CHAPTER X

PARNELL'S FALL, 1886-1891

Parnell's star began to set in 1886 when he insisted upon the election of Captain O'Shea, husband of the woman whom he was later to marry, as representative of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster. The Times' commission temporarily ended the resentment which Parnell's insistence aroused but hardly had its verdict been announced before Captain O'Shea reappeared. This second appearance was to harm Parnell even more than the first.

Parnell's fall will be divided into three stages. The first will deal with his decline before the split in the Irish Parliamentary Party. The second will attempt to report the details of the break-up of the Parnellites. And the third will be devoted to the aftermath of the split. The chapter will be brought to an end with the obsequies which followed Parnell's death in 1891.

Before the Split

The period before the split may be subdivided into a consideration of the coalition against Gladstone and Parnell, the Plan of Campaign and the O'Shea affair.

A detailed analysis of the forces which brought about

2. See p. 460-461.
Gladstone's downfall is not necessary for this thesis. The spearhead of the attack was, of course, the Conservative Party. Perhaps the most distinguished literary foe of Parnell among the Conservatives was Charles Algernon Swinburne. Although he contributed to John Morley's paper, "the radical Pall Mall Gazette, the very heart of Home Rule agitation in England" at the time, Swinburne's hostility can be traced to 1883:

During 1886-1887 it became his most vital interest. Partly through the resurgence of innate aristocratic instincts, partly through the influence of Watts-Dunton, he became allied with the Unionists. He developed an intense hatred of Gladstone. 'The Union,' 'The Question,' 'Apostacy,' and other poems are vituperative against Gladstone and Parnell. 'See the man of words embrace the man of blood!' he shrieked, and did not hesitate to libel the Prime Minister as 'the hoary benchman' whose hands could never be cleansed...John Morley, in the midst of many cares, found time to watch the poet and to meditate upon the defection of one of the band of advanced liberals whom he had rallied under his editorial banner two decades earlier; and Swinburne's name may be read between the lines of a sentence in 'The Life of Gladstone': 'Distinguished men of letters...now choked with anger because they were taken at their word.' That Swinburne was regarded as an apostate is evident from some verses which Rennell sent to Walt Whitman, in which it is said that Swinburne 'has passed from the van to the rear-guard, forsaking the Ayes for the Noes.'

2. Home Rulers reminded Swinburne of his "Appeal," a poem which he had contributed to the London Star on behalf of the Manchester Martyrs in 1867. He replied:

In a letter headed 'A Retrospect' (the Times, May 6, 1887) the poet sought to contrast the murders for which the Fenians were executed and the assassinations in Phoenix Park. He denied that Mazzini, had he lived, would have favored Home Rule; and in a second letter (May 11) he quoted Karl Blain to the effect... The embarrassed poet sought further to fortify himself by a ponderous bit of irony, 'Unionism and Crime' (the St. James Gazette, May 6, 1887), signed "A

2. See p. 178.
Gladstoneites, in which he pretends to bring charges of atrocities against the Primrose League. It is dull, heavy
fooling.\footnote{1}

The Conservatives were joined by dissentient Liberals and the coalition was strong enough to defeat the Home Rule measure.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to point out that the Irish Unionists were opposed to Home Rule and that, therefore, they formed part of the coalition against Gladstone and Parnell. However, a few words may be said about the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union and the Orangemen.

The Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union devoted much energy to anti-Home Rule Propaganda. Richard Pigott was paid 60 pounds to publish an attack on the Irish Parliamentary Party, \textit{Parnellism Unmasked}. It published the assertion of a German revolutionary that Home Rule would make Ireland "a stronghold for...Jesuitry and Obscurantism" since the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel favored it. Although not bearing the imprint of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, \textit{Parnellism and Crime} deserves to be mentioned in connection with it:

\begin{quote}
Articles in \textit{The Times} written by Woulfe Flanagan, son of an Irish judge -- said to be the most brilliant of its staff -- heralded the onslaught. These were entitled 'Parnellism and Crime.'... (Years later Sir Robert Anderson, a Home Office Secret Service agent, in a magazine article, claimed the dis-credit of penning some of them.)\footnote{7}
\end{quote}

Incidentally, Flanagan, the title of whose article is reminiscent

\begin{footnotes}
\item 1. \textit{Chew}, op. cit., p. 291, note.
\item 3. \textit{Ibid.}, p. 156.
\item 4. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 206-209.
\item 6. See p. 464.
\end{footnotes}
of that of an anti-Home Rule pamphlet which had appeared in 1880
(Farnellism Unveiled), was related to George Moore's friend,
Edward Martyn, who also lacked sympathy with the Home Rulers at
this time:

One of his closest friends, and also an Irish Catholic,
was his cousin, Mr. Woulfe Flanagan of The Times, who about
this time wrote the famous series of articles on 'Farnellism
and Crime,' which resulted in Parnell's historic libel ac-
tion...Even at the end of 1887...when an incident arose to
test his political sympathies, he refused to commit himself
to any public association with Home Rulers.

The second group about which a few words should be said
was the Orangemen. Since their vain threats of physical force
to prevent the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869,
the Orangemen had remained comparatively quiet. In 1886 Lord Ran-
dolph Churchill, speaking in Belfast, reawakened this militant
spirit to combat Gladstone's Home Rule sympathies;

Lord Randolph Churchill...gratified his audience at the open-
ing of Ulster Hall with the famous slogan -- 'Ulster will
fight, and Ulster will be right.'...Lord Randolph...wrote to
Lord FitzGibbon on February, 1886: 'I decided some time ago
that if the G.O.M. went for Home Rule, the Orange card would
be the one to play. Please God it may turn out the ace of
trumps and not the two.'

The coalition against Gladstone and Parnell was not a
serious blow for Parnell. Indeed, there was the "Union of Hearts"
to offset it. Quite serious, however, was the "Plan of Campaign."
The "Plan of Campaign," like the New Departure, served as an
axis for two separate groups and, even as in the New Departure, at

1. P.H. Bagenal, Mr. Parnell A Separatist, No. 119, p. 1.
3. See p. 196.
one end of it was the Irish Parliamentary Party. But, unlike the
New Departure, at the other end of the axis was Gladstone and his
Liberal supporters instead of the Fenians. For this reason, per-
haps, although it attracted various Irish priests it repelled
Parnell and the Fenians. It would be inaccurate to say of the re-
lation between the "Plan of Campaign" and the "Union of Hearts"
what Davitt said of the connection between the Land League and
the New Departure, that is, that the former was the organization
of the latter but an analogy certainly can be made. And Davitt
was drawn to the "Plan of Campaign," as he had been to the New De-
parture, because of the opportunity for land reform which it of-
fered.

At the English end of the axis, then, the names of English
land-reformers and participants in the "Union of Hearts" may be
found. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt might be cited as an example but
Gladstone is more famous. Gladstone had pushed his "great land
bill" through Parliament in 1881. It has been described by Michael
Davitt as "a legislative sentence of death by slow process against
Irish landlordism." Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886 carried
"a Land Bill, which was, in fact, a pendant" to it. It, there-
fore, was not inconsistent for him to use the "Plan of Campaign"

2. See pp. 284-301.
5. See pp. 451-452.
for the purpose of attacking the Conservative Government which had
succeeded his and was to remain in office from 1886 to 1892.

At the Irish end of the axis the members of the Irish Parlia-
mentary Party whose names were particularly associated with
the "Plan of Campaign" were William O'Brien, John Dillon, T.
Harrington, T. D. Sullivan and T. M. Healy. Of these men it may
be noted that O'Brien inspired the most dislike in such representa-
tive Fenians as O'Donovan Rossa and John O'Leary but before this
animosity is considered a few words may be said about T. D. Sul-

livan and T. M. Healy.

T. D. Sullivan is interesting because in spite of the fact
that he was Lord Mayor of Dublin at the time, A. J. Balfour, Chief
Secretary for Ireland of the Conservative Government, sent him
to jail in 1888 where he passed his time composing his Prison
Poems; or, Lays of Tullamore which incidentally contains a curious
parody of Poe's Raven.

T. M. Healy is interesting because his ardor for the "Plan
of Campaign" seems to have irked Parnell. At any rate, when Par-

nells refused to use him as a party to the counsel for the defense
in the trial of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Healy wrote: "I
cannot give any explanation of Parnell's conduct, unless he was

annoyed at my recent speeches on the Plan of Campaign." Addi-

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9. Ibid., p. 290.
tional interest is attached to Healy because of his defense of Canon MacFadden who had become involved in the agrarian unrest.

In The Middle Years, Katharine Tynan wrote about the case in some detail in telling of a trip through Donegal in 1893.

Unlike Gladstone who had asked that the "Plan of Campaign" "be fairly judged," Parnell claimed that he had been opposed to it from the start. To what extent the Fenians shared this opposition it is not important to know. It is important to know that one of the leaders of the "Plan of Campaign" roused the displeasure of such representative Fenians as O'Donovan Rossa and John O'Leary.

O'Brien's novel, When We Were Boys, caused Rossa to question O'Brien's professions of patriotism:

'When We Were Boys' is the name of a book written nine or ten years ago by one of those Irish patriot parliamentary leaders of today. It is a libel on the character of the Fenian movement in Ireland. As I was reading it I said to myself, 'This gentleman has his eye on a literary pension from the English.' The whiskey-drinking bouts that he records at the Fenian headquarters in the office of the Fenian newspaper had no existence but in his imagination, and the brutal murder of a landlord by the Fenians is an infamous creation of his too. If it is fated that the chains binding England to Ireland are to remain unbroken during this generation, and that the writer of that book lives to the end of the generation, those who live with him need not be surprised if they see him in receipt of a literary pension. He has earned it. 

O'Brien's conduct in jail seems to have been the cause of an outburst by John O'Leary which aroused "the poet" in W.B. Yeats.

4. Ibid., pp. 190-191.
5. P. O'Brien, When We Were Boys.
6. O'D. Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, p. 129.
Yeats wrote:

Sometimes he would say things that would have sounded well in some heroic Elizabethan play. It became my delight to rouse him to these outbursts for I was the poet in the presence of his theme. Once when I was defending an Irish politician who had made a great outcry because he was treated as a common felon, by showing that he did it for the cause's sake, he said, 'There are things that a man must not do to save a nation.'

Indeed, so outspoken was O'Leary's opposition to the "Plan of Campaign" that it was mentioned in two of the publications of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union issued in 1890; and O'Leary, himself, interrupted the text of his Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism to question the patriotism of its authors.

One of the publications of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, Mad Tipperary, told of the boycott of A. H. Smith-Barry in 1889-1890. Of the revolutionary traditions of the town it declared:

It seems to have always possessed the elements of turbulence, which in later times have found vent in returning as members to the Imperial Parliament such men as John Mitchell and O'Donovan Rossa; and in singing the praises of the Manchester murderers, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, and John Daly, the dynamitard.

Nevertheless, it stated that John O'Leary was among the seventy tenants who had paid their rent and set him down "as entirely opposed to the agitation in Tipperary."

The second publication of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, after introducing O'Leary as "editor of the Irish People,"

5. Ibid., p. 284.
which was suppressed by Mr. Gladstone's Irish Executive," quoted him as follows:

I repeat now what I said six months ago -- that the whole thing is a piece of cowardly cruelty on the part of Mr. William O'Brien, with no intelligible reason behind it save that of lying to England.¹

In his Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism, O'Leary indicated his belief that the "Plan of Campaign" impaired the fighting spirit of the rank and file of the physical force organization and that it exemplified the evil effect of priests in politics:

I...give the case of 'New Tipperary'...as an example of the sort of mess made by priests in politics. Here we have a priest, who cannot charitably be supposed to be quite sane, let loose upon an unoffending town, which he seeks (happily not quite successfully) to lay waste, by an Archbishop, whom nobody considers other than perfectly sane.²

Indeed, O'Leary was so provoked as to condemn Tipperary as well as the "Plan of Campaign."³

In addition to the anti-Home Rule coalition and his opposition to the "Plan of Campaign," there was the O'Shea affair to cause Parnell difficulties. Captain O'Shea had nearly caused a revolt in the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1886 when Parnell had insisted on his election to Parliament as member for Galway. T.M. Healy had been so provoked that he had stopped writing for the Parnellite United Ireland as a consequence. All these dif-

⁴. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 230, note.
difficulties were ended by the Times' forgery which called for a united front against a common foe. Hardly was the trial over, however, when O'Shea, on December 24, 1889, "filed a petition for divorce on the grounds of his wife's adultery with Parnell." The case was not brought to trial until November 15, 1890.

In the meantime other manifestations indicated discontent with Parnell in the Irish Parliamentary Party. Duplicating charges made in the United States by John F. Finerty and O'Donovan Rossa, T.M. Healy and another member of the Party agreed in August that Parnell was neglecting his duties in Parliament. Others thought he should be more active in the "Plan of Campaign." Davitt, although he had refrained from taking part in the agrarian agitation at Parnell's request, was deeply interested in it, and found himself even more at variance with Parnell when the latter criticized "such bodies as trades-unions." For so interested had Davitt become in organized labor that he had started the Labour World. And although it had a short existence from 1890 to 1891, it appeared at a time when Parnell needed a friendly, not a critical press.

Thus, when O'Shea's petition for divorce was brought to trial, there was considerable discontent in the Parnellite ranks.

with the leader. The divorce was granted on November 17th.
Neither Parnell nor Mrs. O'Shea had contested the case and, as a result, the salacious items which appeared in the press were allowed to stand unanswered.

The Split

To a materialist, perhaps, Parnell's explanation of what caused the split in his Party may be sufficient:

"Yes, I always felt it would end in this way." His companion said nothing. His first thought was that Parnell might be going to talk about the Divorce Court.
"Yes," repeated the Chief, "I always said it would end badly."
"What," at length said his companion, "what did you say would end badly?"
"The Plan of Campaign," answered Parnell.2

To John O'Leary the "Union of Hearts" was no less pernicious than the "Plan of Campaign," for to him, unlike T.D. Sullivan whom he criticized on this account, no good thing for Ireland could be expected from Gladstone or the English. Indeed, O'Leary might very well have written what R. Barry O'Brien thought of the letter which Gladstone wrote to call for the removal of Parnell from the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party: "That letter drove every Irish Nationalist who had not been demoralized by agrarianism, or Liberalism, to the side of

1. St. J. Ervive, Parnell, p. 271.
5. See p. 459.
7. Ibid., pp. 198-199, note.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 38.
Parnell." But, to however great an extent the growing friendship between Irish land reformers and their English sympathizers may have been responsible for rendering undesirable the continued leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party by an American-Irish landlord, there can be no doubt that the immediate cause of the split in Parnell's Party was due to the revelations of the O'Shea divorce case.

The divorce had been granted on Monday, November 18, 1890. On the following day Parnell's organization met in Dublin and pledged itself to stand by him. English adherents of the "Union of Hearts" were performing in a different fashion:

Many Liberals maintained that Parnell must continue at his post, and Mr. Gladstone seems at first to have shared their opinion. But the Dissenters were stirring themselves against him. The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes roared like a demented fishwife on the platform of St. James's Hall and through the columns of the Methodist Times. Mr. E. T. Cook, unexpectedly encountered in this crew, opposed himself in the Pall Mall Gazette to the continuation of Parnell's chieftancy. Mr. W. T. Stead, a popular sensationalist...could not content himself with the pages of the Review of Reviews, but had to overflow into a pamphlet entitled The Discrowned King of Ireland, in which a sort of sanctimonious scurrility burst into spate.3

The significance of the attacks by these men was not alone that they were "all of them Liberal supporters of the Home Rule cause" but also because they were an indication of how "the non-conformist conscience" had blazed out against Parnell from a hundred chapels in England on the intervening Sunday. At this the English Liberal

3. Ibid., pp. 275-276.
Party took alarm and Gladstone expressed his fear "that the Liberals might lose the General Election if Mr. Parnell remained leader of the Irish Party!"

In spite of this threat to the "Union of Hearts" on November 25, 1890, Parnell was elected "sessional chairman" of the Irish Parliamentary Party once again. That very evening the letter from Gladstone which has already been referred to appeared in the press. It threatened that he would "retire from the leadership of the Liberal Party if Parnell does not retire from the leadership of the Irish Party."

Up to this point the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy had remained silent, but T.M. Healy was at work seeking to enlist them in the anti-Parnell ranks. Writing to his wife on November 28, 1890, he mentioned a bishop who had "written and wired strongly against Parnell." Two days later he reported that Archbishop Walsh and Archbishop Croke were eager for Parnell's resignation. Then, on December 3, 1890, "the Standing Committee of Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland issued a document, pronouncing against Parnell" because of "the facts and circumstances revealed in the London Divorce Court." Healy went so far as to hope for papal "endorsement of the Irish Bishops' declaration."

2. Ervine, op. cit., p. 276.
4. See p. 488.
8. Ibid., p. 329.
On December 6, 1890, in Committee Room 15 of the House of Commons, Parnell presided over an Irish party united under his leadership for the last time. For it was upon this occasion that Justin M'Carthy, vice-Chairman, called upon "all who think with me at this grave crisis" to "withdraw with me from this room":

Forty-four members quietly stood up and followed their new leader in silence. There was added to their numbers one of those who had voted for Parnell... This was young Justin Huntly McCarthy, novelist and playwright, who sat for Newry.2

Left behind were "Parnell and twenty-six faithful followers." 3

The Aftermath of the Split

In England the Liberal adherents of the "Union of Hearts" opposed Parnell. On the other hand, one Conservative, at least, took his side. The London Times of December 4, 1890, reported Lord Salisbury as having said:

I have no doubt that in this sporting country half of you have already got bets for or against Mr. Parnell... It may be a weakness of human nature, but perhaps I prefer the man who is fighting desperately for his life to the crew whom he made and who are turning against him.4

In Ireland the leading anti-Parnellites were Michael Davitt and T. M. Healy and their efforts were abetted by the Roman Catholic Church. The most effective organized support that Parnell received came from the Fenians. Geographically speaking the strength of the opposition to Parnell was concentrated outside of Dublin whereas, in the words of Katharine Tynan: "Dublin and

1. See p. 396.
2. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 222.
4. Unsigned, Some Salisbury Gleanings, p. 3.
Dublin County were practically solid for Mr. Parnell. In exploring the aftermath of the split it will be instructive to use these geographical differences as a frame of reference for a description of Parnell's last stand.

Outside Dublin

To exemplify the strength of the opposition to Parnell outside Dublin, the by-elections in Kilkenny and Sligo may be mentioned. In Kilkenny the lines of battle were clearly drawn. For the anti-Parnellite candidate, Davitt, appealed to the farmer and labor; and Healy made what use he could of clerical support. Parnell, on the other hand, relied upon the Fenians.

So far as Davitt's appeal to labor is concerned, it may be remembered that at this time he was editing Labour World and had won considerable prestige by arbitrating "the Liverpool Dock Strike" to the satisfaction both of the management and of the employees who "were so largely Irish." (It would be interesting to know whether this strike had any influence on George Moore whose play, The Strike at Arlingford, was produced in 1893.) Perhaps it was on this account that the Castlecomer miners supported the anti-Parnellite candidate for whom Davitt was electioneering in spite of the fact that the Parnellites "brought down Trade Unionists from Dublin to get at them."

An incident at Castlecomer where Davitt offered "to share

5. A. Malone, The Irish Drama, p. 27.
7. Ibid., p. 343.
a platform for debate" with Parnell made a deep impression upon James Joyce. Some twenty odd years later Joyce wrote ironically:

'Twas Irish humour, wet and dry,
Flung quicklime into Parnell's eye...²

And according to Herbert Gorman, he refused two invitations to Ireland by W.B. Yeats because of his memory of the incident:

Having a vivid memory of the incident at Castletown when quicklime was flung into the eyes of their dying leader, Parnell, by a chivalrous Irish mob, he did not wish a similar unfortunate occurrence to interfere with the composition of the book he was trying to write.³

So far as the use which Healy made of clerical support is concerned, the words of a Fenian to R. Barry O'Brien on the eve of the election deserve repetition:

Healy is fighting like a devil, but only for the priests and the police he could not remain in the constituency for an hour. The only power in Ireland that can stand up to Parnell is the Church, and the only power that can stand up to the Church is Fenianism.⁴

In the pre-election campaign Healy distinguished himself by the violence of his attacks on Parnell:

Mr. Healy raged about the constituency, spitting venom wherever he went on the name of 'Kitty' O'Shea. There was one horrible occasion when he called her 'a convicted British prostitute!...' He swore that he would drive Parnell into his grave or into the lunatic asylum.⁵

James Joyce, though only nine years old, was so indignant that he composed "a violently written attack on Timothy Healy:"

John Stanislaus, who had become exceedingly pro-Parnell during the last scenes of that Leader's debacle, was so pleased with his son's prose production that he took it

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3. Ibid., pp. 216-217.
to the firm of Alleyn and O'Reilly and had it printed in
the form of a small pamphlet. No copy of this juvenile
outburst against the injustice and treachery of man is known
to exist but it is still possible that some fortunate ex-
plorer fumbling through yellowed papers in a neglected Dub-
lin garret may chance upon this Joycean opus number one of
the year 1891.1

It is interesting to speculate whether traces of the sentiments
expressed in the pamphlet are to be found in the Christmas dinner
row described in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man:

Dante turned...and said:
-And am I to sit here and listen to the pastors of my
church being flouted?
-Nobody is saying a word against them, said Mr. Dedalus, so
long as they don’t meddle in politics.
-The bishops and priests of Ireland have spoken, said Dante,
and they must be obeyed.
-Let them leave politics alone, said Mr. Casey; or the
people may leave their church alone.
-You hear? said Dante turning to Mrs. Dedalus.
-Mr. Casey! Simón! said Mrs. Dedalus, let it end now.
-Too bad! Too bad! said Uncle Charles.
-What? cried Mr. Dedalus. Were we to desert him at the
bidding of the English people?
-He was no longer worthy to lead, said Dante. He was a
public sinner.4

As indirect evidence of a connection between the pamphlet and
the row it may be noted that later in the book the young Stephen
Dedalus remembered "sitting at his table in Bray the morning after
the discussion at the Christmas dinner table, trying to write a
poem about Parnell."

So far as Parnell’s appeal to the Fenians is concerned,
R. Barry O’Brien wrote that the town of Kilkenny was "held by
Fenians" and that a Fenian was acting to some extent as Parnell’s

1. Gorman, op. cit., p. 36.
2. J. Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, pp. 30-41.
4. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
5. Ibid., p. 77.
campaign manager. Indeed, Parnell boasted to O'Brien that he had all the Fenians in Ireland at his back and would get the support of the American Fenians, too. As a matter of fact, Parnell's prestige among the advocates of physical force had become so great that Davitt became alarmed as to his intentions:

Davitt attacked him for 'appealing in his desperation to the hillside men and the Fenian sentiment of the country,' adding: 'It would be a piece of criminal folly in Mr. Parnell to lead the young men of the country to face the might of England in the field.'

By "hillside" men Davitt, of course, meant the advocates of physical force and the Fenian chief, John O'Leary, felt called upon to make a cutting reply:

The creatures who sneer at hillside men know well that no men are thinking of taking to hills at present; but what they do not know, and are incapable of knowing, is that without that spirit which would lead men to the hill-side, either in hope or in desperation, little if any, good can come to this or to any country.

Parnell's candidate lost the election. Healy, remembering that the Castlecomer miners were Roman Catholics, attributed the result to Michael Davitt and "the priests."

In March there was to be a by-election in Sligo. Valentine Dillon, who appeared as a minor character in Joyce's Ulysses, was the Parnellite candidate. Healy wrote: "If Davitt will help in Sligo as he did in Kilkenny, Parnell will be routed again...."

Davitt's paper, Labour World, outdid Healy's hopes:

2. Did., pp. 300-301.
6. Did., p. 343.
7. E. Gilbert, James Joyce's Ulysses, p. 224.
His attacks on Parnell were fiercer than anything we had said or written:

- His honour is a by-word, his mendacity boundless,
- his vindictiveness and tyranny infamous, his hypocrisy colossal.

Other phrases aplenty spurted:

- 'His reeking name, blasted reputation,' his 'hideous deformity,' and 'the imposture called Parnellism.'

His quatrain on Parnell during the Sligo election of 1891 was denounced as the essence of 'scurrility.'

Perhaps it was as a result of the active part that Davitt was playing in the campaign against Parnell that Dante (in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man) made the symbolic gesture which indicated her preference for the former.

Before considering the situation in Dublin it may not be amiss to mention the "Boulogne negotiations." The intention of these negotiations was to heal the split but the results were negligible and are only mentioned because the part that T.P. Gill played in them was of interest to George Moore.

Gill felt that there was an Ireland in Ireland that Protestants could not understand... When Parnell consulted him at the time of the split — I begin to be interested, I said to myself, and wondering what advice Gill had given to Parnell, all my attention was strained to hear. The fault was mine no doubt, but at the supreme moment Gill's words and voice began to ripple vaguely, like the stream, and I heard that if a great Liberal newspaper had existed then (he used the word Liberal in its broadest sense), it would have been possible to arrive at some compromise between Parnell and the party, and himself would have gone to the prelates, and knowing Ireland as well as he did, he thought that the situation might have been saved.

In Dublin

According to Liam O'Flaherty, Parnell's defeats did not break his spirit:

Dublin was solidly behind him. The Fenians supported him. Dublin and the Fenians were the brains and sinews of all that was worth saving of the population of Ireland at that time from a good healthy volcanic eruption.¹

Yet even in Dublin there was opposition. At the time of the split United Ireland "had gone over to the enemy." On December 18, 1890, "under the superintendence of Parnell himself," Edmund Leamy, ² M.P., was forcibly installed as its editor. Years later his widow wrote: "My husband in young days had implicit faith in the power of the sword. I still have his old books on military training, musketry, outpost duty, and other warlike matters."³

Next, an anti-Parnell paper called the Insuppressible ⁴ attempted to off-set United Ireland but it was short-lived. Then Healy became interested in a daily, the National Press, which first appeared in March, 1891.

Although Freeman's Journal treated the episode as a joke, ⁷ according to Healy and Davitt a prominent Dublin Fenian whose son was to be a chief in the Irish Republican Army, James Boland, attempted to put an end to the new paper by blowing up its offices.

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8. Ibid., p. 38.
Indeed, Healy declared:

Boland had previously come to the office of the National Press on a Sunday night with P. N. Fitzgerald to threaten me with revolvers after a meeting which Parnell addressed in the Phoenix Park.1

Then, after Parnell’s defeat in Sligo, Freeman’s Journal began to waver and when he married Mrs. O’Shea in June, it turned against him “because it was against the law of the Catholic Church to marry a divorced woman.” Parnell “set immediately to work to found a new morning paper -- ‘The Irish Daily Independent.’”

Thus all attempts at opposition to Parnell in Dublin were met. A few words should also be said about the support which he was receiving there. In this connection the organizations and periodicals which took his part should be mentioned.

So far as the organizations which supported Parnell are concerned, only the Fenians and groups which might be described as “fronts” for the Fenians will be discussed. The Fenian organization was divided into two parties over the efficacy of dynamite at that time. One group, which was led by John O’Leary, opposed the use of it. This group supported Parnell. Yeats, who was living with O’Leary at the time, has told how the latter, like Parnell, hated “what was called ‘The Union of Hearts.’”

The poet declared: “In this country,’ he had said to me, ‘a man must have upon his side the Church or the Fenians, and you will never have the Church.” Likewise, Katharine Tynan, who held

5. Ibid., p. 179.
O'Leary in high esteem "as literary critic and adviser," wrote: "We loved John O'Leary all the more because he, the old Fenian chief, had stood by Mr. Parnell."

With O'Leary's name may be associated two "front" organizations for the Fenians, the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Leinster Literary Society. The former has already been mentioned.Particular importance may be attached to the latter group because of a loyal address which it presented to Parnell, signed, inter alia, by William Rooney and Arthur Griffith. Griffith, it may be noted, was a member of the I.R.B. at this time. He was deeply moved by Parnell's fate:

The desertion of Parnell, and his death, were bitter fruit for the young Griffith, then a member of Parnell's organizing committee; and to the end of his days one could see that Griffith was wary and prepared for any disaster... To the last he was ready to turn and face unpopularity...

Incidentally, the loyalty of the Leinster Literary Society proved fatal to it:

The Leinster Literary Society was dissolved on the 9th December, 1892, and on the 3rd of February, following a meeting of some of the old members was held at William Rooney's house to consider the advisability of starting a new society. Out of this meeting the Celtic Literary Society sprang into existence, and William Rooney became its first president, and in a short time had the satisfaction of seeing nearly all the old members of the Leinster coming into the newly-founded society.

But the nature of the newly formed Celtic Literary Society may be imagined from the fact that John O'Leary attended the first formal

4. Leamy, op. cit., p. 86.
7. W. Rooney, Poems and Ballads, ppi xix-xx.
meeting.

Although they differed about the use of dynamite, the other group in the I.R.B. agreed with O'Leary in taking Parnell's side and T.M. Healy wrote:

A police-inspector called on me last week and warned me I was in danger of attack. Boland...has returned from New York, and attacked Davitt yesterday.

He is a brother of the Dubliner who wrote me and visited the National Press with P.N. Fitzgerald to threaten me with a revolver. Parnell sent him...to try to intimidate me.2

Whether or not this opinion of Healy's was well-founded, Parnell certainly sought to win the favor of the dynamite wing. He attended a large meeting of the Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association, of which he was president, in April, 1891, and introduced the principal speaker. And in the summer he spoke movingly of the convicts:

Ireland owes much, has owed much at all times, perhaps still will have to owe much to her political prisoners... Had it not been for them, for the spirit which Ireland's political prisoners and Ireland's martyrs have at all times kept alive in the Irish heart, we should not today have an Irish nation to struggle for.3

Indeed, Parnell's swan song in the House of Commons was devoted 6 to the Fenian convicts:

I heard the last words of Parnell in the House of Commons. They were said on August 3, 1891, in support of a motion moved by John Redmond, asking for the amnesty of John Daly, of Limerick, and the other dynamite prisoners convicted of treason felony. Parnell was moderate and conciliatory in tone. These conspiracies, even in America, have been

5. Ibid., p. 84.
abandoned for many years, and no one now wishes to blow up
the British Empire with dynamite; an idea which has passed
out of the view of the most extreme Irishman.

Two Dublin periodicals which supported Parnell may also
be mentioned: United Ireland and the Irish Daily Independent. The
former, of course, was edited by Edmund Leamy of whom D. J.
O'Donoghue said:

He was a man of literary repute, owing to his volume of
Irish fairy-tales, published in 1890, which have been warmly
praised by most critics. A small volume by him, entitled,
'The Fairy Minstrel of Glenmalure,' has also been published.2

G. P. Curran, writing of "the poets, novelists and drama-
tists of the so-called Irish literary revival" in the Encyclo-
pedia Britannica, mentioned Ethna Carbery (Anna Johnston Mac-
Manus) who "impersonated its spring-time" and Alice Milligan who
did the same for "its clean-cut masculine purpose." These two
women contributed to United Ireland; as also did Dora Sigerson
Shorter, whose "strong religious faith" led Douglas Hyde to com-
pare her with "her friends Katharine Tynan and Miss Furlong."7

Incidentally, Mrs. Shorter's continued devotion to Parnell caused
her to write years later of Gladstone's harmful effect on Parnell's
party in "The Story Without End":

I saw with pity and amaze
A craven party go,
Obedient to a Scotsman's word,
For Parnell's overthrow.8

1. See p. 497.
5. Ibid., p. 309.
6. Ibid., p. 426.
7. S.A. Brooke and T.W. Rolleston, ed., A Treasury of Irish
   Poetry, p. 438.
8. D.S. Shorter, Sixteen Dead Men and Other Poems of Easter Week,
   p. 83.
Other contributors to the Farnellite paper were Alice Furlong, Thomas Boyd, Katharine Tynan, and W.B. Yeats.

The Irish Daily Independent did not appear until shortly after Parnell’s death and is interesting to the student of the Celtic renaissance because Katharine Tynan wrote editorials and book reviews for it. Thereby her subsequent career was undoubtedly affected:

Since I had begun to review for the Independent I was in constant touch with books and writers, adding to my already considerable list of friends and acquaintances of like tastes with myself.7

As an example, the poet Francis Thompson may be cited. For in The Middle Years Katharine Tynan has incorporated a long letter in which Thompson expounded his prosody and attributed the genesis of it largely to her.

Death of Parnell

Parnell died on October 6, 1891. At the end, even as in the beginning, he was surrounded by Fenians. John O’Leary, who expressed a mild surprise at the throng, and James Stephens, attended the funeral:

2. Ibid., pp. 34.
3. Ibid., p. 462.
4. Ibid., p. 492.
5. K. Tynan, The Middle Years, p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 5.
8. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
One hundred and fifty thousand people filled the streets of Dublin, while fifty thousand took part...headed by five hundred strapping young men, members of the Gaelic Athletic Association. In a carriage were James Stephens, and John O’Leary, the Fenian leaders.¹

James Stephens had a personal reason for honoring Farnell’s remains:

A touching little ceremony took place when James Stephens came to lay a wreath on the grave; he was accompanied by James Boland...; J.J. Clancy, M.P.; and P.O. O’Brien, M.P. The wreath bore the inscription: ‘To the revered memory of my sincere friend, Charles Stewart Parnell, from James Stephens, October 1891.’ As he placed it on the grave, Stephens said, ‘I place this with all reverence, on the grave of the noblest Irishman of our time.’

This last message ever penned by Parnell came from his death bed to Dr. Kenny, who was treasurer of a committee which was formed with the object of providing a home in Ireland for the old Fenian leader; it ran, ‘Rejoice that a movement is to be made to provide Mr. Stephens with a resting place during the last years of his life...’²

Parnell has been similarly honored by the most famous Irish writers. In addition to George Moore’s involuntary tribute,³ more graceful compliments by Lennox Robinson, George Russell, ⁴ Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, and George Bernard Shaw might be cited but, perhaps, it will be enough merely to mention James Joyce. Stuart Gilbert in his book James Joyce’s Ulysses has noted ⁹ Joyce’s interest in Parnell, saying: "The betrayal of Parnell is, in fact, one of the themes of the work and there are many allusions to such national leaders as O’Connell, Emmet, Wolfe Tone."

¹ Leamy, op. cit., pp. 99-100.
² Ibid., p. 102.
³ See pp. 455-456.
⁴ Ervine, op. cit., p. 313, note.
⁵ D. Figgis, AE (George W. Russell) A Study of a Man and a Nation, pp. 53-60.
⁶ C. Wayland, Irish Plays and Playwrights, pp. 147, 149.
⁸ B. Shaw, John Bull’s Other Island and Major Barbara, pp. xi, xvi.
⁹ Pp. 348-350, 355-357.
¹⁰ P. 50.
A similar "background of political preoccupations" may be found in *Dubliners*, especially in "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" which derived its name from the fact that the Parnellites had adopted the ivy leaf as their symbol. One of the characters who fancied himself as a poet, Joe Hynes, was described as one "of these hill-siders and Fenians." This same Hynes reappeared in *Ulysses* and on one occasion suggested a visit to Parnell's grave:

>—Let us go round by the chief's grave, Hynes said. We have time.
>
>—Let us, Mr Power said. They turned to the right following their slow thoughts. With awe Mr Power's blank voice spoke:
>
>—Some say he is not in that grave at all. That the coffin was filled with stones. That one day he will come again. Hynes shook his head.
>
>—Parnell will never come again, he said. He's there, all that was mortal of him. Peace to his ashes.4

Even in his sleep Joyce could not forget Parnell. At any rate, in *Finnegan’s Wake*, there is an examination question which punned on the fact that Charles Stewart Parnell had a brother named Henry Tudor Parnell: "Are Parnellites Just towards Henry Tudor?"

**Summary**

In Chapter X the era of Parnell was brought to an end. It was begun in Chapter V. Three of the six chapters which have been devoted to this era were intended to give an indication of the

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2. Ibid., pp. 159-170.
3. Ibid., p. 157.
5. T. Sherlock and J. S. Mahoney, The Life and Times of Charles Stewart Parnell, p. 61.
American, or Irish-American, scene during these years. The other three were given over to the events in Ireland during the same time. It may be over-simplification to insist that America raised Parnell to the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party by the New Departure and England supported him by the "Union of Hearts." But there can be no denying the fact that from 1875 to 1886 Parnell grew steadily stronger until he actually captured the balance of power at Westminster. And that after 1886, when the "Union of Hearts" became popular, Parnell's strength began to fail.

