can be said to be well stocked. When it is borne in mind that the British army had been stationed in the area for more than ten months, and had been glad to accept hospitality in many of the homes, it may occur to some to wonder whether considerations such as these weighed sufficiently with the military authorities when the decision was being taken to seal off the entire district and confine the individual households to their minute dwellings.

Another factor that must be taken into account is that the area is not only overwhelmingly Catholic, but generally zealous in its attachment to its religion. On a normal week-day there are as many as four hundred worshippers at Mass at St. Peter's alone, and in a time of crisis the instinct of the people is to flock to their churches. In itself, then, the ' curfew ' could be said to represent a serious interference with the people's religious practices. Particularly scandalous in this connection was the refusal to allow a Bosnia Street wedding to go forward at St. Peter's, even though the bridegroom was on short leave from his ship and his parents had flown over from Holland. Elsewhere in this report there will be criticism of undue authority vested in mere corporals and sergeants, but responsibility for this affront to human happiness lies at the door of a colonel who was the most senior officer who could be contacted. Reluctantly one is drawn to the conclusion that the days are gone when a British officer and gentleman could be relied upon to possess a certain chivalry, and it should be recalled that when the Queen's University students demonstrated on 9 October, 1968 the ranks parted instinctively and cheered on her way the bride who wished to cross the ' sit-down ' lines. As it happens, too, the ' curfew ' had to

be raised before it could become a real issue, but the two hours that were to have been granted to the inhabitants for Mass on the Sunday morning would not have been sufficient for the obligation to have been fulfilled by everyone. Again one would have imagined that prolonged observation of the people would have told the authorities that a large proportion of the inhabitants of the original ' curfew area ' chose to hear Mass outside the strict parish boundaries, at St. Paul's and above all, at Clonard Monastery. In this connection, too, one should not lose sight of the fact that belated invocation of a forced construction of the English common law doctrine concerning rioting rings a little hollow when for more than twenty-four hours no shot had been fired, and perfect order had prevailed over the whole area.

Mention of their religion brings one to the people themselves. Normally resident within the official ' curfew areas ' as proclaimed publicly are perhaps eight thousand men, women and children. Foreign journalists are prone to talk of a ' Catholic ghetto,' but the term is in some respects misleading as well as inaccurate. There is, indeed, a tremendous sense of mutual loyalty and dependence forged during a century of defensive thinking, but from the Lower Falls there are family ties that radiate outwards not just to other districts in Belfast such as Ardoyne, Ballymacarrett and more particularly Andersonstown and Hannahstown, but deep into the Ulster countryside. The family is rare which has not one grandparent from a county like Tyrone, or Monaghan or Donegal, and a consequence is a real love and affection for all things Irish. Foreign journalists penetrating the homes of the people have been, without exception, impressed by the cultural heritage they have found there, and the Irish language is spoken freely by a quite surprising proportion of the inhabitants. It is worth recalling in this context that these streets have given the Church a remarkable number of scholar-priests and of teaching brothers and sisters and the conspicuously high intelligence of so many of the inhabitants was another factor that one would have imagined that a well-informed military commander would have weighed very carefully.

In both World Wars, too, a very high proportion of the people served in the British forces, and so are in a position to draw comparisons between the army they knew and the army of to-day. Not all are impressed by high-ranking officers affecting pullovers and open-neck shirts, and others deplore the general slovenliness of bored patrols slouching up and down streets in a make-believe army of occupation. Subsequent military brutality towards innocent members of their own families has alienated disciplined men who might, in other times, have been relied upon to exert a steadying influence. The tragedy of the position is that so much of this new hostility could have been averted if the military authorities, instead of attempting to deny incidents, actually witnessed by Members of Parliament and by international journalists had made an example of even a handful of the miscreants. It is no credit to the officering when a solicitor's clerk in Crumlin Road Court-house has to turn over to the police a Glaswegian private overheard within the precincts threatening with violence a man and young girl after an acquittal in the teeth of his evidence. Nor are foreign journalists and lawyers from outside the jurisdiction at all impressed by the spectacle of a squad of soldiers listening to each other giving evidence, and one reform the army could bring in to-morrow would be the English practice of keeping witnesses out of the court-room until each is actually called. One must not anticipate the findings of September's courts of appeal, but it is not flattering to the military that one magistrate's court on 10 August acquitted more civilians than it convicted, and even where convicting allowed minimal bail for appeal purposes in the majority of cases. To Strasbourg, Geneva and New York, too, there has begun to trickle what will soon be a steady flow of documented information, and one of the factors in this situation has been the fact that the Lower Falls is not a ghetto. Its children and grandchildren figure largely in the new professional classes, and they have not forgotten their roots. Equally Mr. R. A.

Butler's Education Acts and English insistence that they apply to Northern Ireland have meant that these men and women are articulate as well as versed in their rights. General Freeland should ponder the contrast with the silence that followed military deployment against the Shankill last October, and it could be that he would find relevant a report published in the spring concerning the relative proportion of households from the two areas with one or more children attending the University.

What must be made very clear at the outset is that this work is not intended as an indictment of the whole British army, though doubtless some of the guilty will strive their utmost to misrepresent it as such. Neither is it to be construed as an attack upon militarism. Evidence which it is hoped will be properly weighed is the avoidance of one particular piece of mischief. What seemed to many particularly distasteful was the prominence given in some English journals to the alleged misconduct of Scottish units. It was almost as though these London newspapers were looking for scapegoats. This is not to say that individual Scottish units have not been identified as responsible for particular excesses, but in fairness it must be observed that there were English regiments that figure just as prominently in the statements of the victims which the Central Citizens' Defence Committee began to collect within hours of the raising of the 'curfew.' It is hoped, too, that due significance will be attached to a parallel reluctance to cite by name the different units involved. This stems from our belief that the good name of a regiment is not lightly to be besmirched, and the author is sufficiently a man of the world to appreciate that there are few baskets of any size which will not be found to contain their proportion of bad eggs. It is the same with the names of individual officers and other ranks. As will be remarked, there are several that are only too well known to those who have processed the different complaints, though here another factor must be reluctance to prejudice any proceedings that may be brought against them in a military tribunal or a civil court. Lack of anonymity, though, is one of the occupational hazards of high office, and it may be thought that the whole miserable interlude provides a modern instance of the truth of the old Latin tag:

Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO 3 JULY

From 1967 onwards there had been increasingly articulate demands for social justice in Northern Ireland. In 1968 discontent reached a new intensity over a particularly flagrant instance of discrimination when a girl of nineteen jumped the length of the housing queue at Caledon through the intervention of her Armagh employer. On 24 August a protest march from Coalisland to Dungannon really launched the Civil Rights Movement in the form that it was to become known to the outside world. On 5 October an even larger march took place in Derry, and the Cameron Commission has pronounced on the utter irresponsibility of the Stormont Government's handling of the whole affair. The Royal Ulster Constabulary was used as a political pawn, and the

name of William Craig, not for the first time, became a household word for blundering ineptitude. On 9 October and again on 16 October spontaneous student marches from the Queen's University at Belfast warned the Government that the writing was on the wall. Young Ulster men and women no longer were prepared to tolerate the unjust society. Incredibly Terence O'Neill left Craig at the Ministry of Home Affairs, and one blunder followed another as his unenforceable bans made him the laughing stock of world opinion. It was not until December, at a time when O'Neill was desperately playing the liberal card and the middle class was being gulled into expressions of support that were as pathetic as inflated, that Craig was at last packed off into the political wilderness.

In January 1969 there occurred the notorious Burntollet ambush when a relatively small number of student marchers were led into a trap and savagely attacked by a rabble which had assembled under the eyes of the police and of Unionist Members of Parliament and which included many of the Special Constabulary. Fighting desperately for his political future, O'Neill reneged on all his most solemn pledges to take action against ' bully-boys,' and condemned the innocent student marchers. Loyalist opposition, however, could not be bought off by this belated return to the fold, and inside and outside the Government moves were afoot to dethrone him. Ministerial resignations provoked a farcical election which seemed at first to give O'Neill victory but which contained the seeds of his downfall. A series of explosions blamed on the I.R.A., but later proved beyond all doubt to be the work of loyalist organizations, played their part in bringing about a situation wherein the Prime Minister had to resign. The knife had been put in his back by some of his closest associates, and one of them had no scruple in going back on his word to clinch the succession. The simple formula ' one man, one vote ' that had been too much to swallow became a plank of the new policy ! In the face of English public opinion, however, no principle could be allowed to remain sacred or immutable. The real paymaster at last was calling the tune. O'Neill's farewell to Ulster was a contribution to a religious (!) broadcast so grotesquely offensive to the Catholic minority whose interest he had been professing to serve that it is only among political wiseacres unwilling to admit that they had been ' conned,' that there is to-day any shred of respect for probably the last Prime Minister of Northern Ireland to hold office for years rather than months. Too few people, however, remember exactly what was said in this truly lamentable broadcast. It was not only Irishmen who writhed at remarks such as: ' It is frightfully hard to explain to a Protestant that if you give Roman Catholics a good job and a good house they will live like Protestants . . .' and ' He cannot understand in fact that if you treat Roman Catholics with due consideration they will live like Protestants in spite of the authoritative nature of their church,' even if the printed word fails to convey the peculiar accent, one neither Irish nor upper-class English, that characterized the delivery of these pseudo-ecumenical sophistries. It is only fair to his *alma mater*, though, to add that educated Englishmen were as disgusted by this patronizing sectarianism as they are contemptuous of a society into which are carried over petty military and naval ranks which do not figure in the styles of gentlemen as that term is understood in England.

Derry continued to be a symbol of the resurgence of anti-Unionist sentiment, and it was a particular slap in the face for Orange pride that the ' maiden city ' of their peculiar mythology had been so repeatedly ravished. As July, 1969 approached, the message from the lodges was loud and clear. The ' croppies ' must be made to ' lie down.' Throughout that crucial month the Catholic minority had to endure gross provocation, but discipline was exemplary. In August, however, the Stormont Government chose to ignore warning after warning from friend and enemy alike. Despite the fact that the population of Derry is overwhelmingly Catholic, the

Apprentice Boys were to be allowed not just to parade the main streets but also to man the walls overlooking the Bogside. In full regalia these white-gloved, blue-suited, bowler-hatted representatives of the worst in Ulster society threw pennies down to the people condemned by their privilege to chronic unemployment and some of the worst housing conditions in Europe. The next day there were the entirely predictable scuffles as the Apprentice Boys marched, and the Royal Ulster Constabulary was told off to teach the Bogside a lesson. No worse body of men could have been found to do this job, even if they had not been openly supported by a loyalist rabble.

Only four months before, uniformed R.U.C. men had irrupted into an innocent Bogside home and beaten to death a sick man. Eighteen months later special investigators from London at last seem to be beginning to break through the wall of systematic lying behind which the miscreants, including at least one quite senior officer, had taken up what they thought was an invulnerable position. The Bogsiders decided that they would have no repetition of the Devenney death, and the Royal Ulster Constabulary were beaten back ignominiously from the approaches to the Bogside. On a previous occasion they had been rescued from their folly by the intervention of Mr. John Hume, M.P., who had negotiated their withdrawal, but this time the extrication was to be even more humiliating. British troops marched in, and on the promise that the Royal Ulster Constabulary would be withdrawn the Bogsiders called it a day.

Since the Spring there had been serious developments in Belfast. Except for intermittent affrays often brought on by police over-reaction, most of the Catholic areas had remained calm. Now, however, there was a marked increase in tension, and on 14 August the beleaguered Bogsiders locked in battle with the Royal Ulster Constabulary asked for attacks on police barracks—a significant term and one to be dropped under the Young dispensation—throughout the Six Counties so that the whole weight of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and of the notorious B Specials should not be brought to bear on the handful of streets where the men of Derry were fighting to save their homes and families from the fate of Devenney. In common with other centres Belfast responded, and limited assaults on a number of police barracks obtained the desired result. The invasion of the Bogside ground to a halt as reinforcements were not forthcoming.

Even at this stage statesmanship could have avoided the holocaust that was to follow but Unionist pride had to come before the lives of men, women and children. The Falls would have to be taught a lesson, and the Shankill mob supported by B Specials was loosed against it. The Royal Ulster Constabulary's own personal contribution was to spray whole Catholic streets with bullets and to pour heavy machine-gun fire into a Catholic block of flats, killing a young boy as the family cowered against an interior wall. Later in this work the conduct of General Freeland will have to come in for criticism. Fresh from England he reacted with a professional soldier's intuitive contempt for private armies, and one of his first acts was to have these heavy machine-guns stripped from the Royal Ulster Constabulary's armoured cars, only the first of the humiliations the para-military element in that body would have to endure over the next few months when, despite the promises of Unionist politicians, it was inexorably converted into a purely civilian force. Meanwhile the Shankill mob was surging into the Falls, and several hundred homes went up in flames. Almost all were Catholic—professional evidence given to the Scarman Tribunal has shown that—and when the first British troops at last moved in to restore order on 15 August advance parties had often to stand and watch further burnings under their very noses. The loyalists, even without the arms of the B Specials among them, had no shortage of weapons, whereas on the Catholic side there was no more than the odd shotgun or sporting pistol. It was

very obvious, though, that the mobs were craven, a shot or two among them being sufficient generally to send them scuttling back into their own streets where they explained their failure by empty talk of Fenian plots. Their snipers on the tall factories overlooking the Falls had already been dealt with by the desperate but very effective expedient of setting fire to the buildings under them, and by the evening of 16 August the British army was in control of the situation.

The general pattern of the defence of the Catholic areas of Belfast had been the blocking of the ends of the streets by improvised barricades. At first they consisted of commandeered vehicles and piles of paving-stones, but, as the loyalist mobs were held at arm's length by the military, these defences often achieved a great degree of sophistication. Each street was organized for its own defence, and the representatives of each street formed the nucleus of Citizens' Defence Committees for each of the principal Catholic areas. Since no attacks were made from these strongholds against adjacent loyalist areas, the military very wisely as well as properly made no attempt to interfere with them. Indeed the army's principal preoccupation for the first few weeks was to contain the militant loyalists who considered that they had been cheated of their prey. Thus the position was generally that the army was welcome on the Falls but highly unpopular on the Shankill. On 10 September the army began constructing a ' Berlin Wall ' between the Falls and the Shankill and the protection of this so-called ' Peace Line ' meant that negotiations could begin which resulted in the Catholic areas removing the barricades in return for the most solemn pledges of military protection.

Despite these specific guarantees the army, on 28 September, stood by when a loyalist mob breached the ' Peace Line ' and burnt five Catholic homes in Coates Street. On 11 October the loyalists tried to launch a new attack on the Catholics of the Unity Walk area. The Royal Ulster Constabulary blocked their path, when suddenly shots rang out and Constable Arbuckle fell dead. The loyalists had arrived at the end of the road, and retribution was swift. The troops moved in, and it was the turn of the Shankill to be invaded by armed men. The invaders, however, were not a rabble, but soldiers of the Queen to whom so much hypocritical loyalty had been professed down the years, and the military did their work well. Resistance was as noisy as short-lived, and in contrast to the fusillade of undisciplined fire leashed against them the soldiers contented themselves with relatively few shots but those well-aimed. The defenders of the Shankill melted away, and by daybreak the army was in control of the area of the fighting. It was most efficiently disarmed, the weaponry never being listed publicly but far out-numbering in quantity and quality that about which so much song and dance was made by the British army on 4 July, 1970, and also captured by the soldiers was the principal loyalist radio station. It was to this capture that the other radio stations owe their immunity from prosecution. The evidence so deeply implicated one of the most unsavoury—and electorally unsuccessful—of Unionist politicians that the whole interlude of the ' pirate ' radio stations was allowed to sink into oblivion. That on the Falls had been dismantled before the barricades came down.

This show of strength had been sufficient for the loyalist mobs to lose their stomach for murderous assaults on their neighbours, at least for the time being, and with Westminister exerting pressures Unionism dared not resist openly, interest shifted to the political front. On the one hand, moderate Unionists were harassed by the thugs in their own constituency associations, and Richard Ferguson, perhaps the only genuine liberal to have been taken in by O'Neill, was hounded out of politics by threats against his family which culminated in an attack on his home. Needless to say, the perpetrators of this outrage have still to be brought to justice. On the other hand, a Chichester-Clark who, at a disastrous press conference, had lost all credibility as a man of decision, was having, under English direction, to implement all the reforms for which the Civil

Blazing bus used as barricade at corner of Albert Street and Raglan Street on evening of 3 July

Courtesy Century Newspapers Ltd.

Troops moving up Falls Road on evening of 3 July—the man kneeling is just by the spot where William Burns had been shot dead only a little earlier.

Courtesy *Irish Press*

PLATE IV

Troops preparing to advance up Raglan Street from Albert Street

An army marksman takes aim down Lower Clonard Street from outside the Clock Lounge on the corner of the Falls Road on the evening of 3 July

Courtesy *Irish Press*

Rights Movement had campaigned, though it was soon very obvious that he was playing for time. O'Neill, in a typically petulant broadcast, had just revealed the pressures that were at work even in his own hey-day to go slow on righting even blatant injustice in the hope of a Tory Government being returned to power at Westminster. In a Bannside by-election on 16 April 1970, militant loyalism got completely out of hand when Ian Paisley trounced the official Unionist candidate, and this despite the resurrection of the doddering Brookeborough and the invocation by a Minister of the Crown of the classic Unionist precept: ' A Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People.' It was the same in South Antrim where one of Paisley's acolytes also was returned by a majority that makes a mockery of appeals to moderates to stand up and be counted.

Already at Easter the Government's anxiety to woo the ' hard-liners ' had become apparent. Nationalist ceremonies to commemorate the Rising were confined to Catholic areas and went off with essential decorum, but in Belfast an Orange band was allowed to parade into areas where it was known that the provocative music and gesticulations would give cause for offence. There was stone-throwing on the Springfield Road, and military over-reaction when a Scottish unit indulged in sectarian abuse in the direct tradition of Ibrox Park. In the following weeks the Ballymurphy housing estate received special attention, and at one time was occupied by no fewer than 1,500 troops. This over-reaction meant that Ballymurphy in particular was to be a running sore for the next months, the situation not being improved by a journalist who used the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* to impute to the inhabitants a sensationally high incidence of venereal disease, and who tried to laugh off the medical profession's indignant refutation by pretending an aural confusion of ' V.D.' and ' T.B.', though even the latter charge could not be substantiated. Ballymurphy has its problems, but they are the problems that stem from an unjust society where what jobs there are must be given to the man with the ' right ' religion rather than to the man with the real skills. During these difficult days the local Citizens' Defence Committees worked hard to defuse the situation created by the military blundering, and this is the place to recall that all through the winter, spring and early summer, the Central Citizens' Defence Committee laboured unceasingly to co-ordinate the operations of the local vigilantes who enjoy such an enviable record for averting breaches of the peace and even crime. During this period it has been admitted that the crime rate in large areas of Catholic Belfast was never so low. Hooliganism, while it cannot be denied though at times explicable as the result of military action, was made a whipping-boy not just by Unionist politicians but by ' Castle Catholics ' who still preferred to sit up and beg thankfully for the crumbs from their masters' table instead of making a stand for full equality for the Catholic people.