Against the "Union of Hearts" a coalition of Conservatives, dissentient Liberals, Irish Unionists and Orangemen came into being. The short-sightedness of the constituent elements of this coalition may be seen in the fact that the Fenians also were openly opposed to collaborating with Englishmen.

Allied to the "Union of Hearts" -- in much the same manner as the Land League was allied to the New Departure -- was the "Plan of Campaign." There was one utterly essential difference. At one end of the New Departure axis there had been advocates of physical force. At both ends of the "Union of Hearts" there were believers in moral suasion. Under such circumstances, perhaps, it was inevitable that the weaker of the two should lose.

At any rate, Parnell, like John O'Leary, disliked the "Union of Hearts" and was definitely opposed to the "Plan of Campaign." Yet many Parnellites and priests, as well as Michael Davitt, favored it. Incidentally, O'Donovan Rossa, like John O'Leary, attacked William O'Brien, a leader of the "Plan of Campaign" quite violently.

The immediate cause of the split in Parnell's party, how-
ever, was neither the "Plan of Campaign" nor the "Union of Hearts" but was the hue and cry raised by organized religion over the scandal of the O'Shea divorce case in which Parnell was involved as correspondent.

In England the aftermath of the split in the Irish Parliamentary Party was the hostility of Gladstone Liberals to Parnell's "faithful few" and an expression of admiration by the leader of the Conservative Party for Parnell.

In Ireland the opposition was lead by Davitt and Healy and abetted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. It prevailed everywhere but in Dublin. In a by-election at Kilkenny Davitt won the vote of the Castlecomer miners -- presumably as a result of his success in arbitrating the Liverpool Dock Strike and his editorship of Labour World. At Castlecomer, to the horror of James Joyce whom it haunted for years, someone threw lime into Parnell's eyes. Healy used the backing of the priests for all that it was worth and distinguished himself by his diatribes against his former chief. It may have been this which led Joyce to write his lost pamphlet against Healy and to incorporate an argument about Parnell and his foes into a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.

A by-election in Sligo led to a repetition of the attacks on Parnell by Healy and Davitt and indeed Davitt's violence may have been what caused Joyce to set him up as Parnell's chief rival in a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. It should be added that Parnell found his chief support outside Dublin among the Fenians and he appealed to them in such a way that Davitt, to the disgust of John O'Leary, became alarmed that Parnell was about to lead an insurrection.
Even in Dublin opposition to Parnell existed, but there it was most successfully encountered. In the case of United Ireland it was silenced by physical force. In the case of the National Press an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the paper by dynamite; and when Freeman's Journal quit the Parnellites a new daily paper was projected.

Parnell's strength in Dublin was due to the backing of various organizations and periodicals. The most important organizations were the two wings of the I.R.B. and groups which were, so to speak, "fronts" for the physical force party. The Fenians were divided on the question of the efficacy of dynamite, but they agreed in their adherence to Parnell. On one hand, the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Leinster Literary Society, which was the parent of the Celtic Literary Society, and to which a peculiar interest is attached because William Rooney and Arthur Griffith were members, were fronts for O'Leary's wing which opposed the use of explosives. Both actively supported Parnell. On the other hand, as president of the Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association, Parnell was particularly popular with the dynamite wing of the I.R.B.

Of the Dublin periodicals which championed Parnell's cause, United Ireland and the Irish Daily Independent deserve mention. Edmund Leamy was editor of the former and contributors to it were Anna Johnston MacManus, Alice Milligan, Dora Sigerson (Shorter), and W.B. Yeats. The latter was noted because of Katharine Tynan's association with it, but it did not make its appearance until after Parnell's death and hence it was passed over briefly.

Thus, when Parnell died as when he first rose to eminence
he was surrounded by Fenians. John O'Leary and James Stephens were conspicuous at his funeral and the Gaelic Athletic Association marched in the cortège. That the most distinguished Irish writers have agreed with the advocates of physical force in honoring Parnell, is not without significance. A list of those who expressed admiration for him was too long for incorporation in Chapter X. Some of the names which were mentioned in order to indicate the scope of such a list were those of Lennox Robinson, George Russell, Lady Gregory, George Moore, W.B. Yeats, George Bernard Shaw and James Joyce.
CHAPTER XI
FENIAN UNIONISM, 1892-1905

The next three chapters will be devoted to various aspects of Unionism from 1892-1916 which will be considered chronologically.

In the present chapter, named after a quality in the character of Standish James O'Grady which led Lady Gregory paradoxically to describe him as a "Fenian Unionist," the period from the death of Parnell to the fall of the Conservative Government in 1905 will be considered. It will be noted that during this period the Conservatives, both English and Irish, did more to help the Celtic renaissance than either half of the "Union of Hearts," that is, than either the English Liberals or the Irish National Party.

The subject-matter of Chapter XI will be broken into three parts: first, a notice of the Liberal interregnum from 1892 to 1895; second, a discussion of the "Fenian" conduct of certain Irish Unionists from 1892 to 1905; and third, the policies of the Conservative Government which was in office from 1896-1905. In the third part, of course, only those policies which were of significance to Fenianism or the Celtic renaissance will be noticed.

**Liberal Interregnum, 1892-1895**

In 1892 the Conservative Government which had held office since 1886 was defeated in a general election. In 1896 it was
again returned to power. Meanwhile there had been a Liberal Government.

From the standpoint of the "Union of Hearts" 1893 is the most important year of this Liberal interregnum because it was in that year that the House of Commons passed Gladstone’s second Home Rule bill. Yet there is little evidence to link the forces which were active either in Fenianism or in the Celtic renaissance with the "Union of Hearts" and, indeed, W.B. Yeats, writing of the newly formed Irish Literary Society, reported: "The Irish members of Parliament looked upon us with some hostility because we had made it a matter of principle never to put a politician in the chair, and upon other grounds."

In spite of this unequivocal statement by W.B. Yeats, English, Anglo-Irish and Anglo-American critics have dated the Celtic renaissance from the period of this Liberal interregnum. Therefore, in view of the fact that the Fenian movement continued without interruption, a few words must be said about the years between 1892 and 1895.

**Fenianism, 1892-1896**

To the physical force party the most important consideration at this time, so far as the duties of the Irish members of Parliament were concerned, was the Amnesty movement. The Fenians cared little about Gladstone’s Home Rule Bill or the violent opposition to it which arose in Ulster. Indeed, like P.J.P. Tynan,

they probably felt that Gladstone's measure would "not contain one particle of Home Rule within its four corners;"

It has been said and will be repeated: 'Why this hostility of the Tories, Unionists, so-called, and Orangemen, if this bill be worthless?' Will Irishmen remember that the self-same hostility has been displayed by these stupid partisans to every measure that appeared in any manner an apparent concession to Ireland, or Irish sentiment?"  

"Home Rule Is Home Rule"

It was, perhaps, a result of this Fenian indifference which led Ulstermen to adopt the slogan, "Home Rule is Home rule," rather than a shibboleth to the effect that Home Rule was but a step towards complete separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom.

To support their belief that Home Rule would result in some sort of Roman Catholic theocracy in Ireland, the Ulstermen could not only point to the fall of Parnell after the Roman Catholic hierarchy had turned against him, but also to an article by Michael Davitt in the London *Nineteenth Century* in which Davitt justified "priests in politics." Again, they might have cited Healy's attack on John Dillon because the latter criticized rather harshly a savage diatribe against the Protestant, Parnell, which had appeared in the *Irish Catholic*. Yet again, they could have pointed to the defeat of the Parnellites who had opposed "clerical dictation" in the general election of 1892. However, it will be noted that neither the Redmondites (as "Parnell's faithful few"

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were called after Parnell's death) nor the Fenians were eager for "Rome rule" and it is their attitude which lends authority to George Bernard Shaw's views on Home Rule:

When it is let loose, the Catholic laity will make as short work of sacerdotal tyranny in Ireland as it has done in France and Italy. And in so doing it will be forced to face the old problem of the relations of Church and State. A Roman Catholic party must submit to Rome; an anti-clerical Catholic party must of necessity become an Irish Catholic party. The Holy Roman Empire, like other Empires, has no future except as a Federation of national Catholic Churches; for Christianity can no more escape Democracy than Democracy can escape Socialism. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Anglican Catholics have played and are playing a notable part in the Socialist movement in England in opposition to the individualist Secularists of the urban proletariat; but they are quit of the preliminary dead lift that awaits the Irish Catholic. Their Church has thrown off the yoke of Rome, and is safely and permanently Anglicized. But the Catholic Church in Ireland is still Roman. Home Rule will herald the day when the Vatican will go the way of Dublin Castle, and the island of the saints assume the headship of her own church. It may seem incredible that long after the last Orangemen shall lay down his chalk for ever, the familiar scrawl on every blank wall in the north of Ireland, 'To hell with the Pope!' may reappear in the south, traced by the hands of Catholics who shall have forgotten the traditional counter legend, 'To hell with King William!' (of glorious, pious and immortal memory); but it may happen so.1

The Redmondites

Of all the fractions into which the Irish Parliamentary Party split after Parnell's death, the only one which met with the slightest Fenian approval was John Redmond's. To emphasize the numbers among which a selection could have been made, St. John Ervine's sarcastic comment may be reproduced:

On the day after his death, amidst the lamentation, one heard from this one and from that one the assertion that now it would be possible to reassemble the party. But the

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1. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara, pp. xxx-xxx1.
division made in Committee Room 15 was unity compared with the division after Parnell had died. Then there were only Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, but now there were Redmondites and Dillonites and Healyites and Davittites and O'Brienites and Sextonites and McCarthyites and Heaven only knows what other iter. 1

Like the Fenians, the Redmondites disapproved of "clerical dictation" and were indifferent about the success of Gladstone's Home Rule measure. 2 This indifference to the latter, which might be described as the child of the "Union of Hearts," was unperturbed when the House of Lords vetoed the Bill. 3 Indeed, when Gladstone retired, all skepticism seems to have been justified. For Gladstone's successor, Lord Rosebery, made no effort to set aside the action of the Peers and T.P. O'Connor said:

"For the moment the Irish question has receded into a less prominent place. It has done so in obedience to the stern and unconquerable necessities of the situation." 4

Outside the Redmondites, the only Irish member of Parliament who openly disagreed with this impasse, which was a direct result of the "Union of Hearts," was John Sweetman, who later became prominent in the Sinn Fein movement: 5

From 1892 to 1895 Mr. Sweetman represented East Wicklow in the British House of Commons as a member of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, but he resigned, as he considered that the party was keeping Lord Rosebery in office and that Lord Rosebery was not acting in the interests of Ireland. 6

4. Ibid., pp. 669-671.
6. See p. 596.
By 1895, the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, as the anti-Redmondites may be called, had drifted so far away from the Fenians that O'Donovan Rossa was insulted by an ex-Fenian, J.F.X. O'Brien, in the name of that group. Rossa told the story as follows:

After the first salutation, the first words he said, and he said them soon enough, were:

'Rossa, I can't do anything for you in regard to your lectures.'

'Stop now,' said I, 'stop. Never mind the lectures. I called in to see you, just to look at you; to have one word with you, for old times' sake; if I had passed your door, or that you had heard I passed your door without calling in, wouldn't people think that we were mad with each other for something; wouldn't we be giving scandal?'

He smiled, and we talked on. But again, he spoke of not being able to do anything for my lectures, and again I stopped him; and a third time he brought the matter up, and a third time I had to stop him, and tell him it was not to talk of lectures I came in, but to have a look at himself. In traveling through England and Scotland and Wales after that day, I learned that part of the duties of his office in London was, to write to the McCarthy party clubs telling them the lectures of O'Donovan Rossa were not officially recognized by the confederation; but that individual members were not prohibited from attending them, as individuals, if they desired to attend.2

Incidentally, J.F.X. O'Brien, who had once written anti-clerical letters to Irish People and had been a chairman of the supreme council of the I.R.B., had now drifted so far from the physical force movement that W.B. Yeats knew of him only as the representative of an entirely different group.

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1. See p. 167.
The Amnesty Movement

To the physical force party, however, the most important consideration at this time was the Amnesty movement and, following Parnell's example, the Redmondites were particularly active in it. If, as he claimed, T.M. Healy was directly responsible for the release of Egan and Daly, he received little credit from the Fenians. On the other hand, John Redmond and another member of his party, Patrick O'Brien, were regarded as the members of Parliament who were most active on behalf of the prisoners. Indeed, Tom Clarke, who attributed the release of two of the dynamos to Redmond, also said, "I still have a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. John E. Redmond, who paid me many a visit in prison, and whose kindness on those occasions I can never forget."

It is little wonder, then, that Redmond should be attacked by political opponents for seeking "to establish the complete independence of Ireland by force of arms." In the light of history the following is simply absurd; but it may explain Redmond's rise and the extraordinary conduct in Protestant Ulster when Home Rule appeared imminent:

Mr. John Redmond, declared, that, 'in its essence, the national movement to-day is the same as it was in the days of Hugh O'Neill, of Owen Roe, of Emmet, or of Wolfe Tone...'

Mr. Gladstone, in the fervour of his conversion to Home Rule, was fond of allusions to the work of Molyneux and Swift, Flood and Grattan; but these were men whose Irish patriotism never betrayed them into disloyalty to the British Crown or hostility to the British connection. They were re-

2. See p. 420-421.
formers, not rebels. But it was not with the political
ideals of such men that Mr. Redmond claimed his own to be
identical, nor even with that of O'Connell, the apostle of
repeal of the Union, but with the aims of men who, animated
solely by hatred of England, sought to establish the complete
independence of Ireland by force of arms...1

The Liberal Interregnum and the Celtic
Renaissance, 1892-1895

Although there is little to link the forces which were ac-
tively encouraging a Celtic renaissance with any Irish Parlia-
mentary group which was active during the Liberal interregnum
from 1892 to 1895, the little that exists may be indicated.

So far as the anti-Redmondites are concerned, it may be
reported that T.M. Healy was unable to get "Hyde's stuff" into
the Weekly Freeman, an anti-Parnellite periodical. Of this he
wrote in 1893:

The Weekly Freeman says they only have enough Irish type
to print O'Grawney's proposed lessons, and must exclude
Hyde's stuff. I am pressing for space for Hyde, who has
some analysis or disquisition on the old poetry which he
says is the result of four years' study, and which he is
anxious about. He told me he picked up Irish from an old
gamekeeper, who had only a few words of English, with whom
he used to go sporting as a boy.2

(Father Eugene O'Grawney, referred to above, was the author of
the Simple Lessons in Irish which were later published by the
Gaelic League and which resulted in an amusing contretemps in
George Moore's Hall and Farewell.) On the other hand, like John
O'Leary, Parnell had never given much evidence of an interest in
the revival of the Irish language. And John Redmond was of the
same opinion as O'Leary and Parnell.

Perhaps the three leading intellectuals who can be associated with the cause of Parnell's successor during the period from 1892 to 1895 were Katharine Tynan, R. Barry O'Brien and John Howard Parnell. Not one of them was interested in Gaelic. Katharine Tynan sought to win friends by her effusiveness. In an outburst of inaccurate enthusiasm she declared, "We were all good Redmondites in those days, and used to go about singing 'The Boys of Wexford' in honour of the two Redmond brothers." Indeed, she would even create the impression that Sir James M. Barrie and Sir Arthur Quiller Couch were Redmondites. R. Barry O'Brien, on the other hand, was more restrained but he endeared himself to the Fenians by editing Wolfe Tone's Autobiography.

The third intellectual under consideration is remembered as an author of a biography of his younger brother, Charles Stewart Parnell, which was published in London in 1916. John Howard Parnell had been sympathetic to the physical force movement when his sister, Fanny, was a contributor to John O'Leary's Irish People. By 1871 he had settled in Alabama. For his brother, Charles Stewart Parnell, visited him there at that time. In 1876, John Howard Parnell revealed that his sympathy for the physical force party had continued by contributing to the Skirmishing Fund. In 1891, he had returned to Ireland and had

2. K. Tynan, The Middle Years, p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 100.
6. Ibid., p. ix.
8. See p. 255.
entered politics as a "Parnellite."

Some may have hoped that John Howard Parnell would be able to reunite the badly shattered Irish Party. In any event, it is illuminating to consider him in this light in reading James Joyce's Ulysses where he figures as a minor character. Joyce introduces him to the reader as the Dublin "city marshal" with a comment on his remarkable resemblance to Charles Stewart Parnell and a side note on the other members of the family:

Great man's brother; his brother's brother. He'd look nice on the city charger. Drop into the D.E.C., probably for his coffee, play chess there. His brother used men as pawns. Let them all go to pot. Afraid to pass a remark on him. Freeze them up with that eye of his. That's the fascination: the name. All a bit touched. Mad Fanny and his other sister, Mrs. Dickinson driving about with scarlet harness. Bolt upright like surgeon M'Arthur. Still David Sheehy beat him for south Meath.1

Later John Howard Parnell reentered the narrative as a chess player in a tea room. But his most awe-inspiring appearance in Ulysses was when he hailed Leopold Bloom as the saviour of Ireland:

JOHN HOWARD PARNELL
(Raises the royal standard.) Illustrious Bloom! Successor to my famous brother!

BLOOM
(Embraces John Howard Parnell.) We thank you from our heart, John, for this right royal welcome to green Erin, the promised land of our common ancestors. 
(The freedom of the city is presented to him embodied in a chapter. The keys of Dublin, crossed on a crimson cushion, are given to him. He shows all that he is wearing green socks.)3

1. J. Joyce, Ulysses, pp. 162-163.
2. Ibid., pp. 244-245.
3. Ibid., p. 47.
Irish Unionists, 1892-1905

If the preceding quotations from Ulysses seem like a rather far-fetched attempt to associate the Liberal interregnum from 1892 to 1895 with the Celtic renaissance, the following remarks about certain Irish conservatives, the bond between the Irish Conservatives and the Redmondites and the break between these two groups, it is hoped, will seem more pertinent to the Irish revival.

By way of introduction, it may be pointed out that John O'Leary continually sought recruits among the Irish Protestants who were as a rule Unionists. He remembered that Wolfe Tone, Thomas Davis and John Mitchel were not Roman Catholics; and he probably agreed with the sentiments, expressed by Sir Samuel Ferguson some time during the Young Ireland agitation, that if the Irish Conservatives would unite with "their friends and tenants... no power in Britain could prevent the severance of the two islands." A Conservative's monologue in Ulysses is also suggestive of this connection:

Mr. Deasy stared sternly for some moments over the mantelpiece at the shapely bulk of a man in tartan fillibegs: Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

-You think me an old fogy and an old Tory, his thoughtful voice said. I saw three generations since O'Connell's time. I remember the famine. Do you know that the orange lodges agitated for repeal of the union twenty years before O'Connell did or before the prelates of your communion denounced him as a demagogue? You fenians forget some things.

1. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 90.
4. P. 32.
O'Leary, of course, did not expect the English Conservatives to grant Ireland her independence, but he disliked the Liberals intensely because he thought that they also had no intention of permitting Ireland any degree of autonomy while hypocritically, and with partial success, they created the impression that they were in favor of Home Rule.

Certain Irish Conservatives

Three Irish Conservatives who personify the meaning of "Fenian Unionism" were Lecky, Plunkett and O'Grady. It may be observed that the first two were Unionist members of Parliament and that O'Grady was associated with the Unionist Dublin Express in various capacities.

W.E.H. Lecky, Liberal Unionist

Lecky has already been described as one of those rare Unionists who favored Church disestablishment and who believed that Home Rule was undesirable because the Irish members were the missionaries of progress in the English Parliament. Yet Lecky despised the Act which had created the United Kingdom in 1800 and he emphatically stated that at that time all "the un bribed intellect of Ireland was wholly against the Union."

In 1878 Irish World announced A History of England in the Eighteenth Century in which Lecky refuted "several grave charges made against" Ireland "by Froude am his "English in Ireland."

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1. See p. 509.
3. L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, p. 50.
"Not long afterwards the same Irish-American periodical reported that *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* was causing widespread discontent among the Conservative classes in Ireland so that "they need watching rather than the Fenians in the United States." Whatever it was in the book that *Irish World* considered apt to cause discontent among the Irish Conservatives, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states that the work gave evidence that Lecky "was intensely interested" in Ireland:

In 1895, he was elected member of parliament for Dublin university as a Liberal Unionist and on taking his seat in the House he became a keen advocate of reform in Ireland. He supported extension of educational facilities for Roman Catholics, and upheld Plunkett's agricultural policy, but he continued to oppose the granting of Home Rule.²

Standish James O'Grady, Fenian Unionist

If the term "Liberal Unionist," as applied to W.E.H. Lecky, suggests opposition to the professed goal of the "Union of Hearts" the phrase "Fenian Unionist," as applied to Standish J. O'Grady by Lady Gregory, is a brilliant paradox which indicates how the I.R.B. and Irish Conservatives mutually disapproved of the tacit agreement between the English Liberals and most of the Irish Home Rulers. But in addition to his opposition to the "Union of Hearts" there were other reasons for regarding O'Grady as a Fenian: his interest in America, in the Celtic renaissance and in physical force.

Like so many other Irishmen, especially Fenians, Standish

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J. O'Grady took considerable interest in American letters. In this connection a communication from Seumas O'Sullivan, editor of The Dublin Magazine, may be quoted:

With regard to your question re the interest of Irish writers of the 'Renaissance' in American writers -- by far the most important was the influence which Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau had on all of the young writers of 1902-1909. For this A.E. was almost entirely responsible. It is an interesting fact, incidentally, that the earliest Whitman enthusiasts outside of America were all Irish -- Edward Dowden, Standish O'Grady and John B. Yeats, father of the poet, who gave lectures on Whitman at a time when his name was a subject for derision and disgust in other countries. Whitman was first translated into German by an Irishman -- T.W. Rolleston, and in the opinion of A.E. he stood amongst the five greatest poets of the world.¹

O'Grady's enthusiasm for Whitman can be traced back at least to 1875 when he wrote two appreciations for the Gentleman's Magazine under the signature "Arthur Clive." The first appeared in February and the second in December. The latter concluded with the following hyperbolical description of the American: "He is the noblest literary product of modern times, and his influence is invigorating and refining beyond expression."²

In spite of all this hyperbole, Irish World, which praised Lecky's history, was less friendly toward O'Grady when the latter's appeared in 1876:

A new history of Ireland is among the latest literary productions. Mr. Standish O'Grady is the author. The man who will make, rather than write, history, is the man for Ireland today.³

Yet this very history, the "bardic History of Ireland," has been

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¹. Letter dated April 10, 1859.
⁵. Personal, Irish World, February 16, 1878, p. 5.
extravagantly praised:

This book was acknowledged by many writers as the driving force, the initial impetus which caused them to begin expressing themselves in terms of their country and their race. It brought them closer to the realization that Ireland had had a glorious past; it showed them that they had a real tradition on which to build a new literature.\(^1\)

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also has described O'Grady as "one of the pioneers of the Celtic renaissance in Ireland," dating his efforts from this history:

His interest in Irish antiquities was roused by the reading of O'Halloran's *History of Ireland*, and he set himself to awaken living interest in the Irish past by telling over again the Irish legends of the heroic age. He himself believed in the historical existence of the heroes of Irish epic, being convinced that primitive singers could not have invented them. His first work, *History of Ireland: The Heroic Period* (Dublin, 1878), was republished, in part, under the title of *Cuchulain: An Epic*, in London (1882), and was succeeded by *History of Ireland: Cuchulain and His Contemporaries* (Dublin, 1889). From these he developed his cycle of romantic histories: *Finn and His Companions* (1892), *The Coming of Cuchulain* (1894), *In the Gates of the North* (Kilkenny, 1901), and *The Passing of Cuchulain* (Dublin, 1917). He began a *History of Ireland, Critical and Philosophical*, of which the first volume only was written (Dublin, 1881). He also wrote *Ulick the Ready* (1890); *The Bog of Stares* (1893); *Red Hugh's Captivity* (1889).\(^2\)

But O'Grady's "interest in Irish antiquities" most likely was first "roused" by the example of his uncle, who was President of the Ossianic Society in 1856 and a distinguished scholar of the ancient Irish literature, history and language:

His father's brother, Standish Hayes O'Grady, had been one of the foremost students of Irish and had translated a great body of the Ossianic saga -- the wanderings of Diarmaid and Grania -- into a very strange English.\(^3\)

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3. See p. 112.
George Moore was led to believe that the lessons in Irish history which O'Grady taught had inspired revolutionary thoughts:

'Who is O'Grady?' I asked, enjoying the gossip hugely; and my neighbor drew my attention to a grey, round-headed man, and looking at him for some time I said: How lonely he seems among all these people! Does he know nobody? Or is he very unpopular?

He is very little read, but we all admire him. He is our past; and my neighbour told me that O'Grady had written passages that for fiery eloquence and energy were equal to any that I would find in Anglo-Irish literature. Only—

Only what? I asked.

And he told me that O'Grady's talent reminded him of the shaft of a beautiful column rising from amid rubble-heaps. After a pause, during which we mused on the melancholy spectacle, I said:

Rolleston - you were going to tell me about Rolleston.

O'Grady tells that he found Rolleston a West Briton, but after a few lessons in Irish history, Rolleston donned a long black cloak and a slouch hat, and attended meetings, speaking in favour of secret societies, persuading John O'Leary to look upon him as one that might rouse the country going much further than I had ever dreamed of going, O'Grady said.1

Testimony of the revolutionary significance of O'Grady's lessons has also been presented by Stephen Gwynn who believed that 2 Patrick Pearse's interest in Cuchulain could be traced to O'Grady's "stories of the Red Branch chivalry and valour, treating Cuchulain as the central figure, an even nobler Achilles." And even as he stimulated others to a revolutionary nationalism, O'Grady, himself, eventually was moved by conditions in Ireland to advocate 3 radical changes as a solution to Ireland's social ills:

Mr. Standish O'Grady had been studying them and brooding deeply upon them, and to my great gratification he desired

3. Ibid., p. 124.
to deal with them as well as the rest of us. For two years, or more, in the Peasant, and then the Irish Nation, he grappled with the realities and problems in one way or another. He brought to them the energy and intensity he had given to the old chivalry twenty years before, but this time an impassioned humanity, relieved by poetry, irony, and humour, moved his pen.

In addition to his interest in America and the Celtic renaissance, O'Grady had no hesitation in advocating physical force to achieve the goals which he thought desirable. W.B. Yeats has summarized a speech which O'Grady made that might easily have endeared the latter to the Fenians:

He stood between two tables, touching one or the other for support, and said in a low penetrating voice: 'We have now a literary movement, it is not very important; it will be followed by a political movement, that will not be very important; then must come a military movement, that will be important indeed.' Tyrrell, Professor of Greek in Trinity College, known to scholars for his share in the Tyrrell-Furser edition of Cicero's Letters, a Unionist, but very drunk, led the applause. Then O'Grady described the Boy Scout Act which had just passed, urged the landlords of Ireland to avail themselves of that Act and drill the sons of their tenants -- 'paying but little attention to the age limit'--then, pointing to where he supposed England to be, they must bid them 'march to the conquest of that decadent nation.' I knew what was in his mind, England was decadent because, democratic and so without fixed principles, it had used Irish landlords, his own ancestors or living relatives, as its garrison, and later left them deserted among their enemies. Tyrrell, understanding nothing but the sweetness of that voice, the nobility of that gesture, continued to lead the applause.1

In 1894, O'Grady was "a Daily Express leader-writer" and he had "long been connected" with that paper. The Dublin Express was unequivocally a Unionist paper and O'Grady's opinions on the

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3. Ibid., p. 137.
subject of Unionism were regretted by his separatist friends.

Yet even in *Toryism and Democracy*, "O'Grady's most important political work," there were passages which must have appealed to the separatists:

A century of Anglo-Irish politics, beginning with the Union in 1801, is laid bare of its conventional glamour by our Radical Aristocrat, who has set out to demonstrate that 'Toryism of the unregenerate, unidea'd type sovereign in these countries' is not only responsible for an ugly chapter of failure in English history, but 'moves inevitably in the direction of a corrupt, plutocratic despotism.' He summarises the dubious terms of the Act of Union, describes the financial jugglery by which Ireland was burdened beyond beyond her capacity, and correlates these unpleasant facts with the equally unpleasant trend of England's domestic and foreign affairs... But all this serves merely to emphasize the necessity for Conservatism to put its own house in order, and is not intended to give subversive consolation to the disciples of Marx, Henry George and Michael Davitt.

Stephen Gwynn summarized the book as follows:

He believed in leadership, the right and duty of the aristocracy to lead, and it seemed to him that, for failing in his duty, the Irish landed gentry were about to be swept away. He put these views with great power in a volume on *Toryism and Democracy*, of which a whole section was addressed to the Irish Tory landlords -- in part to those of whom he had no hope, the 'rootless colonists' and in part to those few whom he counted able and willing still to redeem the credit of their order.

Sir Horace Plunkett, Cooperative Unionist

If W.E.H. Lecky may be called a "Liberal Unionist" and Standish James O'Grady a "Fenian Unionist," then, perhaps, Sir Horace Plunkett may be described as a "Cooperative Unionist."

For like Lecky and O'Grady, Plunkett was to stimulate separatist

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3. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
activities and therefore was not an unqualified Unionist. Plunkett's particular political importance is due to the bond which he established between those Irish Conservatives for whom he was spokesman, and the Redmondites.

After taking his degree at Oxford, Plunkett had tried his ability as a rancher in the United States for some ten years. In 1888, he returned to Ireland to devote "himself to the social and economic regeneration of rural Ireland." In 1892, he was elected to represent Dublin County in Parliament:

As a member of parliament from 1892 to 1900, he strongly advocated the cause of agriculture, and in 1899 he was appointed vice-president of the department of agriculture and technical instruction for Ireland. Two years later he became commissioner of the Congested Districts Board in Ireland.

Not long after his election Plunkett founded the Irish Agricultural Organization Society which by 1904 was to have enrolled "about one-seventh of the total population of Ireland":

This Society, founded on 1895, and having its headquarters in Dublin (Lincoln place), has, in ten years, spent more than 50,000 pounds in organising the Co-operative Movement in Ireland. The office of President has been filled successively by Sir Horace Plunkett, Lord Monteagle, and Col. Everard.

The Bond Between the Irish Conservatives and the Redmondites

In the summer of 1895, Plunkett "started a Committee of Inquiry to examine the question" of Ireland's demands for crown

aid for her industries and agriculture:

At its sessions Father Finlay, a Jesuit, met Dr. Kane, Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen, whilst Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Parnellite Party, sat next to unionists like The O'Connor Don and Lord Mayo. For political reasons the anti-Parnellites refused to attend. The Recess Committee, as it was called, occupied itself with inquiries into the methods of procedure adopted abroad, especially in Germany, Denmark, Belgium and France. ¹

This bond between the Conservatives and the Redmondites was strengthened by T. P. Gill, who had told George Moore in 1899: "I am no longer a member of Parliament, but my sympathies are with my friend, John Redmond, who, to take the rough with the smooth, seems to be doing very well." ² Moreover, according to Moore, Plunkett had summoned Gill from France to edit the Express "while the Recess Committee was forming":

Gill knew French, and it was understood that he had talked cooperative economics with Frenchmen. A newspaper was required, to explain these ideas to the public. The Express had been purchased by Mr. Dalziel, who made over the control to Plunkett; Gill was appointed editor; Rolleston, Healy, Longworth, AE, Yeats, John Eglinton, all contributed articles; economics and folklore, Celtic and Indian Gods, all went into the same pot -- an extraordinary broth very much disliked by the Freeman's Journal and the Parliamentary Party. ³

Gill sought "to redeem the Express from its sectarian tone," to speak the truth as he saw it and to encourage "Art." Consequently, when George Moore went over to Dublin in 1899 to see the first performance of the Irish Literary Theatre, Yeats spoke enthusiastically of the editor of the Express:

1. Paul-Dubois, op. cit., p. 452.
3. Ibid., p. 338.
4. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 325-326.
Stopping suddenly, he told me that T.P. Gill, the editor of the Daily Express, expected me to lunch, and he was anxious I should meet him, for he was one of the leaders of the movement; an excellent journalist, he said, who had been editing the paper with great brilliancy ever since he and Horace Plunkett had changed it from an organ of mouldering Unionism into one interested in the new Ireland.  

Moore went further than Yeats and described Gill as "the leader of the Renaissance"; but, presumably, he either had his tongue in his cheek or had a low opinion of the revival because he had found the Express "confused and disparate":

Somebody -- Gill, perhaps -- had been kind enough to send me the Express during the winter, and I used to read it, thinking it even more unworthy than any of the little reviews of my youth edited by Parnassians and Realists. All the winter I had read in it stories of the Celtic Gods -- Angus, Dana, and Lir, intermingled with controversies between Yeats and John Eglinton regarding the literary value of national legend in modern literature; and when the Irish Literary Theatre was spoken of, the Express seemed to have discovered its mission -- the advancement of Celtic drama. Angus and Lir were lifted out of, and Yeats and Edward lifted into their thrones...  

In spite of his low opinion of the Express, Moore went to see Gill who asked him to write out his "first impressions of Dublin." After some further discussion Moore got up to go:

It was then that Gill told me that the newspaper of which he was the editor was offering a great dinner at the Shelbourne Hotel to the Irish Literary Theatre, and he hoped that I would be present.  

Plunkett was responsible for giving the dinner but he was unable to attend it because of a broken leg. Accordingly, Gill,

2. Ibid., p. 114.
4. Ibid., p. 114.
5. Ibid., p. 116.
whom Moore described as "Tom the Trimmer" and had in mind when he wrote the lines for the weak-kneed Jasper Deane of The Bending of the Bough, acted as host:

Plunkett...sent a message reminding the men of letters present, that 'we practical folk keep a poet in our office, and from him our most fruitful inspirations are derived.' Moore already knew this poet, A.E. (George Russell), the mystic with the long grey pantheistic eyes, who was one of the magnets drawing him to Ireland.4

(Plunkett, at the suggestion of Yeats, had recruited Russell to work as propagandist for the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in 1897.)

Moore found "the extreme ends of Dublin" at the dinner. He saw the I.R.B. chief, John O'Leary, first:

...I caught sight of the patriarchal beard that had bored me years ago in Paris, for John would talk about Ireland when I wanted to talk about Ingres and Cabanel. All the same I went to him, and he angered me for the last time by asking for news of Marshall, my friend in the Confessions, instead of speaking to me about the Gaelic literary movement.7

Later he saw Yeats, Edward Martyn and T.W. Rolleston. Rolleston's scholarship and politics interested Moore, especially because the former had become a Unionist:

He was a great scholar at Trinity, and in Germany he translated, or helped to translate, Walt Whitman into German. When he came back, the prophet, the old man, John O'Leary, whom you told me you knew in France, the ancient beard at the end of the room, accepted him as Farnell's successor. And now he is writing leaders for the Express!9

1. See pp. 460-461.
8. Ibid., p. 122.
9. Ibid., p. 128.
Gill made a speech, then Yeats. Moore, who was thinking of entering politics as a Redmondite, also spoke and was unwise enough to attack an absent opponent of Redmond, William O'Brien, with the result that J. F. Taylor made a crushing reply. Another speaker was Hyde who interested Moore because, as he says, "I was already a Gaelic Leaguer." Toward the end of the evening Standish J. O'Grady made what W. B. Yeats has represented as an indirect appeal to the physical force party. Incidentally, after the speeches George Moore met Hyde, A. E., and John Eglinston, whose "lack of effusiveness" pleased the novelist:

I thought of Emerson and then of Thoreau - a Thoreau of the suburbs. And remembering how beautiful John Eglinston's writings are, how neat and personal, like the man himself, my heart went out to him a little, and I wondered if we should ever become friends. I liked him for his lack of effusiveness.

The Break Between the Irish Conservatives and the Redmondites

It was after this famous banquet that the break between the Irish Conservatives and the Redmondites came about.

Gill had been publicizing the findings of the Recess Com-

2. Ibid., p. 134.
5. Ibid., p. 139.
7. G. Moore, Hail and Farewell, p. 139.
8. See p. 525.
10. Ibid., p. 141.
11. Ibid., pp. 144-147.
mittee in the Express:

During the year he edited the Express he had prepared the public and the official mind for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, constituted on Continental lines. 2

Of course, Gill was instigated by Plunkett to do this; and between them they inveigled the Conservative Government partially to subsidize the Celtic renaissance:

Like all dreamers, Plunkett is an inveigling fellow, and he inveigled Gerald Balfour, and Gerald Balfour inveigled his brother, and his brother inveigled the ministry, and the end of all this inveigling was a grant of one hundred and seventy thousand a year to found a Department of Agriculture and Art in Ireland. But the inveigler had been inveigled; Gill's ambition stretched beyond mere agriculture; how art was gatherer into the scheme I do not know, probably as a mere make-weight; the mission of the Department was the reformation of Ireland. 3

Plunkett was made "Vice-President" and Gill "General Secretary" of the new department. For the latter, the new post came at an opportune time. Gill had complained to Moore at the first meeting that the Express "was checked by lack of capital." Visiting him one day some time later, Moore persuaded Gill to take him into his confidence:

He will confide in me presently, I said, and, to lead him into confidence, I spoke of the Express, which had then spent all the capital that had been advanced by Mr. Dalziel. Nor was it likely that Horace Plunkett would put any more capital into the newspaper, and, after a little discourse as to what might be done with this newspaper, if a capitalist could be found, Gill mentioned that he had been offered the post of Secretary to the Department. 6

Readers of Hail and Farewell will remember Edward Martyn's

1. See pp. 527-528.
2. G. Moore, Hail and Farewell, vol. 1, p. 3991
5. G. Moore, Hail and Farewell, op. cit., p. 113.
6. Ibid., p. 401.
disapproval when Gill took office under an English Government.

The rupture between Redmond and his former associates was also
told by Moore. In a ridiculous parallel between Flaubert's
Bouvard and Pecuchet and the activities of Plunkett (Bouvard)
and Gill (Pecuchet), Moore reported Plunkett's defeat at the polls
in 1900 as told by Pecuchet (Gill):

My friend, John Redmond, will set up a Nationalist candidate
against him for South Dublin; he will be beaten at the
polls, yelled Pecuchet. And very soon after the defeat pre-
dicted by Pecuchet the Nationalist members began to remind
the Government that Bouvard remained at the head of the De-
partment, though it had always been understood that the Vice-
President of the Department should be a member of the House
of Commons. The Nationalists yelped singly and in concert,
and so loud grew the pack that Pecuchet could restrain Bou-
vard no longer, and he went down to Galway to try his luck.
A nice kind of luck he'll meet there, Pecuchet said, and
when Bouvard returned from Galway crestfallen, Pecuchet de-
termined to speak out. He was not unmindful of past favours,
but the kindest thing he could do would be to remind Bouvard
that his clinging to office was undignified.

Redmond's change of heart was due to another cause than
Gill's. In 1900, he had been made chairman of a reunited Irish
Parliamentary party. The majority of the new coalition was
made up of former anti-Parnellites and presumably Redmond felt
that he should adopt its views. This anti-Parnellite majority,
bitterly called the "Scythians" by Liam O'Flaherty, had held
aloof from Plunkett's undertakings, particularly the Irish Agri-
cultural Organization Society. Only Redmond had supported Plun-
kett and before lumping him with the other "Scythians," O'Flaherty's
tribute in 1927 should be repeated:

3. Ibid., pp. 336-337.
Having killed Parnell, they suffered from a jealous fear that the practical statesmanship of Parnell might be revived in this form; they feared that this practical movement had grown from the sap of his bones. They held aloof. Justin McCarthy, in fact, declared that the object of Plunkett was to wean the people from Home Rule. On the other hand, the anti-'Scythians' under the leadership of John Redmond, joined the movement... It must be understood that this progressive movement was established entirely through the instrumentality of private citizens, and that the statesmen, with the exception of the small band of Parnellites, gave it practically no assistance. Yet it is out of the practical results of this movement that whatever positive wealth exists in Ireland to-day has grown. Instead of killing the movement towards Home Rule, as the 'Scythians' imagined it would do, it fostered the movement towards a Republic. And the Black-and-Tans clearly understood the revolutionary and Republican nature of this movement during the Anglo-Irish war when they paid such attention to the destruction of creameries.1

The Conservative Government, 1896-1905

The conservative government alternately wooed the Irish and ignored Irish sentiments.

The Conservative Government's Attempts to Win Irish Sentiments

The creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was an example of the attempts to woo the Irish. Other efforts may be noted in connection with land reform, Home Rule and the Boer War.

Land Reform

The Conservative Government shortly after it took office gave evidence of its intention of continuing the land reforms begun in 1890 by A.J. Balfour, the Conservative's Chief Secretary

for Ireland at the earlier date. A.J. Balfour had created the Congested Districts Board. Congested Districts, of course, were "what might be called rural slums piled together on waste lands." By the Land Act of 1891, the Congested Districts Board was given power in about one-sixth of Ireland to rearrange "holdings or farms in suitable dimensions for peasants who cannot live" where they are settled.

The new Conservative Government in 1896 sent as its representative to Ireland a man who was to continue the interest in land reform displayed by A.J. Balfour. Of this appointment, T. M. Healy later observed:

IN 1896, Gerald Balfour, the new Chief Secretary, brought in a Land Bill based on the Report of the 'Morley' Committee the year before. In a retrospect of half a century I hold this Englishman to have been the ablest, most zealous, most unselfish, most painstaking, and best equipped administrator that Ireland ever had under English rule. In 1900, Gerald Balfour was succeeded by George Wyndham who made a great parade of the fact that he was descended from an Irish rebel of 1798, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This technique appealed at least to Katharine Tynan who admired Lord Edward exceedingly:

Louise Imogen Guiney, accidentally American, essentially English of Oxford with a dash of Irish, said to me: 'K.T., Lord Edward is not dead. There is a young man in the House of Commons called George Wyndham, and while he lives Lord Edward can never die.'

2. Paul-Dubois, op. cit., p. 299.
3. Ibid., pp. 314-315.
4. Ibid., pp. 310-311.
5. Ibid., pp. 312-314.
The Congested Districts Board had not solved the land problem when Hugh Sutherland, an American journalist, toured Ireland in 1902 to discover why so many Irishmen were being sent to prison. William O'Brien, M.P., told him that the cause for the discontent would be removed if the land were purchased "by the government for the people, with easy terms of repayment." Indeed, while Sutherland was still in Ireland, George Wyndham at the suggestion of the Galway landlord, Shawe Taylor, assembled in Dublin a sort of arbitration board to settle the difficulties. The result of the proceedings was the so-called "Dunraven Treaty" by which the landlords, although forced to sell, got very good terms. This treaty resulted in a new land law in 1903, the "Wyndham Act," the effect of which on three renowned Irish authors should be mentioned -- Padre Joel Colum, George Bernard Shaw, and J. M. Synge.

Both Colum and Shaw were to write plays as a result of the "Wyndham Act."

In 1903, Colum's Broken Soil was produced by the Abbey Theatre and was reviewed by Oliver St. John Gogarty in United Irishman. Two years later Colum again wrote on a similar subject, The Land:

In a note to his Three Plays, he tells us that The Land was written to celebrate the redemption of the soil in Ireland -- an event made possible by the Land Act of 1903. This event, as it represented the passing of Irish acres

2. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
from an alien landlordism, was considered to be of national importance. Another issue he dealt with was the alarming wholesale emigration of the best Irish manhood and womanhood to the hospitable and profitable freedom of America.¹

If Colum approved of the "Wyndham Act," George Bernard Shaw definitely did not. In an interview published in The Tattler, November 16, 1904, Shaw said of his new play, John Bull's Other Island, which had been presented for the first time on November 1, 1904:

I have taken that panacea for all the misery and unrest of Ireland -- your Land Purchase Bill -- as to the perfect blessedness of which all your political parties and newspapers were for once unanimous; and I have shown at one stroke its idiocy, its cowardice, its utter and foredoomed futility.²

The play was a great success. Archibald Henderson wrote:

The political world was completely captivated; Mr. Balfour, the English premier at the time, went four times to see the play; alone on his first visit, he was so delighted with the play that he afterwards invited Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and later, Mr. Asquith to accompany him...finally the king 'commanded' a special performance which was given on March 11, 1905...³

Shaw put his objections to the "Wyndham Act" into the mouth of Lawrence Doyle. Larry's argument may be paraphrased as follows, and in connection with it Shaw's enthusiasm for Henry George comes to mind: granted that all the evils attributed to landlordism are valid, the Land Purchase Act is particularly vicious because by its terms the number of landlords will be immeasurably in-

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2. A. Henderson, Bernard Shaw, p. 571.
3. Ibid., p. 431.
5. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara, p. 68.
creased so that "there'll soon be nothing else; and the Lord help Ireland then!" Particular interest may be attached to the play as having been written "at the request of Mr. William Butler Yeats, as a patriotic contribution to the repertory of the Irish Literary Theatre." Incidentally, in this Preface Shaw described himself as "an inveterate Republican and Home Ruler" and paid a high tribute to John Redmond.

A third distinguished Irish writer whose opinion on land reform may be noted in connection with the "Wyndham Act" was J. M. Synge who contributed a series of articles to the Manchester Guardian about conditions in the west of Ireland, **In the Congested Districts**. Synge, however, had little faith in land reform, believing rather in "the restoration of some national life to the people";

It is this conviction that makes most Irish politicians scorn all merely economic or agricultural reforms, for if Home Rule would not of itself make a national life it would do more to make such a life possible than half a million creameries. With renewed life in the country many changes of the methods of government, and the holding of property, would inevitably take place, which would all tend to make life less difficult even in bad years and in the worst districts of Mayo and Connemara.

**Home Rule**

The efforts of the Conservative Government to woo Irish Home Rule sentiment deserves special consideration.

T.M. Healy had suggested that certain clauses of the

1. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara, pp. 69-70.
2. Ibid., p. 60.
3. Ibid., p. v.
4. Ibid., p. viii.
5. Ibid., pp. xvi-xvii.
English Local Government Act of 1888 should be made applicable to Ireland. Consequently, in 1898 an act was passed by Parliament as a result of which the powerful Unionist local Grand Juries were replaced by popularly elected County Councils.

From a literary standpoint this Local Government Act for Ireland was of extreme significance because it prepared the way for the Abbey Theatre, which was a direct descendant of the Irish Literary Theatre. In order to understand how this came to pass, a few words about the inception of the Irish Literary Theatre are necessary.

Denis Gwynn, the biographer of Edward Martyn, has attributed the genesis of the Irish Literary Theatre to Martyn who, of course, is the one who gave it that name. Martyn had turned his attention to writing plays as early as 1890. At that time, he was living in London with an Oxford friend, "a young baronet from Kent who had been at Christ Church with him...":

In the months when he had shared rooms with his young friend at Pump Court, he had been a constant theatre-goer, mixing with many of the dramatic critics in London. It was as far back as 1894 that he had suggested to George Moore that he wished to write plays in Irish instead of English, but that dream had never materialised.

In Hail and Farewell Moore told of this surprising desire of his friend Martyn; but he failed to tell of his own unusual admiration for a play which Martyn wrote at about this

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2. Ibid., p. 430.
3. R. Sutherland, Ireland Yesterday and Today, pl 249.
4. Ibid., pp. 249-254.
8. Ibid., p. 118.
time, The Heather Field. Indeed, so great was Moore's enthusiasm that when certain London producers refused to present the play, and one by Yeats (The Countess Cathleen), Martyn considered producing them in Dublin in 1897.

At that time Martyn was at work on a second play, Maeve, in which Yeats had become so interested as to suggest certain additions and on which "his friend Arthur Symons" had partially collaborated. Moore was equally enthusiastic about Maeve:

...Mr. Symons reported that George Moore had seized upon the re-written copy of the type-script, and had carried it off to write the introduction with which he proposed to present Edward Martyn to the discriminating public. The two plays, The Heather Field and Maeve, were published in one volume in the following year, which was dedicated by Edward to his three closest friends and associates at the time, George Moore, W.B. Yeats, and Arthur Symons.5

So lavish was Moore in his praise of Martyn's plays in his introduction to the book that Martyn was again "encouraged to make the bold experiment" of producing them. Yeats was no less interested than Martyn and some time "early in 1899," perhaps in April, the former confided his ambition to Lady Gregory who did not know him "very well at that time." Lady Gregory told of the confidence later:

He with the aid of Miss Florence Farr, an actress who thinks more of a romantic than of a paying play, is keen about taking or building a little theatre somewhere in the suburbs to produce romantic drama, his own plays, Edward Martyn's, one of Bridges', and he is trying to stir up Standish O'Grady and Fiona Macleod to write some.7

2. Ibid., p. 120.
3. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
4. Ibid., pp. 123-125.
5. Ibid., p. 116.
7. Malone, op. cit., p. 34.
Later in the year when she was at Coole Park, Lady Gregory visited the Comte de Basterot, her neighbor and Martyn's cousin.

Lady Gregory wrote:

Mr. Edward Martyn, my neighbour, came to see the Count, bringing with him Mr. Yeats, whom I did not then know very well, though I cared for his work very much and had already, through his directions, been gathering folk-lore.

After lunch Yeats, who was visiting Martyn at Tullyra that summer, and Lady Gregory drifted off together talking about theatres and plays:

'Mr. Martyn had written two, The Heather Field and Maev. They had been offered to London manager, and now he thought of trying to have them produced in Germany, where there seemed to be more room for new drama than in England. I said it was a pity that we had no Irish theatre where such plays could be given. Mr. Yeats said that had always been a dream of his, but he had of late thought it an impossible one, for it could not at first pay its way, and there was no money to be found for such a thing in Ireland. We went on talking about it, and things seemed to grow possible as we talked, and before the end of the afternoon we had made our plan. We said we could collect money, or rather ask to have a certain sum of money guaranteed. We would take a Dublin theatre and give a performance of Mr. Martyn's Heather Field, and one of Mr. Yeats own plays, the Countess Cathleen. I offered the guarantee of 25 pounds. A few days after that I was back at Coole and Mr. Yeats came over from Mr. Martyn's home Tulia, and we wrote a formal letter to send out.'

The sequel is so well known that it needs no detailed repetition. Lady Gregory, with a newly acquired typewriter, sent out the letters appealing for guarantees.

Martyn "defrayed all the initial expenses of the venture out of his own pocket" but the response to the appeal sent out by Lady Gregory was excellent:

Political divisions presented no barrier to the securing of the necessary guarantees, people of all classes and opinions readily gave their support to the scheme, though it must be remarked that the Anglo-Irish, Unionist and 'garrison', land-

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2. Ibid., p. 117.
lord class was most conspicuous. Among the supporters will be found Aubrey de Vere, who thought Home Rule might make Ireland less homely than Devon, and John O’Leary, the aged Fenian; Lord Ardilaun and Tim Healy; Professor W.E.H. Lecky and William O’Brien; the Duchess of St. Albans and John Dillon; Lord Dufferin and Douglas Hyde; Professor Mahaffy and John Redmond; with Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir Peter O’Brien (the ‘Peter the Packer’ of Nationalist Ireland), Jane Barlow, Emily Lawless, and many others... 1

However, the Conservative Government made the proposed theatre an actuality. For when it was found impossible to secure any one of the three Dublin theatres licensed to perform stage plays "at the time required, or at a sufficiently low price," 2 Martyn "mobilised Horace Plunkett and Tim Healy"; Lady Gregory 3 persuaded W.E.H. Lecky; and Yeats and Edward Martyn lobbied other members of Parliament to do something about this new obstacle:

Fortunately, just at that time the Irish Local Government bill was before the House of Commons and Irish Members of all parties aided in securing its amendment so as to empower the Lord Lieutenant 4 on the application of the Council for the County of Dublin or the County Borough of Dublin to grant an occasional licence for the performance of any stage play in any theatre, room, or building 5 when the profits accruing were to be devoted to public or philanthropic uses. 6

Boer War

A final series of efforts on the part of the Conservative Government to woo the Irish may be noted in connection with the Boer War.

Irish Pro-Boer Sentiment

In order to understand the nature of these efforts, it

1. Malone, op. cit., p. 35.
2. Ibid., p. 36.
4. Lady Gregory, Our Irish Theatre.
seems advisable first to indicate Irish discontent with the war. This discontent was widespread but may be exemplified in the persons of Michael Davitt, George Moore and Lady Gregory.

Michael Davitt

Shortly after the outbreak of the Boer War, Davitt resigned from Parliament in disgust saying:

'I have for four years tried to appeal to the sense of justice in this House of Commons on behalf of Ireland. I leave, convinced that no just cause, no cause of right, will ever find support from this House of Commons unless it is backed up by force' (House of Commons, 25th October 1899). 3

Subsequently, as he explained in his Preface to The Boer Fight for Freedom, Davitt visited Africa to get the Boer's version of what had happened:

AFTER resigning membership of the British House of Commons in October, 1899, as a personal and political protest against a war which I believed to be the greatest inamity of the nineteenth century, I proceeded, a short time afterwards, to Transvaal to see and learn more about the little nation against whose liberty and land this crime had been planned and executed.

This book embodies the facts and information which I obtained in my intercourse with the leaders and people... It also contains the impressions which followed from a few months' close contact with them during their unparalleled struggle to retain their independence. 4

It may have been this bold conduct which won for Davitt the forgiveness of Yeats, who had been a Parnellite, and the enthusiasm of George Moore who had fled from England full of hatred of English imperialism. In any event, Yeats discovered

1. F. Sheehy-Skeffington, Michael Davitt, pp. 194-203.
2. Ibid., pp. 204-205.
3. Ibid., p. 191.
5. See pp. 467-468, 498.
7. Ibid., pp. 257-283.
Davitt to be "a writer, a painter, and artist of some kind," a "poet and philosopher":

I think he returned my sympathy, for a little before his death he replied to some words of congratulation I sent him after the speech in which he resigned his seat in the House of Commons, with an account of some project of his for improving the quality of the Irish representation there.¹

And Moore was stimulated to similar praise:

Gill's nationalism is quite sincere; the flame doesn't burn very fiercely, but then his nature is not a great nature like Davitt's, and our natures give -- overlook the platitude -- only what they are capable of giving.²

In Africa Davitt met General De Wet of whom St. John Ervine wrote: "The present writer remembers in his boyhood being told in Belfast, during the Boer War, that General De Wet was Mr. Parnell." So persistent was this story that Midael Davitt felt called upon to deny it in a short account of De Wet which he incorporated into The Boer Fight for Freedom. ³

Davitt also became acquainted with two Irishmen who were fighting for the Boers, John MacBride and Arthur Lynch. He met the former in the summer of 1900 when he visited the Irish Brigade which had been organized "in Johannesburg chiefly by the exertions of Mr. John M'Bride, a native of Mayo...." Evidently Davitt told MacBride of his "project for improving the quality of the Irish representation" in Commons, which he had mentioned to Yeats, because some years later MacBride wrote for Freeman's Journal of his conversation with Davitt:

² G. Moore, Hall and Farewell, vol. 1, p. 400.
³ St. John Ervine, Parnell, pp. 315-314.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 312-313.
I then explained my views to him, saying that under no circumstances could I be induced to become a member of the English House of Commons, as I did not believe that Ireland's freedom could be gained through the good graces of the English Parliament and people...

The second Irishman, Arthur Lynch, "had gone to the Transvaal as war correspondent for "Le Journal," of Paris. Unlike MacBride, however, Lynch agreed with Davitt's scheme "for improving the quality of the Irish representation" at Westminster:

In the fall of 1901 Colonel Lynch was selected by the Nationalist leaders of Ireland as a candidate for Parliament. He stood to represent Galway and was overwhelmingly elected, receiving three votes to every one cast for his opponent. He has not yet (March, 1902) been advised to attempt to take his seat. This election, together with the involuntary cheers in Parliament given by some of the Irish members on receipt of the news of Lord Methuen's capture and defeat by De la Rey, has exasperated the British Government beyond measure.

Incidentally, in 1903, Lynch was sentenced to death for treason after a state trial in England, of which Roger Casement, who was later to hear the same sentence passed against himself, was an interested spectator.

George Moore

George Moore's discontent with the Boer War led him into hostility towards a proposed Anglo-American alliance. In his autobiography, Yeats wrote of Moore's conduct as follows:

Moore, driven to frenzy by the Boer War, had some project of lecturing in America against an Anglo-American alliance,

much talked of at the time. 'I shall be glad,' I wrote, 'if he himself goes.' (I had refused to go with him.) 'Less because of any harm he may do the Anglo-American alliance than because it will help to make our extremists think about the foundations of life and letters, which they certainly do not at present. To transmute the anti-English passion into a passion of hatred against the vulgarity and materialism whereon England has founded her worst life and the whole life that she sends us, has always been a dream of mine, and Moore may help in that transmutation.'

Davitt opposed this proposed alliance even more vigorously than Moore and crossed the Atlantic in a successful effort to have it "rejected by the United States Senate through the Irish influence on that body." Their agreement about the Boer War and the Anglo-American alliance may have led Davitt to believe that Moore might improve "the quality of the Irish representation" in Parliament. At any rate, they became quite friendly and shortly before his death in 1906 Davitt interested George Moore in founding "an anti-clerical newspaper":

He admired the courage and resolution of the old Land League agitator.

'When Davitt calls I run to open the door for him, the only man for whom I do that.' But Davitt died and afterwards he saw no way of helping his country except by writing 'a sacred book.' Autobiography was an unusual form for a sacred book, but he remembered St. Paul.

It is now that we first hear of Hail and Farewell, the work which was to be the main occupation of Moore's declining years in Ireland. The book was first conceived as a call to the Celt to escape from priesthood, and it took the form of a demonstration of the incompatibility of art and dogma..."  

Lady Gregory

Lady Gregory's discontent with the Boer War was not as

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surprising as one might think. To be sure, her husband, as far back as 1877, had been criticized in the anti-imperialist Irish World: "Sir William N. Gregory is about to return to Ireland after a successful service of five years as Governor of Ceylon. He represented Dublin in Parliament for five years, and Galway for fifteen." For Thomas Moore had pointed out that Archbishop MacHale had declined an invitation to a banquet in honor of Lady Gregory's husband because he was not "willing to honor those in high station" until Ireland had its own Parliament. Incidentally, according to Irish World, Dr. MacHale also used the opportunity of declining the invitation to call on "the nobility and gentry of the county Galway" to unite in favor of land reform.

Furthermore, Lady Gregory was quite interested in her husband and his family: "She has edited the 'Autobiography' of her husband, and 'Mr. Gregory's Letter-Box,' being the correspondence of Sir William Gregory's grandfather, who was an important Dublin Castle official..." Indeed, Andrew E. Malone, an historian of the Irish drama, who spoke of Lady Gregory's family as one whose "outlook and sympathies were English as its politics were Unionist," believed that she was never "a political Nationalist."

As one of her own and her husband's closest friends she had Sir Frederick Burton, artist, archaeologist, and scholar, an Irishman who had been a personal friend of Davis and Petrie, had known John Mitchell, and had drawn the design for the title-page of The Spirit of the Nation, a volume which expressed in song the patriotic sentiments of the

1. Personals, Irish World, July 14, 1877, p. 5.
2. 'Trans-Atlantic', Irish World, September 8, 1877, p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 57.
Young Ireland movement of the mid-century. But Burton was never a political Nationalist, nor was Lecky or the majority of Lady Gregory's very extensive circle of friends, and it is doubtful if she ever became a political Nationalist as that term was understood in the old days of Parnell, Gladstone or Redmond. Her early days had been made romantic, as she says, and somewhat thrilling by the spectre of

An army of Papists grim
With a green flag o'er them.
Red coats and black police
Flying before them.

Her home had been attacked by the Whiteboys, and the attack had been driven off by her father firing his gun from the window. Then she, too, met John O'Leary, the terrible Fenian leader of her childhood stories, and she also found him charming and lovable. So even revolutionary Nationalism lost its menacing aspect.

Yet to offset these remarks of Irish World and Malone which might lead one to think that Lady Gregory was apt to take a pro-British stand in the Boer war, the words of W.S. Blunt and George Moore should be reported. Lady Gregory herself has told how she first came to know Blunt in 1882 when Arabi led a rebellion against British imperialism in Egypt:

All that story is told in his 'Secret History of the Occupation of Egypt'; and he records that among his most important supporters there were Lord Houghton 'who in early life had been an enthusiastic advocate of freedom in the East, and Sir William Gregory, an old follower of Gladstone and well-known Liberal and who had sent more than one powerful letter to what was then the leading journal of Europe (The Times) giving the Nationalist side...It is hardly too much to say that Gregory's letters and mine, especially his, were largely the means of obtaining a respite for Egypt from the dangers that threatened her.'

In Hail and Farewell, George Moore also remembered that Lady Gregory had written a defence of Arabi "some twenty-five years ago":

She was then a young woman, very earnest, who divided her hair in the middle and wore it smooth on either side of a broad and handsome brow. Her eyes were always full of questions, and her Protestant high-school air became her greatly

1. W.S. Blunt, My Diaries, p. x.
and estranged me from her.

In her drawing room were to be met men of assured reputation in literature and politics, and there was always the best reading of the time upon her tables. There was nothing, however, in her conversation to suggest literary faculty, and it was a surprise to me to hear one day that she had written a pamphlet in defence of Arabi Pasha, an Egyptian rebel.¹

However much Lady Gregory may have estranged Moore, her friendship with Blunt continued for on March 29, 1906, the latter wrote:

Lady Gregory came to see me and talked much about Ireland. She has now become a strong Nationalist, and has been busying herself about the demonstrations for '98. If I were well enough I would go over for them in May.²

Incidentally, the persistence of this friendship may have resulted in Blunt "trying to dramatize one of the Cuchulain episodes for Yeats to bring out next year in his Cuchulain cycle of 3 plays at Dublin" in 1902. In any event, Blunt did not report Yeats as ready to produce the "tragedy," which may have been finished in 1902, until 1905 and when it finally was presented at the Abbey in 1907, Blunt was "astonished, as when I saw Lady Gregory last she told me it was put off" indefinitely. ⁷

Blunt, who once described himself as "the last of the anti-Imperialist Conservatives," was decidedly hostile to England's conduct before and during the Boer War. He condemned

¹. G. Moore, Hail and Farewell, vol. 1, p. 244.
³. Ibid., p. 442.
⁴. Ibid., p. 519.
⁵. Ibid., p. 445.
⁶. Ibid., p. 529.
⁷. Ibid., p. 535.
⁸. Ibid., pp. 327-351, 365-377; 416-444.
Swinburne and Kipling for their imperialism, and was disgusted by
his former employee, George Bernard Shaw, because the latter
justified war on the Boers in spite of the fact that he was a
Fabian Socialist. As a result, Blunt was violently attacked in
the English press which led him to observe:

A torrent of newspaper abuse had fallen on my 'Satan Ab-
solved.' The first notices were fairly moderate, but as
the war has gone more and more against our Army, they have
become more vindictive. They began by admitting that the
poetry had some eloquence; then they found that it was
clever, but vulgar; then blasphemous, vulgar, and stupid.
Now the condemnation is extended to all my poems. It has
been discovered that the 'Songs of Proteus' were a plagiarism
on Meredith's 'Modern Love'; and that in the rest of my works
I have been ever sinking deeper in the mire.4

Lady Gregory took the same stand that her friend Blunt
did. Evidence of this may be found in an essay on Boer Ballads
in Ireland which appeared in her Poets and Dreamers. Her refer-
ence to Major MacBride's renown as a result of his activities in
the Boer's Irish Brigade is interesting:

Mayo is the county to which John MacBride, the leader of
the Irish Brigade, belongs; but I heard of a ballad-singer
at Ballindereen, near my Galway home, the other day, whose
refrain was:
'And Erin watches from afar, with joy and hope and pride,
Her sons who strike for liberty, led on by John MacBride!'6

Efforts of the Conservative Government to Placate
Irish Pro-Boer Sentiment

As remedies for this widespread pro-Boer sentiment in Ire-

4. Ibid., p. 349.
5. A. Gregory, Poets and Dreamers, pp. 89-97.
6. Ibid., p. 92.
land the Conservative Government had very little to offer. Royal
visits to Dublin in 1900 and 1903 were not very successful. The
Dublin Corporation, to be sure, voted to present Queen Victoria
with an address of welcome to the city, but so great was the out-
cry that in 1903 it refused to present a similar address to King
Edward VII. Likewise, John Redmond accepted T.M. Healy's view
that the Queen was "a venerable lady to whom no extremist could
be discourteous and welcomed her visit to Ireland; but such "ex-
tremists" as Edward Martyn and George Moore did take exception to
welcoming the Queen. Martyn in a letter to Freeman's Journal de-
scribed the conduct of the Dublin Corporation in welcoming the
Queen as the result of a "policy of grovel." And, according to
Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats and George Moore wrote similar letters
to the press. Furthermore, Yeats has told of the discourtesy --
suggested by the custom of paying an Irish recruit a shilling upon
his enlistment in the British army -- of Moore and himself on the
occasion of Victoria's visit:

We had attacked Queen Victoria, said that she came to Ire-
land recruiting, that she had, in Moore's words, driven
through the city 'a shilling between her finger and thumb,
a bag of shillings under the seat.'

Similar in nature to the royal visits to Ireland was the
gesture which the Conservative Government made to the Irish soldiers

1. D.C. Somervell, Victoria, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed.,
   vol. 23, p. 129.
2. H. Chisholm and R.B. Brett, Edward VII, Encyclopaedia Brit-
nica, 14th ed., vol. 8, p. 15.
5. A. Gregory, Our Irish Theatre, p. 49.
6. Ibid., p. 71.
fighting in the British army. On St. Patrick's Day they were allowed to wear sprigs of shamrock in their hats: "Up to that time the wearing of shamrock on March 17th was a crime for which an Irishman in the service of the Empire could be flogged." 1

In spite of these concessions, T.P. O'Connor and T.M. Healy, who wrote that the Boers had "dupidly declared war," seems to have been the only so-called "separatist," Irish members of Parliament who completely sympathized with Lord Salisbury's government. And Healy, who declared that the purpose of the royal visit to Dublin in 1900 was to enable Queen Victoria to compliment her "brave Irish soldiers," seems to have been almost the only one who accepted the visit and the shamrock dispensation in the spirit in which the two gestures were made.

The Irish Sentiment Ignored by the Conservative Government

Thus the Conservative Government wooed the Irish by land reforms, a measure of Home Rule and gestures of friendship. In one matter, however, it practically ignored Irish sentiment — taxation. And here, too, it stimulated the Celtic renaissance.

When the Financial Relations Commission Report of the Childers' Commission was made public in 1896, all classes in Ireland united to protest the exploitation of their country by England through over-taxation:

3. Ibid., p. 446.
At Cork, Lord Castletown recalled the Boston riots that formed the prelude to the War of Independence. At Limerick, Lord Dunraven, a Protestant, presided at a meeting together with Doctor O'Dwyer, a Catholic Bishop, and John Daly, a Fenian.1

From the standpoint of the physical force movement and the Irish literary revival, however, the most interesting among the Conservatives whose names may be associated with this protest against over-taxation were Sir Edward Carson, Standish J. O'Grady, and Edward Martyn.

Sir Edward Carson

Peculiar interest may be attached to Sir Edward Carson because he was at a later date to become leader of the movement in Ulster to prevent Parliament from conferring Home Rule on Ireland even if this required the use of physical force. Carson, who had known Hyde and Oscar Wilde at Trinity College, was mildly interested in Celtic learning. Yet when A.J. Balfour was Chief Secretary for Ireland (1886-1892), Carson "became an Irish barrister and made his reputation as crown prosecutor:

He became a Q.C. at the Irish bar in 1889, was called to the English bar, and took silk there in 1894.

Meanwhile he had been returned to the British Parliament in 1892 as Unionist member for his own University of Dublin and was for a few months solicitor-general for Ireland. He entered Parliament just when Mr. Gladstone was about to make a second effort to pass an Irish Home Rule bill, and he helped to defeat the measure.6

By 1893, Carson had become celebrated enough to be caricatured in

1. L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, pp. 343-344.
Vanity Fair and in 1895 he won fame of another sort by successfully prosecuting Oscar Wilde on charges of "moral obliquity" after the jury had disagreed at the first trial. Thus, Carson was already a famous Conservative when he "demanded restitution from the British Government" of the money which had been taken out of Ireland by inequitable taxation. Carson's rebelliousness was short-lived for in 1900 he "became solicitor-general, a post which he held till the fall of Balfour's Government in Dec. 1905."

Standish J. O'Grady

Standish J. O'Grady and Edward Martyn are of peculiar interest because of their connection with the revival of literature in Ireland. O'Grady has already been described as an admirer of Whitman, a Conservative, land reformer and historian. According to W.B. Yeats, O'Grady was bitterly disappointed that the Irish Conservative landlords failed to carry out the threats which their representatives had made on hearing that Ireland was overtaxed;

He was of landlord stock, based all his hopes for Ireland upon that stock. He...bought a provincial newspaper, hoped, having made it a success, to buy up other provincial newspapers till he had all the provincial newspapers in Ireland. They would keep their local news, but all would contain his articles, all would rouse the gentry to their duty. He wrote pamphlets, published a weekly review, the same theme recurring. A famous passage described the downfall and flight of the Catholic aristocracy, lamented by the poor, sung by poets, but their successors, he cried out, would pass unlaunted, unsung. In another, fixing his thought upon the poorer gentry,

2. Ibid., pp. 416-417.
he compared them to the lean hounds that are the best hunters: 'Oh, lean hounds, when will you begin to hunt?'

To elucidate Yeats’ remarks, it may be noted that O'Grady, whose lessons in Irish history were to stimulate a revolutionary nationalism in others, in 1900 became "owner and editor of the Kilkenny Moderator and of the All-Ireland Review, the latter being the only literary weekly published in Ireland." And in February, 1901, an American periodical announced that he was about "to bring out a series of works to be called "The Library of the Nore:"

The first volume has already been published in the form of a booklet by Mr. T.W. Rolleston, entitled 'Imagination and Art in Gaelic Literature,' and Mr. O'Grady announces two other works for immediate publication -- a volume of poems by Mr. Paul O'Regan..., and a collection of essays entitled 'Pebbles from a Brook,' by John Eglinton, whose 'Two Essays on the Remnant,' issued some years ago, attracted much attention. 'John Eglinton' is the pseudonym of Mr. William Magee, an assistant in the National Library of Dublin.

In July, the same American periodical announced that O'Grady had "just issued his new work, 'In the Gates of the North,' in the series entitled 'The Library of the Nore,' which he is publishing in Kilkenny."

When this edition of 'In the Gates of the North' was published, O'Grady, according to W.B. Yeats, had already spoken out like a Fenian and in his "Introduction" O'Grady again indicated his approval of physical force:

...I will say that those who instinctively, or by resolute study, learn to like this grand old story of how Cuculain, son of Sualtam, though alone and forsaken, and encompassed

2. See p. 524.
6. See p. 525.
by thousands of enemies, held the 'Gates of the North' against a host of invaders, and, like a true champion and patriot, spent himself -- his youth, energy, blood, and young enthusiasm -- in defence of his native land and his own otherwise defenceless people -- they, I say, who read and like this tale will never like it by halves.¹

Yeats, however, did not take O'Grady's Fenianism very seriously. It may be remembered that when Edward Martyn gave The Tale of a Town to George Moore with permission to make whatever changes seemed desirable, Moore remodeled one of the characters, Jasper Deane, after T.P. Gill. Moore was visiting Martyn at Tullyra when he undertook the revision, and, nearby, Yeats was visiting Lady Gregory at Coole. Yeats later wrote:

Moore asked for my collaboration as it was a satire upon contemporary Irish politics and of these he knew nothing. I moved from Coole to Tullyra. The finished work was Moore's in its construction and characterisation, but most of the political epigrams and certain bitter sentences put into the mouth of Deane, a dramatisation of Standish O'Grady, were mine. A rhetorical, undramatic second act about the Celtic Movement, which I had begun to outlive, was all Moore's; as convert he was embarrassing, unsubduable, preposterous.²

Incidentally, this indirect link between Martyn and O'Grady is the more interesting because in 1901, the latter announced that "The Library of the Nore" was to publish "two new plays by Mr. Edward Martyn. One of these plays is the original upon which Mr. George Moore founded his 'Bending of the Bough.'"³

Edward Martyn

Martyn was almost unique among Irish landlords in his response to O'Grady's appeal. Previous to the Financial Relations

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¹ S. O'Grady, In the Gates of the North, pp. 11-12.
² G. Moore, Hall and Farewell, vol. 1, pp. 251-256.
³ See p. 524.
⁵ Irish Books and Authors, An Gaeilge, July, 1901, p. 351.
⁶ See p. 525.
Commission Report he had been a Unionist. His conversion to separatism has been attributed by Denis Gwynn to "the national revival," Lecky's "Irish History," and, by inference, to the Report. It was shortly after his mother's death that Martyn revealed his conversion:

In association with Mr. Yeats and Miss Maud Gonne and others, he had taken part in Nationalist demonstrations to celebrate the centenary of the rebellion of 1798; and with them and the more advanced Nationalists, he had expressed his personal objection to the singing of 'God Save the King.' It happened that during his absence from Dublin a concert was held at Tulira by the local Clee Club, of which he was a generous supporter. Some of the gentry who attended it took exception to the absence of the National Anthem from the programme, and the matter was raised publicly as indicating a disloyal attitude on the part of Edward as a magistrate and a Deputy-Lieutenant for his county. He had already incurred the strong disapproval of his neighbors for his participations in Nationalist gatherings, and they were delighted for an opportunity to force his hand. Lord Clonbrock, as Her Majesty's Lieutenant for the county, challenged him directly to explain or justify what had happened.4

Thereupon, Martyn resigned his commissions as magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant.