On 18 June occurred the momentous Westminster election which brought a Conservative administration back into power. Except in Scotland, where the formula had been found an electoral embarrassment, the Tory candidates fought under the ' Conservative and Unionist ' label, and the local Unionists here hoped for great things from the new Government. It is noteworthy, though, that not even the purging of Knox Cunningham could make the ' Westminster eight ' respectable enough for the English Conservatives to stomach a ministerial appointment from among their number, and this despite the fact that Robin Chichester-Clark, living on past goodwill, had shadowed the Minister of Works during the long years in opposition. The explanation would seem to be that the reputations of men like Molyneaux and Kilfedder had preceded them to England, though decent opinion at last is beginning to question whether the Conservative Party is being true to its traditions and best interests by continuing to harbour in its ranks this dwindling band of bigoted mediocrity.

The end of June brings the ' little twalfth ' and the beginning of the great season of Orange parading. The Central Citizens' Defence Committee was particularly disturbed by plans for a needlessly provocative parade in the Ardoyne area which would pass the ends of Catholic streets which had suffered terribly the previous summer. The Orangemen, however, were flushed with the Tory triumph, and their mood was uncompromising. On 24 June representations from the Central Citizens' Defence Committee were most sympathetically received by the military and by the Chief Constable, and a letter with full details was sent by hand to the United Kingdom Representative, Mr. R. Burroughs. The next day the Central Citizens' Defence Committee met Mr. Burroughs, and on 26 June representations made to London, both by Mr. Burroughs and by the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, failed to achieve the desired modification of the route. Mr. Maudling, it seems, was not prepared to go beyond a request to the Orangemen to modify the route, and that evening the parade went up the Crumlin Road and there was the anticipated trouble, though not on any great scale. The following day, Saturday, 27 June, was disastrous.

That afternoon a Shankill parade wished to march to a minor Orange Hall high up on the Springfield Road and just opposite the Ballymurphy Estate. The obvious route would have been up the Shankill Road, the Woodvale Road, the Ballygomartin Road, and down the West Circular Road. Instead it was planned that the parade should make a provocative lunge towards Clonard Monastery, turn right up Cupar Street past burnt-out Catholic homes and the phœnix of Bombay Street, and then march up the Springfield Road. With difficulty they were persuaded by the Joint Security Committee to make a minor deviation away from Cupar Street and to reach the Springfield Road by way of Mayo Street. As they came out on the Springfield Road the crowd of loyalist roughs who headed the Orange parade proper saw a Catholic crowd standing behind a military cordon. As if at a given signal the loyalists began to pelt the Catholic crowd who, not unnaturally, retaliated. It is very significant that throughout this confrontation the military kept their backs to the Catholic crowd. The soldiers knew only too well who had begun it all. In the mêlée a few shots were fired, and the troops opened up with C.S. gas, and it was poetic justice that some of the canisters fell among the marching Orangemen whose persistence with this inappropriate route had touched off the whole confrontation.

It may be asked why the procession had not been ignored, as indeed it had been opposite Clonard Monastery. The explanation is to be found in another provocation which had occurred in the middle of the day. One of the minor rituals of Orangeism is the so-called ' banner-moving ' when regalia is taken to or from a local master's residence. One of these worthies resided in New Barnsley, and the idea had been to parade thence past the Ballymurphy estate. The army authorities were well aware that it was a piece of unnecessary coat-trailing and came up with the very handsome offer that military transport would carry all the participants past the trouble-spot. This, of course, would have destroyed the whole point of the occasion, and the Orangemen stood out for a march. Their leaders agreed that the band should be silent when passing Ballymurphy, but the bandsmen would not agree to this. It was then agreed that only hymn-tunes should be played, and on this understanding the procession moved off. Passing Ballymurphy the band struck up party-tunes in deliberate breach of its word, and stoning began. The sympathies of the troops, already angered by the childish caperings and delays, this time were very clearly with the people of Ballymurphy, and the marchers were hustled on their way. The damage was done, however, and this petty incident bears a heavy responsibility for the more serious disturbances that followed.

One of the bands from the afternoon's junketings up and down the city was from Ballymacarrett. It returned homewards along the Newtownards Road, and outside St. Matthew's Catholic Church chose to put on one of the provocative displays, the so-called ' soft-shoe-shuffle,' which are specially reserved for Catholic places of worship. The police were absent, and remained absent for a surprising time, as crowds gathered. When they did come it was too late, and even then they failed to insist on the military presence which could have averted the bloodshed of the night. The Catholic people had good reason to think that it was planned to overrun the whole of this beleaguered community of only 3,500 men, women and children, and they barricaded themselves to defend their homes and church.

A major attack on St. Matthew's Church itself was launched by an armed mob of loyalists, and the only protection offered by the military was a force of sixteen men. By the time that they arrived in the early morning fighting was general and a doughty resistance on the part of the defenders cured the mob of its taste for arson, but not before the sexton's lodge of the Church had been burned to the ground and the doors of the Church badly charred. The loyalist crowd sullenly kept its distance and began to spread the completely false rumour that it had been worsted because snipers had been stationed in the Church tower. In fact nobody had been allowed into the Church, and the defence of the area, which included a convent and a girls' hostel, had had to be conducted from the grounds. Subsequently the army investigated the rumour and pronounced it false, but this has not prevented *Ulster—The Facts*, the viciously sectarian propaganda broadsheet of the Unionist Party, giving great prominence to early newspaper accounts of the rumours, and completely ignoring the army's denials. An earlier number of *Ulster—The Facts* had been censured by Mr. Justice Scarman, but truth was never the forte of a Unionism, a placard on the Glengall Street headquarters of which had proclaimed Ulster British when three of its nine counties had long since gloried in their adhesion to the Republic of Ireland.

In the fighting at Ballymacarrett the Ulster Volunteer Force had taken a bloody nose. When British troops belatedly came on the scene it slunk away, and there was a desperate attempt to save face by a pretence that it had never been committed to the battle. The myth was propagated of innocent Protestant passers-by mown down by I.R.A. gunmen spoiling for a fight, and relevant here are further fatalities incurred in an irresponsible follow-up of the provocative march through Ardoyne. What Stormont needed was something to salve this wounded loyalist pride, and a massive propaganda exercise was launched which it was hoped would convince the world that there was a monster ' I.R.A.' conspiracy. The story that seems to have been decided on was that somewhere in Belfast picked marksmen were gathering who would shoot up the great Orange parade on 13 July, which the Stormont Government could not get its heart high enough to ban, though typically it sent the Orange leaders over to London rather than face up itself to the situation. Mr. Maudling's meeting with these gentlemen was an eye-opener, and those who one day will write the story of the Order's decline may well opine that Chichester-Clark did it no service when he brought its pathetic leadership into direct contact with men really at the centre of affairs. By squireens aping the English gentry the Orange Order could be represented from a distance as something quaint, but encountered in the flesh it was only obscene. Needless to say, there was no such conspiracy to lace the marching Orangemen with murderous fire, and the discredited Unionist propagandists realized that without some supporting evidence they would never be believed.

The Balkan Street Raid

At approximately half-past four on the afternoon of Friday, 3 July, a force of five or six vehicles swept up to 24 Balkan Street. From a police car there descended a policeman and policewoman to do the searching, and they were accompanied by some of the soldiers from the four or five light trucks. Other soldiers cordoned off both ends of Balkan Street and, not unnaturally, a small crowd began to gather behind them. The vigilantes summoned a local priest who tried to impress on a British officer at the house the need for the search to be completed with the utmost dispatch if he and the vigilantes were to contain the situation. For half an hour the priest and vigilantes patrolled the area urging the people to be calm and peaceful, and then another approach was made to the officer who indicated that another ten minutes would see the job through, at the end of which time he would signal to the priest that the force was about to move off. When the column moved off and turned up a side street and into Raglan Street, Balkan Street remained calm, but in Raglan Street two young men from the assembled crowd threw stones at the vehicles. Instead of learning the lesson of Ballymurphy and ignoring this relatively minor expression of hostility, the troops replied with a discharge of C.S. gas. Troop reinforcements poured into Raglan Street where the priest from Balkan Street had arrived in a vain attempt to interpose himself between the military and that part of the crowd which had gathered in Bosnia Street. Still the troops could have withdrawn from the area with their haul of a very large proportion of the modern arms figuring in the bag for the whole night's operation, but for some reason they were not prepared to call it a day. Large quantities of C.S. gas were poured into the whole area, and this finally roused the entire population. The priest who had been at Balkan Street went to the Presbytery to summon the Administrator—St. Peter's is the Pro-Cathedral of the diocese of Down and Connor—and then ran back to the junction of Albert Street and Raglan Street. He parleyed with the major conducting the operation, and obtained a promise that the discharge of C.S. gas would cease if he arranged a truce in the stone-throwing. He had almost calmed the crowd when two lads threw a couple more stones whereupon, without giving him a chance to complete his work, the troops opened up with another massive discharge of gas. Choked by the canisters which fell at his feet the priest staggered away and turned down Roumania Street where he sat gasping for breath on a window-sill. Not unnaturally the crowd was incensed by this treatment of their priest who had braved the hail of missiles to act as mediator. The mêlée became general, and omnibuses and other vehicles were seized and put into service as barricades. Still, though, a withdrawal of the troops could have averted further disorder, but by now it was clear that the army wanted a confrontation, and had had contingency-planning for it. This gives colour to the local belief that the timing of the original arms raid was deliberately provocative. Late on Friday afternoon was the worst of all possible times for such an operation to be mounted, and we would like an inquiry to grill General Freeland on the exact time that the information was received which led to the search.

The Killing of Charles O'Neill

The principal barricades were at the intersection of Raglan Street and Albert Street, at the mouth of Ross Street and where Peel Street runs into the Falls Road. The time was now just after half-past six. Instead of leaving the situation to burn itself out, the army continued to over-react,

and the hail of gas-projectiles only exacerbated the defence. At the corner of Albert Street and Raglan Street two youths ran forward and threw improvised hand-grenades at the soldiers. These went off with a lot of noise and peppered the legs of a number of soldiers, though the army has still to give precise details of the injuries inflicted. It is, perhaps, significant that later one officer could talk of one man's legs being fractured as if that was the limit of the serious damage. The situation further degenerated, and the people of the area genuinely feared that they would be attacked. For the second of three times that night one of their leaders attempted to parley on the telephone with a senior officer but his warning was treated with contempt. Some shots were fired over the soldiers' heads, but their purpose has been disputed. Barricades continued to be improvised along the Falls Road and Albert Street ends of the little streets of the Lower Falls proper.

The army was by this time principally concentrated in and behind Albert Street, and at a quarter to seven sent a mobile column to reconnoitre up the Falls Road. At Omar Street a lorry had been pressed into service as a barricade. It was at this moment that Charles O'Neill, an invalided ex-serviceman, walked painfully into the middle of the road to warn the troops that the whole area was hostile and that penetration of it would not be helpful. His signal to stop was not simply ignored. The leading Saracen armoured-car accelerated, and quite deliberately ran him down. The numerous eye-witnesses have still to be summoned to any official inquiry. One of them relates how two soldiers poked him in the ribs with their batons when he reported to their officer that the poor man was dead, and how one of them remarked: ' Move on you Irish bastard—there are not enough of you dead.' Friends and neighbours were not allowed to approach the corpse, though a priest was able to anoint the dead man, and the body was removed in an army ambulance. Despite his years of service in the Royal Air Force no notification of the death has ever been made to his Belfast relatives, and a niece's husband, learning of the death from the newspaper, was sent from pillar to post by different army and police authorities before ending up at the Laganbank Mortuary.

The Killing of William Burns

The military by now had sealed off the whole area in the angle of the Falls Road and Albert Street, but were not evincing any particular anxiety to risk a penetration of it. Instead they were saturating the whole area with a new and more concentrated formula of C.S. gas, and special catapults were brought up which launched heavy canisters with such force that they went through the flimsy roofs of a few houses. Miraculously none of the women and children were killed, though it was normal for such to seek refuge in upstairs rooms and even attics when heavy gas-clouds drifted down the streets and through the shattered living-room windows. To be emphasized is the fact that this crippling cannonade was completely indiscriminate. Streets where there had been no disorder received salvo after salvo, and there began a very substantial evacuation of women and children and of the sick and elderly. All sorts of vehicles were pressed into service, and lorries and vans carried the refugees and their belongings to emergency centres set up hastily at different Schools in the Upper Falls and Andersonstown districts. At St. Thomas's Secondary School alone there are reported to have been housed on this night a total of one hundred and fifty refugees, and many others merely passed through on their way to relatives or to the refugee camps that had been opened by the Irish Government at places like Gormanstown. Indeed the full extent of this

mass-evacuation of several hundred families was not appreciated until the house-to-house survey which figures later in this report had got under way.

By eight o'clock on this same evening of 3 July the overall situation was that the army was massed along Albert Street and the Falls Road, and these thoroughfares were being kept open at all costs despite attempts by local residents to erect barricades which would have hindered the troops from mounting their barrage of C.S. gas against the whole Lower Falls. By eight o'clock the situation had to some extent stabilized, and William Burns of 57 Falls Road was chatting with a neighbour who was putting shutters over the window of his shop. Still the position was reasonably quiet and the two men continued to converse in the doorway of 57 from which they strolled down to inspect the wreckage of an abortive barricade opposite 43 Falls Road. They returned to 57 and stood at the door talking, though Thomas Burns, who had joined them, thought that a renewed discharge of tear-gas might make it prudent to retire indoors. On the other side of the road near the corner of Panton Street an army patrol was approaching stealthily the derelict Clonard Cinema. At about twenty-past eight, when Thomas Burns had gone in, there was a burst of fire. The neighbour for the moment had no idea that his friend was hit, but William Burns took a few steps through the doorway and collapsed across the living-room couch. At twenty-three minutes past eight an ambulance was sent for from the Royal Victoria Hospital, only a few hundred yards away. It arrived promptly, but by the time it reached the hospital Burns was dead. The bullet-wound was in the right breast only a few inches below the shoulder. It was a shot to kill. The victim was a highly respected man of fifty-four, a bachelor who had devoted much of his life to the service of young people. When his sister-in-law came down from St. James's Road at about ten o'clock she was brutally told by the soldiers at the Springfield Road barricade that he had had no business to be standing at his door. We should not forget in this connection that the death had occurred nearly two hours before any ' curfew ' had been proclaimed, and that the men talking in the doorway had received no intimation from the military that their conduct was in any way irregular.

General Freeland Drops the Mask

For the next hour the position continued unchanged with troops massing and the Lower Falls continuing to be saturated with C.S. gas. Somewhere about nine o'clock the Administrator of St. Peter's Parish, Fr. Padraig Murphy, a man whose devoted labours for peace and co-operation with the army had been widely recognized over the preceding year, decided that the situation was such that he and his priests needed some support from the army if there was to be any hope of their persuading the crowds to disperse. In particular he wanted a lull in the use of the C.S. gas while he talked to his frightened and angered people. Accordingly, he telephoned army H.Q. at Lisburn, and asked to speak to Major-General Dyball. Informed that General Dyball was not there, he was given the Operations Room and was just getting through when General Freeland came on the line and the conversation went as follows:

F. ' Fr. Murphy, you are now under my orders.'

M. ' I dispute that—I am not under your orders. I am under the moral law. I myself and also my vigilantes have been repeatedly gassed while attempting to persuade the people to disperse.

This is an entirely new situation. Can you not give some orders that would allow us to go about our work of persuasion without this hindrance ? '

F. ' You will get out on those streets and tell those people of your's to get in or they will be shot.'

M. ' This is the point I am ringing about. How can I do this without vigilantes ? '

F. ' I don't recognize your vigilantes.'

M. ' I am only one man, and there are about thirty thousand people in this whole area. How can I go around and contact them all individually ? I need men to help me.'

F. ' Very good, then. Use your men.'

M. ' Can I tell my men that they will not be gassed ? '

F. ' No ! They are better gassed than shot.'

Realizing that the General had lost control of himself as well as of the situation, Fr. Murphy put down the receiver and he and Mr. Patrick Devlin, the Stormont Member of Parliament for the area and a witness of the conversation, realized that the fruits of a whole year of patient negotiation had been thrown away. Indeed, the comment of Mr. Devlin was that the General seemed ' quite hysterical,' a judgment which is certainly borne out by the corroborated version of the conversation given here.

The Proclamation of the ' Curfew '

Shortly after ten o'clock a helicopter flew over the area, and a loudspeaker mounted in it proclaimed that ' This area is now under curfew. You are to go to your homes and remain there. Anyone found on the streets will be arrested.' This announcement was heard by thousands—though not by all the residents—and there is no doubt that the word ' curfew ' was used. The point is one of considerable significance since, in strict law, a curfew cannot be proclaimed by a military commander unless a magistrate has read the Riot Act or a state of emergency has been proclaimed. Nobody in the area can be found who heard the Riot Act read or saw a constable let alone a magistrate, and certainly no state of emergency was proclaimed by the Northern Ireland Government. As the helicopter passed the order was taken up by individual officers who used loud hailers to convey it to the streets in the immediate vicinity. By no means all these streets lay within the ' curfew area ' as this was published the same evening and broadcast on both radio and television. It is for this reason that we illustrate the actual Press Release (Plate ii) and also give the text in an appendix (p. 44). The people generally broke up and made their way home, but the odd shot continued to be fired and to draw down on the streets a new barrage of C.S. gas. Army marksmen had been stationed at strategic points, and especially at the mouths of the streets running into the ' curfew area ' proper, and were under orders to shoot anyone seen with a gun. They were also to open fire if they saw the flash of a weapon not under their own control. Press reports from inspired sources have grotesquely exaggerated the scale of this exchange of fire. Minutes might elapse when no shot could be heard from the whole district, and in any particular vicinity half an hour could pass without the crack of even distant firing breaking in on the silence.

Towards Cullingtree Road the situation had never been anything like as disturbed as at the other end of the ' curfew ' area, and even the C.S. gas had been used on a relatively minor scale. There were many inhabitants who either had not heard of the ' curfew ' or with whom it had not registered that they were for practical purposes under house-arrest. Subsequently army officers have attempted to justify the use of the word ' curfew ' on the plea that it was necessary to use some

term that would be generally understood. In practice the very unfamiliarity of the operation among civilized communities meant that a large number of people did not understand that the restriction on movement was absolute. We would stress, too, that the penalty broadcast was ' arrest ' and not ' instant execution,' a nicety very germane to what follows.