Martyn's conversion and subsequent actions influenced the careers of George Moore and Sir Horace Plunkett. Denis Gwynn has attributed Moore's pro-Boer sentiment in the Boer War to Martyn:

Mr. George Moore has given a highly-coloured picture, in his trilogy, of how the mere fact of engaging in an Irish Literary movement created in himself a fierce antipathy towards English ideas and English politics. The main influence upon him was, of course, Edward Martyn's; and Edward himself had become so anti-English by the time of the Boer War that he sided instinctively with the Boers.5

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3. Ibid., p. 284.
5. Ibid., p. 107.
As far as the influence of Edward Martyn's conversion on Sir Horace Plunkett is concerned, it may be noted that the former's resignation of his commissions from the English Crown "had made him a popular hero in the West," and that he was urged by many, including the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, to stand for Parliament:

But though Edward wisely declined to become a candidate for Parliament, he made public pronouncements encouraging the Home Rulers, and he even caused some embarrassment to Horace Plunkett by proclaiming openly that Mr. Plunkett was obviously becoming converted to Home Rule. 5

Martyn's endorsement, however, did not promote Plunkett's cause in Conservative circles. After the latter was defeated as a candidate to represent South Dublin in Parliament, he wrote to Martyn:

Everything written to or about me was used by my despicable Tory opponents for my destruction. I suppose there is no one they hate more than they do yourself. But when you said I was becoming a Home Ruler, they made a Solomon of you. Your letter did me some harm. But I am grateful for it none the less....In any case, although fearing that some Home Rulers would vote for me, imagining that I was what my Tory foes declared me to be, a Home Ruler in disguise, I came out strongly against Home Rule. 4

Martyn had been drawn to Plunkett through the Irish Agricultural Organization Society which the latter had helped to found in 1893. In concluding these remarks about the Conservatives from 1892 to 1905, it may be noted that when Plunkett was defeated after "hinting that Roosevelt had asked him to go to America, and apply his system to the United States," he returned

2. Ibid., pp. 284-286.
3. Ibid., p. 297.
4. Ibid., p. 288.
5. Ibid., p. 327.
to the Society and in 1904 made George Russell "editor of The
Irish Homestead" which had been "founded to carry out those
principles of cooperation which Horace Plunkett had begun to
preach to Irish farmers."

As for the Financial Relations Commission Report, which
so profoundly disturbed Carson, O'Grady and Martyn, it was de-
bated in the House of Commons in 1897 and the Conservative Govern-
ment put the quietus on it:

The motion asked for action on the part of Parliament that
would provide remedial legislation for this manifest fiscal
injustice, but it was defeated by a ministerial vote of 317
against an Irish and (British) Radical vote of 157.

Summary

The years 1892-1905, from the standpoint of Unionism, were
significant because it was during this period that the Home Rule
Party was superseded by Irish Conservatives as a stimulus to the
Celtic renaissance.

The period began with a Liberal Government which lasted
from 1892 to 1895. At this time the "Union of Hearts" resulted
in an attempt by the Liberal Party to pass Gladstone's Home Rule
bill for Ireland but the attempt was thwarted by the House of
Lords. All the anti-Parnellites, except John Sweetman, maintained
their united front with the Liberal Party after this failure and
in spite of the fact that Gladstone resigned from the leadership
of it.

1. Unsigned, George William Russell, Encyclopaedia Britannica,
On the other hand, the Redmondites, who comprised "Parnell's faithful few," had continued their former chief's dislike of the "Union of Hearts." Likewise, their opposition to "clerical dictation," inherited from Parnell, gave point to George Bernard Shaw's belief that, contrary to the Ulster slogan, Home Rule would not result in Roman rule. Furthermore, Gladstone's Home Rule measure did not win their enthusiasm and, unlike the anti-Parnellites who did not hesitate to insult O'Donovan Rossa, they sought to win Fenian support, particularly by working for the amnesty of the dynamitards. Moreover, John Howard Parnell, brother of Charles Stewart Parnell, was identified with this group. Therefore, Redmond was regarded by some as a Fenian sympathiser.

In this connection, it was noted that, like Parnell, the Redmondites were not very interested in the revival of the Irish language; and, so far as that aspect of the Celtic renaissance is concerned, the anti-Parnellites by virtue of publishing Father O'Growney's Irish lessons in the Weekly Freeman were of more significance.

The Liberal interregnum was followed by a Conservative Government which lasted from 1896 to 1905. It was between 1892 and 1905 that certain Irish Unionists gave an impetus to the Celtic renaissance; and the Government sought to win Irish friends by its policies.

So far as the Irish Unionists whose conduct encouraged the Celtic renaissance is concerned, three men, a newspaper and the Redmondites were used to illustrate the result of it. The three men were W.E.H. Lecky, M.P., a "Liberal Unionist," whose writings
about Irish history in the eighteenth century caused a renaissance of patriotism in Conservative circles and who helped the cause of Irish education and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in Parliament; Standish J. O'Grady, a "Fenian Unionist" who converted many to revolutionary nationalism by his writings about Ireland's heroic ages; and Horace Plunkett, M.P., a "Co-operative Unionist", who was mainly responsible for the creation of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society.

O'Grady and Plunkett found much to admire in the United States. In addition, O'Grady was hailed by Yeats and others as one of the founders of the Celtic renaissance. And Plunkett attracted the Redmondites by his interest in land reform. Indeed, the establishment of a Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction for Ireland by the Conservative Government was to some extent the result of the latter's efforts.

The creation of the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction was also due to the efforts of T.P. Gill as editor of the Dublin Express, which Plunkett controlled. Gill united the Redmondites with the Irish Conservatives through this channel. Therefore, it was noted that the Express, although not interested in the Irish language, helped to promote the Celtic renaissance by publishing writings by T.W. Rolleston, A.E., Yeats, Eglinton and George Moore. Furthermore, it sought to encourage the Irish Literary Theatre, particularly by a famous dinner in Dublin which was attended by such celebrities as John O'Leary, Edward Martyn, J.P. Taylor, Douglas Hyde and Standish J. O'Grady,

in addition to the contributors already named.

However, the end of the alliance between the Redmondites and these Conservatives came soon after this dinner when Redmond was made head of the reunited Irish Parliamentary Party. The reason was that the majority of the reunited Party was opposed to anything with which the Conservative Government might be associated, such, for example, as the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction of which Plunkett had been made Vice-President and Gill, General Secretary.

The Conservative Government sought to win Irish friends in other ways as well as by the creation of this Department, but at the same time, it gave evidence of indifference to Irish opinion.

So far as winning Irish friends by its policies is concerned, the Conservative Government's interest in land reform, Home Rule, and the Boer war were important factors.

With land reform the names of two Chief Secretaries for Ireland were associated -- Gerald Balfour and George Wyndham. Indeed, the Wyndham Act stimulated such well-known Irishmen as Padraic Colum and George Bernard Shaw to write for the newly established Irish theatre. Furthermore, J.M. Synge was also associated with the efforts at land reform attempted by the Conservative Government.

In connection with Home Rule, the creation of County Councils and the Abbey Theatre were noted. The former was dismissed but the latter was considered in some detail as a very important element in the Celtic renaissance.

The part which a Conservative Irish landlord, Edward Martyn,
played in the founding of the Abbey Theatre has generally been underestimated, if Martyn’s biographer may be believed. Martyn’s interest in Ibsen can be dated back at least to 1890; and George Moore’s admiration for Martyn as a playwright was first aroused in 1894. Indeed, it was partly Moore’s enthusiasm which almost persuaded Martyn to produce his plays in Dublin in 1897. Martyn’s two plays, "The Heather Field and Maeve, were published in one volume in the following year" dedicated to "his three closest friends and associates at the time -- George Moore, W.B. Yeats, and Arthur Symons." Then in 1898, Lady Gregory and Yeats became interested in producing plays in Dublin while Yeats was visiting Martyn at Tullyra. Thereupon, Lady Gregory secured pledges of financial support for the project; but as a matter of fact, Martyn actually paid for the productions.

The connection between the Irish Literary Theatre and Home Rule was that the Conservative Government enabled the former to come into existence by tacking a permissive clause on to its Irish Councils Bill. The Boer War was not popular in Ireland as Michael Davitt, George Moore and Lady Gregory testified.

Davitt, although he remained Unionist enough to desire to improve the Irish representation at Westminster, resigned from Parliament and went to the Transvaal to collect material for a pro-Boer book. In South Africa he interviewed General De Wet and thereafter denied the story that De Wet was really Pamell. He also interviewed two Irishmen who were fighting for the Boers, John MacBride and Arthur Lynch. MacBride would have nothing to do with Davitt’s scheme to improve the Irish representation at Westminster but Lynch allowed himself to be elected member of
Parliament from Galway.

George Moore was also attracted to Davitt because of the latter's pro-Boer and anti-clerical sentiments. And the friendship seems to have had some influence on the main theme of Moore's *Hail and Farewell*.

Lady Gregory, although W.E.H. Lecky and other Unionists were her friends, was also pro-Boer and noted the esteem in which John MacBride was held in the west of Ireland in one of her essays.

To remedy this pro-Boer sentiment in Ireland, the Conservative Government encouraged two royal visits. The first aroused the opposition of such celebrities as W.B. Yeats, Edward Martyn, and George Moore; and the second was even less popular. In addition to the royal visits, the Conservative Government sought to win popularity by allowing Irish troops in the British army to wear shamrocks on St. Patrick's Day.

Indifference to Irish opinion by the Conservative Government was exemplified by its failure to respond to protests against the over-taxation of the Irish people. Yet to protest against this, Fenian (John Daly), Irish Conservative (Lord Dunraven) and Roman Catholic ecclesiastic (Bishop O'Dwyer) had united.

Prominent Irish Conservatives associated with this protest were Sir Edward Carson, Standish J. O'Grady and Edward Martyn.

The rebelliousness of Carson was surprising in view of the fact that he was later to lead the Orange Unionists in Ulster. On the other hand, Standish O'Grady, who was disappointed in the Irish Unionists because they failed to become separatists as a
a consequence of the Conservative Government's refusal to acknowledge the protest, bought the *Kilkenny Moderator*, founded the *All-Ireland Review* and published "The Library of the Nore," to which, in addition to himself, T.W. Rolleston and John Eglinton contributed. Indeed, O'Grady well-nigh became a Fenian.

Martyn's conversion to separatism has also been laid to the over-taxation of Ireland by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. At any rate he joined Maud Gonne and W.B. Yeats in demonstrations to celebrate the centenary of 1798. Incidentally, Martyn's conversion was held partially responsible for his friend George Moore's pro-Boer sentiments. And it hurt Sir Horace Plunkett's chances for re-election to Parliament in 1900 because Martyn endorsed him and thereby gave the impression that Plunkett was secretly a separatist.
CHAPTER XII

LIBERAL UNIONISM, 1906-1914

The preceding chapter was paradoxically named "Fenian Unionism" to indicate that many of the acts of the Conservative Government as well as of individual Irish Unionists during the years from 1892 to 1905 were such as to cause the Fenians to rejoice. The present chapter is called "Liberal Unionism" to indicate that it will seek to show what effect the conduct of English Liberals and Irish Home Rulers had upon Irish separatism.

The present chapter will begin with the formation of the Liberal Government which succeeded the Conservatives in 1905 and will end with the outbreak of war in 1914. It will be divided into three parts of which the first will be devoted to the period from 1906 to 1910 and the second and third will be concerned with events between 1910 and 1914. The first part will tell of the relations between the Irish Home Rulers and various other groups. The second part will be devoted to a discussion of some results of the prospect of Home Rule in Ulster. And the third part will repeat the formula used in the first, -- dealing with certain English Home Rulers and the external relations of those Irish members of Parliament who may be considered as a unit because of their common desire for Home Rule.
Home Rule Shelved, 1906-1910

The Liberal Government which took office in 1906 declared that it had "no mandate for Home Rule" but restated its belief that some sort of self-government for Ireland was desirable. Although Redmond, as Parnell's apostle, had originally rejected the "Union of Hearts," when he became chief of the Irish National Parliamentary Party in 1900 he accepted this policy. Accordingly, he avoided any break with the Liberals and professed willingness to accept whatever the Government would offer even though more advanced Irish separatists were not satisfied. Therefore, the period from 1906 to 1910 will be regarded from the standpoint of the "Union of Hearts," and also in connection with the relations between the Irish National Parliamentary Party and such Irish separatist groups as the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein.

"Union of Hearts"

From the standpoint of the "Union of Hearts" the appointment of Government representatives in Ireland and the united front against the "Women's Rebellion" may be noted.

To the post of Lord Lieutenant the Liberals appointed Lord Aberdeen. Lord Aberdeen had been a friend of Gladstone, whom he had protected from the Fenians in 1867. In 1886 Gladstone had appointed him Lord Lieutenant and to the disgust of certain

Irish Americans he had become popular in Dublin. When the Liberals returned to office in 1892 Lord Aberdeen "became governor general or Canada" and while there his wife made Irish-American friends for him by helping to build an Irish village for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 and by indicating her affection for Ireland in a speech which she made at this famous fair.

To the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland the Liberals appointed James Bryce, who was an acquaintance of George Sigerson. Some years later Captain H.B.C. Pollard "of the staff of the chief of police of Ireland "expressed the opinion that Bryce prepared the way for the I.R.B. insurrection of 1916 by failing to enforce the Arms Act of 1847 and thereby permitting "the purchase or possession of small arms of any kind." However, it should be noted that in 1907 it was Unionist Ulster and not the separatist South which made use of the repeal of "the Act prohibiting the importation of arms." Incidentally, in that year Augustine Birrell had succeeded Bryce as Chief Secretary for Ireland, a post which the former held until the Easter Week Rebellion in 1916.

The united front against the "Women's Rebellion" also should be mentioned in speaking of the coalition between the English Liberals and the Irish National Parliamentary Party. The phrase

5. G. Sigerson, Political Prisoners at Home and Abroad, pp. v-vii.
7. Ibid., p. 124.
"Women's Rebellion" was coined by George Dangerfield to indicate the pre-war woman's suffrage movement. The advocates of votes for women in Ireland received important support from the I.R.B. and indeed the Easter Week proclamation stated:

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

T.M. Healy, George Bernard Shaw and the Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1911 may also be noted as Irish suffragettes.

But the Liberal Party was not favorably disposed toward extending the franchise to women and as a result Churchill, a member of the Cabinet, when in Ireland was asked at a meeting by Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington to treat suffragettes "as citizens and that the prison outrages on women should cease." Prime Minister Asquith, too, was annoyed at a meeting of the Irish Party in Dublin, 1912, when Francis Sheehy-Skeffington disrupted the proceedings "with a cry of 'Votes for Women!'

The Irish Party, of course, had followed the Liberals in its attitude towards female suffrage: "When a Home Rule Bill was talked by Redmond, Mrs. Skeffington at once demanded that Irish women should have citizen rights. Redmond would not hear of this." Captain J.R. White, an Ulster Home Ruler, has told

4. Ibid., p. 196.
5. Ibid., p. 186.
8. Ibid., p. 168.
how disgusted he was by the conduct of members of the Irish Party at a meeting which he addressed:

On the platform also speaking were John Dillon, Tom Kettle, and a number of leading lights of the National struggle.

John Dillon spoke before me. His speech was interrupted several times by the suffragettes, whose rather rough ejection was greeted with approving glee by the occupants of the platform behind me. This angered me so much that I turned round and shouted 'Shame!' at them. 1

As a postscript it may be pointed out that when Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested in 1916, he was wearing a "Votes for Women" 2 badge and that when he was murdered by a captain of the British 3 army he was probably still wearing it.

Separatism and the Redmondites

From the standpoint of the relations between the Irish National Parliamentary Party and such representative Irish separatist groups as the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein the period from 1906 to 1910 is even more interesting. So far as the Gaelic League is concerned, a few words of introduction seem necessary.

Gaelic League

By and large, from the days of O'Connell leaders in Parliamentary agitation had not been interested in reviving the Irish language but a few notable exceptions deserve mention.

3. Ibid., p. 108.
4. Ibid., p. 217.
5. See p. 15.
To begin with the enthusiasm of the Young Irisher,

William Smith O'Brien, for Gaelic may be noted:

It is interesting that Mr. Smith O'Brien, on his return from exile, though he had seen the failure of his hopes for Ireland, saw in the language a means of serving his country. Urged by O'Donovan, he learnt Irish and became president of the Osianic Society. But though Smith O'Brien learnt to speak and write Irish, the Osianic Society, or the other smaller societies formed for similar purposes, did not attempt to preserve or help the spoken language of Ireland. It was considered enough to edit and publish manuscripts.

A.M. and T.D. Sullivan, Michael Davitt and T.M. Healy have also been described in the same connection.

In 1877 the Irish language came up for discussion in the House of Commons:

Chevalier O'Clery gave notice that he would ask the Irish Chief Secretary if similar inquiries made to the Scotch national teachers, as to the advisability of teaching Gaelic, should not be made to the Irish national teachers with reference to the Celtic language.

In 1878, before Healy had been elected to Parliament, his brother Maurice projected a book "on Gaelic notation" but nothing seems to have come of it because in 1893 the former wrote to the latter about T.O'Neill Russell and Douglas Hyde:

Russell said, when I spoke about your proposed text-book that Hyde would be glad to correct it for you, and Hyde quietly assented. He seems to have no strong opinion on the phonetic question. Russell would now and then assail his pronunciation of Irish, as I heard him assail the proprietor of Cowell's public house in Holborn on that subject fifteen years ago...

1. See pp. 27, 49-50.
2. O. Coghai, D. Douglas Hyde An Gaeilge Agadhain In Dara DCR, p. 29.
5. See pp. 351-353.
8. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 401-402.
T.M. Healy’s admiration for T. O'Neill Russell had continued unabated:

I think Russell the most delightful human animal I have ever known: his honesty, sincerity, enthusiasm and genuine love for Ireland and Celtic things, in a man of his years and protestant training, are marvellous. He is just as much embittered against Scotch Gaelic spelling as he was when I heard him thundering against it in 1878, with Butt in the chair, at the Westminster Palace Hotel. He has evidently never forgiven Parnell for his want of interest in that lecture. 1

Curiously enough, Healy has indicated that Redmond displayed a mild interest in Irish as early as 1880: "His oratorical skill I had noticed at a meeting called by O'Connor Power in the Westminster Palace Hotel to hear O'Neill Russell on the Gaelic revival." 2 It may further be noted that in 1885 Healy wrote from Richmond jail: "I have gone through two first Gaelic books with Davitt and Quinn, and so have picked up a little." 3

Parnell’s apologist Margaret Leamy made no effort to show that T. O'Neill Russell was incorrect in believing that Parnell was not interested in attempts to revive or preserve the Irish language. She only mentioned a language enthusiast who was an unusual type of Parnellite:

These were not the only nuns who were not afraid to show their devotion to Parnell - one in particular was Mother Patrick, a very wonderful Dominican nun, of the convent in Eccles Street, Dublin. A woman of marvelous ability and energy, her Irish spirit permeated the atmosphere wherever she was, in Eccles Street and Sion Hill. She was a pioneer of the Gaelic Revival, and Irish was taught in the Dominican convents before it was introduced into any other school. 4

2. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 102.
3. Ibid., p. 192.
When **Connradh Na Gaedhilge** (englished, The Gaelic League) was founded in 1893 the Parnell split had just occurred. It is interesting to observe that **Report of the Gaelic League for the Year Ended 30th September 1894** failed to mention any member of Parliament in attendance when it was formed:

The Gaelic League was formed on the 31st of July, at a meeting in Mr. Martin Kelly’s rooms, 9, Lower O’Connell-street, Dr. Douglas Hyde presided at this meeting and the following also attended, and took part in founding the League: - Charles Percy Bushe, James Michael Cogan, Rev. William Hayden, S.J., Patrick J. Hogan, M.A.; Martin Kelly, John MacNeill, Patrick O’Brien, Thomas O’Neill Russell. It was resolved: - 'That a Society be formed, under the name of the Gaelic League for the purpose of keeping the Irish language spoken in Ireland.'

Unlike the Irish members of Parliament certain Fenians and a celebrated Roman Catholic priest helped the new movement. For example, in the above list the name of Michael Cusack does not occur but there is evidence that he was one of the founders. And in this connection a news item which appeared in **Irish World** on December 9, 1893 may be noted because it reported a meeting of the Gaelic League in Dublin "last week" at which Cusack presided. Among those present at this meeting was the Fenian, J.J. Boland and a poem by the Irish poet, Raftery, was read.

Another name absent from the list of those who attended the first meeting of the Gaelic League was that of the celebrated Father Eugene O’Grownemy who had become editor of the **Gaelic Journal** of the Gaelic Union in 1891. Father O’Grownemy, who knew

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2. See pp. 421-422.
5. See p. 351.
that Hyde had proposed such an organization in New York as early as 1891 and who had supported the proposition in the *Gaelic Journal*, was in Scotland in July, 1893; but on his return he helped the newly formed League by inducing many to join it:

He also placed the *Gaelic Journal* at the service of the new organization. He is, therefore, properly to be regarded as one of its founders. Dr. Hyde was elected President of the League... The Rev. Euseby D. Cleaver was elected Vice-President, in recognition of his generous help given to the teaching of Irish in the primary schools, on which he annually spent large sums of money. Mr. Cleaver died a few months after the Gaelic League was formed, and Father O'Growney was chosen Vice-President to succeed him and retained that post till his death..." 1

Father O'Growney despite his dislike for Justin H. McCarthy formed a link between the new League and the anti-Parnellites because he contributed a series of elementary lessons in Irish to the *Weekly Freeman*. For this paper was controlled by one of Parnell's foes, Thomas Sexton, who was an enthusiast for the revival of the language. On the other hand, in 1894, Valentine B. Dillon, Parnellite Lord Mayor of Dublin, presided at the Irish Language which had been summoned together by the League.

Nevertheless, the Gaelic League sought to avoid being involved in the row between Parnell's faithful few and the anti-Parnellites:

2. Ibid., p. 259.
6. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 126.
spoken in Ireland.

II.

No matter of religious or political differences of opinion shall be admitted into the proceedings of this Society.

THE FOREGOING ARE FUNDAMENTAL RULES, AND CANNOT BE ALTERED OR ABOLISHED. 1

However much the Gaelic Leaguers may have sought to avoid "political difference of opinion" the League undeniably emphasized the cultural differences between Ireland and England:

The Gaelic League...embraced the entire country. All politics, Unionist and Nationalist, all classes, high or low,...were members of it. Inspired by the national spirit in its non-political sense, it was desirous of reviving the ancient language of the country, its music, literature, art, customs, and thus make Ireland thoroughly Irish, (neither Saxon nor Italian,' without at the same time, having any idea - so far, at least, as its proclaimed objects; and the thought of its chief supporters, were concerned - of separation from England. But the effect of the movement was to heighten, deepen and make still more acute, the national consciousness of the separate and distinct individuality of Ireland, and its inevitable tendency was to seek for the determination of the spirit it aroused in the completest form of independent government. Therefore, it was very natural that the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein should, in time, work together in harness. 2

On the same subject Douglas Hyde's biographer, Diarmid O Cobhthaigh, declared:

Hyde had started the Gaelic League upon a non-political basis, profoundly convinced that the best hope of reviving the language lay in having a body devoted to that object and to that object only. A feeble attempt, not countenanced by the leaders, on the part of the official Nationalists to get control of the League had been stopped. Hyde, and those who thought with him including Eoin MacNeill, P.H. Pearse, and P. O'Daly, Secretary of the League, were successful in keeping the League apart from politics. 3

Yet in spite of the fact that both the Fenians and the

Roman Catholic Church had paid more attention to the revival

2. M. MacDonagh, The Home Rule Movement, pp. 244-245.
of the language, and that the Gaelic League had attempted to ignore parliamentary politics, the Irish National Party refused to have no traffic with the renaissance. Thus, "Thomas P. O'Donnel, M.P., for West Kerry" was reported in An Gaedal of March, 1901, as having "addressed the House of Commons in Irish recently" in "order to call parliamentary attention to the language movement."

The speaker ruled him out of order and would not permit him to continue. In speaking to a reporter Mr. O'Donnell said: 'One-fourth of the population in Ireland speak the Irish language and transact the greater part of their business in that tongue. My object in speaking Irish was simply to draw attention to the fact that the English Government has done its best to kill the Irish language, Irish literature and Irish intellect. While I know English, I can speak Irish more fluently and with far less trouble. I never spoke a word of English until I was twelve years old. I learned French and Latin and mathematics through the medium of the Irish language. Every meeting held by my constituency in West Kerry has been addressed by me in Irish. To me English is as foreign a tongue as French is to English people.'

Again, O Cobhthaigh, the biographer of Hyde, alluded to another instance of the interest which the Redmondites took in the revival of Irish:

The leaders of the party, though not very enthusiastic supporters of the Gaelic movement, gave it some aid, and both Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon occasionally appeared on Gaelic League platforms. Both in the House of Commons and outside they worked to safeguard the interests of the language in Irish education, and with the exception of a difference of opinion on Mr. Dillon's part on the question of compulsory Irish in the national University they have consistently continued to give it their support. Mr. Redmond, at a St. Patrick's Day dinner in London in 1904, publicly asked Hyde to take a seat in Parliament, an offer which was appreciated but declined.

The relations between the Irish National Parliamentary Party and the Gaelic League were most cordially expressed in the person of Stephen Gwynn, who belonged to both organizations; and in certain events which transpired in connection with the establishment of the National University of Ireland by the Liberal Government. Accordingly, the man and the events deserve further consideration.

Stephen Gwynn, who has already been mentioned as a member of the Contemporary Club, was the most distinguished literary man to be both a member of Parliament and also a prominent Gaelic Leaguer. Although he was the grandson of William Smith O'Brien, Gwynn was brought up in a Unionist environment and remembered Joe Brady and the Invincibles only as incredible villains.

Sometime about 1887 he became mildly interested in the dynamitards and declared himself a Parnellite, -- remaining loyal after the split. In 1902 he became secretary of the Irish Literary Society in London and soon after a poem of his which expressed admiration for deceased Irish advocates of physical force appeared in United Irishman. In 1905 Gwynn was a candidate for Parliament against Barry O'Brien and James Halpin.

When the nominations were being made and Gwynn was called upon to speak for himself:

Somebody shouted at me from the back, 'Could you shoulder a

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2. S. Gwynn, Experiences of a Literary Man, pp. 31-33.
3. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
4. Ibid., p. 104.
5. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
6. Ibid., p. 203.
rifle? I said only one man there had the right to talk about rifles and that was Halpin (for he had been a Fenian), but that anyhow rifles were discarded and I refused to discuss the prospect of having anything to do with them. 1

Thereupon Halpin received the nomination and upon his death was succeeded by Arthur Lynch who had been sentenced to death for fighting against England in the Boer War.

Stephen Gwynn's interest in the Gaelic League took him to a Feis at Cushendal in the Glens of Antrim in 1904. Among those who also were present were Alice Milligan, Joseph Campbell, Padraic Colum, P.J. Bigger (the Belfast antiquarian), Eoin MacNeill and Roger Casement. Gwynn wrote:

The gathering was typical of what the Gaelic League then aimed to be... There was an exhibition of local industries, of singing and dancing... Horace Plunkett presided. 8

Not long after this famous Feis, a curious roman à clef appeared,

The Seething Pot:

Main theme: the apparently hopeless embroilment of politics and ideas in Ireland... Many of the characters are types of contemporary Irishmen, e.g. Denis Browne, poet, aesthete, egoist; Desmond O'Hara, journalistic freethinker (said to be modelled on Standish O'Grady); Sir Gerald Geoghegan, Nationalist landlord; John O'Neill, the Irish leader, who is deserted by his party and ruined by clerical influence; and many others. 9

The author, the Reverend James Owen Hannay, was one of the few clergymen of the Church of Ireland who were active in the Gaelic

2. Ibid., p. 276.
3. See p. 545.
5. Padraic Colum, Cross Roads in Ireland, pp. 141-144.
8. Ibid., pp. 257-259.
9. S.J. Brown, Ireland in Fiction, p. 31.
League. He had signed *The Seething Pot* "George A. Birmingham"
and certain newspapers declared that Gwynn had written it. Until
"Birmingham's" identity was discovered, Gwynn was quite unaware
who he was:

...the book was a puzzle to me when it came at its first ap-
pearance with a type-written enclosure, apologizing to me for
liberties taken with my family history. The book opened with
a sketch in which Smith O'Brien's career was attributed to an
imaginary Mr. Geoghegan, and the central figure of the story
was his son, a young man of the landlord class, surrounded by
Unionist friends and relatives, but having the heritage of a
rebel tradition...George Moore...figures recognizably. So...
does Standish James O'Grady...Parnell was revived, but oddly
mixed up with Mr. William O'Brien. 1

However, Gwynn did not follow the formula suggested in Hannay's
book:

In George Birmingham's book, the well-bred young man, find-
ing that his position as a Nationalist politician threatens
to bring him into collision with the police, sends in his
resignation. 2

Not long after the publication of *The Seething Pot* both Gwynn
and the Reverend James Owen Hannay were elected to the executive
committee of the Gaelic League; and soon after the former was
elected to Parliament. In connection with his return to West-
minster it may be noted that although Gwynn avoided "collision
with the police" he was ready to accept the support of those who
believed in physical force. Of his election campaign Gwynn wrote:

I've said I ask their votes, because I'm the chosen candidate
of the United Irish League Convention, I have the support of
the National Party, and I'm the grandson of Smith O'Brien who
was sentenced to death in 1848. 'But,' said one, 'we thought
he was sentenced to be hanged and dhrrawm and quarrthered.'
So he was, said I. 'My God,' said they, 'and you leave out
that.' So it went in duly and 'grandson of William Smith
O'Brien,' with this appendix, figured in capitals. 4

2. Ibid., p. 304.
In view of Hannay's mistake in his estimate of Gwynn, it is curious to mention the latter's estimate of George A. Russell which appeared in The Old Knowledge, and which drew the following comment from A.E.:

I do not mind the slightest use you made of me as copy... Yeats began it and George Moore completed my education in this way... I was thinking it would help the sale of the Secret Rose, the Celtic Twilight, Evelyn Innes, and Sister Teresa, and The Old Knowledge if I brought action for libel against you all... I could bring hosts of witnesses who will swear they were shocked at the attribution of the black art, love affairs with actresses, etc., to me...

In sketching the relations between the Irish party at Westminster and the Gaelic League during the period from 1906 to 1910 certain events which occurred in connection with the establishment of the National University of Ireland should also be mentioned.

The history of the National University has been traced back to the Catholic University which Cardinal helped to found in Dublin in 1853. For the National University incorporated University College which had been begotten of the Catholic University. The immediate cause of the creation of the National University of Ireland, however, was Augustine Birrell's "University scheme" of 1907 which, as Chief Secretary of Ireland, he was to introduce in Parliament:

In the following year, 1908, Augustine Birrell succeeded in passing an Irish Universities Bill. A National University was founded in Dublin. It incorporated the three colleges of Dublin, Cork and Galway. At Belfast, Queen's College became Belfast University.

3. Ibid., pp. 202-203.
The Gaelic Leaguers anticipated "that some knowledge of Irish would be made compulsory on all students." Therefore, when the Reverend Doctor Delaney, S.J., of University College asked why the uneducated language of a peasant should be a test of University education, a controversy resulted. Indeed, so heatedly did the Reverend Doctor O'Hickey, successor to Father O'Growney as professor of Irish at Maynooth, support compulsory Irish that he is said to have lost his instructorship as a result.

The Fenians, of course, supported the Gaelic League; but the Irish party was split. At its annual convention in 1909 the following resolution was introduced:

That this convention approves of the inclusion of the Irish language among the compulsory subjects for matriculation at the National University of Ireland.

John Dillon opposed the proposition and when he had finished, the chairman, John Redmond, called on Douglas Hyde who was present. The resolution was carried but the battle continued into 1910 when the Senate of the University ruled:

that Irish-born students who did not take Irish at matriculation should be required, during the undergraduate course, to attend the Irish Language, Irish History, and Irish Literature lectures, and duly satisfy the Irish professors (Dr. Hyde, Eoin MacNeill, etc.) as to their knowledge in these lines.

3. Ibid., pp. 146-154.
5. Ibid., p. 120.
7. L.N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 115.
Still the Gaelic League would not compromise:

During the next couple of months the Senate, helped by public criticism and pressure, underwent a change of spirit, and at its meeting on the 23rd of June, Dr. Hyde's resolution that Irish be essential or obligatory at matriculation in 1913 was carried... 1

Sinn Fein

An Irish separatist group which, unlike the Gaelic League, was avowedly interested in politics, was Sinn Fein. It was formed in 1905 and, according to Mary Ellen Butler, the name was inspired by the Gaelic League: "The early motto of the Gaelic League was: Sinn Fein, Sinn Fein, Amhain."

Although its first president was Edward Martyn, the name of Arthur Griffith should be associated with the new movement, before all others. For Sinn Fein accepted Griffith's "Hungarian Policy" from Cumann na nGaedhal, an earlier organization with which he was associated. The policy is described by the following resolution which the latter organization had adopted:

That we call upon our countrymen abroad to withhold all assistance from the promoters of a useless, degrading and demoralizing policy until such a time as the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party substitute for it the policy of the Hungarian Deputies of 1861, and, refusing to attend the British Parliament or to recognize its right to legislate for Ireland, remain at home to help in promoting Ireland's interests and to aid in guarding its national rights. 3

Following its adoption by Cumann na nGaedhal the policy had been elaborated in Griffith's paper, United Irishman, and subsequently had appeared in 1904 in a pamphlet entitled The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland.

1. Ryan, _op. cit._, p. 169.
Edward Martyn had subsidized United Irishman, had contributed to *An Claidheamh Soluis* (organ of the Gaelic League) and had written a penny pamphlet *Ireland's Battle for her Language.* Furthermore, he had characterised the Irish party at Westminster as "the lazy, the unpractical, the lovers of declamation rather than action." It is not surprising, therefore, that he was present at the inauguration of Sinn Fein on November 28, 1905 when it was decided to substitute a National Council for the members of Parliament:

The policy of the new body, the National Council, was defined as 'National self-development through the recognition of the rights and duties of citizenship on the part of the individual and by the aid and support of all movements originating from within Ireland, instinct with national tradition and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims.'

All members of Parliament who refused to attend at Westminster were to be associated with the new organization. Seumas MacManus noted: "For the sake of historical record it may be stated that those who first met and formed this National Council were:

Arthur Griffith, Maud Gonne MacBride, Alderman Tom Kelly, Henry Dixon, Seumas MacManus, and Edward Martyn."

The newly formed organization soon attracted the attention of William O'Brien, T.M. Healy, Canon Hannay, the I.R.B., Stephen Gwynn and others. Healy was probably first made aware of Sinn Fein as the result of one of Martyn's "characteristically provocative speeches" in which he had asserted that the "Irishman who en-

2. Ibid., p. 252.
3. Ibid., p. 248.
ters the Army or Navy of England deserves to be flogged" and for
which the Unionist Kildare Street Club of Dublin sought to expel
him from its membership. For Martyn sued to prevent the expulsion
and employed, successfully, "the redoubtable Mr. Tim Healy" as
his chief counsel.

The case of Canon Hannay also involved a dispute with
Unionists:

When the Westport Guardians...demanded the dismissal of
Canon Hannay from his chaplaincy for being the author of
The Seething Pot, which offended the political sensibili-
ties of the worthy Guardians, he found no more strenuous
advocate, and the Guardians no more unsparing critic, than
Sinn Fein.

The I.R.B. began infiltrating into Sinn Fein in 1907 and in
some places soon controlled the local branch of the latter:

The Supreme Council of the I.R.B. was cautious since the
time when the Fenians had been allowed to join the Land
League...It waited till early in 1907 to give official
permission to members of the I.R.B. to join the Sinn Fein
clubs all over Ireland, when the Dungannon Clubs in Ulster
immediately amalgamated with the Sinn Fein clubs to form
the new Sinn Fein League.

On the other hand, the Irish party was not very enthusiastic
about the "Hungarian Policy." On one hand the "distinguished
novelist and critic," Stephen Gwynn, who was "M.P. for Galway
City, 1906-1918, and was one of the most active members of the
Irish Parliamentary Party," attacked Sinn Fein in the Weekly
Freeman on September 29, 1906. On the other hand, the group

2. Ibid., pp. 316-317.
3. Ibid., pp. 312-322.
4. Henry, op. cit., p. 79.
5. Le Roux, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
8. S. Gwynn, Sinn Fein--The Way to Help Ourselves, Weekly Free-
man, September 29, 1906, p. 12.
was popular in Dublin:

In Dublin the movement was particularly strong, and even succeeded in securing the return of some of its candidates at the elections to the City Council. When the Liberal Government in 1906 offered Mr. Redmond, in place of a Home Rule Bill, what was known as the Devolution Bill, the sincerity of English parties in their dealings with Ireland began to be widely questioned and Sinn Fein received an additional impetus. 1

And Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P., and C.J. Dolan were members of the Irish party who found Sinn Fein attractive:

Mr. C.J. Dolan, the sitting member for North Leitrim, declared himself a convert to the new movement. He resigned his seat and offered himself for re-election as a Sinn Fein candidate. He polled less than a third of the votes, and Sinn Fein received a serious setback. In fact the ground had not been sufficiently prepared. A weekly paper, supplemented by a few pamphlets, with no great circulation outside Dublin, was an insufficient instrument with which to achieve the success of a new policy within two years. 3

In spite of the sentiment expressed in the above quotation, T.M. Healy and at least one other member of the group which favored Parliamentary agitation was favorably impressed by the election. For the former wrote:

I think a completely new political, journalistic and parliamentary situation will be soon created by Sinn Fein. P.A. McHugh was sick over the poll made by Dolan its nominee in Leitrim. 4

And again in 1909, Healy wrote: "The Sinn Feiners are active in Dublin and growing." Incidentally, perhaps the daily paper which Sinn Fein had established influenced Healy's opinion:

The first issue was dated Tuesday, August 24, and its appearance was heralded by the throngs in the streets in the vicinity of Middle Abbey Street, where the paper was pub-

1. Henry, op. cit., p. 79.
5. Ibid., p. 481.
lished. The paper was eagerly bought up...as soon as it had been run off the press. The paper was printed on Irish paper with Irish ink, and was Irish in every line of its make-up. 1

In spite of the interest of the I.R.B. and T.M. Healy, by 1910 Sinn Fein seemed to be losing ground. Edward Martyn had resigned from the presidency in 1908 when Sinn Fein had taken its stand against the Redmondites and had been succeeded by John 3 Sweetman, "one of the first Vice-Presidents." In 1909 an American observer in Ireland wrote:

Sinn Fein, an organization of some strength, opposes parliamentary action, despite the remarkable accomplishments of the last generation, and advocates (in theory) of 'physical force' are also contemptuous. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the national spirit of Ireland is represented in the work of the Irish Parliamentary Party and its supporting organization, the United Irish League, under the able leadership of John E. Redmond. 4

Sir Thomas Eamonde returned to the Irish party and in 1910 Sinn Fein decided to abstain from any part in the general election. "In April, 1910, Sinn Fein announced on behalf of its party that Mr. John Redmond, having now the chance of a lifetime to obtain Home Rule, will be given a free hand, without a word said to embarrass him." According to Wilfrid Seawon Blunt, this filled at least one Irish leader in Parliament with optimism:

Dillon is hopeful about Irish prospects. He says the Sinn Fein movement as far as it was hostile to the Parliamentary party has all but died down. He expects a General Election in January, with a result of even forces between Tories and Radicals; and so the possibility of an arrangement between the two parties favourable to Home Rule. 6

"Ulster Will Fight and Ulster Will Be Right", 1910-1914

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the first general election of 1910 was to decide the question of whether Lloyd George's budget should be adopted; and the second general election in the same year was to decide whether the veto powers of the House of Lords were to be limited. But the leaders of the Irish party were also given to understand that the second election would decide the issue of Home Rule.

In the second election, of course, the Liberals were returned to office but for the first time since 1885, Irishmen held the balance of power in Westminster. To meet the threat of Home Rule which resulted from this situation in the House of Commons, many Ulster Protestants taking up where they had left off in 1893, determined to resort to physical force. In the following pages the lessons which these foes of Home Rule taught the Fenians will be summarized; and then the important minority of Ulster Protestants who were in favor of Home Rule will be discussed.

However, in order to understand what the conflict was about it will be necessary first briefly to indicate the scope of the Home Rule Bill which was prepared in 1911 by Augustine Birrell:

This Bill proposed to give Ireland a Parliament subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. The Irish Parliament would have no power in the matter of peace, war, the Crown, treaties, army, navy, coinage, Land Purchase, P.O. Savings Banks. It

3. See p.455.
5. See p.511
would have no control over police for six years. It would have no fiscal autonomy. The adjustment of the financial relations between the two countries was a proceeding so complicated that it would have puzzled Morgan...

Redmond (and he is reputed to have been quite sober at the time) declared that this Bill was the final settlement of the feud between the two nations. 1

Foes of Home Rule in Ulster

Although the opposition to Home Rule which was displayed by various Ulstermen had little if any effect on the Celtic renaissance, three lessons which the Ultonian exponents of physical force taught the Fenians may be summarized: first, there was an appeal to Germany; second, the Ulster Volunteers were formed; third, guns were smuggled into Ireland. In addition to these lessons, a word should be said about English Conservative support for the Ulstermen.

The first lesson which the rebellious Ulstermen were to teach the Fenians was that Germany might help an Irish revolution against England. Captain Craig "the present Lord Craigavon" was the first Ulsterman to threaten to appeal to "Germany and the German Emperor." His example was followed by others among whom F. E. Smith is noteworthy because he was to prosecute Casement for treason in 1916. Smith said in 1912:

Speaking with a full sense of responsibility, he went further and said there was no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate or unconditional, in carrying out the quarrel if the quarrel was wickedly fixed upon them. 5

3. Ibid., p. 181.
Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster rebels, even seems to have entered into negotiations with the Kaiser.

It was, presumably, as a result of this trafficking with Germany that H.W. Nevinson, correspondent of the London News and the Manchester Guardian, discovered an Ulster hotel to be full of Germans in March, 1914:

In the main hotel were correspondents of four German papers, and I could not quite understand why German editors thought it worthwhile to send their men to Ulster. But I felt uneasy about it, all the more when one of them, a very intelligent Jew named Schweriner, of the Vossische, came in the same train with me to Dublin, where he was to meet Roger Casement, who had promised to take him on a tour through the west of Ireland. Though Schweriner was lame, he made that tour, and to the false hopes of German assistance then suggested I have sometimes attributed Casement's desperate belief that Germany would afford him genuine armed help in his efforts to regain his country's independence. After a brief meeting on my arrival in Dublin (March 27, 1914), I think I did not see that remarkable man again till I visited him in a London prison and was present at his trials for high treason.

It was also as a result of this trafficking that T.M. Healy asserted that Ulster was partially responsible for leading "the Kaiser into action in 1914" because "the German General Staff" was sure that as a result of Carson's threats, England "dared not enter the war."

The formation of the Ulster Volunteers was the second lesson which the rebellious Ulstermen taught the Fenians. Early in 1913 when the Liberal Government was passing its Home Rule Bill through Commons Carson declared: "We will march from Ulster to Cork if this thing happens, even if not one of us shall ever return."

4. O'Flaherty, op. cit., p. 278.
5. Ibid., p. 276.
Before the end of 1913 he had organized a provisional government and had enrolled a "formidable military force, approaching in number 100,000 men."

The pleasure of the Fenians at this development was indicated by John Devoy who wrote: "In other words, Carson and his Volunteers made good their right to publicly drill and carry arms—a situation such as had not existed in Ireland since the time of Grattan's Volunteers..." However, they probably were not quite so pleased when the officers in the British army stationed at the Curragh of Kildare mutineed rather than proceed to Belfast to fight the Ulstermen.

The third lesson which the Ulster rebels taught the Fenians was how to smuggle guns into Ireland. While Nevinson was in Dublin, where he met Sir Horace Plunkett as well as Casement, he may have heard the following rumor:

a mysterious vessel called the Fanny, said to be carrying arms for Ulster, had been captured by the Danish authorities in the Baltic. For several days no further news reached Belfast, where it was assumed that the whole enterprise had failed...

However, the Fanny, commissioned by the commander of the Ulster Volunteers, General Sir George Richardson, to smuggle a cargo of rifles from Hamburg into Belfast, had not been captured and on April 24, 1914, it slipped into Larne and was unloaded.

The London Times complimented the Ulstermen on their ef-

2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 408-409.
5. R. McNeill, Ulster's Stand for Union, p. 207.
6. Ibid., pp. 190-221.
ficiency. T. W. Healy suspected that the Liberal Government "connived at" the "gun-running." The continued presence of German newspaper correspondents in Belfast might even indicate that the German Government assisted in the affair. At any rate such an inference may be made from remarks by Alice Stopford Green in *Ourselves Alone*, Brigadier-General Crozier in *Ireland Forever* and Esther Roper in her biographical sketch of Countess Markievicz.

The Fanny exploit it may be noted, was well received by the Irish Volunteer, organ of a Volunteer organization which had been formed in the south of Ireland along the lines of the Ulster group:

The head of the Irish Volunteers in Tralee wrote at a time when threats of suppressing the Ulstermen with the help of the army were made: '...Say to the English soldiers and to the English Government, This is our soil and the Ulster rebels are our countrymen; fire on them and you fire on us.' ...Ulster is not our real enemy, though...Ulster thinks we are her enemy. Time will prove who are Ulster's friends and ours.

Such sentiments, perhaps, reveal the extent of the influence of the I.R.B. in the Irish Volunteers at this time. At any rate the I.R.B. leaders were elated at the success of the gun-running and a letter from Tom Clarke to John Daly at this time is significant:

Pat McCartan came down in his own motorcar. He is in the confidence of the leading Carsonites of his own district, and was able to tell us beforehand of that landing of arms at Larne...

In view of the "disloyal" conduct which these three lessons taught the Fenians it is, perhaps, surprising that the Ulster rebels received the hearty support of such "loyal British Conservative Unionists as Bonar Law, Rudyard Kipling, Sir William Watson, the Northcliffe press and Lord Roberts. Indeed, Kipling's poem, "Ulster 1912," so enraged George Russell that he accused the former of intervening "in a quarrel of which" he knew nothing:

You had the ear of the world and you poisoned it with prejudice and ignorance. You had the power of song, and you have always used it on behalf of the strong against the weak. You have smitten with all your might at the creatures who are frail on earth but mighty in the heavens, at generosity, at truth, at justice, and Heaven has withhold vision and power and beauty from you, for this your verse is only a shallow newspaper article made to rhyme.

Friends of Home Rule in Ulster

The Irish party in its struggle with the Ulster opposition to Home Rule which has just been outlined received valuable aid from some exceptional Ultonians and it may be well in discussing the friends of Home Rule to set these exceptional north of Ireland Protestants off against the followers of Carson.

St. John Ervine, in view of his biography of Carson, might be put in this category had he not later become "more British than the British themselves." Three more are mentioned in an anecdote about the rebellion in 1916:

It is told of a North of Ireland officer, who was on duty in

1. D. Gwynn, Traitor or Patriot, p. 192.
3. Ibid., p. 192.
7. St. J. Ervine, Sir Edward Carson, pp. 49; 52-67; 70-77; 94.
8. D. Corkery, Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature, p. 36.
Dublin during the Easter Rising, that he entered a hotel or club-room and seated himself among his comrades, exclaiming wearily: 'I wish I was out of this, and back in Ballymena, where there's peace and quietness.'

'Peace and quietness! In Ballymena!' jeered one of the others... 'Why, Captain White, who trained the Citizen Army, is a Ballymena man, and John MacNeill, who has just got a life sentence, is from that neighbourhood, too. And I've just heard the archtraitor, Roger Casement, was born there...'

The Ulster-born Presbyterian, Robert Lynd, was a fifth.

A sixth was George Russell whose friendship was clarified in a treatise which he wrote to prepare the Irish for the new state which was to be created as a result of the Home Rule act. Incidentally, of this book, The National Being, Padraic Colum has written:

it is in the later writings of 'A.E.' that Whitman's ideas are really given currency in Ireland. 'The National Being' makes them part of a national policy. One of the strands of 'The National Being' is undoubtedly Whitman's notion of 'Stock Personalities.' These, in Whitman's writings, are archetypal characters, created in literature and thence reflected into life - types to which the men and women in the democracy would conform. 'A.E.' suggests that the national ideal is embodied first in the higher types and thence reflected into the mass of the population. Whitman's thought, I think, has been greatly enriched by 'A.E.'s' philosophy. 'Democratic Vistas' and 'The National Being' are books to be read together.

Finally, Alice Stopford Green, widow of the English historian, J.R. Green, may be mentioned although she was born in County Meath which is not a part of Ulster. Of these seven, White, Casement and Mrs. Green deserve further consideration.

4. R. Lynd, Ireland a Nation, p. 298.
Captain J.R. White

Captain White was a "Tolstoyan" who was once described by the Ulster Guardian as follows: "The writer is Captain James R. White, D.S.O., of the Gordon Highlanders, and the only son of Field-Marshal Sir George White, V.C., the hero of Ladysmith, and Ulster's distinguished son."

White spoke at least once in London on behalf of Home Rule:

The speech in question was delivered at a Protestant Home Rule meeting at the Memorial Hall, Faringdon Street. On the platform with me were Bernard Shaw, Conan Doyle, and Stephen Gwynn among others. Before the meeting Stephen Gwynn caught me by the arm and rushed me to a balcony to address an overflow meeting in the street.

Shaw's American biographer also mentions the former's support in spite of the fact that in 1890 Shaw had hinted that he "did not care a damn about Home Rule."

In Ulster, White arranged a pro-Home Rule meeting on his own account. Speakers "emphasized the fact that no Roman Catholics were present" in the good sized audience; and denied that George W. Russell had any connection with the gathering. They included Captain White, Mrs. Green and Sir Roger Casement "who combines citizenship of the world with an enthusiastic attachment to romantic nationalism:

He said that it was the first time he had ever addressed a meeting on an immediate political issue. Sir Roger spoke with feeling, but he avoided making bitter reference to Sir Edward Carson's movement. One thing was made clear by Sir Roger and his friends, namely, that the little band of Protestant Home Rulers refused to consider the exclusion of Ulster as a solution of the crisis.

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2. Ibid., p. 175.
3. Ibid., p. 164.
5. Ibid., pp. 251-252.
White soon became involved in the Irish labor movement which will be considered later but some further mention of the two other speakers, Mrs. Green and Casement, should be made here.

Alice Stopford Green

When Alice Stopford Green wrote *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing 1200-1600* in 1908, she declared in her *Preface* that it was the duty of everyone of Irish birth "to help in recovering from centuries of obloquy the memory of noble men, Irish and Anglo-Irish, who built up the civilization that once adorned their country." Her constancy in holding to this opinion was recorded by *Irish Review* in 1912 in a description of two new prose works from her pen, -a book, *The Old Irish World*, and an essay, *Irish Nationality*:

There are signs that Mrs. Green's active propaganda is beginning to have its effect. Mr. Fletcher may join with Mr. Rudyard Kipling in declaring that Irish history 'was all broken heads and stolen cows as it had been for a thousand years,' but the libel looks belated, for in current literature, in the reviews and the newspapers, it is now recognized that the Irish society which English wars disorganized was prosperous and cultured...The English refused to learn Irish, and so the only history of Ireland which they could discern was that part of it which was written in English -the history of the English colonists told by themselves...Mrs. Green pleads that Irish history should be written for Irish people as English history is written for English people, and as French history is written for French people. 3

The same issue of *Irish Review* contained a photograph of 4 Kuno Meyer, George Moore's, friend, and part of the former's lecture on *Learning in Ancient Ireland* in which Mrs. Green was cited

1. *See* pp. 606-612.
2. *A.S. Green, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing.*
as authority. Further evidence of a connection between Mrs. Green and Meyer, who was a professor in Liverpool, may be detected in a note which appeared in *Irish Review* in July 1913:

One cannot write about Irish historical research without recalling the work of Mrs. A.S. Green. It is a pity that neither of the Irish Universities have been quick to pay a tribute to her work. On July 5th, the Liverpool University will confer on her the degree of Doctor of Literature.

Sir Roger Casement

Sir Roger Casement, who followed Mrs. Green at the Home Rule meeting called by Captain White, was better known at that time as a servant of the Crown than as a separatist. He had been decorated for "special service" to the British Government in the Boer War. It is curious to note that his friend Mrs. Green, whom he first met shortly after that war, had been pro-Boer. And in 1903 his investigation of "the conditions under which the rubber trade in the upper Congo was conducted" led to a famous British White Paper, published in 1904, *Correspondence and Reports... Respecting the Administration of the... Congo*.

This White Paper, it seems, was the basis of E.D. Morel's *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*. And as a result of it the Congo Free State was taken over by Belgium in spite of the objections of Morel, who had been elected to Parliament: "Red rubber" was his

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slogan. Faked photographs showing that the hands of natives in the Congo were chopped off unless they produced so many pounds of rubber weekly were shown round." Another result of Casement's investigation was that Joyce used him in *Ulysses* to cap a conversation about an ironic attack on British imperialism which had appeared in Griffith's *United Irishman*:

-Well, says J. J., if they're any worse than those Belgians in the Congo Free State they must be bad. Did you read that report by a man what's this his name is?
-Casement, says the citizen. He's an Irishman.
-Yes, that's the man, says J. J. Raping the women and girls and flogging the natives on the belly to squeeze all the red rubber they can out of them.

A third result was that Casement was made a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1906.

At about the same time he was appointed British Consul to the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil, where, aided by Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington who introduced him to President Taft and members of the Department of State, he successfully repeated his exploit in the Congo:

He was promoted Consul General and transferred to Rio Janeiro in 1908, and in 1911 he was knighted, receiving in the same year the Coronation medal. Alluding to Casement's investigation into the conditions of the rubber industry in South America between 1901 and 1912...Casement's record showed a career of considerable public usefulness, and he had retired with a pension.

Although Casement asserted that his father "was a Fenian in principle" his own separatism first became manifest in the period after his return from the Congo. Of this manifestation Stephen Gwynn has said that "even in 1904 he was...engaged in propaganda

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4. Ibid., p. 128.
against recruiting for the British Army."

At about the same time he became interested in reviving the Irish language and made "a substantial subscription to the funds for starting the Irish College at Ballingeary." Later in the year he assisted at the Gaelic League Feis at Cushendal in the Glens of Antrim. Alice Milligan, who first met him at this festival, afterwards wrote:

In the winter following my first meeting with him, he organised a series of five lecture entertainments for me along the Antrim coast...The house of a kinswoman and friend of his was our headquarters, and there we had talk till late in the nights, about how the cause of Ireland might best be served and the old tongue revived.

In 1905 Casement's interest in the revival of Irish resulted in a "leaflet" on the subject which some ten years later he referred to in a letter to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt:

I send you a 'leaflet' on the Irish language -for I see in your book that you realized how the language, too, had been marked out for destruction. So very few Englishmen, even friends of Ireland politically, ever knew or dreamed there was such a thing as an Irish language! This leaflet I wrote some years ago (1905) for propagandist purposes in the North of Ireland -and it went broadcast over National Ulster and is still going.

In 1906 helped establish the Irish college at Cloghaneely:

Who would connect the great trek to the German prison-camps, the undersea dash from Germany to Kerry, the terrible betrayal and the death in London Tower -with this quiet college in Tir Chonaill? Yet Roger Casement might be called truly the real founder of Cloghaneely. He was there on the first day, with a little white dog he called 'Maoil,' and he was giving sweets to the children.

3. See p. 578.
(Also present at the opening was the Roman Catholic Bishop of the
diocese and Patrick Pearse; and the names of Alice Milligan and
Eoin MacNeill are associated with this school).

While in Brazil, Casement did not lose touch with Ireland.
A work about Saint Brendan may be ascribed to this period. In
addition, he became interested in an Irish youth organization:

Na Fianna Eireann (Irish Republican Boy Scouts) was founded
in 1909 by...Countess Markievicz, Bulmer Hobson, and a few
other citizens, but clearly at the instigation of the I.R.B.
Supreme Council, which had got the idea from Bulmer Hobson,
and which appointed Hobson to join the founders of the Fianna
in order to keep it under I.R.B. control. Hobson, who had
lately been in touch with Sir Roger Casement, secured the
latter's patronage for Na Fianna Eireann. 3

Hobson, too, may have drawn Casement's attention to Devoy's paper,
Gaelic American but in any case Devoy's "first personal knowledge"
of Casement came after the latter had gone to South America. Of
this first encounter Devoy wrote:

His letter to me enclosed two subscriptions for the Gaelic
American, one for himself and the other for either his mother
or his sister in Ireland. After this I occasionally got small,
but always very interesting, items of news from him for pub-
lication with brief suggestions as to their bearing on the
Irish Question. 5

Upon his return to Ireland in 1911, Casement settled down on
a pension in County Antrim, Ulster, and resumed his active support
of the language revival and other patriotic Irish activities.

His interest in Irish took him to Tory Island in August, 1912,
"with that famous party—the fiddler, the piper and the rest."

1. L. MacGowan, Colaisti Gaedhilge No. 7-Cloghaneely, The Irish
2. D. Gwynn, Traitor or Patriot, p. 387.
5. Ibid., pp. 407-408.
And he preserved an affection for that remote island until his last days for in a letter from prison he wrote: "tell the children in Gortahork School and Tory Island that I am sorry I was not able to send their prizes for the last two years." His interest in the language also engaged him in a project in which Eamonn De Valera was active: "Tawn School was for a time the subject of his chief concern, and he subscribed liberally and raised money to secure an Irish education for that thoroughly Gaelic part of Connacht."

Casement arranged that free lunches should be given to Irish speaking children in certain "desolate parts of Ireland," and took an active part in "the agitation for Irish in the University" at Belfast. Finally, this interest in education brought Casement into accepting various theories of Mrs. Green. Alice Milligan has reported:

I met him...at an Oireachtas, when he was much engrossed with Mrs. J.R. Green's wise effort to found the study of Old Irish and old literature on a right basis, and at the Mansion House reception that year, I was accompanying the sister and daughter of John Mitchel. He paid them special deference...

From the foregoing it is clear that Casement, although better known as an officer of the Crown, had developed a definite cultural sympathy for separatism when he returned to Ireland in 1911 and settled down in Antrim. After that date his separatism became more and more political:

He had renewed his friendship with the young men who had inspired in him a deep belief in the possibilities of the Sinn

4. Ibid., p. 575.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 574.
Fein movement; and as the year wore through, his own experience of the weakness and indecision of the Foreign Office in dealing with the Peruvian Government filled his soul...with distrust of the promises of politicians. It convinced him also that the Liberals would never face the consequence of attempting to force a Home Rule Bill through Parliament, against the opposition of the House of Lords, and especially in the face of the growing organisation of resistance in Ulster. 

Previous to Captain White's Home Rule meeting in Ballymoney, Casement did not publicly reveal these sentiments yet they were known to certain friends:

...he contributed an anonymous article to his friend Bulmer Hobson's paper Irish Freedom, which insisted that war between England and Germany had become inevitable, and that it would present the opportunity for a decisive agitation in Ireland which had been awaited for so many years.

After Captain White's meeting there could be no doubt about Casement's sympathies and indeed the London Times wrote a condescending editorial about "dissident Protestants, the last survivors of the Ulster Liberals of the old types." To this editorial Casement replied in a letter in which he asserted that it was the history of British imperialism in Ireland that had inspired him to expose similar evils in Africa and South America.

The "Union of Hearts," 1910-1914

In the third part of the present chapter the formula used in the first will be repeated in discussing the period from the return to office of the Liberal Government in 1910 to the outbreak of war in 1914. In this discussion first the actions of certain English and Irish friends of the "Union of Hearts" will be noticed;

2. See p. 594.
4. J.R. White, Misfit, p. 182.
and then the relations between the Irish end of this axis and such
Irish separatist groups as the Irish labor movement and the Irish
Volunteers will be treated.

English Home Rulers and Irish Members of Parliament

In discussing English Home Rulers and Irish members of
Parliament it will be noticed that the Englishmen, being Liberals,
had more diversified interests than the Irish who, though little
more than a caucus in the Liberal Party, had but one immediate ob-
jective. This diversity of interest on the part of the English
Home Rulers may be exemplified in the persons of Winston Churchill
("then a Liberal Home Rule minister"), H.W. Nevinson, W.S. Blunt
and Arthur Conan Doyle. Whereas the one chief objective of the
Irish members of Parliament will be revealed by discussing their
reactions to Carson and the possible partition of Ireland.

English Home Rulers

The diversified interests of Winston Churchill who became
the Conservative Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Ireland in 1940 hardly needs elucidation but Nevinson,
Blunt and Doyle, perhaps, deserve further mention. Nevinson, one
of whose visits to Ireland as a newspaper correspondent has already
been noted, on another occasion met Sir Roger Casement and on a
third trip met another Fenian:

It was during the ...visit to Ireland that I became acquainted
with Patrick Pearse at his patriotic school of St. Enda's
in Rathfarnham, a few miles south of Dublin. Poet, idealist,
enthusiastic Irish patriot he was then (February 11, 1912)

1. White, op. cit., p. 83.
2. See pp. 588-590.
rather more than four years removed from his execution after the rising of Easter Week. It was a few months later (May 28) that I first met Erskine Childers...

Another Englishman who approved of Home Rule for Ireland was Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. Irish Review found Blunt's Land War in Ireland particularly praiseworthy:

Being a personal narrative of events in Ireland, from the General Election of 1885 to the break-up of the Parnell movement in 1891, it supplements Davitt's 'Fall of Feudalism in Ireland' and Mr. Barry O'Brien's 'Life of Parnell.' It has the value of a contemporary historical document, the record of a man versed in public affairs...

Arthur Griffith also admired the book. And upon the strength of it Casement wrote to Blunt: "Your 'Land War in Ireland' I have often rejoiced over. If you would care to see a wild Irishman (something of the type possibly of your old Irish Bishop who wanted the dynamite!) I would come down for an hour."

Arthur Conan Doyle may be described as an Englishman in spite of his Irish blood. Doyle was in favor of Home Rule but in an article in the Fortnightly Review he added that Irishmen should be ready to fight for Great Britain because "no sword can transfix England without the point reaching Ireland behind her."

Incidentally, Casement denied this hypothesis in an article which appeared in Irish Review:

I will agree with Sir A. Conan Doyle up to this point—that the defeat of Great Britain by Germany must be the cause of

4. Ibid., p. 869.
5. D. J. O'Donoghue, The Poets of Ireland, p. 120.
7. D. Gwynn, Traitor or Patriot, p. 603.
a momentous change to Ireland: but I differ from him in believing that that change must necessarily be disastrous to Ireland. On the contrary, I believe that the defeat of Great Britain by Germany might conceivably...result in great gain to Ireland. 1

Irish Members of Parliament

Irish members of Parliament, of course, were in the van of the struggle for Home Rule. Since the passage of Home Rule legislation was an objective of the Liberal Government rather than an isolated Irish concern, the conduct of the Irish faction in the House of Commons may be passed over. However, a few words should be said about the problems that were raised by Carson and the prospect of the partition of Ireland.

To answer Carson's argument that Home Rule would result in the destruction of the British Empire an essentially Unionist contention was advanced:

Redmond, leader of the Parliamentarians, expressed himself as convinced that 'Home Rule would result in the greater unity and strength of the Empire.' Dillon believed that Ireland would take her share in all that pertained to the Empire 'as a willing partner,' and Tim Healy (later to be the first Governor-General of the Irish State) expected 'the Union to be made perpetual with the assent of the Irish people.' 2

Another reply to Carson was the argumentum ad hominem. The arms which the Ulstermen had smuggled in were jeered at as "wooden guns" and T.P. O'Connor said:

'Just as the sight of an Abbe gave M. Homais in Madame Bovary an unpleasant whiff of the winding sheet, there is something in the whole appearance of Mr. Carson that conveys to me the dank smell of the prison and the suffocating sense of the scaffold.' 3

Likewise, T.M. Healy, while insisting upon "his own personal liking

for Sir Edward Carson," attacked certain of Carson's Irish supporters for their "ignorance of Gaelic words and place-names."

A different type of answer to Carson was to agree to some sort of partition of Ireland. Rumors that the Redmondites had agreed to partition were noted by T. M. Healy as early as 1913, and in 1916 he said: "Although partition was not passed until 1920, its enactment was discernable four years earlier." Healy was so opposed to partition that in 1917 he wrote in a Preface:

These pages give a shorter, and, it is hoped, a less legal, setting to facts published for the first time some five years ago under the title 'Stolen Water.' They chiefly concern those counties of Ulster lately threatened with severance from the rest of Ireland. The story, such as it is, has been re-told and simplified in the hope that acquaintance with it may quicken and heighten the spirit of resistance to the statecraft of Partition.

Incidentally, it is interesting to conjecture what would have happened if the Redmondites had treated Sir Edward Carson the way one of them, according to T. M. Healy, treated P. H. Pearse:

Redmond in 1914 insisted that the National Volunteers, which had been formed to resist Carson's threatened march from Belfast to Cork, should be placed under the control of the parliamentary leaders. Pearse, who went into rebellion in 1916, opposed this, and was said to have been knocked down at the meeting by one of Redmond's M.P.'s.

Irish Members of Parliament and Irish Separatists

In the first part of the present chapter the relations between the Irish party and two separatist groups - the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein - were discussed. At this point the Irish labor movement

2. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 508.
3. Ibid., p. 553.
4. Ibid., p. 575.
5. T. M. Healy, The Great Fraud of Ulster, p. xiii.
and the Irish Volunteers will be introduced as additional problems which Irish members of Parliament had to solve without the help of the English end of the axis which has been called the "Union of Hearts."

The Irish Labor Movement

In spite of the fact that at Westminster the Irish members were able to agree with the Labour Party to keep the Liberal Government in power, in Ireland they were more apt to side with the Conservatives and Unionists in hostility to organized labor. The growth of differences between the two was slow at first but after 1910 it was greatly accelerated by the newly formed Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. These chronological observations will be somewhat elaborated in discussing the relation between Irish members of Parliament and the Irish labor movement.

This is not the place for a history of the labor movement in Ireland. However, it may be noted that it has been associated with moral suasion and physical force in the 'seventies by Michael MacDonagh in The Home Rule Movement, who declared of the trade unionist of that time:

His part was to turn out in his thousands for a national procession, stagger under his great trade-union banners, depicting Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmet and Daniel O'Connell, in heroic attitudes, as he marched for miles through the streets after the bands playing the 'Wearin' of the Green' and 'God Save Ireland.'

The strength of the trades unions in Ireland in 1894 has been indicated as follows:

In 1894, the year of the founding of the I.A.O.S., and the year

after the humble beginning of the Gaelic League, the Irish Trades Union Congress was established. For that year we have details of 51 Irish unions in the British Board of Trade returns, but for 1895 we have particulars of 93.

It was about this time that James Connolly and Frederick Ryan were first becoming known. And, according to Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, when Connolly emigrated to the United States Ryan became "the clearest and most convincing advocate of Socialism in Ireland." Ryan, it should be noted, was a force in Irish letters as well as in the labor movement.

As a force in Irish letters Ryan influenced both the theater and journalism. For he "helped in the founding of the Irish National Theatre, and was its secretary for some years: "Dana, the monthly review which he and 'John Eglinton' founded in 1904, and which ran for twelve months, contains some of Ryan's most characteristic work." The significance of Dana may be imagined from the fact that among those who contributed to it were George Moore, Oliver St. John Gogarty and James Joyce.

Ryan's interest in journalism also brought him into friendly relations with T.M. Kettle, editor of the Nationist. Thus he came to know Skeehy-Skeffington and the two of them inspired by the British Labour Party, attempted to found a similar organization in...

7. H. Gorman, James Joyce, pp. 116-117.
Ireland. But the project fell through because of the untimely death of Michael Davitt who was to have been chairman of the new group; and because the easy-going leaders of the Dublin Trades Council and the Irish Trades Union Congress were not interested in the "formation of a live Political Labour Party." Incidentally, it might be worth knowing if there was any connection between this projected group and the "anti-clerical newspaper" in which Davitt shortly before his death in 1906, interested George Moore.

In 1909 James Larkin, the "Strike Organizer," succeeded where Ryan, Sheehy-Skeffington and the others had failed when he established the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. A year later James Connolly returned from the United States; and 1911 the Dublin Labour Party was formed for the purpose of uniting "the forces of Labour in order to secure the election of independent labour representatives to parliament and local government bodies." In January, 1912, nine of its ten candidates, including Larkin, were elected members of the Dublin Corporation. Later in the same year Larkin and Connolly encouraged the Irish Trades Union Congress to found an Independent Irish Labour Party. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was becoming "the dominant factor in the Irish Labour Movement."

In the foregoing sketch of the history of the labor movement in Ireland factors may have been noted which might have aroused the fears of the Redmondites and therefore it will not be surprising to

1. Sheehy-Skeffington, op. cit., p. 117.
3. See pp. 545-546.
5. Ibid., pp. 79-86; cf. H.B.C. Pollard, The Secret Societies of Ireland, pp. 119-120.
learn that in March, 1912, while in Sligo, Larkin heard from the bishop of the diocese that he was "distrusted by members of the Irish Parliamentary Party." In the same connection it may be noted, that Larkin's paper, *Workers Republic* had attacked the Home Rule Bill.

Curiously enough, Connolly, who was in charge of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in Belfast, had aroused the fears of the Carsonites. For an Ulster Volunteer leader told H.W. Nevinson: "He thought that if the Volunteers were disbanded, the next Labour troubles in Belfast would be very serious, because it would be impossible to call in the rifles already distributed."

Then in 1913 when all the Unionist forces combined in opposition to organized labor James Connolly observed:

In the great Dublin lock-out of 1913-1914 the manner in which the Dublin employers, overwhelmingly Unionist, received the enthusiastic and unscrupulous support of the entire Home Rule Press was a foretaste of the possibilities of the new combinations with which Labour in Ireland will have to reckon.

The anti-labor forces were led by William Martin Murphy, a Dublin capitalist who had helped to destroy Parnell; and in this new battle, as in the attack on Parnell, Murphy was aided by T.M. Healy. Healy who was related to Murphy, was particularly conspicuous for his attacks on "Larkinism." Redmond, Dillon, T.P. O'Connor, Joseph Devlin, and the *London Times* also sided with

12. Wells, op. cit., p. 156.
Murphy. Dublin Castle, of course, opposed the strikers:

Connolly said later that the employers 'obtained beforehand (before they precipitated the struggle) the promise of swift and relentless use of government forces.' Larkin was arrested with four of his chief associates: William O'Brien, William Partridge, P.T. Daly and Thomas Lawlor. 1

Incidentally, the Roman Catholic hierarchy was hardly cordial in its relations with the strikers although Archbishop Walsh attempted to arbitrate the differences.