The Killing of Patrick Elliman

Shortly after eleven o'clock an elderly and asthmatic man at 12 Marchioness Street was preparing for bed. His deaf sister who kept house for him was also getting ready to retire for the night. Neither had realized the significance of the ' curfew,' and they obviously thought that the night's troubles were over. In his shirt-sleeves and bedroom-slippers, and having filled his hot water bottle, Patrick Elliman suddenly took a fancy to stroll to the end of the street for a breath of fresh air. A nephew by marriage at 22 Marchioness Street saw the old man go out, and alerted his father-in-law who went out to bring his brother back. He was too late. As he reached his brother there was a burst of fire and Patrick Elliman fell to the ground shot through the head. There had been no firing, there was no warning shout, and no warning shots fired at the legs, only a murderous burst of fire which could easily have claimed two lives instead of one. At the risk of his life the nephew by marriage helped his father to carry the injured man back to his home, and then he again dared the bullets by running to Sultan Street where a Knights of Malta Ambulance Corps had a casualty station. An ambulance was obtained and soon reached the dying man's home. When, though, it started off, a search and re-routing meant it took thirty minutes to cover the few hundred yards to the Royal Victoria Hospital. Patrick Elliman was a week dying, and never once regained consciousness.

That very night British troops actually entered and quartered themselves in the shot man's home, the distraught sister having been moved to the other brother's up the street. This tasteless intrusion into the abandoned home was discovered the next afternoon during the interval in the ' curfew ' when the brother, with his daughter and son-in-law, went down to the house and found the door broken down, a window broken, kit lying on the floor, shaving tackle on the settee, and used cups in the scullery. Neighbours informed them that soldiers had dossed down in the upstairs rooms as well. A day or two later the brother was visited by two men in plain clothes and he was told to report to the police barracks where a simple statement was taken from him. At the time of writing that is the sum total of the investigation, and he is still wondering when he will be asked to give evidence at a proper court of inquiry and/or a coroner's inquest.

The Killing of Zbigniew Uglik

This unfortunate young Londoner—he was of Polish extraction but a British subject by birth and by choice—may be thought to be the ' mystery man ' of the night's proceedings. He was a postman, and also an amateur photographer of distinction who was beginning to supplement his

A wrecked bedroom with fireplace ripped out from wall at 90 Plevna Street
Photograph courtesy *Daily Mail*

Wrecked staircase at 43 Mary Street

Child's bedroom with blocked up chimney ripped out at 42 Mary Street

modest wage by a little journalistic free-lancing. It would appear that he had arrived in Belfast only after the raid on Balkan Street had been completed. He was booked in at the Wellington Park Hotel, one of the more expensive and also most comfortable of the Belfast hotels, and is thought to have made his way over the town while the confrontation in Raglan Street was at its height. About eleven o'clock he is known to have crossed from Raglan Street to the side of Albert Street which the terms of the proclaimed ' curfew ' area suggest lay under no restrictions. A resident was standing at the door of his house, and Uglik asked if he might join him. After some conversation they went indoors and the two men chatted deep into the night. About one o'clock Uglik insisted that he must go to the Wellington Park Hotel to fetch a second camera, and he left a jacket and a quite expensive camera in his host's living-room. He thought it wiser not to leave by the front door since the street was being regularly patrolled, and slipped out the back and over a wall on to the roof of a shed. On any telling he was safely outside the ' curfew area ' as it had been defined, and his host closed the door and went to bed.

The first this hospitable resident of Albert Street knew of young Uglik's death was when, on the Sunday morning, he read a description in the newspaper of a young man who had been killed, and this tallied with his visitor of the Friday night. He took the unclaimed jacket and camera to the army, and was told that the police would be getting in touch with him. That afternoon police called. He was asked to identify the body at the morgue at the Royal Victoria Hospital, and then went to the Springfield Road police barracks where he made a statement. The police told him that the army version of the death was that he had been shot on the roof at the back of the house in Albert Street. Three weeks later he was once more summoned to the police barracks, this time to Hastings Street, and asked if he had any objection to a copy of his original statement being furnished to Uglik's family whose legal representatives were asking for it. On this occasion he was told by the police that the military had shot Uglik from an empty house at 135 Albert Street which they had commandeered. At the time of writing there has been no inquest and no public inquiry, and this despite the fact that a British subject from outside Northern Ireland has been killed without mercy in circumstances that, in England, would have provoked a major controversy. It is understood, though, that there are witnesses to the happening and a subsequent interlude, whose testimony when and if there is a public investigation will be quite sensational. Here we are concerned only with the fact that a young man was shot dead.

The Searches and the Arrests

After the proclamation of the ' curfew ' the troops had little difficulty in occupying the whole area. There was the occasional shot, and bursts of fire could be heard at intervals though for the most part these were into the air. At various points parties of soldiers began entering individual homes and conducting searches for arms. A number of people were arrested and it was sufficient cause that a gun should have been found lying outside, or that the householder objected to the irruption of the searchers who would kick down a door without waiting for an answer to a knock. Questioning has established that at a very few addresses a piece of paper was waved in front of the people of the house, but there seem to have been no search warrants as that term is understood in normal societies. Disquieting are the reports of mass arrests. For example the

discovery of a single round of ammunition was sufficient for every man in the house, visitor or resident, not only to be arrested on suspicion but actually charged and held in custody without bail on a charge of possession.

Two cases stand out as particularly reprehensible. At the old Central Citizens' Defence Committee's rooms at Cyprus Street, a room which had been abandoned a few days before, a small number of people, including seven boys and girls, had taken refuge from the C.S. gas. Their demeanour was entirely consonant with their story, and it is admitted by everybody that no fire-arms, no ammunition and no explosives were found in the parts of the building to which they could possibly have had access. Even the military were preparing to release them when word came up that a case of ammunition had suddenly appeared in the hallway. The atmosphere suddenly changed and all twelve, including a well-known Belfast journalist and broadcaster, were marched off, taken to Springfield Barracks and very roughly used by the troops, while the adults later were individually charged with the possession of 1,300 rounds of ammunition. For a long time bail was refused, and it has only now begun to be granted when it has become clear that the defence case is completely convincing. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that there was a clumsy attempt to compromise the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, and expecially when we recall General Freeland's remarks earlier that evening on the subject of vigilantes. In this context we should also consider a remark made by the County Grand Master of the Orange Order in Belfast who did not scruple to assert in a TV appearance that arms had been found in the Central Citizens' Defence Committee's headquarters. Out-of-date and inaccurate intelligence has always been a feature of the Ulster scene !

An even more unfortunate abuse of authority occurred at the Raglan Street School. The Knights of Malta Ambulance Corps had established there a first-aid post, and it was resorted to by many of the victims of the C.S. gas, some of them in a quite piteous condition. It will be recalled that there appeared in the Press quite harrowing accounts of damage done to eyes by domestic bathing with vinegar and water, and the trained skill of the staff was in great demand. Somewhere in this large building, it was claimed that a few ounces of explosive had been concealed. It was sufficient pretext for everybody in the building, except for a few children, to be arrested and dragged off to the Springfield Barracks. A few of the more prominent of the orderlies were released after being roughly handled, but others were not so fortunate and did not get out until the morning. Yet others found themselves charged with possessing explosives, and it was days before the granting of bail was a tacit recognition of the fact that the charges should never have been preferred. Still these unfortunate people await a trial, even though it would be a simple enough matter for the Crown to drop the charges.* Nor should it be forgotten that conditions in the Springfield Barracks were appalling. Mr. Patrick Devlin, M.P., himself has told the army authorities how he witnessed scenes of brutality, and there has still to be a denial of the newspaper reports that barefooted men were made to crawl through the streets. More than one newspaper, too, has printed photographs of men forced to stand up against walls with their hands above their heads. The house-to-house survey described later suggests that the number of homes searched was of the order of at least one thousand, and the photographs printed here (Plates v-viii) show the state in which a number were left.

It should be emphasized, though, that most of the wanton damage was done during the searchings on the Saturday night when there was no emergency, and when mortification that so little could be found that would justify these illegalities was reflected in the destruction of property

* But see p. 44.

and effects in the homes of people whom it is now admitted were entirely innocent. How many people were arrested it is difficult to determine as so many were technically arrested and then told later that there had been no arrest and that they were free to go. On any telling, though, the number of arrests on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday, resulting in imprisonment and an eventual appearance in the courts, was in excess of three hundred, and unintentional injustice resulted from this sudden and immense burden thrown on the legal profession at a traditional holiday time. Many of the solicitors known to the accused were on holiday and others were reluctant to take on this kind of case. Of these arrests much the greater number had been made in the course of the Friday evening and night. On the Saturday morning two special courts began to deal with the first 120 of the people arrested and virtually nobody received bail.

The 'Curfew' Begins to Bite

By about four o'clock the last shots had rung out and a deep stillness pervaded the whole area. From the circling helicopter at about six o'clock came an announcement that the 'curfew'—the term was still being used by the military—was to continue until further notice. Men attempting to leave their homes for work were told to get back inside. Just before seven o'clock the sacristan of St. Peter's made a long circuit to arrive at his church which is well outside the 'curfew' area as defined. He was prevented by the troops from opening up the church which, in fact, remained closed for the whole of the day. Two weddings had been arranged for that morning. That due to take place at nine o'clock was between a British soldier and a parishioner. After the exercise of local influence and a number of rebuffs, the ceremony eventually took place at one o'clock, and then it was a hole-and-corner affair with the bridal party arriving in the church through the presbytery and sacristy and leaving by the same route. Had the bridegroom not been a soldier, and his brother a senior English police officer from Rochester able to hold his own with the local commander, it is perfectly clear that this wedding would never have taken place. The second wedding was between a Dutch sailor, his parents brought over specially for the occasion, and another parishioner. The bride's father, a Burma campaign veteran, was able to obtain from the military, and then only after hours of negotiation, the totally unrealistic concession that the couple could depart from the area and get married elsewhere. Leaving aside the fact that it is not only a Catholic tradition that a girl should be married at the altar of her parish church, this magnanimous gesture on the part of a British officer ignored completely the fact that a marriage cannot be contracted in a strange church without a considerable amount of paper-work. The marriage still has not taken place, and one hopes that General Freeland, who has not apologized, is satisfied that he and his officers behaved like English gentlemen. There seems no shortage of helicopters and one imaginative academic has been heard to ask why there has not been laid on the gesture of air-lifting the groom from his ship and flying him and his parents back to Belfast.

This was not the only interference with religious liberty. It is the right of a Catholic to have his confession heard by a priest of his choice, and a tradition to have a regular confessor. In the afternoon a few people slipped across an open site just behind the presbytery—and again we are dealing with an area where no 'curfew' had been publicly proclaimed—and the first four succeeded in entering the presbytery. The next two, however, were intercepted by sentries, arrested and marched off. They were released, but not allowed to see the priests. About four o'clock the

military made the first concession to the clergy. They were told that they could move freely in the area outside the ' curfew area ' as proclaimed and to which they had hitherto been refused access. Still, however, they were denied the right to visit their flock penned up in the ' curfew area ' proper. That was a privilege reserved for two Stormont Ministers and a team of seventy journalists. In a convoy of two four-ton trucks they swept through selected streets like pocket Mussolinis parading through the streets of Benghazi. By all accounts it was a memorable sight, the Fermanagh squireen in one lorry standing up to survey the work of his English minions, and in the second lorry the ' tyke ' who had thrown in his fortunes with the one society which could appreciate talents that in Yorkshire go unrecognized. It is not hard to detect disgust in the accounts of more than one of the journalists who were taken on this Roman holiday, and inevitably they were then paraded to see the day's bag of arms. If it is thought that we are being hard on these two ' captains courageous,' we would remind our readers that it was John Brooke's father who advised his neighbours and fellow-Orangemen never to employ a Catholic, and William Long who could describe as ' congenial ' a protracted interview with a Paisley and Bunting fresh from the second day of the ' hampering and harassing ' of the Civil Rights student marchers which ended in the bloody ambush at Burntollet.

The Army Begins to Talk

By the Saturday morning it was beginning to dawn on the military that they had over-reacted to the situation and that the haul of arms was exiguous and out of all proportion to the scale of the operation. Three thousand men had been thrown in, and the haul of fire-arms from the whole of Belfast was a bare hundred. During the night, too, the army had put itself further in the wrong by rebuffing an Antrim Welfare Officer who had tried to raise the question of food, milk, and medicine for babies and the seriously ill. The officer, to whose discredit this particular inhumanity can be chalked up, was a major in Springfield Barracks whose name is known to many of the officers of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee and not only in this particular context. At a quarter to nine on the Saturday morning the Chairman of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, Mr. Thomas Conaty, was telephoned at his home by a Colonel Blenkinsop who asked him to stand by for a telephone call from Brigadier Hudson at a quarter past nine. It was Brigadier Hudson who had made an appointment for Fr. Padraig Murphy and Mr. Conaty at Operations Headquarters, Castlereagh, only the previous Thursday afternoon, an appointment he was unable to honour but at which Colonel Blenkinsop representing him had assured them that contact between the army headquarters and the Central Citizens' Defence Committee was greatly valued, that the army regretted that of late there had not been as much contact as they would have liked, and that it was the hope of the army that in the future they would continue to work closely together. On the Saturday morning Mr. Conaty reminded Colonel Blenkinsop of this interview and chided him with the refusal of the major at Springfield Barracks even to discuss the question of the supplies for the sick. Colonel Blenkinsop's not very helpful comment was: ' Well, Mr. Conaty, you know there is a curfew on.' When Brigadier Hudson telephoned, he began by expressing his sorrow that the whole business had occurred. Mr. Conaty remarked tartly that Fr. Murphy had been treated disgracefully by the Director of Operations. To his credit Brigadier Hudson apologized for what had happened and went on to say that he hoped that whatever transpired the exchange of views would continue. Mr. Conaty's reply to this was that this was not possible with

a man like Freeland at Lisburn, and on this note the Chairman of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee brought the conversation to its end.

At about half-past ten the Administrator of St. Peter's telephoned to Hastings Street Barracks to obtain a permit to visit his own Bishop. Brigadier Hudson was there and hearing that Fr. Murphy was on the phone asked to be put through to him. He invited Fr. Murphy to meet him when calling for the permit, and at about eleven o'clock Fr. Murphy, accompanied by Mr. Conaty, arrived at the barracks. Brigadier Hudson began the interview by being very apologetic about the the whole affair and said to Fr. Murphy: ' Let us not row about what has happened. We are all short of sleep.' Fr. Murphy's reply was: ' Brigadier, you have always been a gentleman. You are the sort of man I would like to meet when this is all over for a round of golf. There is nothing personal in what I have to say, but I must tell you officially that I cannot accept the treatment I got from General Freeland. This looks to me like a contrived situation. I do not defend stone-throwers and those who threw the grenades and we did our best to prevent these confrontations, but we were hindered from doing so by the gas.' Brigadier Hudson replied: ' Did you know that one of my men had both legs broken by a hand-grenade ? ' He went on to reveal that he himself had directed operations from a helicopter, and complained repeatedly about the way that his troops had been attacked, stressing how his men had been frightened. Fr. Murphy's reply was: ' Yes, your G.O.C. was terrified, and frankly that makes me feel very insecure.' It may be added that more than one junior officer has remarked privately on Lisburn's lack of stability in any real crisis.

The Shopping Interlude

Already on the night of 3 July it was beginning to register with the army authorities that many of the homes were desperately short of food, and the problem was one that would become more acute with the passing of time. Accordingly, an announcement was made that between the hours of five o'clock and seven o'clock on the Saturday afternoon people would be allowed to leave their houses for the purpose of buying food. They would not be allowed to leave the ' curfew area,' and people outside the ' curfew area ' would not be allowed to come in, even if normally resident there. Certain quantities of milk and bread were ' stock-piled ' at key shops during the morning, and a small number of particularly resolute women actually braved the troops and brought bottles of milk and loaves of bread to their grizzling children. The soldiers were shamed into looking the other way, and none of the women, in fact, was shot, although this threat was made.

At five o'clock thousands began to queue for necessities at such shops as were able to open, i.e., those shops where the staff with the keys lived in the area or were able to get down in time, and there were admitted to the area a small number of shopkeepers and two priests from St. Peter's who had permission to give a message to an old lady in Balkan Street from her son outside the region. She was not at home, and the priests enquired at a house opposite about her whereabouts. As they stood chatting with a man at his door a military patrol appeared and they were put up against a wall and ' frisked.' It was providential that they were not carrying the Blessed Sacrament, as so easily might have been the case, or assuredly the reaction in Balkan Street would not have been confined to indignation. We find it incredible that in a civilized society common soldiers would

dare to lay hands on a minister of religion in this way, and it is another indication of the way in which corporals and sergeants throughout the operation seem to have had inadequate supervision from commissioned officers. Needless to say there has been no apology for this outrage from the Director of Operations whose deputies try blandly to pretend that their enquiries never find evidence that would warrant British soldiers being disciplined.

The Westminster Member of Parliament, Mr. Gerard Fitt, had tried on a number of occasions to enter part of his own constituency, but was consistently refused access, a contempt, one would have thought, of the Mother of Parliaments. The Stormont Member, Mr. Patrick Devlin, had spent the entire night penned up in 43 Falls Road, the Central Citizens' Defence Committee headquarters, and had passed the whole day in equal frustration. The shopping interlude gave him the chance of going the rounds of his constituents, and at the corner of Osman Street and Sultan Street was listening to the complaints of two women when a major of the Devon and Dorset Regiment told him to move on. He protested that he was the local Member of Parliament talking to his constituents whereupon the major told him he was under arrest and called over a burly soldier who frog-marched Mr. Devlin to a complex of vehicles at the corner of Plevna Street and Sultan Street. There he was told to turn to the wall and that if he disobeyed he would be shot. Seeing passers-by startled by this treatment of their parliamentary representative, Mr. Devlin called to them to bring journalists and television cameramen to witness this quite extraordinary scene. This enraged the guard, who told him: ' If you don't shut up I'll bash your brains out.' He was then manhandled into a light vehicle and a soldier stood over him with his baton aloft as they brought him to Alma Street where the Colonel was established with his field-wireless station. This officer realized the enormity of the major's offence and told Mr. Devlin that, of course, there was no question of his having been arrested. Mr. Devlin pointed out that he had been arrested and the two men were driven together in state to the Springfield Barracks, the dispute over what constituted arrest being continued the whole way.

It was on this occasion at the barracks that Mr. Devlin has told how he was able to witness some of the brutality still being meted out to less privileged prisoners. He also complained bitterly about the inadequacy of the food supplies, pointing out that the length of the queues and their infirmity were preventing some people from making purchases. When he raised the question of Mass obligation on the Sunday he was told loftily that a Mass would be arranged, the officer in question obviously confusing the scale of Falls attendance at Sunday Mass with that at Anglican Matins in an English industrial parish. Pursuing his new-found advantage, Mr. Devlin had a message conveyed to Mr. Fitt who joined him at the barracks, and the two men compared notes and agreed that the volume of the complaints which they had already received made it a matter of urgency that complaint-centres should be set up as soon as possible. It was also decided that the total illegality of the operation as well as the accompanying excesses of the troops should be brought to the attention of the British Government and of members of the British Parliamentary Labour Party, and arrangements were made for what was to prove an extremely productive visit.

Two important consequences stemmed from this relaxation of the ' curfew.' It began to dawn on the military that they might be answerable to a higher authority for what had transpired. Just as important was the fact that the women of the Falls were able briefly to talk with one another, and it was now that was hatched the conspiracy which was to make the British army look foolish. The idea was canvassed and widely disseminated that on the next occasion that the women and children were let out they would not go back, and the three thousand troops deployed could have the job of carting them off to prisons or internment camps that everybody knew did not exist and would never be allowed to come into being. On their side, the army authorities were

becoming more and more worried. The arms they had undertaken to find just were not forthcoming, and that evening the searches became more and more ruthless as every mildewed crumb of intelligence garnered by the Royal Ulster Constabulary in the 1950's was sniffed over and over again.