Even the assistance of members of the British Labour Party came to be regarded with suspicion by the strikers. For while it is true that George Lansbury, Keir Hardie and a delegation from the British Trade Union Congress visited Ireland and that there were some sympathetic strikes in England, prominent leaders of the English labor movement were hostile — especially J.H. Thomas, and Arthur Henderson. As a result, James Connolly criticized delegates to a special Trade Union Congress which assembled in England on December 9, 1913, for their "inaction." And later Countess Markievicz wrote: "I have just read the lives of Tolstoi and of Danton. I rather love the latter. The former I don't pretend to understand. He was so unbalanced, and he compromised with all his principles — like an English Trades Union leader."

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2. Ibid., p. 229.
3. Ibid., p. 232.
6. Ibid., p. 222.
10. Fox, op. cit., p. 128.
Finally, strikers had yet another foe in Arthur Griffith, whose hostility was "well-known." Liam O'Flaherty had summarized the opposing forces as follows:

On Murphy's side were the clergy of all denominations, the Castle Government and the Freemason Society, the majority of the politicians and, of course, the general business community. On Larkin's side, was the Transport Worker's Union and part of the English Labour Movement, together with some Irish poets like George Russell and the majority of the Irish intellectuals. Contrary to what one might expect, the small Sinn Fein section violently opposed Larkin and Arthur Griffith talked of having the strikers bayoneted.

Discussion of those who sympathized with the strike will be taken up subsequently, but it may be noted here that the strikers formed the Irish Citizen Army on the analogy of the Ulster Volunteers, and thereby anticipated the formation of a more inclusive Irish Volunteer group in the south of Ireland. It may also be noted that one of the first of the intellectuals to endorse the strikers was George Bernard Shaw. T.M. Healy replied by calling them "Chocolate soldiers." (Although this comic opera is based on Arms and the Man, Shaw has insisted that he had no hand in revising it.) Then Larkin broke into the contretemps to attack the latter's patriotism:

The workers wanted Home Rule not for monetary or ambitious reasons; they wanted Home Rule in the interests of the country; not in the interests of a few people only concerned in building up large bank balances. Mr. Healy had compared them to Chocolate soldiers. Mr. Healy should have quoted further from the same brilliant author, who had stated in a lecture in Dublin that 8,000 children of the poor were locked up in the bastiles of the Dublin workhouses. George Bernard

1. Fox., op. cit., p. 163.
2. O'Flaherty, op. cit., p. 281.
3. See p. 787.
5. R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 156.
Shaw was as good an Irishman as Ireland ever produced. If they had a few more Shaws and a few less Healys it would be all the better for Ireland. 1

The Irish Volunteers

With the end of the strike the Irish labor movement receded from the prominent place it had occupied in the minds of the Irish members of Parliament and was succeeded by the Irish Volunteers.

The Irish Volunteer organization was initiated by the I.R.B., possibly inspired by the Irish Citizen Army which had been formed by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. The resolution of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. to create an Irish Volunteer corps was followed by an article on the subject in The Leader, a Dublin weekly owned by D.P. Moran which professed to be an independent supporter of the Irish Parliamentary Party and to which Edward Martyn had been a contributor. Then Eoin MacNeill made his famous "historic call:" "...published in the Gaelic League official organ, An Claidheamh Soluis, on November 1, 1913, under the title, "The North Began."

The I.R.B. had carefully selected a "Provisional Committee of twenty-seven" to "take the matter up publicly" and sought "that its nominees on the Volunteers' Committee should remain unsuspected." So successful were the Fenians in disguising themselves that the Inspector-General of the Royal Irish Constabulary considered Sir Roger Casement and Colonel Maurice Moore, brother of the novelist

1. O'Flaherty, op. cit., p. 283.
5. L.N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 125.
6. Ibid., p. 126.
George Moore, the most important members of the Committee.

On November 25, 1913 this Provisional Committee promulgated the Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers, at a meeting in Dublin.

According to the dramatist Sean O'Casey, who was also historian of the Irish Citizen Army, the Manifesto was designed to appeal to every Irish group but the labor movement:

Their original manifesto had been signed by members of the Hibernian organisation and by a member of the United Irish League, two movements that were bitterly and implacably opposed to the interests of Labour. Every political movement had received an invitation to attend the preliminary meeting, while Labour was silently ignored.

As a consequence the labor press had kind words for only one member of the Committee: "'Is there,' asked The Irish Worker, 'one reliable man at the head of the National Volunteer movement apart from Case-ment who, we believe, is earnest and honest?'"

Members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union attended the inaugural meeting en masse and listened quietly to the opening remarks of the chairman, Eoin MacNeill:

A savage yell burst from the Liberty Hall men as the next speaker, a stern black-bearded man, came forward. He stood for a few moments waiting for the uproar to subside, but it only increased in volume. In vain MacNeill requested a hearing for the speaker. He pointed out that those who had come together that evening had done so in the cause of their common country and that no sectional disputes should intrude. This was too altruistic a philosophy for the Transport Workers, and as soon as MacNeill had resumed his seat the din broke out afresh.

'Who's the speaker?' Bernard asked of his neighbor.

'Larry Kettle, one o' the employers.'

'Put out them Liberty Hall men!' yelled a voice.

In spite of the noise the dark man read out a long document

from beginning to end at the top of his voice. All the time the Transport Worker kept up a deafening clamour, shouting, beeping, stamping their feet and clattering their sticks on the benches, so that not a syllable of the manifesto could be heard.

Relations were further strained when the Volunteers refused to let the Irish Citizen Army use their halls and Eoin MacNeill announced a sort of allegiance to Redmond:

At a meeting held in Navan Mr. John MacNeill had announced that the National Volunteers would be under control of the Irish Parliament, which Mr. Redmond had declared would be subservient to the English Imperial Parliament... A vigorous discussion was carried on in the Worker by Seumas Mac Gabhan, a well-known Sligo Volunteer, and the Secretary of the Citizen Army. Incidentally, one of the objections which the "Larkinites" had against Home Rule was the fear that it would lead to the partition of Ireland, and to finish these remarks about the original antipathy between the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers it may be remarked that Sean O'Casey, secretary of the Irish Citizen Army, was so hostile that Tom Clarke complained of him in a letter dated May 14, 1914, to John Devoy: "Larkin's people for some time past have been making war on the Irish Volunteers. I think this is largely inspired by a disgruntled fellow named O'Casey. By this attitude they have antagonized the sympathy of all sections of the country and none more so than the advanced..."

The Redmondites had at first been indifferent to the Irish Volunteers but as the organization became increasingly militant this indifference began to disappear. In this connection it may be noted that Casement condemned the Liberal Party and called upon the

2. O Cathasaigh, op. cit., p. 25.
3. Henry, op. cit., pp. 149-150.
5. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 395.
Irish people fully "to realize the duty imposed upon their honour and patriotism" in Irish Volunteer, the organ of the new corps. Furthermore, the popularity of the Volunteers led Tom Clarke to write to John Daly that Redmond was seeking to influence Eoin MacNeill, head of the Volunteers, and one of those members of the Provisional Committee who was not a Fenian:

Redmond (John) had an interview with John MacNeill, and to make a long story short, offered to finance the Volunteer movement if the Party would be allowed to have a controlling say upon the Irish Volunteers. Not agreed to by MacNeill, John left after failing. Simultaneously with this, Joe Devlin had an interview with Sir Roger Casement. Joe's proposition to him was practically the same as Redmond's to MacNeill. 2

That Redmond and Devlin went to Casement and MacNeill instead of to the I.R.B. may have been due to ignorance or an attempt to split the Volunteers and the Fenians:

Tom Clarke, according to his rule, was not a member of the Provisional Committee. Padraic Pearse was then in the United States, collecting funds for his school at St. Enda's, and at Friday's meeting John Redmond had complained bitterly of his 3 meetings there with the Clan na Gael ('my hereditary enemies')

At any rate, Sir Roger Casement, Eoin MacNeill, Darrell Figgis and Alice Stopford Green met in London to discuss how Redmond could be placated without alienating the I.R.B. They decided that if there was any prospects of arming the Volunteers the Republican Brotherhood "might accept the immediate demand as inevitable." Then Figgis made an offer which was to change the entire course of 4 this young poet and critic's life. Later he wrote:

Eoin MacNeill was returning to Dublin that night, and I suggested that O'Rahilly should come over some day early the following week and bring with him all the information he had.

collected, all the addresses on the Continent, together with all the money on which they could possibly put their hands. The very night of his arrival, if necessary, I would leave for the Continent, while he returned to Ireland. I would use my best discretion and buy. 'Let us buy the rifles,' I said, urging my point, 'and so at least get into the problem. Having them on our hands, we will have to land them somewhere in Ireland.'

In a few weeks Figgis was off on his mission, fortified by the success of the Ulster Volunteers at smuggling guns into Ireland.

Meanwhile, Redmond's efforts to capture the Volunteers became more strenuous and Casement noted in his diary that on May 12, 1914 Redmond had said to him: "Get an Irish Republic if you can."

By the end of May an understanding had been reached and some sixty-five thousand men had enlisted in the Volunteers. Then Redmond decided that he must gain complete control of the organization. As a result MacNeill, Casement and MacCartan were subjected to such intense pressure that on June 7, 1914 they "discussed the answer MacNeill was to give Redmond, Dillon and Devlin." Incidentally, MacCartan, who was a member of the I.R.B., suggested that Redmondites be admitted to the Provisional Committee.

On June 10, Redmond threatened to break up the movement unless his demand for control was granted. Then Bulmer Hobson, although he was a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., disobeyed its instructions and began to work for Redmond:

Casement himself wrote a statement, published by his biographer: 'On Monday, June 15th, while I was in bed at Buswell's Hotel,

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1. Figgis, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
2. Ibid., pp. 26-27.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
8. Ibid., p. 134.
Colonel Moore and Hobson were with me... ...while they were with me Tom Clarke's MacDiarmada came to urge me to fight Redmond, and I refused. 1

However, both Casement and MacNeill thought that Hobson "was spokesman for the I.R.B." and that it approved of compromising with Redmond. Furthermore, the members of the Provisional Committee did not wish in any way to jeopardize the chances of Figgis' mission and so on June 16, 1914, they voted that nominees selected by Redmond should be allowed to sit as members:

They knew that any division in their forces such as would certainly result from the disruption threatened by Mr. Redmond would inevitably lead to the miscarriage of their plans and the probable loss of their arms. ...they agreed to permit his nominees to sit on the Committee without, however, co-opting them as members...

The nominations were published, and the list was in itself an absolute breach of faith with the Committee and with the public. 4

O'Casey suspected Bulmer Hobson as having been the leading advocate of the surrender, as well as the main obstacle to comrade-ship "between the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army." The leaders of the I.R.B. agreed with him and forced Hobson to resign all offices which he held in the organization. Furthermore, Irish Freedom, organ of the Brotherhood, denounced the action of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers declaring "that 'after the British Government the Irish Parliamentary Party in its later years has been the most evil force in Ireland,'" and Sinn Fein, or-

5. O Cathasaigh, op. cit., p. 31.
gan of the party of that name, vehemently exclaimed that Redmond was only a tool "in the hands of Asquith and Birrell who wished to destroy the Volunteers." Jim Larkin denounced the compact "in the Labour Press"; and a similar article declared that the Volunteers "through the action of their Executive, had definitely joined hands with Labour's bitterest enemies." In short, these attacks on Redmond's nominees to the Provisional Committee have been summed up by a character in Eimar O'Duffy's novel, The Wasted Island, who described them as "crooks and jobbers."

Irish Volunteer attempted to minimize this hostility and asserted:

'The control of the committee by Mr. John Redmond does not matter, provided his nominees represent the feelings of the Volunteers: if they do the Irish Party will see to the withdrawing of the Arms Proclamation and proceed to arm the Volunteers at once.' But the Irish Party did neither.

(By way of explanation it may be noted that the Liberal Cabinet prohibited the importation of arms and ammunitions into Ireland two days after the formation of the Irish Volunteers).

The Redmondites at first professed an interest in arming the Volunteers and sought to prove that they were interested in gun running. But M.H. O'Rahilly, who was vitally concerned in Figgins' project, later declared:

Mr. Redmond's boat, I am told, was called 'L'Avenir,' which means in French 'The Future,' and it was a singularly appropriate title, because she never came. Having left Antwerp and come within sight of the Irish coast, she, for some mysterious reason, which we were not allowed to learn, changed her mind about the Volunteers and returned to Belgium.

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2. O Cathasaigh, op. cit., p. 45.
7. Regan, op. cit., p. 222.
Like O'Rahilly, Darrel Figgis also suspected the good faith of "Joseph Devlin and the political leaders" and therefore when the boatload of guns which he was expecting drew near to Ireland he decided to take no chances. In his Recollections of the Irish War he said:

On the Saturday evening, therefore, as I went to Howth, I sent a clumsily coded telegram to a certain political leader making an appointment for 12 o'clock that night at Wexford, and later that night my comrade and I had the satisfaction of seeing the gunboat making southward under full steam, well out of the way...

On July 26, 1914 the guns which Figgis had purchased were successfully smuggled into Ireland at Howth from Erskine Childers' yacht. That evening British troops, which had failed to prevent the exploit, shot and killed eight persons in a hostile but unarmed crowd at Dublin. Indignation was expressed in Ireland particularly by the Gaelic League. Irish Review printed a supplement signed by Thomas MacDonagh in which indignation with the "orders to charge and fire on an unarmed crowd" was mingled with exultation over the successful gun running:

It is needless to comment on the incompetence and dishonesty of the British authorities. The moral of this story, as of the whole rise and progress of the Irish Volunteers during the past eight months, is that if the leaders of the Irish people act strongly and decisively, they can succeed in their action. The young men of Ireland have got a strong lead from the Irish Volunteers; and they march to victory. Ireland has now the strength to enforce her choice of destiny. The men who ruled Ireland in the past under Tory regime and under Liberal regime lost their power on the 26th of July.

At Clontarf in 1914, as at Clontarf in 1014, has been won a national victory. For the Irish Volunteers now: discipline, vigilance, confidence.

1. Figgis, op. cit., p. 44.
In Westminster there was a "tame" debate on the shootings. Parliament, it may be assumed was more interested in the situation on the continent and when England declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, the death of these Irishmen seems to have been forgotten.

Summary

In view of the impetus given to the separatist cause by the Conservative Government of 1896 to 1905 it was observed how the Liberal Government from 1906 to 1914 strengthened Unionism through the "Union of Hearts."

The period was subdivided into three parts: first, the period from 1906 to 1910 during which Home Rule was shelved; second, the conduct of the friends and foes of Home Rule in Ulster from 1910 to 1914; and third, the actions of English Home Rulers and Irish members of Parliament during the same later period.

During the period from 1906 to 1910 Home Rule was shelved. Nevertheless the Home Rulers remained faithful to their "Union of Hearts" with the Liberal Party. As a result, Lord Aberdeen, who had won friends among the Irish-Americans, was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and James Bryce was made Chief Secretary. While Chief Secretary, Bryce prepared the way for the importation of arms into Ulster and his successor Augustine Birrell left the way open.

In addition to such popular appointments as these, the Irish Home Rulers were further united with the Liberals in mutual opposition to the "Women's Rebellion." Thus, Churchill, Asquith,

Redmond and Dillon were all alike attacked by Irish suffragettes of whom Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and his wife were the ring-leaders. Other Irish sympathizers with the extension of the franchise to women were T.M. Healy, G.B. Shaw, Captain J.R. White and the I.R.B.

The faithfulness of the Irish Home Rulers to the Liberal Party was of some assistance to the Gaelic League. Few Parliamentary leaders had been interested in the Irish language, -- William Smith O'Brien, T.D. and A.M. Sullivan, Davitt, Healy, Sexton, O'Donnell and Stephen Gwynn were exceptions rather than the rule. O'Connell and Parnell seem to have been indifferent and Redmond could hardly be described as enthusiastic in spite of the fact that he offered to find a seat in Parliament for Douglas Hyde.

Although such well-known Fenians as Michael Cusack and J.J. Boland were associated with it from the first, no members of Parliament took part in the formation of the Gaelic League. Indeed, in spite of the clerical support which the League received from such Irish scholars as Father Eugene O'Gromney, it deliberately and specifically eschewed all matters "of religious or political difference of opinion."

The Gaelic League undeniably emphasized the cultural differences between Ireland and England and therefore may be considered as fundamentally a separatist organization. On this account the active interest which Stephen Gwynn, M.P., otherwise a loyal Redmondite, took in the League is noteworthy. For Gwynn, who was an admirer of George Russell, was the most distinguished literary man among the Irish at Westminster. Significantly, perhaps, Gwynn's interest in the Gaelic League was preceded by evidences of sympathy
with the physical force party among which may be noted the pride
which he took in being the grandson of William Smith O'Brien.
Through the Gaelic League Gwynn was brought in contact with such
scholars as "George Birmingham," Eoin Macneill, Sir Horace Plunkett
and F.J. Biggar, and with such Fenians as Alice Milligan, Joseph
Campbell, Padraic Colum and Sir Roger Casement.

In addition to the support of Stephen Gwynn, the Irish Party
at Westminster also performed a service to the Gaelic League by
supporting the bill for the creation of a National University of
Ireland which was introduced into Parliament by Augustine Birrell.
The gratitude of the Leaguers, however, was somewhat dimmed by the
fact that the Irish Party was not united in agreeing that the Irish
language should be "among the compulsory subjects for matricula-
tion." As a result, the Leaguers were forced to battle to make this
a requirement.

An Irish separatist group which, unlike the Gaelic League,
was avowedly interested in politics was Sinn Fein. Formed in 1905,
it's affinity with Hyde's organization was revealed by its very
name which was borrowed from the "early motto of the Gaelic League."
Although Arthur Griffith's name before all others has become identi-
fied with Sinn Fein, it is important to remember that Edward Martyn
was the first president and that he was succeeded by John Sweetman.

Sinn Fein called on the Irish members of Parliament to re-
fuse to recognize the right of the Parliament of the United Kingdom
to legislate for Ireland and to "remain at home to help in promoting
Ireland's interests and to aid in guarding its national rights."
Sinn Fein immediately commanded the attention of T.M. Healy, "George
Birmingham," Stephen Gwynn and the I.R.B. Indeed, two members of
the Irish Party became quite active in it. However, after some initial successes Sinn Fein received a decided setback when its candidate for Parliament was decisively defeated in a by-election in 1908, and in 1910 it made no attempt to oppose the Redmondites on the grounds that they had "the chance of a lifetime to obtain Home Rule" and therefore not a word should be said to embarrass them.

During the interval from 1906 to 1910 the Home Rulers had slightly helped the separatist cause but from 1910 to 1914 Ulster Orangemen helped it far more by the example which was set by their conduct. For at this time the Ulstermen adopted what was in reality a Fenian slogan: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right."

The conduct of the Ulstermen, of course, was not instigated by any desire for an independent Ireland but by prospect of Home Rule. Yet the leaders of this threat to resort to physical force -- Sir Edward Carson, Lord Craigavon and F.E. Smith -- paradoxically appealed to the Kaiser in the hope thereby of defeating those who wished a separate Parliament for Ireland. The situation was even more complicated by the fact that these Ulstermen were supported by such English Conservatives as Bonar Law, Sir William Watson and, to the disgust of George Russell, Rudyard Kipling.

In spite of this threat to use physical force, the Liberal Government proceeded with its Home Rule bill and in desperation Carson, to the delight of such Fenians as John Devoy and Tom Clarke, organized and "to some extent armed" the Ulster Volunteers. In this new project Carson continued to receive the support of English Conservatives. Furthermore, British officers stationed near Dublin mutinied rather than fight the Ulster Volunteers. As a consequence
the situation in Ulster became so tense that correspondents of both British and German press were sent to Belfast in anticipation of an outbreak. Indeed, H.W. Nevinson, one of the British correspondents, has expressed the belief that one of the German newspapermen may have persuaded Sir Roger Casement "that Germany would afford him genuine armed help in his efforts to regain his country's independence."

It is perhaps not necessary to point out that exponents of physical force in the south of Ireland looked with especial favor on the success of the Ulster Volunteers in smuggling a boatload of guns into Larne.

Only the outbreak of hostilities on the continent and the passage of a bill "suspended the operation" of the Home Rule Act "for the period of the war" brought an end to the activities of the Ulster Volunteers. But it may also be indicated that an agreement by Redmond and Carson to accept the partition of Ireland may have helped to end the belligerence of the followers of the latter.

In their struggle against these Ulster opponents the Home Rulers received the aid of such exceptional north of Ireland Protestants as St. John Ervne, Captain J.R. White, Eoin MacNeill, Sir Roger Casement, Robert Lynd, George Russell and Alice Stopford Green.

White is of passing interest not only because of the Home Rule meeting in London which he addressed along with George Bernard Shaw, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Stephen Gwynn but also because he was responsible for an even more unique Home Rule demonstration in Ulster which no Roman Catholics were allowed to attend and which was addressed by Alice Stopford Green and Sir Roger Casement as
well as by White himself. Both Alice Stopford Green and Sir Roger Casement played a part in the Celtic renaissance.

At the time of this Ulster meeting Mrs. Green had won a reputation by her Irish historical studies which was recognized by George Moore's friend, the German scholar Kuno Meyer, in his lecture on *Learning in Ancient Ireland*. Her scholarship was also recognized by "the Liverpool University" which awarded her the degree of Doctor of Literature.

On the other hand, previous to this all-Protestant meeting Casement's interest in Irish culture was not as well known as was his expose of Belgian imperialism in the Congo (which, incidentally, James Joyce used for part of his background material in *Ulysses*). Nevertheless, as early as 1904 Casement had made the first of a long series of contributions to encourage the revival of the Irish language and it is from this same time that his interest in the Gaelic League may be dated. By 1906, when he went to South America to win further acclaim as a servant of the Crown, Casement's interest in the language revival had led him to compose a "leaflet" on the subject.

Stephen Gwynn has traced Casement's separatism back to 1904 also. For at that time the latter first "engaged in propaganda against recruiting in the British army." In 1909 Casement again revealed his separatist leanings by becoming a patron of the Fianna Eireann, or Irish Republican Boy Scouts, when this group was created by the I.R.B. After his retirement in 1911, like the leaders of the Ulster Volunteers, Casement began to speculate upon the result on Ireland of a war between Germany and England. Finally in October, 1915, after Captain White's meeting, Casement unmistakably revealed
his "enthusiastic attachment to romantic nationalism" in a letter to the London Times in which he asserted that it was the history of the exploitation of Ireland by English imperialists which had inspired him to expose similar practices by others in Africa and South America.

In addition to the aid which the Home Rule bill received from such exceptional Ulster Protestants, it was also assisted by certain Englishmen and, of course, Irish members of Parliament.

Among the former were Winston Churchill, H.W. Nevinson, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and Arthur Conan Doyle. With the possible exceptions of Nevinson and Blunt, these Englishmen wished Ireland to remain within the British Empire after Home Rule had been granted.

The Irish members of Parliament also wished to preserve a link with England and even seemed to have agreed to the partition of Ireland in order to placate Carson and the Ulster Volunteers.

The conduct of Ulster Volunteers set an example for the Irish labor movement and the I.R.B. which Home Rulers were unwilling to follow.

Although a history of the Irish labor movement is not appropriate at this place, it may be pointed out that a sympathetic bond between the Home Rulers and labor had existed ever since the sixties and was not affected by the formation of the Irish Trades Congress in 1894.

During the next decade James Connolly and Frederick Ryan were to become well-known friends of labor and when Connolly emigrated to the United States, Ryan, according to Francis Sheehy-
Skeffington, became "the clearest and most convincing advocate of socialism in Ireland."

Ryan also deserves mention because he helped to create the Abbey Theatre and was one of the founders of Dana, a magazine with which the name of John Eglinton is more commonly associated. And in 1906, Fred Ryan, Sheehy-Skeffington and Davitt vainly attempted to form a "live Political Labor Party."

Within three years James Larkin succeeded in founding the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which was much strengthened a year later by James Connolly's return from his long exile in America. And in 1911, the Dublin Labour Party was formed for the purpose of electing independent labor representatives to Parliament and local government bodies. Then, in 1912, principally through the work of Larkin, Connolly and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the Independent Irish Labour Party, which Sheehy-Skeffington, Fred Ryan, Davitt and the others had projected in 1906, was formed.

The Irish Home Rulers in Parliament, the Carsonites and the Roman Catholic hierarchy watched with displeasure these activities which they attributed to Larkin. Then in 1913 all forces, except the Fenians and various Irish intellectuals, including George Bernard Shaw, combined against the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union when the Dublin employers locked out members of the Larkinite organization. And it was in the face of this almost universal hostility that the strikers, following the example of the Ulster Volunteers, created the Irish Citizen Army in order to protect their interests by physical force.
The conduct of the Ulstermen in forming a volunteer organization also inspired the I.R.B., to form a similar military body to look after the interests of the separatists. Accordingly it set up a Provisional Committee of 27 which promulgated the Manifesto of the Volunteers.

To the disgust of Sean O'Casey, secretary of the Irish Citizen Army and celebrated Irish dramatist, this manifesto ignored the labor movement. Indeed, to O'Casey, Eoin MacNeill, leader of the new group which was called the "Irish Volunteers," was a very decided Redmondite. As a consequence, Irish Worker and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union were at first hostile.

On the other hand, the Redmondites at first were indifferent but when Sir Roger Casement, who had become a Volunteer Chief, condemned the Liberal Party and when the popularity of the Irish Volunteers became unmistakable, John Redmond and Joseph Devlin sought to capture the organization by influencing Eoin MacNeill and Sir Roger Casement, respectively.

The problem of appeasing the Redmondites caused Casement and MacNeill to seek the advice of Alice Stopford Green and Darrell Figgis. They decided that if the Irish Volunteers were armed, the I.R.B. might be willing to make concessions to the advocates of Parliamentary agitation. Accordingly, Figgis was dispatched to buy guns on the Continent and Redmond was allowed to nominate as many representatives to the Provisional Committee as would mollify him.

However, the I.R.B., Sinn Fein and the labor press united in condemning this concession to Redmond, and Darrell Figgis and M.H. O'Rahilly performed their gun-running without taking the Redmondites into their confidence. Nevertheless, Irish Volunteer sought
to make the best of the situation and the Redmondites made a half-hearted attempt to smuggle in arms for the expanded Volunteer force.
CHAPTER XIII
UNIONISM VERSUS FENIANISM AND THE CELTIC
RENAISSANCE, 1914-1916

In the two preceding chapters the debt of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance to Irish Unionists and Home Rulers from 1892 to 1914 has been investigated. On the whole it would seem that certain Irish Unionists had contributed the most. Nevertheless the Home Rulers were, nominally at least, separatists.

In the present chapter the conduct of the Irish members of Parliament who were allegedly seeking Home Rule will be investigated from the outbreak of war in 1914 until the Fenian insurrection in Easter week, 1916. The Unionists may be dismissed with the observation that their loyalty to the Crown was such that Carson 1 ceased his threats and became a member of the Cabinet. 2 3

To study the completion of the metamorphosis of Parnell's successors into Unionists the following agenda will be adopted: first, the loyalty to the Crown of the Irish members of Parliament who were seeking Home Rule will be discussed; then, their attack on various aspects of the Celtic renaissance will be observed; third, their failure to silence the Fenians will be noticed; and

1. See p. 587-592.
finally, their failure to comprehend the Fenian rising in 1916 will conclude the chapter.

The Loyalty to the Crown of the Irish Members of Parliament

When John Redmond, prompted, perhaps, by Margot Asquith, announced that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity to come to the former's aid he had taken his first step towards becoming a recruiting agent for the British army. William O'Brien, T.M. Healy, John Dillon and Joseph Devlin followed his example. Arthur Lynch, M.P., to Sir Roger Casement's disgust, proposed "to raise an Irish Brigade trained on Boer lines for service" against the Germans. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., enlisted as a private but was, it would seem, given the task of writing appeals for recruits. T.P. O'Connor called on an audience never to allow the war to be stopped "until Belgium is free." Incidentally, Captain White and Sir Horace Plunkett also sought to encourage Irish enlistments.

3. Dangerfield, op. cit., p. 408.
5. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 282.
6. See p. 545.
As a result Redmond became popular with south of Ireland Unionists and, as O'Duffy noted, their "young men flocked into the Volunteers":

'At last we see what we have long wished to see," quoth the Irish Times. 'Ireland a Nation, brave, united, and in arms.' Strange words from a paper whose policy was based on the denial of Ireland's nationhood, bravery, unity, and right to arm. For acting up to the ideal there mouthed so hypocritically Robert Emmet had been hanged. 1

However, it may be noted that these same Home Rulers were 2 opposed to conscription for Ireland and resented the Fenians' 3 "anti-Conscription Campaign of their own." Indeed, they opposed all aspects of the Compulsory Military Service Bill when it was introduced in Parliament until they were assured that it would not be applied to Ireland. Nevertheless, "Irish migratory workers resident thirty days or more in Britain" and "Irishmen in the Civil Service" who had been "transferred to England for duty" were not exempted and among the "London-Irish boys" who returned to Ireland rather than join the British army was Michael Collins.

Their Attack on Various Aspects of the Celtic Renaissance

The loyalty of the Irish Home Rule leaders to the Crown brought them into conflict with almost every aspect of the Irish

5. Ibid.
7. P.S. O'Hegarty, The Victory of Sinn Fein How It Won It and How It Used It, p. 25.
Ireland movement which was at the core of the Celtic renaissance. In this connection the story of George Moore affords a curious parallel. In 1900 he had protested like a veritable Fenian when Queen Victoria visited Dublin at the time of the Boer War. But on the occasion of King Edward’s visit in 1905 he refused to participate in a protest which had been organized by Maud Gonne, Arthur Griffith and Edward Martyn.

In 1910, after finishing *Ave*, the first volume of *Hail and Farewell*, Moore quit Ireland for London. In this extraordinary trilogy Moore had devoted considerable attention to such aspects of the Celtic renaissance as the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, Sinn Fein, the Irish Theater, and the Gaelic League. But he had concluded that dogma and progress are incompatible and that therefore Ireland would never be of any significance until it had expelled the Roman Catholic Church. The outbreak of the war found Moore an anglophile and when he visited Dublin in 1916 he dismissed the Easter Week rebellion as a "mere brawl." St. John Ervine was present at a meeting between Moore and George Russell, who failed to share the former’s pro-British sentiments:

The words flowed steadily from Mr. Moore’s lips—hot denunciation of the Rising, contemptuous references to Kuno Meyer, rebukes for "A.E." (discovered to have flaws) and a tremendous indictment of German culture, with a proviso...

1. See p. 551.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 46; vol 2, pp. 345-357.
8. See p. 546.
in favor of German music, together with admiring references to France, to French literature and to the French Impressionists, particularly Manet. 1

Although the Irish Home Rule leaders had not gone as far as Moore, it is interesting to note that by supporting the war they had fallen out with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, the Gaelic League, Sinn Fein and, to some extent, the Roman Catholic Church.

The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society

So far as the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society is concerned it may be observed that Redmond's biographer has said that Redmond was sympathetic to all aspects of the Irish revival except the co-operative movement. 2

The names of Sir Horace Plunkett, Laurence Ginnell and George W. Russell also may be mentioned in this connection. 3 Plunkett supported the Government but he must have disapproved of its withdrawal of funds from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction which he had "inveigled" out of the Conservative Government in 1899. In Parliament only one member, 4 Laurence Ginnell, objected:

Similarly, all Ireland protested against the withdrawal... of Government grants previously given for afforestation, fisheries, school buildings, National Library, National Museum, Academy of Music, Science in Secondary Schools. C.D.B. Works, horse-breeding, and so on. Following a

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4. See pp. 532-533.
vigorouls protest by Cardinal Logue, and a mass meeting in the
Dublin Mansion House at which trenchant resolution were proposed
by the Rev. Dr. Corcoran, some of the grants were partially re-
stored. 1

George Russell kept clear of the controversy. In 1915, he
published two books, God of War and Imagination and Reveries; and
contributed what St. John Ervine has described as the "only poems,
if one excludes ones by Mr. Thomas Hardy, which were printed in The
Times during the European Disaster." Nevertheless, as George Moore
discovered, Russell's sympathies were with the Fenians and, although
he was a pacifist, he paid tribute to their rebellion in 1916:

Here's to you men I never met,
Yet hope to meet behind the veil,
Thronged on some starry parapet
That looks down upon Innisfail,
And see the confluence of dreams
That clashed together in our night.
One river born from many streams
Roll in one blaze of blinding light. 5

The Gaelic League

Eoin MacNeill, Vice President of the Gaelic League who suc-
cceeded Hyde as President after 1916, asserted that the Redmondites
were "demanding the head of the Gaelic League," The conduct of
T. W. Russell, M.P., Vice-President of the Department of Agri-
culture and Technical Instruction, who announced the withdrawal
of funds from Gaelic colleges, and the suspension of summer

1. Unsigned, A Typical Epoch of the National Struggle, The Catholic
(Wit Biographical and Explanatory Notes) p. 75.
5. Ibid., p. 41.
8. Unsigned, The Great War In Ireland And Elsewhere, The Catholic
10. Unsigned, Ireland And The World War, The Catholic Bulletin,
classes in Irish may be cited as corroborative evidence.

An "all-Ireland meeting of protest convened by the Gaelic League" immediately protested the retrenchment. Then the Irish National Literary Society took up the grievance of the Gaelic League and sponsored a lecture by Father Corcoran, S.J., on how the Irish had supported their own schools without the help of a British Parliament from 1730 to 1830. To the disgust of a member, O'Leary Curtis (one of James Joyce's Dublin friends), the Society previously had permitted a recruiting agent of the British army to use its platform. This change may have had considerable effect on the Government. At any rate "the morrow brought news that the Education grants were to be restored."

The Roman Catholic Church

In addition to these differences with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and the Gaelic League, the Irish Home Rule leaders also came into conflict with certain members of the Roman Catholic Church though, unlike Moore, in the latter instance they were not driven to drastic action.

The spear-head of Roman Catholic opposition to Home Rule was The Catholic Bulletin of which a Marxist has said that "every writer on 1916 has owed much to "Sceilig's" tireless work when

4. H. Gorman, James Joyce, pp. 197; 218.
   p. 255.
1 Founded before the war, in 1916 it began to publish details about the biographies of the Fenians who had taken part in the rebellion of Easter Week and continued "until the proud story of their devotion to the motherland won the admiration of our scattered people in all parts of the world."

2 The Catholic Bulletin pointed out that prior to 1916 Irish members of Parliament had been criticized by the Most Reverend Doctor O'Donnell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, Cardinal Logue and the Most Reverend Doctor O'Dwyer, Bishop of Kerry who defied the censor to write:

3 Small nationalities and the wrongs of Belgium, and Rheims Cathedral, and all the other cosmopolitan considerations that rouse the enthusiasm of the Irish Party, but do not get enough of recruits in England, are far too high-flying for uneducated peasants; and it seems a cruel wrong to attack them because they cannot rise to the level of the disinterested Imperialism of Mr. T.P. O'Connor and the rest of the New Brigade.

4 Furthermore, it noted that "the Committee of Catholic Bishops" protested against the high taxes and that Dublin Castle was suspicious of Archbishop Walsh who endorsed The Catholic Bulletin.

5 Incidentally, a curious anti-Roman Catholic tract, Rome Behind

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1. B. O'Neill, Easter Week, p. 95.
3. Ibid., p. 1060.
Sinn Fein, mentioned the name of another critical religious, 1
Father O'Flanagan, and observed: "All this goes to show that the
younger and more active priests had been almost without exception
spreading the anti-British agitation, and the rebellion was the
natural crop from the seed sown."

Leaders of the Home Rule party in retaliation attacked The
Catholic Bulletin for "its political views." For their organ they
had Irish Catholic, owned by William Martin Murphy. This paper,
successor to the Nation, had led the attack on Parnell following
the split. And on May 20, 1916, after the execution of Pearse
and the other leaders of the rebellion, it declared: "What was at-
tempest was an act of brigandage pure and simple, and there is no
reason to lament that its perpetrators have met the fate which
from the very dawn of history has been universally reserved for
traitors..."

Sinn Fein

Of the various organizations described in Hail and Farewell,
the Home Rulers singled out Sinn Fein for particular attack. One
result was the coining of the ridiculous word "Sinn Feinera," 9
which might be translated as "Ourselvesers." This "supposedly

1. "Leagh" Matters of the Moment, The Catholic Bulletin, March,
1916, p. 117.
September, 1937, p. 754.
4. See pp. 609-610.
6. T. D. Sullivan, Recollections of Troubled Times in Irish Politics,
p. 307.
7. O'Neill, op. cit., p. 86.
8. See p. 633.
oppobrious term" came into use about the time when the separatist elements split the wavering Volunteers shortly after the outbreak of the war:

The use of the last-mentioned supposedly oppobrious term was very subtle. It was intended to make the English people believe that those who disagreed with Redmond were either Fenians or cranks, or both. This action had, however, one rather curious result. From that time on the Irish Volunteers were known in England as the Sinn Feiners...

 Following the split, the separatist wing of the Volunteers held a Convention at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on October 25, 1914. Freeman, organ of the Home Rulers, was hostile:

Long before this Convention, the Freeman bristled with attacks on the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein, and for some inexplicable reason a prominent Dublin Alderman chose that juncture to admit that Sinn Fein was on the rocks: 'unable to pay even the rents and taxes on the premises.' The day on which the Irish Volunteer Convention was held, John Dillon, at reviews of the National Volunteers in County Limerick, denounced 'the Sinn Fein nobodies.'

Subsequently, the Home Rule press constantly was "reviling Sinn Feiners" and T.P. O'Connor in Reynold's Newspaper described them as "knives who pretend to be fools."

This attitude on the part of the Home Rulers has been held responsible for the suppression of numerous Irish-Ireland newspapers:

Taking its cue from the Irish Party attacks, the London Times of November 25th, demanded the suppression of the Irish-Ireland newspapers preaching sedition. At the same time Sinn

2. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 214.
Pein was assailed in the House of Lords by Earl Desart. Forthwith the suppression of the Irish anti-recruiting newspapers was strenuously urged; and on December 3rd Irish Freedom was seized. Next day, Sinn Pein, the Irish Volunteer and Ireland were suppressed; three days later, the Irish Worker. 1

Ireland, or Eire, a daily paper edited by Arthur Griffith had been published in the autumn of 1914. After its suppression, Griffith brought out Scissors and Paste which "ran for a little over a month." Then he became editor of Nationality which continued to appear until after the rebellion.

The anti-recruiting stand of these Irish-Ireland newspapers did not represent a new departure so far as Griffith was concerned. For, following in the footsteps of Patrick Ford, Sinn Pein from its foundation in 1906 had opposed enlistment in the British army or navy. Indeed, its first and second presidents, Edward Martyn and John Sweetman, had attracted attention by their opposition. Yet, in spite of this well-known fact, Stephen Gwynn was particularly annoyed at Sweetman in 1915:

February 1, Private Stephen Gwynn, having made a scathing personal attack on John Sweetman at Kells, went on to say: "It was the men who volunteered to go to the front who were saving those at home from being forced to go."

By 1916 the hostility of the Irish Home Rulers was such that a "Sinn Pein sensation" was afforded in Dublin on April 16th:

Alderman Kelly created somewhat of a sensation at the Dublin

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4. Ibid., pp. 182-189.
5. Saxon Shilling. Irish World, June 17, 1876, p. 4.
7. See p. 586.
Corporation, and outside it, by reading there what was represented as a military document, indicating that all Sinn Fein and Volunteer leaders were to be arrested forthwith; the premises of Sinn Fein, the Volunteers, the Gaelic League, the Foresters, Liberty Hall, even Archbishop's House, Drumcondra, to be surrounded and isolated. On the morrow, the Freeman characterised the document as a fake; but, in the atmosphere of the hour, it created very widespread unrest and not a little anxiety.

On April 25, 1916 Sinn Fein leaped into international fame when Chief Secretary Birrell supplied the London press with the first official news of the outbreak of the rebellion:

At noon yesterday serious disturbances broke out in Dublin. A large body of men, identified with the Sinn Feiners, mostly armed, occupied Stephen's Green, and took possession forcibly of the Post Office, where they cut the telegraph and telephone wires.

Then, on April 26th, in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne called the rebels "Sinn Feiners." By this time the name "Sinn Fein" had become so nearly synonymous with "Fenian" that the Cork Constitution described Griffith's party as an organization of "physical force Nationalists." And even the Encyclopaedia Britannica has credited Sinn Fein with being the moving force in the 1916 rebellion.

Their Failure to Silence Fenian Resistance

The inaccuracy of describing the 1916 rising as a Sinn Fein rebellion can be quickly demonstrated. Arthur Griffith, originator

3. Ibid., p. 41.
of the Sinn Fein policy, took no part in it. And the Sinn Fein
Rebellion Handbook neither lists the names of the members of the
Sinn Fein National Council nor mentions either Arthur Griffith
or John Sweetman in its exhaustive index. Furthermore, there is
only one reference to John Martyn.

As a matter of fact the Easter Week rebellion was the work
of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, assisted by the Irish Citizen
Army and the Irish Volunteers. For proof one need only consult
the proclamation of The Provisional Government Of The Irish Republic
To The People Of Ireland "by which the Irish Republic was declared
on Monday, 24th April, 1916:

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret
revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brother-
hood, and through her open military organisations, the
Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently
perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the
right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment,
and, supported by her exiled children in America and by
gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own
strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory. Moreover, the name "Sinn Fein" does not appear once in the manifesto.

The forces listed in this proclamation, of course, were very
close to the I.R.B. and will be discussed subsequently. However,
the Irish Volunteers and the "exiled children in America" deserve
further notice in connection with the Home Rulers. And the press

vol. 10, p. 890.
4. Ibid., p. 282.
7. Unsigned, A Typical Epoch of the National Struggle, The
censorship by which the Redmondites hoped to silence opposition to their Unionist policies may also be mentioned.

Press Censorship

Reference has already been made to the suppression of various Irish-Ireland newspapers. This attack on the freedom of the press was the work of a coalition Government, formed after the outbreak of the war, which included Sir Edward Carson and F.E. Smith. Redmond refused a post in it but offered no objection when it passed a "coercion" Act to end opposition in Ireland. According to Arthur Lynch, M.P., who condemned the suppression of dissident papers, the coalition Government was supported by the Home Rule press:

The orthodox Nationalist papers, The 'Freeman's Journal,' and the 'Independent' were strongly in favour of Great Britain; but the papers that lie in the fringe of Nationalism, or which strike, as they maintain, a deeper and truer note than the Irish Parliamentary Party, these papers were, if not pro-German, at least anti-recruiting. 'Sinn Fein,' 'The Irish Worker,' 'The Irish Volunteer,' 'Irish Freedom,' 'Eire' (Ireland), and 'The Leader' were either suppressed or warned by the Government. The 'Gaelic American,' the organ of the physical-force men in America, and the 'Irish World,' which up to the war had steadfastly advocated the policy of Mr. Redmond, published articles of such a nature that the Government prohibited their circulation in Ireland. Most of the younger generation of poets, great inspirators, declared for advanced Nationalism.

Adding The Cork Celt and The Gaelic Athlete, F.P. Jones compiled a similar list:

...one paper followed another. The Irish Worker was followed by the Worker's Republic. Freedom by Ireland, and those again

by The Spark, Honesty, The Gael, and a score of others, all bearing the same message and all suppressed after the first few issues. 1

Sir Roger Casement, who had gone to Germany to seek help for the Irish cause, was a particular thorn in the side of the Government. In the first number of Griffith's Eire an article by him said:

Ireland has no quarrel with the German people or just cause of offence against them......Ireland has suffered at the hands of British administrators a more prolonged series of evils deliberately inflicted than any other community of civilized men. 4

The same paper urged passive resistance to compulsory military service: "The assurance given to Roger Casement by the German Acting-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the contemplated action of German troops if they should land in Ireland was printed..." 5

Casement was constantly attacked by Freeman's Journal which used the occasion of the sinking of the Lusitania for a particularly violent outburst:

'One wonders what apology Sir Roger Casement will have to make for the murder of Sir Hugh Lane,' the Freeman asked editorially, May 15. 'Such deaths as these within sight of the Irish shore make more than foolish, make treacherous, cowardly and un-Irish the saying we sometimes hear muttered that 'this is not our war! These three Irish lives make quarrel enough for any people that pretends to the name of a nation.' 7

When he heard of the suppressions in Ireland, Casement wrote in

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2. See p. 799-802.
5. Ibid., p. 179.
his diary:

In Ireland, the Loyalist Mr. Redmond implored 100,000 Irishmen to go out and die for England, while England seizes the only national organs of opinion in Ireland! Last night's telegrams also contained one from a Basel paper on the 'New Enemy' of England! The Swiss paper commented on the outbreak of Irish sedition and the threatening aspect of this new attack on England. It said that 'what particularly attracted attention was that England, the home of free speech and of a free press, should now be violating both in Ireland.'

In addition to the papers which were suppressed, there was a goodly number which were suspect. In the *Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook* a section is devoted to a catalogue of the publications which "appeared at various times during the twelve months preceding the Rebellion." In addition to the papers already mentioned, it included *Fianna, The Eye Opener, The Toiler* and *New Ireland*. Next there appeared the subhead, *Seditious Papers*:

In the published minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the rebellion there is an appendix of documents in which there is given the following list, produced by Sir Matthew Nathan, of seditious weekly papers circulating in Ireland:

- *The Irish Volunteer*—Owner, Bulmer Hobson...Editor, John MacNeill...
- *The Spark*—Owner, Marianna Peroliz...Editor..., Countess Markievicz...
- *New Ireland*—...Editor, Denis Gwynn, B.A....
- *The Workers' Republic*—...Owner, Helena Moloney...Editor, James Connolly...
- *The Hibernian*—Owner, A.O.H. Editor, Mr. Stephen Bollard...
- *Nationality*—Owner, Sean McGerment...Editor, Arthur Griffith...
- *Honesty*—...Owner and (supposed) editor, Miss Mary Walker...
- *The Irishman*—Owner and editor, Herbert M. Pim, Belfast.
- *The Gael*—Owner, Edward Dwyer,...Editor, Edward Dwyer.

Two more, not mentioned above, may also be reported. In Cork there was an Irish Volunteer journal controlled by Terence MacSwiney and

Tomas Curtin, *Fianna Fail*; and in Dublin there was *The Irish Citizen*

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organ of the Irish Women's Franchise League:

Its organ was published up to 1930, when the type was smashed by the Black and Tans. The influence of the suffrage agitation—carried on mainly by the Skoffingtons—was revealed in the National Proclamation of 1916. Mrs. Skoffington recalls that, just before the Rising, Connolly said to her: 'You will be glad to know that in the Proclamation of the Irish Rebellion we are including equal citizenship for women!'

The Irish In America

Ireland's "exiled children in America" were not hampered by the press restrictions that had been imposed in Ireland with the consent of the Irish Home Rule leaders. Only two Irish-American papers supported Redmond's new policies, *Ireland* and the *Chicago Citizen*. Peculiar interest may be attached to the latter because of its charge that the anti-Redmond parties—that is to say, the separatists—were in receipt of financial aid from Germany:

The 'German gold' lie, it will be remembered, was first communicated by 'responsible members of the Irish Party' to that great friend of Irish liberty, Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail*. But the lie that was slammed down in Ireland is thought good enough still for Mr. Redmond's Chicago editor.

Both of these Redmondite papers agreed, that "the Irish in America" were "not with him." Shortly after the war began, John Devoy published Casement's article, "Ireland, Germany and Freedom of the Seas," in *Gaelic American*, organ of the Clan-na-Gael. Then the same organization sent Casement to Germany to enlist military aid for Ireland and to recruit Irish prisoners of

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3. Ibid.
war "into an 'Irish Brigade' to fight for Ireland's freedom." 1

Next, to his discomfort, Irish World "ceased to praise John
Redmond" who, up to that time, had been known as "the Dollar
Dictator." Then a California paper, edited by a close friend of
Father O'Gorman, withdrew its support of the Irish leader in
Parliament:

Mention should also be made of the San Francisco Leader,
edited by Father Yorke, which had always been an advocate
of the physical force and Sinn Fein movements. The Leader
was one of the few newspapers that did not believe in
Redmond, but which was still anxious to give him every op-
portunity of carrying out his promises... 6

In addition to the opposition expressed by the Irish-
American press, the Home Rulers were subjected to attack in other
quarters. In New York, a "Defense of Ireland Fund" was promoted
by individuals whom the Redmondites described as "Clan-na-Gael
pro-Germans." Then to the indignation of the pro-Home Rule,
Freeman's Journal "J.K. MacGuire of New York stated in a 400-
page book that he saw...'German Atrocities' being made up by a
Saxon scribe in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin.'" 7

The Home Rulers received their severest rebuke, however,
from an Irish Race Convention held in New York on March 4 and 5,
1916. The outcome of this Convention was the creation of "The
Friends of Irish Freedom," of which Victor Herbert (the composer)

3. Unsigned, Progress of the World War, The Catholic Bulletin,
   September, 1937, p. 734.
7. Unsigned, Ireland And The World War, The Catholic Bulletin,
   November, 1937, p. 595.
8. Unsigned, England's Recruiting Campaign In Ireland, The
   September, 1936, p. 226.
was president, and Robert Ford (editor of the Irish World), J.K. MacGuire, Jeremiah A. O'Leary and the Reverend Doctor Peter Yorke were directors. The nature of the rebuke administered to the Redmondites by the Irish Race Convention may be gathered from the following attack on Ford, Devoy, MacGuire and O'Leary:

If the gentlemen who tried to organise The Faked Convention would devote their superfluous energy to safeguarding the interests of those exiles they would do more useful work than by blowing off hot air, strafing John Redmond, and singing Hallelujahs to the Kaiser.

Incidentally, in view of the well-known hostility of the Industrial Workers of the World to the war which began in 1914, it is curious to note that "Irish-American longshoremen" were hostile to Redmond's policies. In this connection James Connolly's affiliation to the Industrial Workers of the World is significant as well as Larkin's arrival in America late in 1914 although there seems to have been a coolness between Connolly and the latter.

The Irish Volunteers

In addition to the foregoing remarks about press censorship and the "exiled children in America," the Irish Volunteers deserve notice.

At the outbreak of the war the Provisional Committee of this organization consisted of the original group plus an equal

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1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 393.
number of representatives appointed by Redmond. The two groups were very antagonistic as a result of the Redmondite attitude toward the war. Indeed on September 19, 1914 Captain J. R. White reported that "at the last meeting the members actually drew revolvers at one another."

On the same day Redmond used a Volunteer platform to make the recruiting speech which was to split this organisation:

> Mr. Redmond has turned up at a Volunteer parade at Woodenbridge Co. Wicklow, and told the Volunteers that whereas this was a war in defence of the 'highest principles of religion and morality' it was the duty of Irishmen to rush at once to the fighting line.

As a result "the great majority" of the original members of the Provisional Committee declared Redmond’s nominees to be "no longer members of the Committee." The date on which this expulsion was made public was chosen so that it "would make the greatest noise:

> "Mr. Asquith was due to speak with John Redmond at the Mansion House, Dublin, on the night of the 24th of September, and, the night before, a statement was issued by the greater number of the original members of the Provisional Committee..."

Of the 250,000 enrolled Irish Volunteers, all but 8,000 (mostly Dubliners) sided with Redmond. Colonel Maurice Moore, Inspector-General, although he had been on the original committee, remained with the majority: "These who preferred to remain with

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1. J. R. White, Misfit, p. 530.
5. P.S. O'Hegarty, A Short Memoir of Terence MacSwiney, p. 54.
Redmond, chose to be known as the National Volunteers, while the
Volunteers led by Eoin MacNeill and the Committee were known as
the Irish Volunteers. Redmond referred to his foes as "corner-
boys." In addition, the Irish Volunteers were described as

In view of the fact that the Irish Volunteers had seized
the journal of the organization, the Redmondites decided to pub-
lish their own paper:

October 21st, the National Volunteer was founded as a weekly
record of Redmondite recruiting activities. It was boosted
by the Freeman, and festivities connected with its establish-
ment closed with the hilarious singing of 'A Nation Once
Again!'

Being the more resolute, the Dublin minority not only seized the
journal but it also appropriated the Volunteers' headquarters and
"kept the drill and the arms." Consequently the numbers of the
Irish Volunteers grew but the Redmondites dwindled and made their
last appearance on April 4, 1916:

On Sunday, April 4, over 25,000 National Volunteers -accord-
ing to the Freeman estimate- were on parade in Dublin, with
Col. Moore as Inspector-General, and there were said to be
100,000 spectators. The Irish Guards' band, from London was
appropriately at hand to discourse Recruiting music in
Stephen's Green.

Their Failure to Comprehend the Fenian Rising in 1916

The significance of the Fenian insurrection of Easter Week

2. Unsigned, The Great War In Ireland, The Catholic Bulletin,
4. Unsigned, The Great War In Ireland, The Catholic Bulletin,
February, 1937, p. 140.
June, 1938, p. 532.
7. Unsigned, The World War And Ireland, The Catholic Bulletin,
May, 1938, p. 426.
1916 seems to have escaped the Irish Parliamentary leaders. Perhaps the executions and arrests which followed its failure deceived them:

When the internees of Easter Week were consigned to London jails, they were visited by the late Laurence Ginnell, M.P., who told them that the news of the executions was cheered in the House of Commons by the Irish Party. This had a profound effect on them, and the other story was persisted in by Ginnell for the remainder of his life. He was so sincere that he was incapable of invention.

T.M. Healy contradicted Ginnell's story but not the evidence which Arthur Griffith offered as proof and the popular verdict was expressed by a street ballad of the time:

O did ye hear the Mibbers cheering, cheering?
O did ye hear the Mibbers cheering?
As Aquisith toold thim of the shootin', shootin'
The Hirah scum that topt recruitin',
When Padraic Piarras fought and died
And noble Plunkett lost his bride-
To set the Mibbers cheering, cheering!
Sure sojers must be shootin', shootin',
To cool such wicked Irish pride.
YELL NOT FORGET THE MEMBERS CHEERING!

Not only did Healy contradict this story of the cheering of the Irish representatives at Westminster but he also attempted to excuse his client, William Martin Murphy, for the latter's conduct after the suppression of the revolt. For in its first issue after the rising the Irish Independent described the insurrection as "insane and criminal"; and on May 10, 1916 Murphy's paper indirectly

2. Ibid., pp. 564-565.
4. B. O'Neill, Easter Week, p. 94.
called for the execution of Connolly and MacDiarmada:

On the very morning of the executions, fearful that its victim might yet cheat it (the leader-writer was not aware that Connolly had already been shot) the Independent renewed its demand:

'Certain of the leaders remain undaunted, and the part they played was worse than that of some of those who have paid the extreme penalty....We think in a word that no special leniency should be extended to some of the worst of the leaders whose cases have not yet been disposed of.' 1

Even as the Irish Independent was calling for the execution of these Irish leaders, a more distinguished voice was raised on their behalf:

The first voice to be raised in favour of the insurrection was that of Mr. Shaw, whose fine letter in the Daily News of the 10th May, 1916, places him definitely among the separatists; and the next was that of Dr. O'Dwyer, the Bishop of Limerick. Then came other voices. 2

The "other voices" were silent, however, when Sir Roger Casement was brought to trial in London on June 26, 1916. Once more George Bernard Shaw took the lead but now he was joined by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Clement Shorter, Esther Roper, H.W. Nevinson and Alice Stopford Green. Shaw was indefatigable. He wrote a long letter which he had great trouble in getting published: "After being refused by The Times because it wanted Casement to be hanged and by the Daily News because it wanted to prevent Casement from being hanged, the letter finally appeared in The Manchester Guardian."

Furthermore, Shaw "drafted, not only a general petition on

Casement's behalf, but also a scheme for his defence and a speech to be made from the dock." Shaw's suggested speech contained the following patriotic sentiments:

Almost all the disasters and difficulties that have made the relations of Ireland with England so mischievous to both countries have arisen from the failure of England to understand that Ireland is not a province of England but a nation, and to negotiate with her on that assumption. If you persist in treating me as an Englishman, you bind yourself thereby to hang me as a traitor before the eyes of the world. Now as a simple matter of fact, I am neither an Englishman nor a traitor: I am an Irishman, captured in a fair attempt to achieve the independence of my country; and you can no more deprive me of the honors of that position, or destroy the effects of my efforts, than the abominable cruelties inflected 600 years ago on William Wallace in this city, when he met a precisely similar indictment with a precisely similar reply, have prevented that brave and honourable Scot from becoming the national hero of his country. I am not trying to shirk the British scaffold: it is the altar on which the Irish saints have been canonized for centuries...

Casement had seen Shaw's proposed speech from the dock and in 1922 Clement Shorter printed *A Discarded Defence Of Roger Casement*, Suggested By Bernard Shaw, With An Appendix Of Comments By Roger Casement. In it Shaw pointed out that if Germany won the war Ireland would be made independent and that as a trained diplomat Casement "could not have speculated in any other way because there was no other possible move on the diplomatic board." Incidentally, the creation of the independent buffer states of Poland and Czechoslovakia by the Allies might be offered as evidence that Casement and Shaw were correct.

Whether or not John Redmond was one of those Irishmen at Westminster who cheered when the news of the executions was told.

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2. Ibid., p. 647.
3. Ibid., pp. 645–646.
in Parliament in May, 1916, there is no doubt that he refused to help Casement escape death.

It is idle to speculate whether Parnell would have acted otherwise than Redmond yet it is difficult to believe that he would ever have drifted so far from the obvious sentiments of the physical force party. The enormity of Redmond's miscalculation was proved at the next general election in December, 1918, when the party of eighty-four Irish Home Rulers, who had been elected to Parliament in 1910, was wiped out. John Redmond had died before this debacle. But John Dillon, who had succeeded him as leader of the Irish party, was defeated "in East Mayo - a stronghold he had occupied for thirty-three years" by Eamonn De Valera who had been sentenced to death for his part in the Easter Week rising, 1916.

Summary

After the outbreak of war in 1914, the Irish members of Parliament who had advocated Home Rule completed their metamorphosis from separatists into Unionists. A parallel between their history and the career of George Moore was drawn. Moore acted like a Fenian

5. Ibid., p. 593.
6. Ibid., p. 609.
8. Ibid., pp. 195-197.
in 1900 but subsequently scoffed at the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and other aspects of the Celtic renaissance, even quitting the Roman Catholic Church. By 1916 he had become such an Anglophile that he criticised his former friends, Kuno Meyer and George Russell, and dismissed the Easter rebellion as a "mere brawl."

Similarly Irish members of Parliament who were seeking Home Rule had expressed Fenian sentiments as late as the outbreak of the Boer War but subsequently these sentiments had been forgotten as Redmond led his followers into ever closer relations with the British Liberal Party.

The outbreak of the war with the Central Powers united the Carsonites and the Home Rulers against a common foe of the United Kingdom; but it completed the break between the Irish members of Parliament and those forces which formed the backbone of the Celtic renaissance. For when John Redmond, William O'Brien, T.M. Healy, John Dillon, Joseph Devlin, Arthur Lynch, Stephen Gwynn and T.P. O'Connor attempted to persuade Irishmen to join the British army, they came into conflict with the Irish Ireland movement in almost every way.

So far as the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, the Gaelic League, and, even, the Roman Catholic Church are concerned the conduct of the Irish members of Parliament might be described as a form of passive resistance but their conduct toward more militant Irish Ireland groups can only be described by more vigorous language.

Of the three organisations mentioned as having experienced
the passive resistance of the Home Rule leaders, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society is noteworthy because as early as 1900 Redmond had disassociated himself from this co-operative movement with which the names of Sir Horace Plunkett and George Moore are so closely linked. After the declaration of war, Plunkett supported the Government and George Russell sought to remain neutral. However, it may be assumed that both of them disapproved of the proposal to withdraw funds from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction of which Plunkett had been the first chief. Yet only one Irish member of Parliament expressed this disapproval, Laurence Ginnell.

Going a step further, Eoin MacNeill thought that the Redmondites were "demanding the head of the Gaelic League." As evidence the conduct of T.W. Russell, M.P., Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, in announcing the withdrawal of grants from Gaelic colleges and the suspension of summer classes in Irish was cited. This announcement was greeted with so much disaffection in Ireland that the Government restored the grants but once again the Irish members of Parliament had failed to defend Irish Ireland's interests at Westminster.

This indifference of the Irish party to peculiarly Irish problems was also apparent in its relations with certain separatist elements in the Roman Catholic Church. As a result the moral suasionists found a decidedly annoying critic in The Catholic Bulletin, which collected every scrap of evidence to show that members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy were unfriendly to the Home Rulers. However, this hostility of The Catholic Bulletin was balanced by
Irish Catholic, which had a conservative reputation reaching back to its attacks on Parnell in 1891.

If the conduct of the Irish Home Rulers towards the foregoing organizations can be described as passive resistance, such is not the story of their relations with other more militant Irish Ireland groups. For some reason the Home Rulers singled out Sinn Fein particularly for abuse and as a result the phrase "Sinn Fein" displaced the word "Fenian" as the name for those who actively sought to rid Ireland of English domination.

The attack was initiated by Freeman's Journal, John Dillon and T.P. O'Connor and subsequently was taken up in the House of Lords and in the London Times. As a result, the activities of Arthur Griffith and John Sweetman were regarded with suspicion and various newspapers with which the former was associated were suppressed. Perhaps the chief objection which the Home Rulers had to Sinn Fein was the latter's opposition to Irishmen enlisting in the British army, - an opposition which dated back to its formation in 1905. At any rate, on April 16, 1916 a sensation was created in the Dublin Corporation by the announcement that Dublin Castle was about to arrest all the Sinn Fein leaders but the climax was reached on April 25, 1916 when Sinn Feiners were mistakenly credited with having launched the Easter Week revolt by the London press on information received from Chief Secretary Birrell.

The Easter Week rebellion, of course, was the work of the Fenians, or the I.R.B. as they were now called. In the manifesto which proclaimed the formation of the Irish republic the leaders of the Rebellion had named the Irish Volunteers and "exiled children
in America among their leading supporters. Furthermore, these
groups had been particularly critical of the Unionist course which
the Irish Home Rulers had been following.

In suppressing this criticism, the Home Rulers had been aided
by a "Coercion act" which succeeded at least in silencing such
dissident opinions as those expressed in Sinn Fein, Irish Worker,
Eire, Gaelic American and Irish World and in bringing many other
periodicals under suspicion of sedition.

Ireland's "exiled children in America" expressed the disapprov-
al of the new Home Rule line not only in Gaelic American, Irish
World and the Leader but also through the Clan-na-Gael, a "Defense
of Ireland Fund," books and Irish Race Convention, the Friends or
Irish Freedom and various Irish-American longshoremen who belonged
to the International Workers of the World.

The Irish Volunteers had also been very critical of the
Unionist tendencies of the Home Rulers. The Provisional Committee
enlarged by the addition of Redmond's appointees soon became sharply
divided by Redmond's war policy and as a result the organization
split into a Redmondite faction and an opposition group led by
Eoin MacNeill, which retained the name "Irish Volunteers." At first
the Redmondite Volunteers were more powerful by virtue of numbers
but as the war continued the Irish Volunteers began to overtake them.
Then after the Easter Week rebellion the Redmondite Volunteers dis-
appeared altogether.

The consequences of the 1916 insurrection fall beyond the
scope of the present research but it may be pointed out that the
rising completed the exposition of the Home Rule Party as a Unionist
force. Symbolic of this exposure was the story that Irish members of Parliament who were alleged to be Home Rulers had cheered the news of the execution of the Fenian chiefs when it reached them at Westminster. Furthermore, William Martin Murphy's Dublin papers - Irish Independent and Irish Catholic - had called for their deaths. Finally, the Irish members of Parliament had refused to aid George Bernard Shaw, Alice Stopford Green and others who sought to set aside the death sentence imposed on Sir Roger Casement.

In view of the foregoing remarks it may be concluded that after 1914 both the Unionists and the Home Rulers turned their backs upon Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance. In spite of their unprecedented performance between 1892 and 1905 which was discussed in Fenian Unionism and the usual bluster in Ulster between 1910 and 1914, it is hardly surprising that the Unionists should have acted in a manner which was most apt to preserve the United Kingdom. But, even taking into consideration the developments indicated in Liberal Unionism, it is surprising to realize that Parnell's successors had become so involved in their "Union of Hearts" with the Liberal Party that they were to perish.
CHAPTER XIV
FENIANISM IN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN, 1892-1916

The three preceding chapters have been devoted to what might be described as the external relations of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance. That is, the effect of Unionism upon them has been studied. In the remainder of the present investigation, the activities of certain exponents of physical force and leaders of the Irish revival will serve as a basis for an analysis of the internal relations between these two groups.

In the next three chapters various aspects of these activities outside Ireland will be discussed. The present chapter will be devoted to France and Great Britain; and the two immediately following will be concerned with the United States.

In France

The following discussion of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance in France will be divided into four parts: first, a history of the Irish in France before 1887; second, some Irish exiles in Paris after 1887; third, the '98 centenary; and fourth, John MacBride and the Boer War.

A History of the Irish in France before 1887

A history of Irish refugees in France might well begin with the "Wild Geese, who had served in the Irish Brigade." When he was
an exile in France, sometime after 1871, John O'Leary formed the 2 Saint Patrick's Society among the descendants of these Wild Geese. Maud Gonne used to attend the annual banquets of this association 3 whenever she was in Paris and of one such affair she wrote:

The banquet was small and very select, held in a fashionable 4 restaurant. I, as the guest of honour, sat at the right hand 5 of the President, le Comte O'Neill de Tyrone, a charming 6 courtly old gentleman, and on the other side was the Vice- 7 president, le Comte d'Abbadie d'Araste, a distinguished 8 Philologist who spoke much about the Gaelic and Basque 9 languages with le Comte d'Arbois de Joubanville sitting next to him, who was Professor of Celtic literature at the Collège 10 de France; later I got him to take J.M. Synge as his assistant. 11 Opposite me sat le Comte Bonaparte Wyse, whose sister, Madame 12 Ratatzi, had published my first article, 'Un Peuple Opprimé' in the Revue Internationale, which she edited and le Comte 13 O'Kelly de Galway, le Comte de Cramont and M. de Godre, a 14 writer on a Catholic paper, L'Univers, who also acted as 15 secretary to the Association, and others, whose names, pro- 16 nounced in French, one hardly recognised as of Irish origin... 17 Perhaps it was the members of this Society whom George Moore met 5 when he, too, was an exile in France and whom he described as 6 John O'Leary's "Parisian circle." At any rate, he was quite 7 friendly with Madame de Ratatzi.

If, instead of going back to the Wild Geese, the historian 8 of Irish refugees in France decided to limit his investigation to 9 the nineteenth century, he might begin with Wolfe Tone or Robert 10 Emmet. At a still later date the Young Irelanders sought French 11 aid. Then, in 1860, the tables were reversed when the French

1. See p. 192.
2. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 165.
3. Ibid., p. 169.
4. Ibid., pp. 165-166.
5. See p. 373.
8. See p. 36-38.
Government sought the aid of John Mitchel in anticipation of
hostilities with the United Kingdom. After the Franco-Prussian
War, however, relations between England and France became in-
creasingly cordial and, as Roger Casement pointed out in 1911,
Charles Lever even predicted a misunderstanding "between Great
Britain and the German people." At about the same time Dublin
Irishman prophesied that "the Germans are to be the next in-
vaders of England."

Yet another point of departure for the historian of
Irish refugees in France might be the arrival of John O'Leary
in Paris, after his release from prison on the condition that
he would become an exile. Curiously enough, according to W.B.
Yeats, O'Leary, like the English, was sympathetic to the French
in the Franco-Prussian War:

He had been condemned to twenty years' penal servitude but
had been set free after five on condition that he did not
return to Ireland for fifteen years. He had said to the
Government, 'I will not return if Germany makes war on you,
but I will return if France does.'

In Paris O'Leary made the Hotel Corneille his headquarters:

Irishmen of note, when coming to Paris, were wont to settle
at this hotel, and they owed their knowledge of its existence
to the recommendation of John O'Leary...whose residence it
has long been.

Fellow exiles with O'Leary in Paris were George Moore,

1. See p. 95.
4. See p. 192.
6. W.B. Yeats, Autobiography, p. 84.
7. M. Bourgeois, John Millington Synge and the Irish Theatre,
p. 37.
who returned to London in 1880, and James Stephens. He seems also to have been friendly with Turgenev, Hopotkin, Stepiak and Whistler while in the French capital.

When John O'Leary was allowed to return to Ireland in 1884 the dynamite campaign was at its height, and, it would seem, certain Irish-American dynamitards had made Paris their headquarters during these operations. But 1884 is not an appropriate year in which to begin a history of Irish refugees because Anglo-French relations were particularly cordial at that time and the French Government expelled James Stephens, the old Fenian Head Centre, in the belief that he was in some way responsible.

Some Irish Exiles in Paris after 1887

For the purpose of the present investigation, however, it seems most appropriate to begin this short sketch of Irish refugees in France in 1887 because in that year Maud Gonne took a message to the Czar for a French political party, the Boulangists, from which she hoped to get help for the Irish republican cause.

The Irish colony in Paris, leaving "aside the students of the Irish College," included several prominent figures.

2. P. Colum, The Road Round Ireland, pp. 293-294.
7. M. G. MacBrude, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 76-83.
Among those listed in this connection by Madame Bourgeois in his biography of Synge were Padraic MacManus (whose subsequent career in South America had been described by his brother Seumas MacManus), Arthur Lynch who was Paris correspondent of the London Daily Mail, Stephen MacKenna and his wife, "both of them extreme Nationalists," Miss M. Barry O'Delany, William Butler Yeats "on flying visits," and Maud Gonne who had established a branch of the Young Ireland Society, L'Association Irlandaise, in Paris "to promote the independence of Ireland." In addition to these, James Joyce may be mentioned, although he did not settle in Paris until 1920.

In the following consideration of some Irish exiles in France after 1887, Maud Gonne, Stephen MacKenna, John M. Synge and James Joyce will receive particular attention.

Maud Gonne

Of Maud Gonne’s junket to St. Petersburg in 1887 with a message to the Czar from the Boulangists, W.T. Stead wrote in the Review of Reviews on June 7, 1892 in the course of an attack on Farnell. In the same place he also mentioned her "somewhat fantastic mission...in Paris for the purpose of founding an alliance of the Friends of Irish Freedom among the descendants of Hoche’s expedition."

5. Maebride, op. cit., pl 94.
To create the proper atmosphere for a French-Irish alliance, Maud Gonne was eager to turn "French public opinion against England." In France her main support was from the Boulangerist friends of Lucien Millevoye, editor of *La Patrie*, but according to an article by W.B. Yeats which appeared in the Boston Pilot and was dated July 30, 1892, she sought friends for Ireland everywhere:

Last week at Bordeaux an audience of 1,200 persons rose to its feet when she had finished, to applaud her with wild enthusiasm. The papers of Russia, France, Germany and even Egypt quote her speeches, and the tale of Irish wrongs has found its way hither and thither to be stored up perhaps in many a memory against the day of need. She is going through France addressing town after town, and besides spreading a better knowledge of Ireland and awakening a wider sympathy for our wrongs, has already, though this is not her main object, gained, I believe, a considerable sum for the evicted tenants.¹

So celebrated did she become that she was invited to lecture in Holland, Belgium and to visit Russia. Thus her activities became a matter of concern to British diplomatic circles and Asquith vainly urged Redmond to silence her.

What was perhaps the climax of her anti-British activities has been described by W.B. Yeats as follows:

The relations of England and France were disturbed, a French officer, batoned on the Dublin streets, reported to the French War Office that Ireland was ready for insurrection. Maud Gonne had persuaded that Office to take from a pigeon-hole a scheme for an invasion of Ireland.²

She met various obstacles in seeking French support for Ireland. Thus, in 1896, P.J.P. Tynan, the Invincible chief, led an expedition from the United States to France "for an active campaign in England." A Franco-Russian pact had just been settled and the Czar was visiting in Paris. The English Secret Service was aware of Tynan's plans:

Tynan was arrested in Boulogne by Inspector Melville of Scotland Yard, on a warrant issued in connection with the Phoenix Park executions, but the French government, after a hearing, refused to permit his extradition.¹

Maud Gonne was mainly responsible for preventing Tynan's extradition but the English press created more difficulty for her by accusing Tynan and his expedition of plotting to assassinate the Czar while the latter was in Paris.