The Collapse of the 'Curfew'

On the Sunday morning it was announced that people were free to go to Mass, but this helicopter announcement at a quarter to eight failed to register with some of the soldiers who bundled the first Mass-goers back into their homes. A priest and some parish workers, who had spent the night in Sultan Street School, were ordered to go back inside when they attempted to set off for Mass and were told they would be shot if they again tried to leave. One is amazed by the communication systems which could not co-ordinate so simple an announcement. Eventually, though, it did filter through to all units that there was to be a general lifting of the 'curfew' from nine o'clock to allow people to fulfil their Sunday obligation. To the ordinary radio listener outside the 'curfew area' the pretence was kept up that the 'curfew' would be reimposed. In fact the Director of Operations had had to capitulate to public opinion, a humiliation which, doubtless, explains much of his subsequent petulance. By mid-day it was clear to everybody in the area that the half-completed operation had been abandoned. Outside the 'curfew area' it was not obvious that the military had given way, and in the Upper Falls the women banded together to break the blockade and take bread, milk and other necessaries to the people who had suffered so much. At about a quarter to one many hundreds of women, perhaps as many as a thousand, formed up behind St. Paul's Church in Cavendish Street only a couple of hundred yards from the Springfield Barracks, the British army's headquarters. The march was in defiance of a recent Stormont enactment, but again the shamed soldiery thought it best to turn a blind eye. The long column marched down the Falls Road, turned right down Leeson Street and then was to have swung left to a distribution centre in Raglan Street. However, by that time most of the food and milk already had been given away to the women and children who had come out to greet them. Word got back to Andersonstown, Turf Lodge, Ballymurphy and all the other estates where there is scarcely a family without a Falls connection, and the response was equally spontaneous and magnificent. Three thousand women mustered at half-past five at Casement Park and with protest banners as well as more supplies of food the long column of angry women and girls marched on the British lines. Again the march was in defiance of the Stormont ban, and again the British soldiers looked sheepishly at their feet where they did not make themselves scarce. No attempt was made to impede the marchers, and the world's journalists photographed General Sir Ian Freeland's final humiliation of the week-end. The legends on the banners and placards told their own story.

The Aftermath

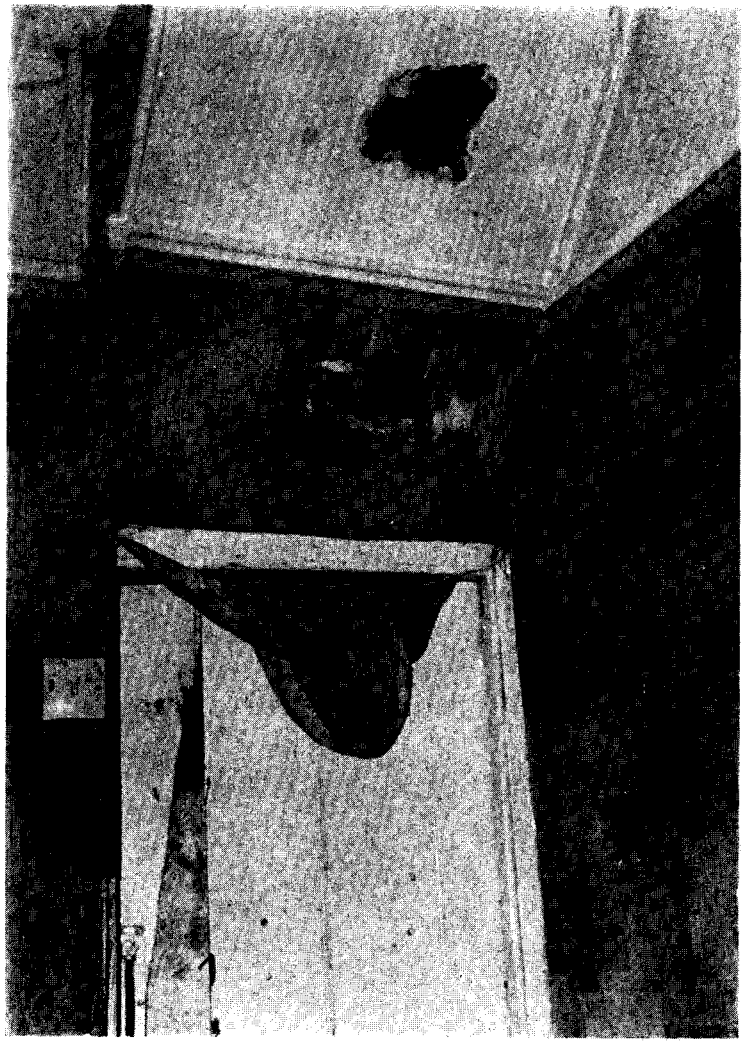
It has already been observed that the Lower Falls had been one of the most disciplined of the Catholic areas of Belfast. This discipline had not been broken by General Freeland's over reaction, and the local Citizens' Defence Committee continued to function and to

maintain a remarkable order despite every provocation from the military. Every few minutes the streets were subjected to aggressive patrolling by sections on foot, marksmen mounted on the backs of trucks and armoured cars. Photographs were taken of individuals standing chatting at street corners and at public-houses, and they were taken ostentatiously even though it is common knowledge that real intelligence officers can take such photographs unbeknown to the subjects. Sleep at night for many was impossible as the vehicles whined up and down the narrow streets, lights flashed and men shouted. The Lower Falls had made a fool of General Freeland, and it would suffer. Only after the funeral of Daniel O'Hagan on Monday 3 August did the military presence drop at all significantly, and it is still markedly above the level elsewhere in the city.

For the Central Citizens' Defence Committee at its headquarters at 43 Falls Road the aftermath of the ' curfew ' brought new tasks and new responsibilities. The first duty was to protect and succour the people, and the decision was taken to file and process the hundreds of complaints that poured in. Another decision was that the world press and broadcasting systems were to receive every facility, and it is felt that despite the heavy burden which this put on the manpower resources of the ' information centre,' the operation was very worthwhile in view of the generally favourable reaction of European newspapers and radio and television programmes to the plight of the Northern minority and of the Falls in particular. If Europe and, indeed the world, realize at long last that the struggle in Northern Ireland is not a sectarian question but one of a series of conflicts between planter and native, this realization will be found to owe much to the efforts of the ' information centre ' to set the struggle in its historical context. The point was always made and generally taken, too, that in this, the last of England's colonial cares, the natives were not asking for anything more than equality with the descendants of the planters.

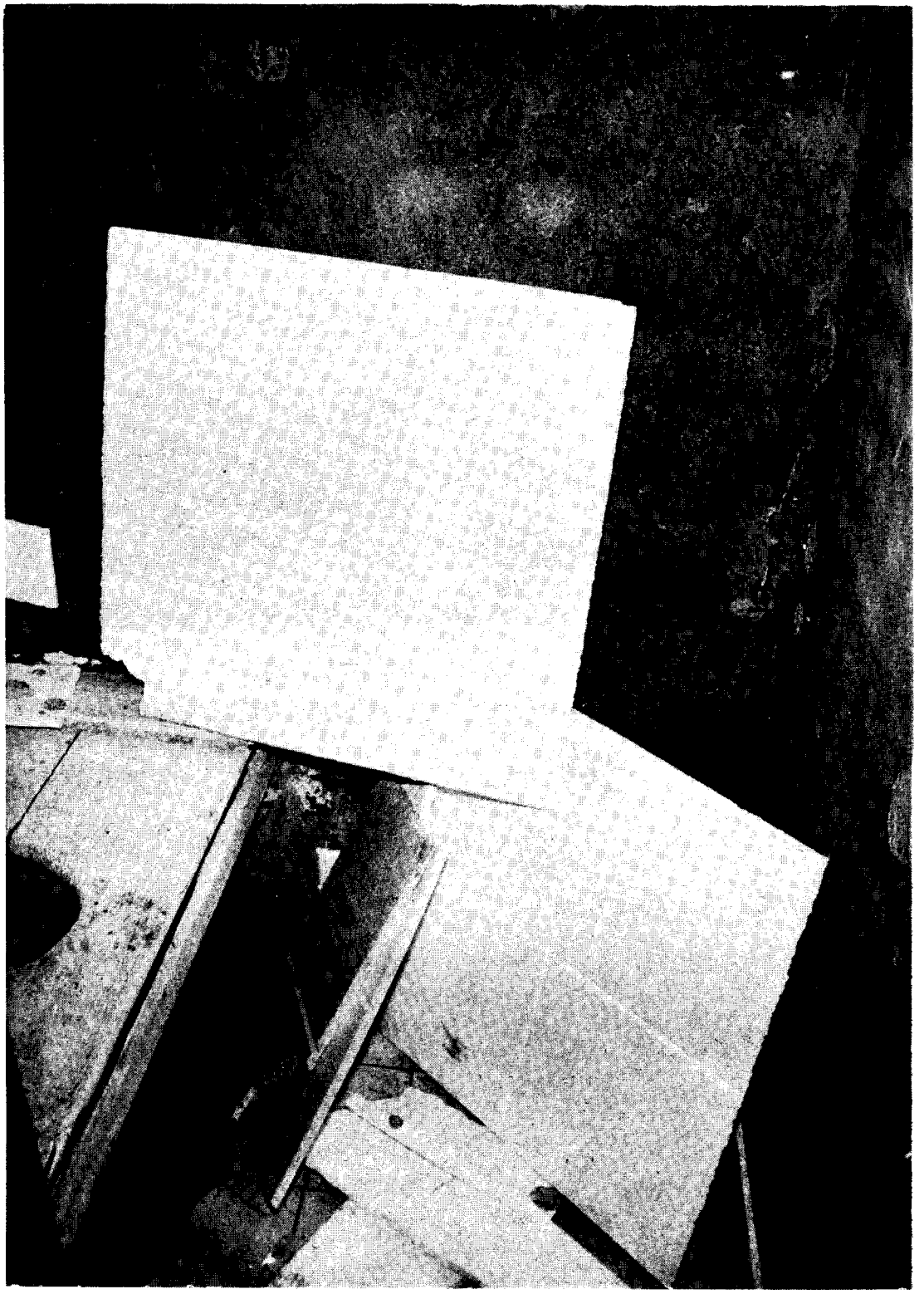
Another important role of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee has been the prompt answering of official misrepresentation, be it James Chichester-Clark appearing on television to suggest that the army had been dealing with a rebellion, or senior army officers announcing that their own inquiries, where they had been prosecution, defence, judge and jury, had vindicated the good name of the soldiery. It is a terrifying thought that in 1970 the public relations men of the British army seem to think that a few words from a suitably authoritarian figure can brush to one side hundreds of documented and witnessed, written complaints. Vigilance has had to be continual, but there is among the weary campaigners for truth and justice a deep satisfaction that they have kept faith with the people. During the next few months the wrongs of the Falls will be the concern not just of Ireland but of international bodies devoted to the cause of personal liberty and human rights. A ' curfew ' was imposed, and it is no use the army pretending that this was not the case. The word was used without qualification during the whole time that the illegal restrictions were in force, and it is noteworthy that the shuffling and clumsy evasions did not begin until M.P.s and notably Mr. Patrick Kennedy started to question the legality as well as the morality of the whole procedure. It was with some reason that one academic remarked on the Tuesday 7 July that 'the women of the Falls seem to have converted a Lidice into a Yorktown.' Four deaths had occured and the position could easily have escalated into hand-to-hand fighting if public opinion had not now been roused. The 'curfew' of 3-5 July, 1970 is just the latest illustration of the truism that freedom evaporates when military commanders are allowed to assume civil jurisdiction. The Roman wrote well who wrote:

Cedant arma togae.

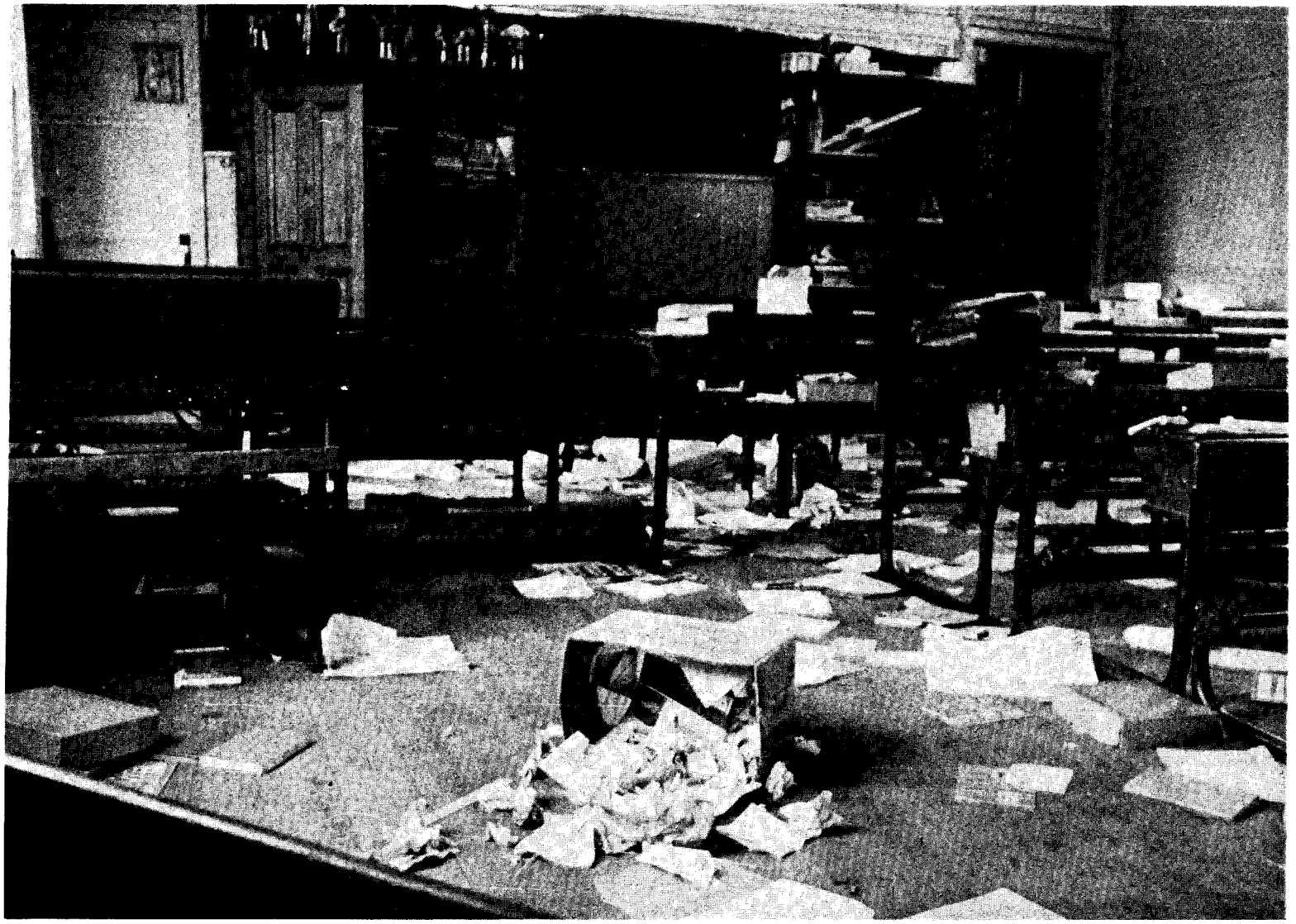


Damage to ceiling, wall and door at 18 Ikerman Street

Ripped up floor and scattered effects at 34 Plevna Street



Wrecked lavatory at back of 39 Plevna Street



Balkan Street School classroom after the army had expelled the Central Citizens' Defence Committee's representatives staffing a ' complaints centre ' on the evening of 5 July, 1970. The damage done by the troops to the school is estimated at £500.

Heavy armoured cars patrolling the Falls Road pass the end of Alma Street on 4 July

Courtesy Century Newspapers Ltd.

An innocent man is held at gunpoint while his house in Milton Street is searched by other soldiers at daybreak on 4 July

Courtesy *Irish Press*

APPENDIX A

THE IRISH DEAD

1. Charles O'Neill

Charles O'Neill, first victim of the night, was aged thirty-six. He was a native of the district and resided at 50 Linden Street where the household comprised his widowed mother, a newly-married niece, her husband and a baby. His experience had been typical of the Falls area. Leaving school at fourteen, he had been unable to find regular employment and after a succession of dead-end jobs he had joined the Royal Air Force. Of exemplary character he was discharged after ten years' service as medically unfit. He returned to the Falls a broken man, a martyr to asthma and bronchitis. On his body was found his Air Force papers, the address of a friend in Glassmullan Gardens, and an inhaler. The first were removed by the authorities and it was the second that led a reporter to publish his address as Glassmullan Gardens. This newspaper report was the first intimation that the family had that the man was dead. The body was claimed by the nephew by marriage and a brother-in-law, and taken to his sister's house in Turf Lodge. The funeral on Tuesday 7 July was to Milltown Cemetery. There was no wreath from the R.A.F. His clothes are supposed to have gone for forensic examination (!) and may not be returned for three months.

2. William Burns

William Burns, the second victim, was aged fifty-four. He was a member of one of the best-known families along the whole of the Falls Road. Until two years ago he helped to conduct a flourishing family business in Castle Street, and after its sale worked as a maintenance man at the Good Shepherd Convent on the Ormeau Road, a post of responsibility that speaks volumes for his character. A lifelong bachelor, he was a keen cyclist and travelled extensively not only in Ireland but in England and on the Continent. Chairman of the St. Paul's Youth Club, he gave up a very great deal of his time to working for and with young people. Shot down on his own doorstep, he died on his way to the hospital. The next day one of his brothers in the same house was stricken with a sudden hæmorrhage. Confined to his hospital bed, this brother was unable to attend the funeral, also on Tuesday 7 July, and also to Milltown Cemetery.

3. Patrick Elliman

Patrick Elliman, third and oldest of the victims, was aged sixty-two. A native of the area he began work at fifteen with a boot-repairer. He remained at this trade for a number of years and supplemented his meagre earnings by working occasionally at nights and at week-ends in a wine store. The outbreak of the Second World War gave him the chance of moving to more lucrative employment. A small but wiry man, he had great physical strength and was employed throughout the war on various construction and demolition projects. After the war he went to the railway where his work consisted principally in the loading and unloading of wagons, and this led him to the docks. Three or four years ago he was declared redundant, the usual fate of the unskilled labourer when his strength begins to ebb, and he lived quietly in semi-retirement. In his

younger days he had enjoyed a great reputation as a Gaelic sportsman, and for nine successive years he had been selected to keep goal for the Antrim hurling team. As already stated, he died a week after the bullet had struck him. The funeral was to Milltown on Tuesday 14 July, the coffin being shouldered up the Falls by old team-mates and followed by large crowds.

R.I.P.

It will be clear from the above that none of these men had ever at any time in their lives had the least connection with the ' illegal organizations' that are the stock Unionist bogey. None of them, moreover, could possibly qualify for the description of ' sniper ' as they were seen to be struck down by witnesses, and all are agreed that their behaviour was innocent and that no weapon was in their hand or found on their persons.

PART II
THE HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

Within days of the lifting of the ' curfew ' a decision was taken by the Central Citizens' Defence Committee to essay some permanent record of the whole interlude. The advice of professional historians was sought, and it was agreed that the best possible factual basis should be established given the very difficult circumstances still prevailing. By 15 July there had been devised a cyclostyled questionnaire sheet, and graduate and student volunteers from the university, a training college and three grammar schools began the delicate and time-consuming task of visiting some 3,000 addresses comprising the ' curfew area ' as originally defined and the Clonard extension thereof. Though it was thought prudent for the young people normally to work in pairs, and though there was only one occasion when it was possible to have more than two pairs in the field at the same time the work was completed within ten days. It is interesting that eight days after the work began teams still were being challenged by military patrols and interrogated, and this despite the fact that a blank copy of the form used had been surrendered to one enterprising N.C.O. One fortunate consequence of this unintelligent interference by the soldiery was that the people co-operated with a new zest. Indeed more than one of the students can tell of being hustled into living-rooms to escape the attentions of the military, and of women pressing forward to urge them to stand on their rights and not to satisfy the soldiers' curiosity.

Immediacy was, of course, of the essence of the operation, and it was not possible in the event for there to be a ' follow-up ' to those addresses where nobody appeared to be at home when the young people called. Despite this the coverage of the area was very satisfactory, and it is noteworthy that there were not more than half a dozen cases where there was refusal of co-operation. Incidentally, the completed questionnaire forms have been treated as strictly confidential, and are now reposing in a historical archive outside the British jurisdiction. The information from the forms was processed as they came in and noted on special sheets which carefully preserve the anonymity of individual informants, and from the manuscript copy of these sheets come the quotations used in the main body of this section of this work. As a precaution, too, the carbon copies of the processed sheets were kept in different places, so that there would be no risk of an ' accident ' putting an end to the project. All this is rehearsed as indicative of the atmosphere still obtaining in the Lower Falls a month after the ' curfew,' and in this context it should be borne in mind that one of the more comical gaffes perpetrated by the soldiery during the ' curfew ' had been the confiscation of a law student's lecture notes on constitutional law. They were returned after appropriate pressure had been brought to bear, but not before there had been a certain amount of amusement in university circles at the thought of a very much esteemed professor's notes on the English Constitution being suspect for seditious content ! How wise, incidentally,

is the instinct of the English legal tradition with its profound mistrust of military intervention in civil government.

To be stressed is the fact that some two dozen recent graduates and students were employed on the house-to-house survey, and that they exhibited a remarkable diversity of background and, to some extent, of aptitude for the work. To say the last is not to criticize. The whole time these volunteers found themselves having to balance the need for speed against the desirability of lingering and so encouraging strangers to talk freely. As the British troops had found in the summer of 1969, the Falls people are friendly and hospitable, and a certain skill was needed if a team was to obtain the maximum of co-operation for the minimum expenditure of time. One or two of the students, too, proved to have a singular ability for noting down the characteristic and vital comment which preserves its flavour even in the printed word. On the other hand, the fact that the work was shared so broadly gives it an evidential value all its own. It will not be possible for it to be said that the whole mass of information garnered is prejudiced by the bias or incompetence of two or three individuals, and care was taken to see that teams moved about in the ' curfew areas ' as a whole, and not just in one or other of the ' zones ' into which these areas were later divided on a purely geographical basis. It may be observed, incidentally, that these ' zones ' in fact approximate pretty closely to parochial divisions of the parishes concerned for the purpose of domiciliary visiting. In Appendix C there are listed the streets constituting each of the ' zones,' and only one observation is necessary in this context. Where a street crosses the zonal boundaries, for example McDonnell Street, it was treated as a whole but has been deemed to belong to the ' zone ' in which the majority of the houses falls. It may be thought fortunate, too, that the interrogating teams were drawn from both sexes. While prudery is not a feature of the life of the Falls, there is an instinctive decency, and it was, naturally, easier for there to be all-male discussion of the foul language and excretory habits of the troops while, on the other hand, there were matters, for example at least two cases of miscarriage, which it was obviously less embarrassing for the woman of the house to raise with two girls.

Some interesting insights into the morale of the Falls can be gleaned from some of the more general of the comments elicited by the casual question: ' What hurt you most ? ' which brought each interview to an end. An almost poetic reply in its simplicity was ' the stillness ' (*Linden Street*). It is a reminder, of course, of the fact that in normal times the ' curfew areas ' were full of life and of friendly bustle, but it also underlines the utter hypocrisy of the attempted justification of the operation by the thoroughly dishonest plea that in a riot the citizen has a duty to assist a constable in the execution of his duty. As we will have to remark time and time again, there were thirty hours of ' curfew ' after all rioting had ceased and during which the members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary continued to be singularly absent from the streets. The remark ' the stillness,' too, comes from Zone ' Z ' where the situation never added up to a riot although the area was separately ' curfewed.' To the outsider one of the most touching characteristics of the Falls people is their concern for others. For example, from Zone ' Z ' and from the very edge of the ' curfewed area ' came the remark: ' Knowing people were getting it down there ' (*Dunmore Street*), and there is a real neighbourliness in the complaint: ' spoiled son's wedding next door ' (*Malcolmson Street*), as well as a respect for masculine dignity in a woman's ' seeing men frisked ' (*Sevastopol Street*). In Zone ' W ' there were given as a primary grievance the fact that ' the soldiers were brutal with shot man ' (*Abercorn Street North*), or that ' children were crying for food in the next street ' (*Abyssinia Street*), or that the household watched ' the soldiers on other side of street breaking down doors ' (*Granville Street*). In Zone ' Y ' what hurt most was ' watching neighbours arrested ' (*Cyprus Street*) and ' seeing men being arrested ' (*Sultan Street*), with ' Mr. Elliman's death ' a very

natural response from one of his neighbours (*Marchioness Street*). It was from this zone, too, that we have the feeling remark: ' the way the lads were humiliated ' (*Sultan Street*) which neatly leads into the next category of general grievance, the sense of outrage which underlies the odd comment from each of the four zones into which the ' curfew areas ' have been divided for the purpose of this exercise.

From Zone ' W ' the comments include: ' Insult to human dignity (*Gibson Street*) and ' Insult to the people of the Falls ' (*Lincoln Street*), while the tersest epithet from Zone ' Z ' is the one word, ' senseless ' (*Sevastopol Street*). From Zone ' Y ' comes the comment: ' We were humiliated ' (*Varna Street*) with one person describing the ' curfew ' as a ' damned disgrace ' (*McDonnell Street*) and another parrying the question: ' What hurt you most ? ' with the expressive ' The whole lot ' (*Ton Street*). It was Zone ' X,' however, that threw up perhaps the best and most revealing of all the comments. One household had commented on the ' illegality of the action ' (*Ross Street*) and another described the ' curfew ' as ' humiliating ' (*Garnet Street*), but the quintessence of the whole of the outraged pride of the Falls is to be found in the quiet remark: ' The fact they could do it ' (*Mary Street*). One does not have to be a fire-eating Republican zealot to recognize that there speaks the Irish people whom the antics of a worthy successor of Essex and of Lake have now goaded once too often.

It is the same Zone ' X,' too, that complained with such real justification of ' the soldiers' continual presence ' (*Garnet Street*), a grievance, and very real grievance at that, which is mirrored in the remark: ' Soldiers everywhere, even now ' (*Colin Street*). A week after the ' curfew ' a check at one intersection revealed that military patrols in the Balkan Street area were passing at the rate of one every three minutes. Nor is it easy to say which form of patrolling was the more odious. The choice falls between the foot-patrols of five or ten men slinking up the sides of the roads and peering into doors and windows, the pairs of trucks each with its pair of armed men at the back standing up with their heads level with the bedroom windows, and the armoured cars whining in low gear at walking pace. As already observed, the women of the Falls had made a fool of General Freeland, and the price of their defiance was to be a military occupation which reminded foreign and even British journalists of scenes witnessed on the streets of Prague and of Budapest. Significantly these same journalists were told that it was forbidden to photograph or film these operations, though in the end an admission was obtained that there was no prohibition but only when there had been a notable slackening in the intensity of this deliberatly minatory patrolling of an area represented to the world as having been disarmed. When the corpse of Patrick Elliman was carried to the grave, the procession was repeatedly passed and overtaken by these patrols who seem to have rendered no military honours to their victim, though individual soldiers were mannerly enough to uncover their heads, and this was ten whole days after the ' curfew ' had ended. This tastelessness on the part of the British commanders shocked an area where a large number of the men had served in the British forces, and it was very noticeable that the Falls Road was left to the people on 3 August when the corpse of Daniel O'Hagan was borne the same road. A similar insult to his remains would undoubtedly have led to the assembled thousands attacking the soldiers with their bare hands, and the absence of the troops was as conspicuous as the utter decorum of the occasion.

Shortage of Food

As already remarked, there are few homes in the ' curfew area ' which have a refrigerator, and Saturday there is very much the day for shopping. Curiously the portion most hit by the

restrictions in this respect was Zone ' W,' the region between Leeson Street and the Grosvenor Road. The explanation would seem to be that the number of provision shops in the particular area is small, and the position was aggravated by the unhelpful attitude of the military. The principal butcher, for example, was not allowed to open for business even during the period when the inhabitants were allowed to go about their shopping. No fewer than 170 households listed shortage of food as one of their primary complaints, and the individual replies make pathetic reading. We may instance ' ten-week-old child could not get food ' and the already noted ' children crying for food in the next street ' (*Abyssinia Street*); ' youngsters without food for ten hours ' and ' soldiers remarked, " you shouldn't have babies " to young mother pleading for milk ' (*Cairns Street*); ' six-month-old baby needed milk and soldiers broke full bottles outside door ' (*Dunville Street*); ' no food for babies ' (*Granville Street*); ' baby without milk for fifteen hours ' (*Getty Street*); ' no food and no milk for baby ' (*Gibson Street*); ' no food ' (*Grosvenor Road*); ' lack of time (for old and not very agile lady) to get food ' (*Leeson Street*); ' very little food ' (*Lincoln Street*); ' had only one tin of beans ' (*Sorella Street*); ' degrading to have to beg for food ' (*Spinner Street*); ' no food ' and ' not getting milk for child ' (*Ward Street*).

In Zone ' Y,' the area between Balkan Street, Albert Street and Cullingtree Road, things were still serious. There were 155 households where shortage or lack of food was a primary complaint, and the individual answers have the same poignancy. Examples are: ' no food and no no shilling for the meter ' (*Albert Street*); ' baby without milk ' (*Balkan Street*); ' no bread ' and ' not getting out for food ' (*Belgrade Street*); ' no bread, nothing to eat ' (*Bosnia Street*); ' no food in house ' (*Cyprus Street*); ' no food ' (*Cullingtree Road*); ' baby without milk ' (*McDonnell Street*); ' no milk for baby ' (*Marchioness Street*); ' making people fast ' and ' black tea ' (*Plevna Street*); ' no food at all ' (*Servia Street*); ' lack of food for last few hours ' (*Slate Street*); ' depriving children of milk ' and ' nothing in house ' (*Sultan Street*); ' no food for children ' (*Ton Street*).

Even in Zone ' X,' the area between Raglan Street and the Falls Road, the situation was grave. A total of sixty-six households cited shortage of food as one of the main grievances. One can instance ' lack of . . . food ' (*Garnet Street*); ' couldn't get anything ' (*Mary Street*); ' left without provisions ' (*Milton Street*); ' being kept in from getting food ' (*Ormond Place*); ' difficulty in getting food during time that curfew was lifted ' (*Ormond Street*); ' no food for children ' (*Panton Street*); ' no food for children ' (*Raglan Street*). It seems no coincidence that this is the zone bounded by a long section of the Falls Road where shops are relatively numerous, though even here the position was exacerbated by the behaviour of a minority of the troops of whom one shopkeeper could complain that ' fruit not taken was thrown all over the road outside.' Particularly significant in the overall context is the position that obtained in Zone ' Z,' the extension to the original ' curfew area ' lying between the Falls Road, Springfield Road and Clonard. Here only eight households out of a total of 217 complained of food shortages, and then in general terms (e.g., ' no food '). Mirrored is the fact that there the ' curfew ' was enforced much more humanely and it was usually possible for somebody to approach the military and obtain permission to go to the Springfield Road to purchase necessities.

C.S. Gas

If Zone ' Z ' had come off lightly where food was concerned, no area suffered—or perhaps seems to have suffered—so severely from the toxic effects of the C.S. gas so euphemistically and

ephemerally described as ' tear smoke.' It could be argued, though, that the gas constituted the principal complaint in this relatively small area simply because the inhabitants were fortunate enough not to experience generally some of the other horrors meted out to the Lower Falls. The complaint came from one house in every three, and of the eighty-eight protests the following are the more articulate: ' gas affected bad chest ' (*Dunlewey Street*); ' being old I got chesty ' (*Dunmore Street*); ' gas worsened asthma ' (*Linden Street*); ' gas near killed me,' ' haven't been same since ' and ' gas gave me a bad time ' (*McQuillan Street*); ' gas canister dropped at door,' ' gas affected baby of two weeks just out of hospital—ill ' and ' gas affected old woman in house ' (*Malcolmson Street*); ' old age pensioner alone and sick with gas ' (*Springview Street*); ' gas in connection with baby in plaster-of-Paris,' ' effect of gas on baby ' and ' effects of gas on man now in bed with heart ' (*Waterford Street*). The discharge of gas, occasioned it would seem by a brief interlude of firing in Theresa Street, can only be described as massive, and as far away as Kashmir Road families were bedding down in their attics for the night in the hope that the relative altitude would confer some degree of immunity.

In the ' curfew area ' as originally defined and proclaimed by General Freeland, the incidence of complaints about gas was remarkably even, one household in five citing it as a principal grievance. From Zone ' Y ' came the staggering total of 149 complaints and one may cite ' caused old lady to have a stroke ' (*Belgrade Street*); ' eyes and throat suffered ' ' affected two-month-old baby especially ' and ' affected man of seventy-nine—eyes, throat and loss of power in legs ' (*Cyprus Street*); ' gas dreadful,' ' effect of gas on bad chest ' and ' effect on children, one with chest very bad ' (*Cullingtree Road*); ' serious effect of gas on children,' ' gas affected child,' ' mild effect of gas on kids ' and ' effect of gas on family ' (*Grosvenor Place*); ' gas made baby sick ' (*Osman Street*); ' effect of gas on children,' ' serious effect on one girl ' and ' gas nearly killed me ' (*Plevna Street*); ' gas and child with asthma ' and ' gas terrible ' (*Roumania Street*); ' gas and asthma case,' ' gas and bad heart—not out of system yet,' ' effect of gas on old people,' ' gas and child with bad heart ' and ' two gas canisters thrown into house ' (*Servia Street*); ' gas affected nerves of householder and of old mother (psychiatric record) ' (*Slate Street*); ' wife had baby on Saturday morning after gas on Friday ' (*Varna Street*).

The position in Zone ' W ' was just as grim with complaints about the effects of concentrations of C.S. gas coming from 116 homes. Representative replies include: ' gas and two children with asthma ' and ' gas and one child has bronchitis ' (*Abercorn Street North*); ' gas affected asthma ' (*Abyssinia Street*); ' gas bad—could taste it in all ' (*Getty Street*); ' backward child affected by gas,' ' T.B. husband suffered from gas,' ' gas and man of ninety-five ' and ' children gassed and were very sick ' (*Leeson Street*); ' child gassed ' and ' heart-condition affected by gas ' (*Lincoln Street*); ' children took dysentery and baby was violently sick with gas,' ' eyes are weak, and I was very afraid of going blind ' and ' husband still in hospital from effects of gas ' (*Lower Clonard Street*); ' children now away because of fright and gas ' (*Merrion Street*); ' children took fright of gas ' (*Sorella Street*); ' asthmatic woman affected by gas ' (*Theodore Street*).

The picture from Zone ' X ' is the same. Complaints came from eighty-six households, and comments included ' sickened by gas ' and ' gas with two chesty people in house ' (*Balaclava Street*); ' two old ladies living on their own and fainting with gas through broken windows,' ' gas caused heart attack,' ' gas caused diarrhœa ' and ' gas and children ' (*Cape Street*); ' food damaged by gas,' ' gas destroyed drink and clothes ' and ' too much gas used ' (*Falls Road*); ' gas affected husband's health and nerves ' (*Frere Street*); ' gas caused fainting ' (*Milton Street*) ' suffered severely from gas ' (*Milliken Street*); ' badly affected by gas ' (*Milan Street*); ' excessive use of gas and effect on kids ' (*Panton Street*); ' woman taken to hospital and anointed ' (*Raglan Street*).

So alarming was the picture that emerged from this survey—and it should be noted that the questioning was limited to the actual ' curfew areas ' only, and even there to no more than two-thirds of the households—that the decision was taken to try and interest the medical profession in the whole problem of the use of C.S. gas against the innocent, and especially the sick, the infant and the elderly. Should C.S. gas ever again be employed on this scale against the population of Belfast it it hoped that there will be organized, and ready to move in at once, teams of medical specialists to obtain the evidence that one hopes will outlaw once and for all a toxic weapon which disgraces the ' men ' who can bring themselves to use it against women and children. In this connection it should not be forgotten that gas canisters or grenades and not just cartridges were actually thrown into the living-rooms of houses where women and children were huddled on the floor, and it is a curious fact that no newspaper seems to have been in a position to give the figures for canisters and cartridges discharged in the whole Falls Area between during the night of 3-4 July, 1970. One can only assume that the totals were so astronomical that the military would be embarrassed by their publication.

Loss of Liberty

Already it has become clear that there was no proclamation of martial law and no invocation of the provisions of the Special Powers Act. Before, though, the case against one English newspaper reporter was laughed out of court, it had emerged that the ' curfew ' was to be retrospectively justified by a most dubious invocation of the common law obligation on an individual to afford assistance to a constable executing his duty. It is a pleasant thought that the forces of law and order, when hard pressed, can call on the passive support of two-week-old babies, spastics and frail old ladies all retching with tear-gas, but in fact there are solid objections to this novel extension of a doctrine always envisaged hitherto as applicable only to the case of the ' man in blue ' grappling with one or more assailants. The civilian police force just was not in evidence on the streets of the Falls area during the whole time of the ' curfew ' and there is the further point that people deemed to be British subjects were being denied their common law rights by the *Diktat* of a military commander twenty-four hours after rioting had ceased. The quite exceptional hardships imposed by this unthinking restriction emerge clearly from the words of the people themselves.

For the purpose of this very provisional analysis the bare answer ' the curfew ' has been ignored even though it was given on hundreds of occasions and there is reason to think that in most cases it referred to just this restriction on movement, but there remains the quite staggering total of 469 households where the primary complaint was more specific. Again there is an uneventful incidence as between the different zones. From Zone ' Z ' only one house in seven gave the loss of liberty as a primary grievance, but we have already seen that in this area the ' curfew ' was operated with a certain amount of discretion, however much this might seem to be belied by the charming and doubtless bowdlerized remark: ' If you don't take your head in, I'll blow it off for you ' reported by one resident (*Clonard Street*). Comments include ' being closed in ' (*Colligan Street*); ' not getting out of house ' (*Dunlewey Street*); ' being kept in like caged animals ' (*Linden Street*); ' keeping the children in ' (*McQuillan Street*); ' spoiled son's wedding next door ' and

After the 'curfew': the military barricade at the intersection of Albert Street and Ross Street

Three members of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee at a press conference at the Wellington Park Hotel (6 July, 1970):
Fr. Padraig Murphy, Administrator of St. Peter's; Mr. T. Conaty and Mr. W. Largey

Photograph courtesy *Daily Mail*

' eight guests didn't get to daughter's wedding ' (*Malcolmson Street*); ' son going to see dying wife delayed by curfew,' ' two hours not long enough to do shopping ' and ' children not able to get out ' (*Sevastopol Street*); ' confinement ' and ' being kept in ' (*Theresa Street*); ' housebound ' (*Waterford Street*).

The highest proportion of complaints on this score came undoubtedly from Zone ' Y ' where one house in three listed loss of liberty as a primary complaint, the individual replies totalling 194. We may instance ' house imprisonment by herself with arthritis ' ' old lady kept in by herself ' and ' felt very enclosed ' (*Albert Street*); ' sitting in dark ' and ' confinement ' (*Belgrade Street*); ' house imprisonment ' (*Bosnia Street*); ' children not allowed to look out of windows or play ' and ' couldn't get back for baby clothes and medicine ' (*Cyprus Street*); ' frustrated at being penned up ' (*Cullingtree Road*); ' missed granddaughter's wedding ' and ' unable to get out ' (*Lady Street*); ' keeping four children inside ' and ' angry at being ordered to shut doors ' (*McDonnell Street*); ' not being able to get off ' (*Marchioness Street*); ' not allowed to go to toilet ' and ' couldn't get to work ' (*Osman Street*); ' not getting out even to toilet ' and ' treated like animals ' (*Plevna Street*); ' confinement ridiculous ' (*Servia Street*); ' children cooped up ' and ' confinement and treatment ' (*Roumania Street*); ' inhuman confinement,' ' boredom ' and ' confinement—especially kids " (*Sultan Street*); ' not even being able to open door,' ' bloody door closed ' and ' not getting out for children ' (*Ton Street*).

From Zone ' X,' the scene of so much of the fighting, one house in four cited loss of liberty as a primary grievance, and representative of 111 complaints are ' pinned down like trapped animals ' and ' hemmed in ' (*Alma Street*); ' being closed in ' and ' not being able to stand at door ' (*Cape Street*); ' wife unable to get clothes from house on release from hospital ' ' kept in all night while their six children were alone at Turf Lodge ' and ' mother could not get out to hospital ' (*Falls Road*); ' imprisoned in own home ' (*Frere Street*); ' lack of freedom ' (*Garnet Street*); ' house arrest,' ' house imprisonment,' ' seventy-two-year-old mother kept waiting for five hours before she was allowed into her own home ' and ' ex-serviceman missed dental appointment ' (*Milton Street*); ' being cooped in ' and ' loss of liberty ' (*Milliken Street*); ' father with child couldn't contact mother ' and ' close confinement ' (*Milan Street*); ' not getting out ' (*Ormond Place*); ' confined in one place for such a long time ' and ' being kept inside without any information ' (*Ormond Street*); ' lack of freedom for children ' (*Panton Street*); ' soldiers refused to let a sick baby get to hospital ' and ' couldn't get to a wedding on Saturday morning ' (*Raglan Street*); ' being told to stay in one's own home,' ' closed in,' ' missed medical treatment ' and ' restrictions and loneliness ' (*Ross Street*). Only marginally smaller is the proportion of households with the same primary grievance in Zone ' W.' The total of complaints on this particular score is 128, and examples include ' utter boredom ' (*Abercorn Street North*); ' prevented from going to Mass ' and ' being kept in thirty-six hours ' (*Abyssinia Street*); ' living alone locked up ' and ' depression through being locked in ' (*Cairns Street*); ' idea of being locked up—child went hysterical ' and ' frustration and lack of knowledge of what was going on ' (*Dunville Street*); ' children were in a centre and parents very worried about them ' (*Getty Street*); ' treated like animals ' (*Gibson Street*); ' thought they were caged up like animals ' and ' bad with nerves and needed out ' (*Leeson Street*); ' very lonely—an old lady living alone ' (*Lincoln Street*); ' dog was in house and woman could not get to it ' and ' elderly woman fell and not one to look after her ' (*Lower Clonard Street*); ' soldiers outside if door was opened,' ' cooped up ' and ' hemmed in ' (*Merrion Street*); ' children being hemmed in ' (*Sorella Street*); ' was alone all the time,' ' boredom ' and ' worried about children who were in neighbour's house (*Spinner Street*); ' couldn't go to chemist for pills for spastic child,' ' child couldn't get to hospital,' ' restricted like animals ' and

' children restricted ' (*Theodore Street*); ' being forcibly kept in ' (*Ward Street*).

To understand the hardship imposed on the people, one has to know that traditionally in Ireland the open door is the principal means of ventilation, and Saturday, 4 July was a clammy and oppressive day, even if the householders had not wished to obtain a through draught to clear away the clinging fumes of the gas of the previous night. As already remarked, too, the houses are diminutive, and incarceration is not too hard a term to describe a family cooped up within three rooms and forbidden to cross the yard to answer the calls of nature. There is the further consideration that the sentence of imprisonment was ' open-ended.' If, in fact, the order for release came on the Sunday morning, when the people woke up that morning they had no idea whether the ' curfew ' would end that day or the next or even the next week. Cruel seems a very appropriate description for such conduct, and once more one is brought back to the almost complete absence of telephones. People were desperately worried for news of relations trapped in other parts of the town and, for all they knew, injured or imprisoned.

Financial Hardship

As already observed, a very high proportion of the employed residents of the Falls area benefit from overtime rates for week-end work, and the ' curfew ' resulted in serious financial loss for a large number of households in no position to absorb the shortfall in earnings. A number of small businesses, too, not only lost trade and perishable stock that week-end, but suffered in the long term from the reduction in the spending power of the community consequent on the loss of wages. To establish the exact figures will not be easy, for one of the characteristics of the people is a certain fatalism. Adversity has bred stoical acceptance of loss, and there is good reason to think that it just did not occur to many that in a civilized state the citizen has inalienable rights which simply cannot be trampled upon on the pretext of the common good. Even the notorious Special Powers Act, incidentally, will be found to contain provisions for compensation for financial loss arising out of its invocation, and it was infuriating to have Military Police corporals impudently dismissing as ' hearsay ' and ' chit-chat ' signed and witnessed statements of loss supported in almost every case by a certificate from the men's firms. At a time, too, when the Northern Ireland business community is under attack from more than one quarter, one is glad to be able to pay tribute to the essential straightness of the Ulster employer. Certificates of loss were furnished, and furnished promptly, while the Central Citizens' Defence Committee's investigators were no less impressed with the honesty of the workmen filing the claims. One docker, for example, gave another docker as witness to the house-arrest that prevented him going out to work. Asked if his mate would be claiming as well, the docker said that he would not as he had not been down to go on the week-end shift.

Again there is an interesting imbalance in the incidence of loss as between the different zones. In Zone ' X ' there were fifty-one households or traders where financial loss was a primary complaint when house-to-house survey teams called, which works out at one household in six of those where one member at least of the family experienced the ' curfew ' and roughly one address in twelve of the properties lying in the area in question. In Zone ' Y ' with sixty complaints of loss the corresponding figures are one household in nine and one address in eighteen, while in

Zone ' W ' with forty-two complaints the figures are one household in ten and one address in nineteen. In Zone ' Z,' on the other hand, there were only thirteen complaints to the student investigators of loss of wages or profit, which works out at only one household in seventeen ' curfewed ' and one address in thirty-one visited. Exactly how much was lost through the imposition of the ' curfew ' may never be known, but it is probably safe to say that the total of 166 primary complaints to the house-to-house survey is on the low side by as much as a half, so that the true figure would seem to be of the order of 250. It is clear, too, that £10 would be a conservative estimate of the average loss, and £15 by no means unrealistic. In other words the illegal act of a military commander was tantamount to the imposition and collection of a fine of £3,500 on several hundred people who were given no chance of appearing before a tribunal of any description. Is it any wonder that there are those who feel that this would be an appropriate surcharge on the pay of the officers who proclaimed a ' curfew ' and then were not men enough to stand over their words, and who even later tried to have the world believe that there had never been one ?

Cruelty to Animals

The conventional British officer and gentleman was always supposed to have a special place in his heart for horses and dogs. No specific enquiry was made in the house-to-house survey, but even so there was brought to light evidence of military attitudes to the animal world which do the British army no credit. One does not really expect General Sir Ian Freeland to institute a full-scale enquiry to establish which of his men threatened to shoot a pet dog (*Mary Street*), but it will be interesting to see whether he can bring himself to issue a statement dissociating himself from this sort of behaviour. One would like his comments, too, on the incident where his soldiers prevented the owner making arrangements for his horse to be fed and watered (*Raglan Street*) or the incident where, despite the pleas of its owner, a dog was left shut up alone in a house without food or water for a night and a day (*Clonard Street*). One search party quite unnecessarily frightened valuable racing pigeons (*Lincoln Street*) and a remark of the C.S. gas that ' it affected the very cat ' (*Dunmore Street*) should be sufficient to provoke among genuine animal lovers the thought that there seems to have been no serious investigation of the likely effect of this terrible weapon on domestic animals. At least one would like an explanation from General Freeland of why the Ulster Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was not alerted before an area known to contain pet dogs, cats and birds was saturated with a gas that left human beings incapacitated for hours and in some cases days. If it could not have prevented this suffering, it might have been able to have broadcast advice to pet-owners on the best means of minimizing the distress.

Brutality of Troops

Under this head may be considered several categories of behaviour which range from looting and unnecessary and even wanton damage to property to foul language and quite sadistic affronts to human dignity. In Zone ' Z ' the house-to-house survey brought to light no instance of looting,

but the figures for Zones ' W,' ' X ' and ' Y ' are 13, 20 and 51 respectively. Percentaged on the basis of premises questioned they still present the same picture, and we may well ask ourselves what units were responsible for the searchings in Balkan Street, Plevna Street and Sultan Street which, between them, account for more than half the cases reported from Zone ' Y ' of what used to be considered one of the more serious military crimes. Granted that in some cases the offence may have amounted to little more than light-fingered pilfering, in others there is corroborated evidence of systematic looting of licensed premises and of spirits from private homes. A month has elapsed and to the knowledge of the victims there has been no disciplinary action against anyone. People can scarcely be blamed for suspecting that the official hope is that the whole affair will blow over and that if there is sufficient procrastination the culprits will have been posted overseas or otherwise so dispersed that plausibility would attach to the plea that the bringing of them together for identification parades so long after the event would be an unwarranted charge on public funds.

Since, however, there is still the theoretical possibility of the military authorities bestirring themselves to investigate the complaints, the matter must be treated as still *sub judice*, and it is not proposed here to publish details of individual cases. Not to be overlooked in this connection, though, is the fact that written statements with full details of the great majority of the serious allegations were supplied to the army by the Central Citizens' Defence Committee within days of the occurrence. A corporal was considered good enough to receive these documented and witnessed complaints, and it is understood that a few households have been visited by a pair of mysterious and mannerless individuals who declined to furnish their names. The cowardly anonymity of so much military activity is undoubtedly an added irritant for those who have good cause to feel aggrieved. Interestingly there seems to be little overlap between the complaints submitted by the Central Citizens' Defence Committee and the brutalities brought to light by the house-to-house survey. Clearly the scale of the abuse was far wider than the formal complaints suggest.

The house-to-house survey received information from just under seventy per cent of the properties in the official ' curfew areas.' Nearly half the houses answering reported that they had been searched, and in more than a third of these there was damage. In some cases it may have been relatively slight, a lock torn off or a door forced, but in others it amounted to sheer vandalism. The incidence was worst in Zone ' X,' only slightly less severe in Zone ' Y ' but markedly lower in Zone ' W.' Once again Zone ' Z ' appears to have got off scot free—despite or because of the presence of Scottish troops. From Zone ' X ' came 107 complaints including the significant ' broke crucifix ' (*Lemon Street*) and ' statue smashed ' (*Ross Street*). The 168 complaints from Zone ' Y ' can match these with their ' glass of religious picture broken ' and ' holy picture torn ' (*Balkan Street*) and ' holy pictures broken ' (*Plevna Street*). In Zone ' W ' with its fifty-two complaints the pattern is maintained, and here one may instance the report of ' crucifix and clock damaged ' (*Lincoln Street*). The army's explanation of these and other desecrations is understood to be that the religious objects must have been hanging or standing over the mantels, and were accidentally knocked down when the soldiers jumped back (*sic*) when choked and blinded by the soot as they tore out the fireplaces ! It is an explanation that failed to convince at least one of the English journalists present, and again one may wonder why there has been no overt and immediate apology accompanied by an offer of restitution. The Central Citizens' Defence Committee has a truly formidable file not just of complaints but of photographs of the damage done to individual homes. Floors and staircases were ripped up—and not replaced—and particularly brutal in the context of so densely populated an area was the destruction of outdoor water-closets. One might have imagined that the very next day parties of sappers would have been told off to restore

the sanitation, but three weeks after the event a woman could complain that the wrecked toilet alone prevented her return to her own home in Raglan Street. Legal quibbles over whether or not the house had or had not been vested in the Housing Trust may seem to have little relevance to the human problem, a sick baby who badly needed his own home and the warmth of a fire. The army had done the damage, and surely one detail would not have been missed for a few hours from among the able-bodied men who, for weeks after the event, still slouched in their fives up and down the streets playing at jungle patrols.

It is the same story with the furniture and with other household effects. Wardrobes and cupboards were forced, and the contents scattered. Chairs and sofas had the upholstery slashed open. Radiograms and T.V. sets were prised apart and wrecked. It was, too, the innocent who suffered most. False or out-of-date information fed to the military from the old and discredited Royal Ulster Constabulary files sent search party after search party back to the same address, and the absence of incriminating evidence merely spurred the searchers on to new destructiveness. It was not unknown for the same house to be searched five times before the baffled soldiery finally withdrew, and a follow-up has shown that the only possible motive for this orgy of damage was a Special Branch report from the 1950's that some member of the then household was suspected of anti-Unionist sympathies. One thing, of course, that an independent court of inquiry should seek to establish and to have published is a full list of the names of those not members of the British army, and not under arrest, who were in the Springfield Road police barracks for all or part of the nights of 3-4 and 4-5 July. Much more is known about their activities than the army appears to realize, and of these individuals it can be remarked with confidence that they were not the sort of person that any gentleman of honour would care to be on record as having numbered among his collaborators.

No less disgraceful was the unnecessary brutality exhibited by some of the soldiers when dealing with their prisoners, the great majority of whom, it must be remembered, have still to be found guilty of any crime. Most of the worst cases figure prominently in the written statements of complaint, and precise details are not being given here lest the military authorities be able to avoid punishing the culprits on the plea that the cases were prejudiced. The much more terse record of the house-to-house survey, however, still tells a story that cannot be shrugged off by bland denials from officers who, by virtue of their rank, cannot have had first-hand experience of what was done by soldiers in the relative privacy of people's homes. From Zone ' W ' we may take the following—and they are only a sample—' family had brought shot boy in and soldiers abused him downstairs and kept family upstairs ' and ' soldiers were brutal with shot man ' (*Abercorn Street North*); ' fright due to attitude of soldiers ' (*Dunville Street*); ' language of soldiers on streets ' (*Gibson Street*); ' seeing soldiers on other side of street breaking down doors ' (*Granville Street*); ' men against wall for three-quarters of an hour ' (*Leeson Street*); ' attitude of the soldiers ' and ' wife nine months pregnant pushed around ' (*Lincoln Street*); soldiers ' drunken convicts,' ' very hostile attitude to people in house,' ' husband threatened ' and ' rough treatment and language ' (*Merrion Street*); ' rough manner of soldiers ' and ' roughness of soldiers regarding Mass ' (*Theodore Street*). The last detail is interesting because there are well-attested cases of soldiers indulging in sectarian blasphemy as well as obscenity. One particular major, too, appears to have made a point of indulging in Pattonesque oaths and bluster and his name is known and will be published if and when the army authorities promise to bring him to public court-martial for conduct unbefitting an officer and a gentleman.

From Zone ' X ' we hear much the same: ' abuse from soldiers ' (*Balaclava Street*); ' made man lie down in street,' ' men kept kneeling for twenty minutes,' ' language in street very bad '

and ' soldiers abusive ' (*Cape Street*); ' doorstep and wall used as urinal by reporters and troops ' (*Falls Road*); ' threatened to shoot dog ' (*Mary Street*); ' being ordered about by soldiers ' and ' soldiers were friendly but officers were nasty ' (*Peel Street*)—though in this context ' officers ' could mean ' non-commissioned officers ' since a few days later even a Military Police corporal in front of the press and T.V. cameras tried to pass himself off as an officer until his bluff was called; ' soldiers walked in ' ' being ordered about by soldiers ' and ' soldier hit householder with baton, later threatened him and searched him ' (*Raglan Street*); ' soldiers cheeky only ' and ' humiliation—searched and made lie down ' (*Ross Street*).

It is pretty much the same story though told with convincing variations from Zone ' Y ' with its ' used kitchen as urinal,' ' soldiers billeted in and ransacked house ' and ' soldiers' general attitude ' (*Balkan Street*); ' soldiers were abusive outside ' (*Cullingtree Road*); ' humiliation of prisoners ' and ' watching neighbours arrested ' (*Cyprus Street*); ' soldiers across road smashing into public-house, drinking, etc., and playing stolen radio ' and ' soldiers breaking bottles at back ' (*McDonnell Street*); ' hurt by soldiers and had a black-out ' (*Osman Street*); ' soldiers ignorant and humiliating,' ' insulting behaviour of soldiers,' ' soldiers kicking legs out of men,' ' the manners of the soldiers ' and ' kept men lying on face in street for four hours ' (*Plevna Street*); ' aggressiveness of soldiers who searched,' ' they carried on badly ' and ' being made to kneel in street ' (*Servia Street*); ' old woman taken out of bed,' ' way lads were humiliated,' ' conduct of soldiers,' ' soldiers abusive ' and ' bad language in streets ' (*Sultan Street*); ' the soldiers went mad ' and ' insulting behaviour of soldiers ' (*Varna Street*).

Again a few words of explanation and comment may not come amiss if local anger is to be grasped. The word ' ignorant ' has a local meaning of ' ill-mannered,' but of the very greatest gravity is the reference to the ' old woman being taken out of bed.' By definition the troops could expect to come across perhaps 3,000 women in the course of the operation and, patently, these would include a number of the ill and of the chronically sick. For a search to be really effective, too, it would be necessary, one might have imagined, for the womenfolk to be subjected to the same scrutiny as the men. As far as is known, however, no members of the women's services and no policewomen accompanied the troops who irrupted into bedrooms without as much as a knock. It is the old story. An army commander given or assuming unheard-of powers proves himself incapable of mastering the elementary logistics necessary if the operation is to be conducted with efficiency, let alone chivalry, and we challenge General Sir Ian Freeland to explain publicly why women soldiers or police were not present, even at the detention centres outside the ' curfew area,' where women were held for up to sixteen hours in entirely male company. The episode is one that does the British army no credit, and one wonders what would be the reaction of the troops engaged if they heard of the same being done to their mothers and sisters in the streets of Wolverhampton or Glasgow. Even from Zone ' Z ' there came the odd answer to the house-to-house survey which corroborates the accounts from the more hardly hit areas, be it the highly significant ' seeing the men at (Springfield) Barracks ' (*Colligan Street*); ' rough shouts from soldiers ' (*Linden Street*); ' soldiers rough,' ' soldiers went mad ' and ' seeing men frisked ' (*Sevastopol Street*); or ' pushed about ' (*Springview Street*).

What particularly impressed the students conducting the house-to-house survey was the anxiety of the people of the Falls to be fair. Time and time again they were struck by the anxiety of the great majority of those interviewed to qualify their disgust by raking back in their memories for something to say to their persecutors' credit. A good example is the extenuation of the looting of food and of non-alcoholic drink by the plea ' sure they were hungry,' though assuredly they did not realize that this defence is, in fact, a new condemnation of the standard of the officering.

There was a time when English officers were taught that their first duty was to see that their men were housed and fed, and indicative of the failure properly to plan this operation is the fact that there seems to have been no attempt to set up organized field-kitchens and billets. What the commanders wanted was a major haul of arms that would justify their action, and as the night went by and the arms were not forthcoming the stomachs of the men seem to have been forgotten in the general panic of the officers when it was realized that ' someone had blundered.'

It is not a nice story, and the sense of fair play of the Falls was further affronted by a mean attempt to suggest that the area was a slum. There was fed to the press a story that in one house the troops had found an upstairs room which had been used as ' an open lavatory ' (*Sunday Times* 12 July). The local Member of Parliament pressed the army to identify the house so that the health hazard could be removed. Only after several days was he told that it was ' thought to be ' one or other of two addresses in a particular street and that the sanitary authorities had already been notified. A check with the same authorities, however, established that one of the two addresses had been visited and the house found to be quite outstandingly clean and well kept. The other address was that of the widow of a Gaelic League enthusiast who had shut up the house for the summer and gone to Canada, and again the condition of the property has been found to be immaculate. The same journalist was also fed a story of men having to be deloused after entering Falls homes. Here, too, there was evasiveness when the officer was pressed, and the suggestion modified to allow of the men having contracted the lice when sleeping in the streets and yards. What sort of officering, one may well ask, mounts an operation of this kind without first making arrangements to see that there are proper quarters for the men when they come off duty ? Again, too, one is prompted to recall the cups of tea so gladly accepted and now so missed, and to ask whether a ' smear ' of this kind is not as ungrateful as it was unworthy of the officer inventing it and of the senior officer who tried to stand over this not very clever innuendo.

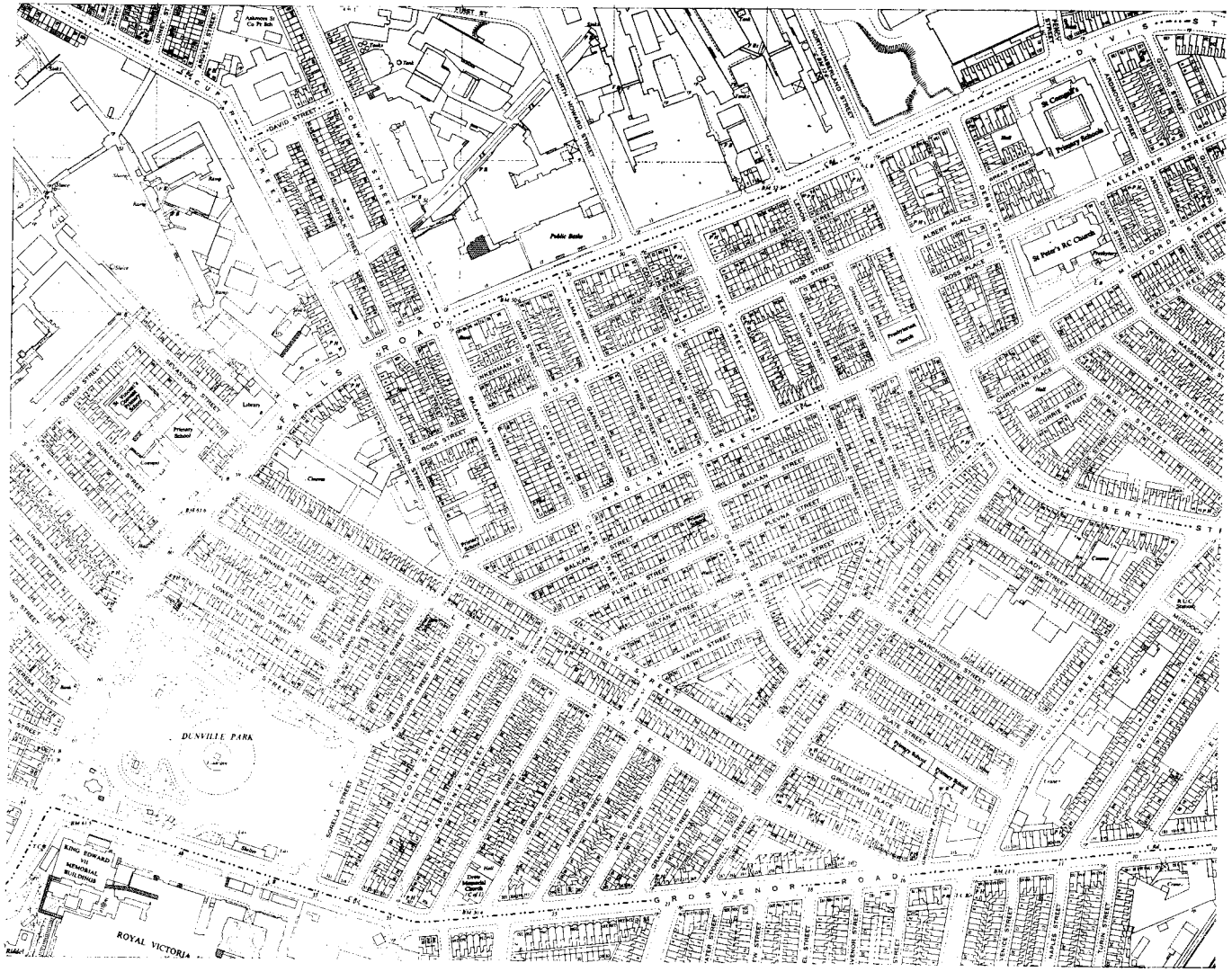
At 130 addresses there was some sort of praise for the conduct of the troops. In some cases it was back-handed and in others grudging, but the totality is recorded here in the hope that it will enable individual soldiers to recognize themselves and realize that their chivalry was appreciated. Perhaps, too, the army authorities will take some action to see that certain of the more outstanding instances of gentlemanly conduct receive some sort of commendation. It is interesting that Zone ' Z ' where there was least brutality was also the area least productive of tributes to the soldiers, and this must surely bear out the contention that the people of the Falls were generously trying to balance their complaints by searching for something to say in the troops' favour. The comments were ' troops very good ' (*Sevastopol Street*) and ' civil ' (*Springview Street*). Most praise for the soldiers came from Zone ' X ' and it is very interesting to see how streets where there was certainly outrage could also report consideration. In some cases this seems to have been because different units were involved at different times, and in others the explanation must be individual officers and men remembering their honour. The record runs: 'permission (to enter) asked ' (3) (*Alma Street*); ' very courteous,' ' very nice ' (2), ' quite civil,' ' no complaint ' and ' didn't touch anything although money lying about ' (*Balaclava Street*); ' soldiers very nice ' and ' very nice and asked for supervision of search ' (*Cape Street*); ' no warrant but pretty face ' (*Colin Street*); ' soldiers helped distribute orders and went round enquiring where food was needed ' (*Falls Road*—from a tradesman who also reported wanton damage and theft); ' troops who searched praised ' and ' soldiers civil ' (*Frere Street*); ' two nice gentlemen ' (*Garnet Street*); ' asked permission ' (*Mary Street*); ' courteous—an English regiment,' ' courteous ' and ' friendly ' *Milan Street*); ' permission asked ' (2), ' very good soldiers ' (2) and ' soldiers very nice,' (*Milliken Street*); ' permission asked ' (*Omar Street*); ' civil enough,' ' friendly,' ' courteous ' (2) and ' polite '

(*Ormond Street*); ' very nice,' ' very fair,' ' civil ' and ' gentlemen ' (*Panton Street*); ' courteous ' (4), ' very friendly ' (3), ' polite ' (4) and ' soldiers helpful in attempting to obtain food ' (*Peel Street*); ' courteous ' (7), ' very polite,' ' very nice,' ' civil enough ' and ' decent enough ' (*Raglan Street*); ' asked permission ' (8), ' very courteous,' ' gentlemen,' ' fetched bread for old lady ' and ' soldier bought milk and bread and wouldn't take money ' (*Ross Street*).

Rather less praise for the troops came from Zone ' W ' where food shortages had constituted such a problem with its ' no real trouble ' and ' very gentle ' (*Abercorn Street North*); ' soldiers helped ' (4) and ' one soldier helped ' (*Abyssinia Street*); ' English troops contrast to Scottish ' (*Cairns Street*); ' English troops apologized for the behaviour of Scottish (who had broken full bottles of milk when mother pleaded for some for baby) ' (*Dunville Street*); ' it (the curfew) did not annoy us ' and ' no trouble ' (*Getty Street*); ' soldiers very nice ' (2) and ' very polite ' (*Granville Street*); soldiers ' very nice ' (*Grosvenor Road*); soldiers ' very courteous ' and ' special guard mounted throughout the night to see no harm came to man suffering from multiple sclerosis ' (*Leeson Street*); troops ' replaced lock ' (*Lincoln Street*); ' soldiers very nice and no trouble ' (*Lower Clonard Street*); ' warrant produced ' (2), soldiers ' asked (permission to search) ' (8) and troops ' civil ' (*Merrion Street*); troops ' very nice ' and ' very, very nice,' soldier ' brought milk for diabetic from friend,' ' very courteous,' ' soldiers gave cigarettes to woman on her own ' (*Sorella Street*); ' soldiers very nice to us ' and ' no complaint at all ' (*Spinner Street*); soldiers ' civil ' (2) and ' very nice ' (*Ward Street*).

Fewer still were the laconic and often monosyllabic tributes from Zone ' Y ' where the tally runs ' praise for soldiers ' and ' praise for some troops ' (*Albert Street*); ' soldiers apologized for search ' and ' soldiers' behaviour on searches praised ' (*Balkan Street*); soldiers ' nice ' (2) and ' very, very nice ' (*Belgrade Street*); soldier ' a very nice chap,' troops ' very nice ' and ' asked permission to search ' and ' officer very kind and let old woman and her son out (of area) on Saturday morning ' (*Cullingtree Road*); soldiers ' polite ' (*Grosvenor Place*); soldiers ' very nice ' (*Lady Street*); ' loaf and jam brought by soldier,' ' soldier got food ' and ' soldier brought milk, bread and cigarettes ' (*McDonnell Street*); soldiers ' very nice ' and ' very civil ' (*Roumania Street*); troops ' praised ' (*Slate Street*); soldiers ' all right ' (*Sultan Street*); ' permission (to search) asked ' (*Varna Street*).

Clearly there are numerous English—and Scottish—officers and other ranks whose consciences cannot reproach them, and indeed who may be proud that they maintained the image of the British soldier. Nor must we neglect to remark that there has been special praise for the humanity of a coloured soldier, and it is not to crab this tribute to remark that he may have had a special insight into what the Northern Ireland situation really is about. On the other hand, the evidence of the house-to-house survey is ample to suggest that all is not well where the British army of the 1970's is concerned. Granted that many of the officers and men may have been disgusted by the work they were given to do, it is a terrifying thought that there seems to have been not one single officer to ask by virtue of what authority he was expected to treat deemed British subjects in this way. The Nuremberg trials, after all, are only a quarter of a century past, and on that occasion English officers were prompt enough in the flush of total victory to argue that a soldier should not obey blindly when the subject matter of his orders is of suspect morality. On the night of 3-4 July, however, how many recalled the smug precept: ' an Englishman's home is his castle ' as they kicked in living-room doors and burst into bedrooms, or the fine phrase that ' a man is presumed innocent until proved guilty ' when, without warrant, they could charge seven men from a house where a single cartridge idly picked up in the course of duty and long forgotten, was found in the pocket of a coat hanging behind a door ? Is it British justice to charge a man with



Reduced portion of Ordnance Survey Map of Lower Falls to show streets in the area originally 'curfewed' on the evening of 3 July

PLATE XIII

The second march of the women (evening 5 July) passing down Sultan Street
the placard reads: 'Remember Dunkirk and Ballymurphy'

' disorderly conduct ' because he ventures to argue, when roused from his sleep and dragged from his bed ? Nor should we neglect to mention the eye-witness accounts which found their way into the press and which have never been denied of prisoners forced to crawl through the streets on their hands and knees, or made to stand for hours with their hands above their heads and threatened with shooting if they stirred. Not unknown, too, are instances of men being forced to go ahead of troops as a human screen.

Conclusion

Already one can say that General Sir Ian Freeland's politically motivated assault on the Lower Falls on the night of 3 July, 1970 is likely to engage the attention of those historians of to morrow who will be concerned with chronicling the ebbing fortunes of the brand of Unionism which, in 1921, had been allowed to set up the so-called ' state ' of Northern Ireland. It is not impossible that the blunder will be seen to possess a significance akin to that of Bachelors' Walk in 1914 when, likewise, three Irishmen were the victims of military indiscipline and incompetence. It is obvious, though, that the whole interlude has implications of very urgent relevance to the problem of whether deemed British citizens, in fact, possess the rights of British citizens domiciled elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Despite later evasions, some quite pathetic, there can be no doubt at all that a curfew was proclaimed. Printed as an appendix to this booklet and reproduced as one of the plates is the actual text of General Freeland's own press release, a document which already he must be bitterly regretting. The Riot Act had not been read by a magistrate, and martial law had not been proclaimed. Nor, or so the world was told by a Stormont announcement of 5 July, was there any question of an invocation of the Special Powers Act, however much this may be thought to be belied by a most curious admission (*This Week*, 14 August) that on 2 August the army was acting under a secret provision of the Special Powers Act when foreign journalists were excluded from a public place adjoining the New Lodge Road. Clearly there is a marked, if very understandable, reluctance to spell out to the British public the fact that the armed forces of the Crown, on occasion, have operated under the provisions of a piece of legislation so repugnant to civilized thinking that the United Kingdom is debarred by it from giving her unqualified adhesion to the Declaration of Human Rights. For the present, however, we have to accept the assurance that the Special Powers Act was not the basis of the ' curfew ' which was proclaimed from helicopter and by loudspeakers on the ground, and details of which were broadcast on the BBC.

To return to the official text, we would once more stress the fact that ' curfew-breakers ' are there threatened with arrest but not with summary execution. Yet Patrick Elliman was shot through the head when, in ignorance of the ' curfew,' he strolled openly to the end of his own road. The same penalty was inflicted on a young stranger from London who was trying to leave a house outside the area by climbing over a roof. Six weeks have elapsed and there have been no judicial inquiries into these deaths, and this despite the fact that in the past it was always the practice in English and Irish jails to hold inquests on the corpses of criminals within hours of the execution. It is not surprising that the Falls is cynical about any inquiry that may be held now when testimony is likely to have become blurred, and when there has been ample opportunity for inconvenient or vulnerable witnesses and/or principals to have been posted overseas. More than one eminent

lawyer, too, is wondering whether the appropriate remedy for these and other deaths might not be a private prosecution for murder brought against one or more of the officers and men known to have been involved.

The excuse for these deaths, of course, will be the activity of ' snipers.' It must be said at once that a great measure of exaggeration and even of dishonesty has entered into army accounts of such largely imaginary marksmen. One does not *snipe* either with a revolver or a shotgun, and yet very few of the shots that were fired by other than members of the British army on the Lower Falls on the night of 3-4 July came from the type of rifle appropriate to a sniper. We pass over with contempt the army's widely reported claim that its marksmen had shot dead at least two snipers, and simply ask how it was that the bodies have never been found. Even if the ' illegal organizations ' had been prepared to bury their dead like dogs, something entirely foreign to their traditions, surely the combined resources of the army and of the police by now would have nosed out the graves, and we must not forget that there is very little open ground within the ' curfew ' limits. In the past loyalists have occasionally tried to inflate their opponents' losses by hinting darkly at bodies carried secretly to country graveyards, but surely General Freeland is not going to suggest that his massive blockade of the Falls was so inefficient that corpses were smuggled through his lines.

At the time that Elliman and Uglik were shot down, too, there was no shooting in the immediate vicinity that would have justified any responsible officer giving an order to fire, and we are brought back to the fact that the Director of Operations appears to have taken to himself and conferred upon his troops powers which are not possessed by Her Majesty's judges. In this context some ill-considered remarks on the subject of petrol-bombers are extremely relevant to an attitude to human life—petrol-bombs have still to kill and even the injuries that they have inflicted have been the subject of hysterical exaggeration—but this is not the place to consider the killing of Daniel O'Hagan in the early morning of 1 August, if only because there have been made noises which suggest that in this particular case an enquiry may be held with a little more urgency and rather less furtiveness. What is pertinent to the deaths of Elliman and Uglik is the fact that the scale of armed resistance to the military during the ' curfew ' has been blown up out of all proportion to reality. The Press was fed with stories of ' arsenals ' and of ' arms by the truck-load,' but the final bag for the two nights, hastily assembled for photographs with many individual weapons unlabelled as to provenance, in fact could be tucked quite easily into the back of one of the smaller shooting-brakes. Of rifles there were thirty-five, of sub-machine guns six, of shotguns fourteen, and of revolvers and pistols fifty-two, many of them antiquated and some a greater hazard if discharged to the user than the target. Even this pitiful total had to be inflated by the inclusion of air-guns and of a bow-and-arrow, the last, rightly, a source of amusement to the world at large and not just to Dr. Hillery. Capital made out of the 20,000 rounds of ammunition allegedly captured passed over in silence the fact that it did not fit the vast majority of the weapons seized. Explosive substances had to be fattened out with solvents used for cleaning typewriters ! Nor is this the whole story. A very substantial proportion of the more serviceable weapons had been seized in Balkan Street before resistance had begun. Others in fact came from outside the ' curfew areas ' and by no means all from Catholic homes. Great play was made, for example, of an allegedly Russian rifle found with British uniforms, but in fact this came from a loyalist's house in a ' mixed ' street which was never officially ' curfewed.' There is evidence, too, that on both sides much of the firing in the night was in the air. Certainly this would seem to be borne out by the casualties inflicted on the British troops and about which there has been a most remarkable coyness. The figure given on the morning of 4 July was nineteen wounded, and this has never

been modified. How many of the injuries, in fact, were serious has never been stated, but it was very noticeable that the newspapers on 6 July were not filled with photographs of the bandaged Tommies that had been a feature of earlier confrontations.

There are two questions, though, that cannot be decided nor even adequately discussed at the present time. The first concerns the claims made in one quarter that fatal casualties were inflicted on the military and have been concealed. The details given are often surprisingly circumstantial, and undoubtedly historians of the future will speculate on the reasons for such claims being made. The second problem concerns fire-arms captured in the ' curfew area ' as opposed to any removed from it under the noses of the military. As already remarked, a number of the weapons were of considerable obsolescence, and the fact that a goodly proportion were picked up by the troops in the open street or lying in the courts behind the houses bears out reports that there was a token resistance only on the part of many of the defenders. The pistols were discharged in the air and then sent spinning over the low houses, something that is very easily done if the weapon is reversed and gripped by the barrel. Remarkably few guns, in fact, seem to have been found concealed in homes, which makes it all the more understandable that the search had to be called off before half the houses in the area had been searched. Two points merit consideration in this context. The first is that there may have been a tradition in this area of limited defence independent of the ' illegal organizations ' as that term is usually understood. There is, for example, a well-attested account from the 1930's which would have it that on one occasion at least hard-pressed men defending Catholic streets from homicidal mobs were startled to find themselves being passed ammunition and supported by weapons coming from dumps the existence of which they had never suspected The second point to be borne in mind is that remarkably few fire-arms appear to have been seized which could be deemed attributable to the ' illegal organization ' which is usually supposed to be the larger and the better armed. It could be thought that there is here more than a hint that even militarily the operation could be deemed a miserable failure.

Certainly the number of arms seized and the casualties suffered by the army seem quite disproportionate to the shocking disregard for human life implicit in the deaths of four innocent men, three of whom died from bullet-wounds in the head or upper parts of their bodies, something that in a normal society where troops shoot first at rioters' legs a coroner sitting in open court with a jury would long ago have begun to probe. Nor should we omit to mention the number of civilians who were wounded, some seriously, and again the great majority of the Falls victims were entirely innocent. One of the complaints so cavalierly dismissed by the military as not acceptable because sent in through the Central Citizens' Defence Committee concerns a Red Cross auxiliary shot through the leg while going to attend a patient and then forced to drag herself to the hospital, an ambulance having been refused. One supposes that a day or so later she was expected to hobble to a centre, line up at a caravan in the open street and make her complaint to a couple of corporals sprawled over a desk, or would the army admit that there are some deemed British subjects for whom such treatment is not after all, appropriate ? It is a tribute to what Sir Arthur Young has been able to do at least with the younger members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, that two of them agreed spontaneously that the army's procedure, a unilateral breach, incidentally, of one agreed with the Central Citizens' Defence Committee on 21 May 1970, was not appropriate where Irish men and women were concerned.

It will have become obvious that the ' curfew ' was of a kind that would never be accepted in Birmingham or Cardiff or Glasgow, and one of the purposes of this booklet is to alert the

English, Welsh and Scots to the fact that in the year 1970 a military commander thought it within his competence to impose it without other authority, apparently, than a novel extension of the common law obligation on an able-bodied passer-by to support a constable in the execution of his duty. As already remarked, the last shots were heard at first dawn on Saturday, but all that day, all the following night and well into the Sunday a very large number of deemed British subjects were deprived of those liberties supposed dearest to the English heart. Exactly how many people were involved is not easy to establish. From the house-to-house survey it is known that it was in excess of five thousand, this terrifying total including newborn babies and nonagenarians alike, but after the ' curfew ' many families fled and they and others were not at home when the student investigators called. On the other hand we must be careful not to inflate the total by overlooking the fact that during the evening there had been a large-scale evacuation of the north-western corner of the ' curfew area ' as originally defined. It is hard to see, though, how the total could well be less than six thousand, and of these approaching three thousand would have been women and girls, and another thousand young boys and old men. This leaves only some two thousand able-bodied men to be lorded over by three thousand soldiers armed to the teeth. What has not been brought out sufficiently, though, is the fact that the proclaimed ' curfew areas ' were unofficially extended by the local commanders on almost every side. It has not been possible to establish exactly how far the extensions ran, but it is known that men were brought to the pen in the Springfield Barracks, and originally charged with ' curfew-breaking,' who had been arrested by the military half a mile away at Beechmount Avenue. Protests were unavailing as they were, to use Corporal Peachey's memorable phrase, ' whipped in,' a phrase, though, that looks like achieving for its utterer a notoriety that will scarcely commend him to the masters he served with more zeal than discretion.

One team of investigators, however, has been able to carry out a sample reconnaissance of a dozen streets at the north-east corner of the original ' curfew area,' and the reports make interesting reading. Derby Street suffered the full rigours of the ' curfew ' until five o'clock on the Saturday afternoon, but only some of the houses were subject to the restrictions the following night. Much the same position obtained in Milford Street, and in the portion of Cullingtree Road outside the ' curfew area ' as proclaimed. Nail Street, Quadrant Street and part of Baker Street were under full restrictions until late on the Saturday afternoon, while Albert Place, Brook Street, Jude Street, Ross Place, the remaining part of Albert Street and the odd house in Christian Place were, in practice, treated as if they had been part of Zone ' X.' On any telling these few streets alone would swell the number of deemed British subjects placed under house-arrest by several hundreds, and at least for the night of 3-4 July there were very many residents of streets like Devonshire Street and Burnaby Street who were given good reason to think that they, too, were subject to restrictions without precedent in peace-time Britain. It is likely, then, that a couple of thousand deemed British citizens were subjected to many hours of a ' curfew ' that was never as much as proclaimed. Certainly the streets do not appear in the Press Release of the Director of Operations, and if it is an intriguing thought that he may never have authorized these extensions, it is an even more sobering reflection that he may have done so but not thought it necessary to modify the original proclamation. It is a revealing insight into the military mind, and we are back to the old crux of the wisdom of the English tradition that mistrusts military intervention in civil government. It is gratifying to know that plans are already far advanced for a number of actions to be carried right through the courts of Northern Ireland and thence to the English House of Lords, and if needs be to Strasbourg, though one cannot believe that long before then Her Majesty's judges will not themselves have restored the primacy of law as interpreted down the centuries.

There remains the immediate future. Clearly the present situation cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely, and sooner or later the British army will have to come to terms with the

Lower Falls. One obvious difficulty is the loss of face that would be involved in an overt gesture of reconciliation, but would it be any more humiliating than the present evasions ? For example, virtually all property in the original ' curfew area ' is vested in the Northern Ireland Housing Trust, and it is common knowledge that this body has been carrying out repairs which are not being charged up to its own funds or to the tenants. In the same way, at least one Social Security Office has been making advances of Supplementary Benefit to enable the less well-off to replace wrecked furniture, the advances being subject to repayment when compensation is paid by the army. Clearly the military authorities are well aware of the fact that they are morally and legally bound to right some serious wrongs, and ' less than candid ' was a very apt description of smooth protestations that many of the complaints had been found to be fictitious and had been withdrawn. The Central Citizens' Defence Committee has filed typed copies of between three and four hundred written and witnessed complaints of military misconduct, and was scrupulously careful not to submit a few complaints which it felt might be exaggerated. It challenges the military authorities to send three senior officers who would sit down with three nominees of its own executive and with three independent adjudicators and go through these complaints. Very few would be found to be without foundation, and it is perfectly clear that the military mind cannot fathom the distinction between bringing home to a unit overall responsibility and obtaining legal proof against an individual. The latter is often impossible when troops are operating by night and wearing outlandish garb, but the testimony of neighbours and the medical evidence ought to be sufficient in some cases to establish that serious injury was done by khaki-clad intruders swinging batons to individuals sitting in their own homes. It has been noticeable that even the magistrates' courts have been showing an increasing reluctance to convict civilians on the uncorroborated testimony of certain soldiers and it is obvious that many of the convictions are unlikely to be upheld in appeal courts where individual members of ' snatch-squads ' will be subjected to rigorous cross-examination by advocates with long experience of breaking down concocted evidence.

The Irishman is, by nature, generous in victory, and there are some of us who feel that England has much to gain by an imaginative gesture. A quick settlement of financial claims where they are shown to be well-founded—for example claims for loss of earnings accompanied by certificates from employers—would go far to clear the air. Equally, individual officers should ponder the fact that when there is injustice Irish memories can be inconveniently long. An illustration of this in our own day was when, from retirement, Commandant General Tom Barry, the victor of Kilmichael, sent an appropriate telegram to Lt.-Gen. Percival in 1942 after Singapore had been cravenly surrendered following a totally mismanaged defence. County Cork still remembered its Major Percival whom his adversary from the War of Independence had described as ' tireless in his attempts to destroy the spirit of the people.' Certainly the future careers of some of the figures that have appeared in these pages will be followed with no less attention by some of the inhabitants of the Falls. Of course Ireland and England will learn one day to live together in friendship, and in this very connection one of the more hopeful signs is Irish admiration for the English common law and for the best traditions of the English armed forces for which so many Irishmen volunteered in two world wars. It is precisely this admiration, though, that explains so much of the sense of outrage felt by the Falls in July and August, 1970.

POSTSCRIPT

RAGLAN STREET SCHOOL (*see page 16*)

On 21 August all the thirty-nine people charged were solemnly paraded in court for the taking of depositions. The defendants included a blind man and ten juveniles. The Crown Solicitor, however, rose and calmly informed the court that the charges would not be proceeded with against any of the defendants who were accordingly discharged. What was not mentioned was the fact that twenty-eight of these innocent people had experienced a fortnight's imprisonment, a magistrate having refused bail on 10 July and justified his refusal by an appeal to the ' seriousness of the charge.' The *Irish News* (11 July, 1970) report of Mr. Martin McBirney's remarks merits further quotation. ' The test as to whether a person should be granted or refused bail depended on the following conditions: The nature of the accusation and " in this case the accusation is one of the gravest that could be brought against any person "; the nature of the evidence in support of the accusation which he thought to be sufficient and the amount of punishment which an offence would entail if a person were to be convicted. In this case it would be a heavy jail sentence.' Further comment on this display of legal erudition would seem superfluous. Bail was not granted until 17 July and then by yet another magistrate.

APPENDIX B

The following is the actual text of a document handed to the Press by a representative of General Freeland on the night of 3-4 July, 1970. One or two corrected typing slips have been silently emended, but the wording and punctuation are those of the original (see Plate ii).

PRESS RELEASE

The Director of Operations, Lt Gen Sir Ian Freeland, has declared that there is to be an immediate curfew until further notice in the area of the Lower Falls bounded by:

In the North—Falls Road from the junction of Falls Road and Grosvenor Road to the junction of Falls Road and Albert Street.

In The East—Albert Street from the junction of Falls Road and Albert Street to the junction of Albert Street and Cullingtree Road.

In The South East—Cullingtree Road from the junction of Cullingtree Road and Albert Street to the junction of Cullingtree Road and Grosvenor Road.

In The South—Grosvenor Road from the junction of Grosvenor Road and Cullingtree Road to the junction of Grosvenor Road and Falls Road.

All civilians in the locality are to get into their houses immediately and to stay there. After military occupation anyone found on the street will be arrested.

3 July, 1970

APPENDIX C

BELFAST STREETS OFFICIALLY 'CURFEWED' 3-5 JULY, 1970

Zone 'W'

Abercorn Street North
Abyssinia Street
Cairns Street
Dunville Street
Getty Street
Gibson Street
Granville Street
Grosvenor Road (part)
Leeson Street
Lincoln Street
Lower Clonard Street
Merrion Street
Sorella Street
Spinner Street
Theodore Street
Ward Street

Zone 'Y'

Albert Street
Balkan Street
Belgrade Street
Bosnia Street
Cullingtree Road (part)
Cyprus Street
Grosvenor Place
Lady Street
McDonnell Street
Marchioness Street
Osman Street
Plevna Street
Roumania Street
Servia Street
Slate Street
Sultan Street
Ton Street
Varna Street

Zone 'X'

Alma Street
Balaclava Street
Cape Street
Colin Street
Falls Road (part)
Frere Street
Garnet Street
Inkerman Street
Lemon Street
Mary Street
Milan Street
Milliken Street
Milton Street
Omar Street
Ormond Place
Ormond Street
Panton Street
Peel Street
Raglan Street
Ross Street

Zone 'Z'

Clonard Street
Colligan Street
Dunlewey Street
Dunmore Street (part)
Linden Street
McQuillan Street
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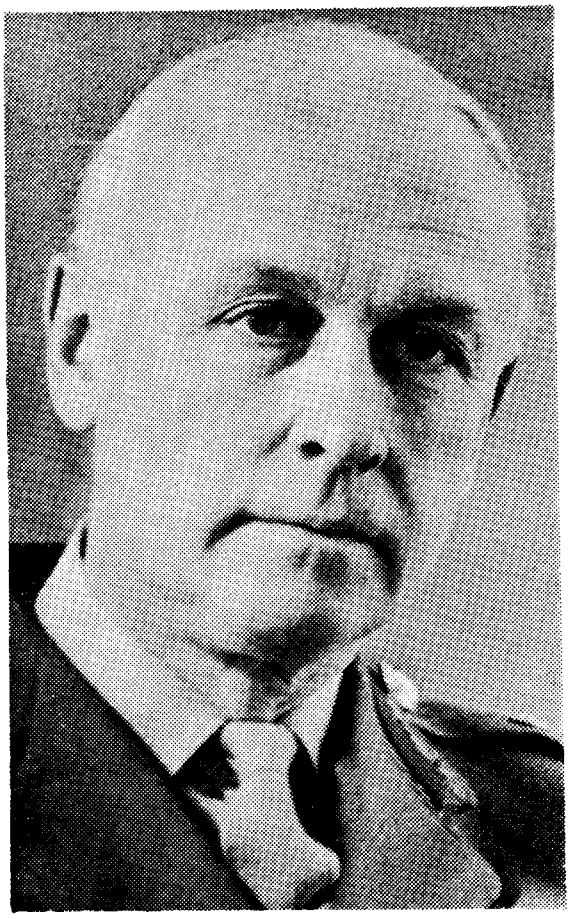
The funeral of Charles O'Neill leaves his sister's home in Turf Lodge on 7 July

Courtesy *Irish Press*

Members of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee handing in the first batch of two hundred written and witnessed complaints to the army 'complaints centre' outside Springfield Road Police Barracks (8 July, 1970)

Photograph courtesy *Irish Independent*



Lt. Gen. Sir IAN FREELAND, K.C.B., D.S.O.
G.O.C. and Director of Operations in Northern Ireland

Courtesy *Irish News*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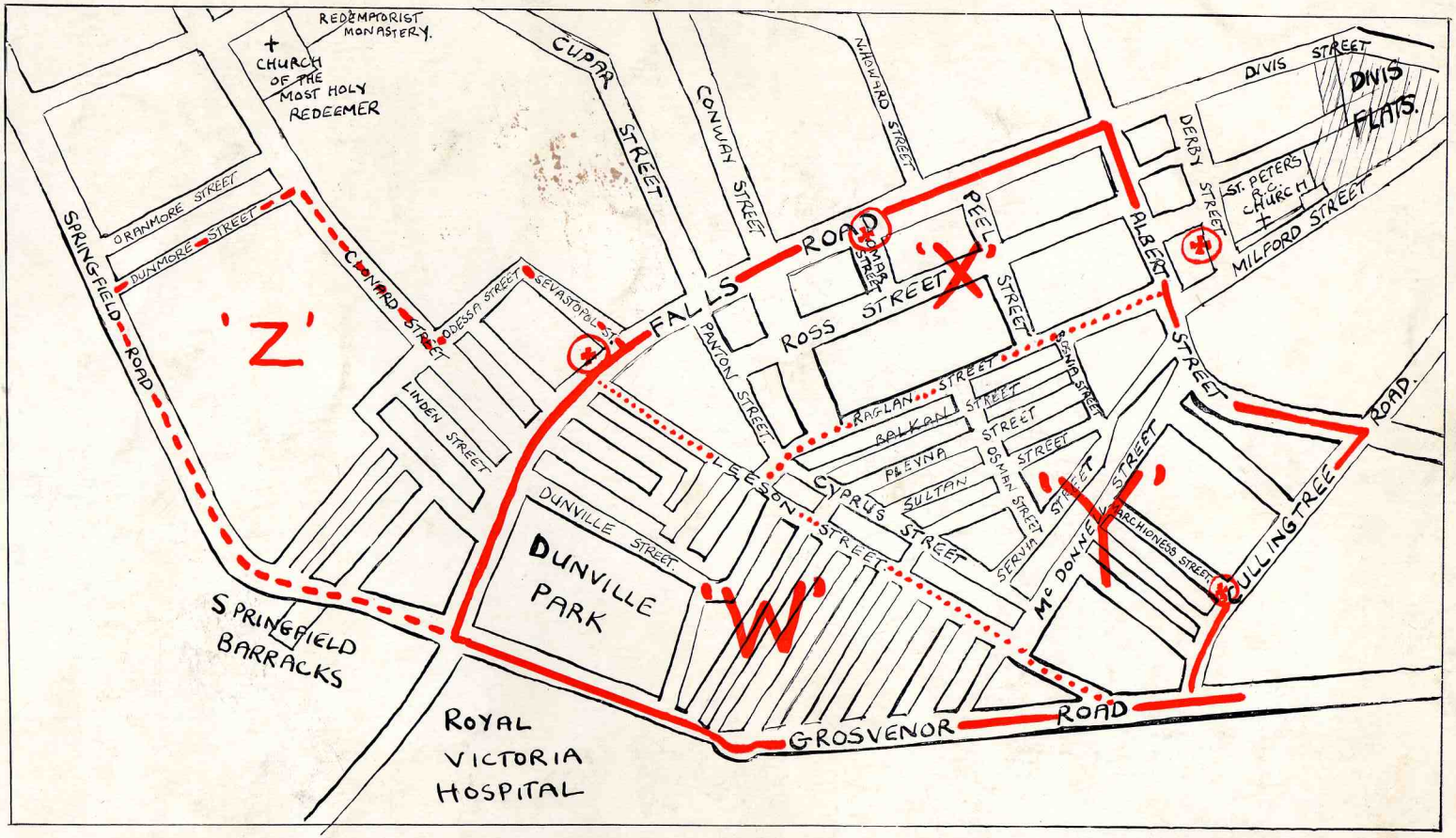

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ZONES AS USED IN TEXT

SPOT WHERE VICTIMS LOST THEIR LIVES

Scale: approx. 12" to 1 statute mile

Title: Law (?) and Orders
Organisation: Central Citizens Defence Committee
Author: Seán Óg Ó Fearghail
Date: 1970