Although she managed to save Tynan once again, the prestige of the I.R.B. in France was definitely weakened when a man who resembled F. H. O'Donnell swindled a representative of the Boer Government (who was later to be a friend of Sir Roger Casement) out of 2,000 pounds, with what seemed to be the connivance of the London branch of the physical force party.

The same F. H. O'Donnell, if it were he, was also suspected of having betrayed a French Government spy who was in England on an Irish mission. Accordingly, Maud Gonne went to the proper Fenian authority in London:

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3. Ibid., pp. 178-182.
5. Ibid., pp. 303-315.
He fidgeted with his fingers and did not reply. At last he said: 'I don't know that he is a traitor. He is a queer cranky man full of vanity. You must have snubbed him badly some time, for he hates you. I think he has done both these things to spite you.'

At about this time Millevoye, whose name occurs in *Ulysses*, adopted a pro-English policy in *La Patrie*, and Maud Gonne (W. B. Yeats seems to have followed her example), believing that Millevoye's suspicions of the Fenians were not without some justification, resigned from the I.R.B. and became active in two non-secret revolutionary Irish organizations -- *Cumann Na nGaedheal* and *Inghinidhe Na hEireann*.

Stephen MacKenna

In Paris Maud Gonne sought to rally Irish rebels as well as to enlist French aid. In his biography of Synge, Maurice Bourgeois wrote:

Miss Gonne edited a paper entitled *L'Irlande Libre* with Irish and French contributors; she made collections on behalf of the Irish Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association... in order to enable families of prisoners to visit them.

Her most successful effort in this direction was the Paris Young Ireland Society of which the Fenian, Stephen MacKenna, was a prominent member.

MacKenna, whose "distinguished translations of Plotinus" won the praise of W. B. Yeats, not only knew the latter but also

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2. J. Joyce, *Ulysses*, p. 44.
4. Ibid., p. 317.
5. Ibid., pp. 312-317.
7. See p. 664.
was a friend of John O'Leary, J.M. Synge, George Russell, James Stephens (the author), Padraic Colum and James Joyce.

MacKenna was a journalist. After a visit to New York in 1899, where he attended at least one meeting of the Clan-na-Gael, he settled down in Paris to write for the New York Herald.

In 1903 he married an American girl:

Not long after his marriage MacKenna suddenly achieved financial prosperity. His work for Gordon Bennett's New York Herald had attracted the notice of Bennett's rival, the Americanised Hungarian, Joseph Pulitzer, 'the founder of so-called yellow journalism,' who was just then engaged in thrusting the New York World into the front rank of American daily papers. Pulitzer...appointed MacKenna first as a special correspondent and later as continental representative of the World, with a staff of assistants, a central office in Paris, and a salary that in those days was considered princely. Between 1903 and 1907 MacKenna had his first and last taste of what is called success.

After that time, following the precedent of his friend, J.M. Synge, MacKenna returned to Ireland to live.

John M. Synge

John M. Synge's abiding interest in France has been reported by his brother. But inasmuch as he was living at the Hotel Corneille, the haunt of John O'Leary, when Yeats first met him in 1896, it may be suspected that this interest was stimulated by Fenian associations.

1. Dodds, op. cit., p. 50.
2. Ibid., pp. 39-40.
5. Ibid., p. xii.
6. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
7. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
8. Ibid., pp. 23-37.
10. See p. 662.
Of his first meeting with Synge, W.B. Yeats wrote in his Autobiography:

Some one, whose name I forget, told me there was a poor Irishman at the top of the house, and presently introduced us. Synge had come lately from Italy... He told me that he had learned Irish at Trinity College, so I urged him to go to the Aran Islands and find a life that had never been expressed in literature... Perhaps I would have given the same advice to any young Irish writer who knew Irish, for I had been that summer upon Inishman and Inishmore, and was full of the subject...

From that on I saw much of Synge, and brought him to Maud Gonne's, under whose persuasion perhaps, he joined the 'Young Ireland Society of Paris,'... but resigned after a few months because it 'wanted to stir up Continental nations against England, and England will never give us freedom until she feels she is safe.'

Bourgeois also told of Synge's association with the Young Ireland Society of Paris:

Synge found this curious Franco-Irish organization in full swing, and joined it, although not, as has been sometimes believed, in the capacity of Honorary Secretary: his Nationalist convictions -- at least practically speaking -- were not practical enough at the time to enable him to assume such duties. But he was a constant attendant.

It was, presumably, this attendance at the meetings of the Paris branch of the I.R.B. which aroused Maud Gonne's interest in Synge; and in her autobiography she says that she persuaded Marie Henri d'Arbois de Joubainville, Professor of Celtic Literature at the Collège de France, "to take J.M. Synge as his assistant."

Synge and MacKenna first seem to have become acquainted in 1897 when the latter, accompanied by Garibaldi's friend,

4. See p. 661.
Amilcar Cipriani, went to Greece to help fight the Turks. The Young Ireland Society of London, to which MacKenna had belonged before his removal to Paris, also had sent a band of Volunteers and, perhaps, this increased MacKenna's desire to go. At all events, he was back in Paris before the end of the year. Of his renewed friendship with Synge, Arthur Lynch wrote:

The man who knew Synge best was Stephen MacKenna, and Synge's first book bears evident marks of MacKenna's influence, or, as I should say, perhaps, MacKenna's active help.¹

Perhaps it is not surprising in view of this interest in Irish and Greek revolutionaries that Synge should also have been attracted to social reformers. Thus Bourgeois has reported:

In Paris Synge had been intermittently Socialist. He felt that things went wrong. But he violently disagreed with the methods of French nationalism and anti-semitism, which he called 'une fumisterie.'²

Bourgeois also has recorded that Synge wrote an account of a Socialist meeting which he attended in 1898 or 1899 for the Dublin Express. The former noted, "He once went to hear Jaures, but was not moved at all. He did not follow him well, yet carried away the impression that he had the 'great popular gift.'"³ In 1900, the International Socialist Congress met in Paris. To the delight of James Connolly the delegates of the Irish Socialist Republican Party "were seated and treated as delegates of the

4. Ibid., p. 11.
6. Ibid., p. 268.
7. Ibid., p. 51.
Irish nation, distinct from England." It would be interesting to know whether Synge was present at any of its sessions. Presumably MacKenna, "who knew Synge best," could have answered; but Yeats, although he knew Kropotkin, Stepniak and Cipriani and while in Paris was wont to "dine at an anarchist restaurant in the Boulevard St. Jacques," has made no reference to Synge's socialist leanings.

James Joyce

Although Joyce's biographer makes no mention of it, Stephen MacKenna may have made Joyce's acquaintance when the latter first visited Paris in the winter of 1902-1903. In any event, some time in 1902 George Russell wrote to W.B. Yeats:

I want you very much to meet a young fellow named Joyce whom I wrote to Lady Gregory about half-jestingly. He is an extremely clever boy who belongs to your clan more than to mine and still more to himself. But he has all the intellectual equipment — culture and education, which all our other clever friends here lack, and I think writes amazingly well in prose, though I believe he also writes verse and is engaged in writing a comedy which he expects will occupy him five years or thereabouts as he writes slowly. Moore who saw an article of this boy's says it is preposterously clever. Anyhow I think you would find this youth of twenty-one with his assurance and self-confidence, rather interesting. 7

Presumably, then, it was Yeats who introduced Joyce to Arthur Symons in London and to Maud Gonne. Or, perhaps, Lady Gregory

3. Ibid., p. 112.
4. Ibid., p. 314.
5. Ibid., p. 292.
7. G.W. Russell, Some Passages from the Letters of AE to W.B. Yeats, pp. 33-34.
8. H. Gorman, James Joyce, p. 85.
9. Ibid., p. 89.
gave Joyce a letter of introduction to the woman Yeats loved.  
At any rate, Maud Gonne invited "this youth of twenty-one" to call on her in Paris.

In view of the names mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it is not surprising that on his first visit to the French capital, Joyce stayed at the accustomed haunt of the Fenians, the Hotel Corneille; nor that he met Synge in Paris. Indeed, he became so intimate with the latter that Synge submitted to him "a manuscript copy of his play, Riders to the Sea."

Whatever associations Joyce may have had with such sympathizers with physical force as Yeats, Maud Gonne and Stephen MacKenna, his particular Fenian friend in Paris seems to have been Joe Casey. Casey, "who appears in Ulysses under the name of Kevin Egan," "had been a dynamitard." It is perhaps noteworthy that both Casey and his son Patrice were on such intimate terms with Joyce that upon occasion they loaned him sums of money.

The '98 Centenary

This discussion of the Irish in France after 1887 may be linked with French interest in the celebration of the centenary of 1798 in Ireland through the person of Maud Gonne and the writings of James Joyce and W.B. Yeats.

The following curious passage from Maud Gonne's auto-

1. See p.414.
2. Gorman, op. cit., p. 93.
3. Ibid., p. 96.
5. See p.98.
7. Ibid., p. 102.
biography tells something about her connection between the French and the '98 commemorations:

I had the honour of laying the foundation stone of a very creditable monument in Tralles... and saw a good Celtic Cross unveiled in Mount Mellick; and if the monument in Ballina is unsatisfying as a work of art, the laying of its foundation stone and its unveiling formed the occasion for two French delegations to Ireland and a return invitation for an Irish delegation to visit France.

I remember how, at the unveiling of that Ballina monument, where a lot of people had walked in from Belmullet and Belderry, one old man came to me after the ceremony and whispered: 'But where are the French?' I pointed to Professor Meulis, Commandant du Château, George d'Esparbes and Madame de Ste Croix, still on the platform. 'No, no. I mean the French army.' So I think some of the people were vaguely disappointed like myself.1

Joyce also utilized this French aspect of the '98 centenary. In what seems to be an autobiographical passage in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, he wrote:

In the roadway at the head of the street a slab was set to the memory of Wolfe Tone and he remembered having been present with his father at its laying. He remembered with bitterness that scene of tawdry tribute. There were four French delegates in a brake and one, a plump smiling young man, held, wedged on a stick, a card on which were printed the words: Vive L'Irlande!2

Yeats' famous one-act play, Cathleen Ni Houlihan, also may be associated with French interest in the '98 centenary because much of the power of the play is derived from the fact that the French once invaded Ireland and might conceivably do so again. But it will be described later, and in more detail, in another connection.

2. P. 214.
3. W.B. Yeats, Mr. Yeats' New Play, United Irishman, April 5, 1902, p. 5.
John MacBride and the Boer War

To conclude this brief discussion of the relation between the physical force movement and the Celtic renaissance among the Irish exiles in France, certain events which may be associated with the Boer war deserve mention. And even as the names of Stephen MacKenna and Maud Gonne were used as focal points in describing the Irish exiles in France and French interest in the '98 centenary respectively, so the name of John MacBride may be used in discussing the Boer's fight for independence.

England's South African war was very unpopular among the Irish exiles in France. Indeed, Arthur Lynch went to the Transvaal to organize an Irish brigade to fight for the Boers.

Arthur Griffith's friend, John MacBride, who "had been in the I.R.B. since he was a boy," was already there fighting in another Irish Brigade. In her autobiography Maud Gonne declared:

At the end of 1900 Griffith got a letter from John MacBride announcing his return from the Transvaal; the war was not over and we were astonished, though Arthur Lynch had returned some months earlier. Griffith and I decided to go and meet him in Paris, as of course he could not come to Ireland...

Stephen McKenna and some of the Paris Young Ireland Society went with us to the Côte de Lyon to meet MacBride, whom I had never met, though I had corresponded with him about sending men to his brigade. Griffith and he were old friends, so there was no difficulty about recognizing him as he stepped off the train... He was in great spirits and delighted to meet so many friends. He and Griffith and McKenna...

4. Ibid., pp. 319-320.
went off together to the room McKenna had secured for him in the Quartier Latin. He was to come back later and dine with me. ¹

Griffith, who was editor of *United Irishman* and who knew of Maud Gonne's disagreement with the London Branch of the I.R.B., told MacBride about her difficulty. Thereupon, she suggested that he go to America "to get the Clan-na-Gael moving" in the direction which she considered correct:

'Have you notes on the work of the Brigade?' Griffith asked. 'I want them for the *United Irishman* and you had better prepare a lecture, for you will have to lecture in America.'

'You will have to write the lecture for me, then,' he answered.

It was so late that it was not worthwhile for MacBride to go to his lodgings, so he shared Griffith's bed. Next morning, seated at my writing table, Griffith wrote the lecture, supplementing the sparse notes from MacBride's memory. I sat in an armchair smoking cigarettes and listening. It was great to hear of Irishmen actually fighting England.²

Next, Maude Gonne told MacBride of the anti-recruiting drive in Ireland:

I showed him our leaflet with Father Cavanagh's words on Catholic teaching and the sin in taking part in an unjust war. 'We got these well circulated among the Irish regiment.'³

Shortly afterwards, MacBride's mother, brother, John O'Leary and Dr. Mark Ryan arrived in Paris to welcome him and in a series of articles which appeared in the *Weekly Freeman*, a paper for which Stephen MacKenna had written since 1897, Mac-

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² Ibid., p. 320.
³ Ibid., p. 321.
⁴ Dodds, op. cit., pp. 14, 33, 36.
Bride reported:

Sometime afterwards John O'Leary came again to Paris to
make a presentation of a sword of honour on behalf of an
Irish Committee, while a deputation from the 'Major Mac-
Bride Club' presented me at the same time with a handsome
revolver.1

Then, following a reception by the Paris Young Ireland Society,
MacBride went to America.

In a short time he wrote Maude Gonne for help. Accord-
ingly, she followed him but soon returned to Ireland. Later
she wrote:

Some months later, in Dublin, I got a letter from MacBride,
He was returning to France and asked me to meet him in
Paris. He had asked me to marry him in America and I had
replied that marriage was not in my thoughts while there
was a war on and there was always an Irish war on.2

Thereupon, as she has told the story, MacBride returned to Paris
where he could be nearer her:

One day, after a lecture by d'Arbois de Joubainville in the
Quartier Latin we had both attended, to avoid going to a
cafe, as he suggested, I insisted instead that he should
give me tea in his room.3

Not long after this, having rejected W.B. Yeats' proposal
of marriage and Griffith's advice, Maud Gonnie married John
MacBride on February 21, 1903. The account of the "Marriage of
Major MacBride and Miss Maud Gonnie," in United Irishman spoke
of a present sent to the couple by Alderman John Daly of Limerick
which showed that at least one member of the I.R.B. approved of

    Freeman, August 3, 1907, p. 13.
3. Ibid., p. 324.
4. Ibid., p. 342.
5. Ibid., p. 344.
6. Ibid., p. 329.
7. Ibid., p. 349.
the union.

At this time, both Arthur Lynch and John MacBride were held in considerable esteem in certain Irish quarters. In Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* there is a reference to the former, who was sentenced to death by the British Government because he had fought for the Boers. When Christy Mahon, the Playboy, entered Flaherty's public house and asked how "often the police do be coming into this place," there was considerable speculation as to what crime he had committed. Philly Cullen suggested a relation between Christy and Lynch:

Maybe he went fighting for the Boers, the like of the man beyond, was judged to be hanged, quartered and drawn. Were you off east, young fellow, fighting bloody wars for Kruger and the freedom of the Boers?

According to Padraic Colum, Synge's admiration for MacBride was expressed in another way:

The stick that he carried had a history; it was, if I remember aright, of some heavy African wood; it had been presented by one of the Boer generals to John MacBride of the Boer-Irish Brigade. From him it had come to Stephen MacKenna... Synge had borrowed the stick, and by no persuasion could his friend Stephen MacKenna get it back from him. On many a lonely tramp it was with him, and he died with the stick unalienated from him. Once, with that stick in his hands, he had stood against a charge of police in a street in Dublin. But the crowd that had drawn the police fled, and then John Synge turned away, resolved, as a friend of his told me, not to take seriously again any physical-force demonstration in Ireland.

In spite of her husband's fame, Madame MacBride was not

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1. February 28, 1903, p. 5.
3. See p. 545.
happy in her marriage and in August, 1906, she obtained "the
1 civil dissolution" of it. However, after his execution in 1916
2 she seems to have regretted that "she divorced him." Yeats also
forgave him. In a eulogy of the men who were executed for their
part in the unsuccessful insurrection, he wrote of MacBride:

This other man I had dreamed
A drunken, vainglorious lout.
He had done most bitter wrong
To some who are near my heart,
Yet I number him in the song;
He, too, has resigned his part
In the casual comedy;
He, too, has been changed in his turn,
Transformed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.3

In Great Britain

In casting about for a suitable date at which to commence
the preceding study of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance in
France, the suggestion was made that such a history might begin
4 with the "Wild Geese." The difficulty is even greater in seek-
ing for a convenient time to begin a consideration of separatism
in Great Britain. Indeed, a historian of The Irish in England
and Scotland has recorded "that every patriotic movement set on
foot in Ireland -- whether constitutional or revolutionary --
5 has had its counterpart here."

The truth of this quotation since the time of the passage
of the Act of Union can easily be verified. Early examples may

1. M.C. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 256.
be found in Tom Moore’s Memoirs of Captain Rock and in a weekly paper, Captain Rock in London, or, The Chieftain’s Weekly Gazette, which was edited, it would seem, by a United Irishman, Roger O’Connor, who was father of the celebrated Chartist leader, Feargus O’Connor."

The Young Irelanders evoked Chartist sympathy to such an extent that John Mitchel observed in his Jail Journal under the date of August 28, 1848:

Voici! Government continues to act with vigour: certain Chartists have been holding meetings in London to testify sympathy with me; whereupon the insulted Government clapped them up in jail and indicted them… Amongst others, Ernest Jones, an able man, a barrister, and editor of the Northern Star, has been convicted and sentenced to two years’ imprisonment for attending one of those meetings, and saying in his speech there, that I, J.M., would one day return to my country in triumph, and Lord John Russell and Lord Clarendon would be transported.5

The Fenians also had sympathizers in Great Britain. Ernest Jones, who had been a hero of Michael Davitt when the latter was a boy, defended the Manchester Martyrs in 1867. In the same year Fenians took part in a raid on Chester Castle, and in an attempt to blow a hole in the wall of Clerkenwell prison. In 1870, Michael Davitt was arrested and sentenced to prison on the charge of treason felony for smuggling guns out of England for Ireland. Then, Fenians formed the Home Rule Confederation

4. See p. 43.
8. See p. 166.
9. See p. 98.
10. See p. 283.
of Great Britain, of which Farnell was elected president in 1877 and of which F. H. O'Donnell was vice-president.

The following consideration of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance in Great Britain will be begun in 1867, or slightly later. The subject matter will be divided into a discussion of Fenian agitation of a political nature, some mention of Irish literary activities and a recital of various unorthodox English literary and political phenomena which attracted Irish inhabitants of England and Scotland.

**Fenian-Inspired Political Agitation in Great Britain**

Aside from Farnell's career, which has already been discussed and which might be considered as an aspect of Fenian-inspired political agitation in Great Britain, the activities of Irish advocates of physical force may be traced through the person of F. H. O'Donnell, Maud Gonne and the Amesty agitation and W. B. Yeats and the '98 centenary. In the following pages these three subjects will be taken up seriatim with a brief additional note at the end.

**F. H. O'Donnell**

Frank Hugh O'Donnell has already been introduced as possibly a traitor to the physical force organization. However questionable such an assertion may be, there are many facts about his life which have not been disputed. As early as 1871, O'Donnell

1. See p. 465-466.
described himself in a letter to the Dublin Irishman as editor of the Catholic Critic. In 1873, he lectured at Catholic University, Dublin, on political economy. In 1875, Irish World reported the publication of New Paganism, a long poem credited to O'Donnell but signed "Dryden Minor." Still later, as a member of Parliament, he bitterly opposed the entrance of Bradlaugh on the grounds that he was anti-Christian. At about this time, O'Donnell projected "a confederation of all the discontented races in the Empire under the lead of the Irish Party."

While he was still in Parliament, W.E. Forster, who was Chief-Secretary of Ireland said of him: "I cannot imagine any sane body of men for any good or evil purpose taking the hon. member into their confidence." And, if O'Donnell actually did remain on friendly terms with Davitt, as T.D. Sullivan seems to have indicated, or Dr. Mark Ryan, as Maud Gonne thought, this is amazing for he fought with everyone else. Indeed, not only did he delight in obstructing the business of Parliament, but he also quarrelled with Butt and Parnell. Yet another man with whom he fought was T.M. Healy, who, calling him "crank Hugh O'Donnell," sketched his career briefly up to the time that the latter brought what Healy believed to be a dishonest suit, pos-

1. Correspondence, Irishman, January 21, 1871, p. 75.
2. Personal, Irish World, December 12, 1874, p. 5.
3. Ibid., June 19, 1875, p. 5.
6. Ibid., p. 248.
9. Ibid., p. 54.
10. Ibid., p. 95.
sibly financed by the Government, against the London Times
in 1887:

O'Donnell had not been in Parliament since 1885, nor had
he held any position in politics thereafter. He was a
writer for the English Press, born in India, the son of a
Scottish officer. Entering Galway Queen's College, he
registered his name as 'Francis MacDonnell.' In 1874 he
was elected for the borough of Galway as 'Frank Hugh
O'Donnell,' but was unjustly unseated.

O'Donnell also fought with Maud Gonne, if it is correct
to identify him with the sinister figure described in A Servant
of the Queen as having sought to destroy Parnell, betray the
Boers and a French spy to the English Government and as having
driven her and W.B. Yeats out of the London branch of the I.R.B.

Finally, there can be no doubt of his hostility to Yeats whose
plays he bitterly attacked in a pamphlet entitled The Stage
Irishman of the Pseudo Celtic Drama:

He speaks of them as 'a sort of Masterlinckian-Ibsenitish-
Baudelairian drama,' and finds (see p. 25) sneers and blas-
phemies against religion 'scattered with full hands in
Mr. Yeats's principal plays.'

The Countess Cathleen, O'Donnell characterized as a
"ridiculous and offensive absurdity" and in his opinion another
play by Yeats, The Land of Heart's Desire, turned on a "revolt-
ing burlesque of Catholic religion." In view of this opinion
of Countess Cathleen and of D. J. O'Donoghue's ascription to

2. Ibid., p. 274.
4. See p. 466.
5. See p. 466-467.
8. Ibid., p. 248.
O'Donnell of some unidentified "onslaughts, in pamphlet form, on W.B. Yeats' literary views," perhaps the anonymous diatribe described by Andrew E. Malone in The Irish Drama may be ascribed to O'Donnell. The attack was entitled Souls for Gold and declared The Countess Cathleen to be "anti-Irish and anti-Catholic." Nevertheless, it succeeded in directing public attention to the Irish Literary Theatre when it made its first appearance in Dublin:

Young men from the University College were exhorted to attend at the Ancient Concert Rooms and make protest against 'this insult to their faith.' They went and protested to such an extent that the assistance of the police had to be secured.²

James Joyce, although he was a student at the University College,"contemptuously refused" to take any part in this protest. Indeed, from Yeats' outline of the plot of The Countess Cathleen, it is difficult to understand how anyone could have taken exception to it:

She sells her soul to certain demons for money that the people may not be compelled by starvation to sell theirs. She dies. The demons had deceived themselves, had trusted to bond and signature, but God sees 'the motive and not the deed.' My error was doubly dangerous, for I had put the thought into the mouth of an angel.⁴

However, Maud Gonne's efforts on behalf of the Irish peasantry were well-known and O'Donnell's hostility to The Countess Cathleen may have been due in part to the belief that Yeats had created the role of Cathleen for her. In this connection it is note-

3. Cf.: J. Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, pp. 265-266.
worthy that O'Donnell was hostile to agrarian unrest in Ireland.

But before dismissing O'Donnell, it should also be pointed out that he was "the author of several books on Irish education" and "The Message of the Masters, a legend of Aileach, in verse." This legend of Aileach, of course, was evidence of O'Donnell's acquaintance with Gaelic. And in his History of the Parliamentary Party, which appeared in 1910, he asserted that he "used to defend the study of Gaelic forty years ago." Nevertheless, George Moore, who believed the title of O'Donnell's attack on The Countess Cathleen to be The Cross or the Guillotine, has told how he considered leaving Ireland because of its "disgraceful Catholicism." Furthermore, he used O'Donnell's pamphlet to introduce the main theme of Hail and Farewell, "whether Catholicism was incompatible with modern literature."

Consequently, Yeats told Moore that O'Donnell "was an old enemy of his." However, Moore professed that he was not convinced by this explanation:

I listened, hearing for the hundredth time stories about money that had been collected, purloined, information given to the police, and the swearing of certain men to punish the traitors with death. I was told how these rumored assassinations had reached the ears of Miss Gonne, and how she and Yeats had determined to save the miscreants; and many other fabulous stories of meetings in West Kensington, which in his imagination had become as picturesque as the meeting of Roman and Venetian conspirators in the sixteenth century.

6. Ibid., p. 91.
7. Ibid., p. 92.
That O'Donnell was saved from death by Maud Gonne is also hinted in A Servant of the Queen, but perhaps enough has been said about him.

Maud Gonne and the Amnesty Agitation

To return to the story of Fenian activities in England, after these remarks about the work of Frank Hugh O'Donnell, it may be noted that the Invincibles had English affiliations through P.J.P. Tynan and the London Land League. Likewise, at this time Thomas Mooney, the London correspondent of the Irish World, was advocating land reform. And it is interesting to note that he used Great Britain's difficulties with South African natives to boost physical force:

The Kaffirs have become quite respectable in London since they have learned how to 'shoot straight.' I wish that important fact could be stereotyped and kept constantly under the eyes of the Irish...

Although the dynamite campaign which was almost contemporaneous with the Land League seems also to have been largely the work of Irish-Americans, the Amnesty Association, which came into being after the dynamitards had received jail sentences, had Fenians and their sympathizers for its chief supporters in most England. Perhaps Maud Gonne's name is the important of those associated with its activities but it is not without significance that W.B. Yeats introduced her to the organization. Thus, she

1. P. 313.
2. See pp. 400-409.
5. Trans-Atlantic Irish World, July 13, 1878, p. 3.
Dr. Mark Ryan was chairman, Dr. Anthony MacBride secretary. Willie Yeats took me to the committee meeting; most of the members belonged to the I.R.B. of which Willie Yeats was also a member. An old Fenian, Mr. Sheridan, described his visit to one of the prisoners and the horrible conditions of their treatment in Portland. The prison regulations permitted visits of twenty minutes once every four months, but as the Irish prisoners' homes were in Ireland, Scotland and America, only very few, such as John Daly, James Egan and Thomas Clarke ever got visits; distance and the poverty of families prevented. There were twenty-seven prisoners, the majority of whom had been ten years in prison without a visit.1

In his autobiography Yeats did not discuss the Amnesty Association; but in hers, Maud Gonne was less reticent. Following her introduction by Yeats to the society, but before the release of James Egan in 1892, she visited some of the prisoners at Portland. And although a jailor grimly assured her that "no one ever escapes from Portland," it may be indicated that Tom Clarke succeeded in communicating with Dr. Mark Ryan while in that prison and had even hoped to effect an escape.

Following this visit Maud Gonne became a recruiting agent for the Amnesty Association which subsequently "must have enrolled at least two hundred thousand people." This was partly the result of a series of Amnesty meetings which she held in England and Scotland. But, Maud Gonne did not restrict her activities to

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2. Ibid., p. 164.
5. Ibid., p. 156.
8. Ibid., pp. 159-161.
Great Britain. In 1894 she toured America under the auspices of a "section of the Clan-Na-Gael" to raise funds for the Association. And in France she was helped by the press, notably the Paris Figaro which was persuaded to print an article on its front page entitled: "Les Atrocités dans les Bagnes Anglais." Indeed, she was even invited "to visit Russian prisons and write an article showing how much better they were than English prisons."

In Ireland her work was such that she was able to involve J.F. Taylor, the bitter foe of George Moore and W.B. Yeats, in a successful defense of an Irish dynamite suspect when the latter was brought to trial in London in 1896. And she has related how deeply Taylor was affected by the words of the suspect to him when the latter asked whether he should accept a promise of leniency by the police if he were to plead guilty, for Taylor told her:

'He asked me which would be the best for Ireland and I had to say to refuse to plead guilty and let the case go on, but I would not urge him to do it. He replied that he was an Irishman who had pledged himself to fight for Ireland's freedom. He had come from America prepared to sacrifice his life and he would go on.' Taylor was terribly moved.5

W.B. Yeats and the '98 Centenary

Although Yeats was reticent about his connection with the Amnesty Association, such is not the case so far as his activities in England in preparation for the '98 centenary are concerned.

1. MacBride, op. cit., p. 188.
2. Ibid., pp. 162-163.
3. Ibid., p. 163.
4. See pp. 331, 446.
5. MacBride, op. cit., p. 185.
Of this work for the I.R.B. in Great Britain, Yeats declared:

I had by my friendship with O'Leary, by my fight against Gavan Duffy, drawn the attention of a group of men, who at that time controlled what remained of the old Fenian movement in England and Scotland; and at a moment when an attempt, that came to nothing, was being made to combine once more our constitutional and unconstitutional politics, I had been asked to represent this group at some convention in the United States. ¹

In her autobiography, Maud Gonne also told how Yeats' "rooms in Woburn Buildings," London, were frequented by members of the I.R.B. Furthermore, Yeats made an open show of his Fenian sympathies. He has testified:

I chose Royal visits especially for demonstrations of disloyalty, rolling up with my own hands the red carpet spread by some elderly Nationalist, softened or weakened by time, to welcome Viceroyalty; and threatening, if our London Society drank to the King's health, that my friends and I would demonstrate against it by turning our glasses upside down...²

As a result he found that these sympathies were well-known to the British public;

...it was as much my reputation as an Irish rebel as the evil company that I was supposed to keep, that excited some young men from a railway carriage to comment upon my general career in voices raised that they might catch my attention.³

Nevertheless, Yeats does not seem to have known that there was a split in the ranks of the physical force movement until 1896.

His friend, Maud Gonne, had learned of this split when she visited America in 1894:

All I knew about the split was that a Dr. Cronin, who was said to have been on his way to give evidence before the

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4. Ibid., p. 276.
5. Ibid., pp. 299-300.
Times Commission, disappeared and his dead body was found some time later in a drain. John Devoy, one of the leaders of the Clan, accused another leader, Alexander Sullivan, of having instigated the murder... 1

After a "sensational trial in Chicago," Sullivan had been exonerated. But as a result the Clan-na-Gael was divided and the split was reflected both in Great Britain and Ireland:

In the Revolutionary movement itself the split in the Clan-na-Gael in America was faithfully mirrored in Ireland. John O'Leary personally favoured Devoy and had a large following in the I.R.B.; Dr. Mark Ryan, who had an equally large following, supported the Sullivan side... 2

When Yeats learned of the split, he sought to end it and thereby became involved in the '98 centenary celebrations. In his autobiography he declared:

It seemed to me that if I accepted the Presidency of the '98 Commemoration Association of Great Britain, I might be able to prevent a public quarrel, and so make a great central council possible; and a public quarrel I did prevent, though with little gain perhaps to anybody,...and no gain at all perhaps to the movement, for our central council had commonly to send two organizers or to print two pamphlets, that both parties might be represented when one pamphlet or one organizer had served. 3

Travelling about Great Britain and Ireland with Maud Gonne, Yeats suggested:

Should we not persuade the organisations in Dublin and in London, when the time drew near for the unveiling of our statue, or even perhaps for the laying of its foundation stone, to invite the leaders of Parnellite or Anti-Parnellite, of the new group of Unionists who had almost changed sides in their indignation at the over-taxation of Ireland, to lay their policy before our Convention -- could we not then propose and carry that the Convention sit permanently, or appoint some Executive Committee to direct Irish policy and report from time to time. 4

2. Ibid., p. 281.
In some ways this foreshadowed Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein policy and Yeats added:

I thought I had Maud Gonne's support, but when I overheard her conversation, she commonly urged the entire withdrawal of the Irish Members, or if she did refer to my scheme, it was to suggest the sending to England of eighty ragged and Drunken Dublin beggars or eighty pugilists "to be paid by results."

She was the first who spoke publicly or semi-publicly of the withdrawal of the Irish Members as a practical policy for our time, so far as I know, but others may have been considering it.¹

Among "the new group of Unionists" who were indignant at the over-taxation of Ireland was Edward Martyn and Yeats interested him in the centenary. With the help of Lady Gregory, he was even able to reach the Englishman, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who made the following entry in his diary in 1898:

1st April.—At five to-day Lady Gregory brought me the poet Yeats, an Irish mystic of an interesting type... We talked much about the '98 demonstrations of which he is organiser, and of the coming doom of England, and we talked also of another mystical poet and patriot, Russell, (A.E.), with whom Yeats was a fellow student at Dublin... Both believe in ghosts and fairies and in the transmigration of souls, and have magic powers of seeing the future and of prophecy.⁵

Russell was greatly indebted to Yeats at this time for Yeats had recommended him to Horace Plunkett when the latter was seeking an organizer for the Irish Agricultural Organization Society.⁶

The result has been described as follows:

². See pp. 556-559.
⁴. See pp. 548-549.
⁶. Ibid., p. 291.
Luckily, Sir Horace persuaded A.E. into the movement, and sent him off touring the country on his bicycle as an organizer for the society. After a few years of organizing, he was appointed assistant secretary...

Yet Yeats did not mention any attempt to enlist Russell's aid for the '98 centenary.

Nor did Yeats dwell upon the interest which Irish members of Parliament displayed. Nevertheless, John Redmond, who had written a pamphlet to help the dynamitards, John Daly and James Egan, wrote another entitled The Truth About '98 in which he praised the United Irishmen. As a result of this, together with his amnesty work, Redmond was somewhat less unpopular in Fenian circles than John Dillon, although neither of them were made welcome when they participated in the '98 memorial activities.

T.M. Healy, who wrote Why Ireland Is Not Free, "in honour of the centenary," also deserves mention although he did not finish it until 1909.

Additional Note

After the '98 centenary, the activities of the Irish physical force party in Great Britain had less connection with the Celtic renaissance, and, therefore, may be passed over rapidly. During the Boer War, Dr. Mark Ryan, F.H. O'Donnell, Dora Sigerson and Sean O'Hanlon sought to help the Boers. O'Hanlon even went down to Folkstone to distribute anti-Imperialist literature

to Irish soldiers sailing for South Africa. Alice Stopford Green, who was John O'Leary's friend, also wrote articles sympathetic with the Boers for the Nineteenth Century and Stephen Gwynn has recorded that "Mrs. Green's set" was pro-Boer.

In the years following Michael Collins and P.S. O'Hegarty were the most distinguished Irishmen to emerge from London Fenian circles. And to conclude these brief remarks about the Fenian-inspired political agitation in England and Scotland it is, perhaps, unnecessary to speak of Dr. Mark Ryan's efforts to save Sir Roger Casement in 1916.

**Fenian Activities in Great Britain: Literary**

The foregoing evidences of interest in Irish separatism were limited to various individuals and organizations in Great Britain of a political nature. Three literary groups, and a project in which they were interested, also deserve mention.

The oldest of these groups, and the mother of the other two, was the Southwark Irish Literary Club of London.

In 1894, W.P. Ryan published *The Irish Literary Revival* in London. In his preface Ryan declared that the "Irish Literary movement, of which so much has been heard of late, has now passed its decade" and he added:

The early eighties saw the beginning of an Irish Literary movement whose full result and force are being felt today.

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1. Interview with Dr. Ryan.
5. Interview with Dr. Ryan.
It did not arise in the Ireland at home, but in Southwark, a district of London whose immediate neighborhood had memories and associations of Marlowe and Chaucer.1

Later in his book Ryan continued:

The first workers were of that cultured and studious force in the Land League, who saw in the agitation at first a real national upheaval... Others came who had taken their lessons from Young Ireland, others who had looked deep into Celtic legend, others yet who had drunk at the old founts of Gaelic bardic poetry.2

To this list Ryan should have added Patrick Ford and the Irish World because of their original use of the peculiar phrase, "spread the light," in calling for dissemination of the propaganda in which they were interested. For in his description of the Southwark Irish Literary Club, which Ryan believed to be the immediate cause of the "Irish renaissance," he declared:

The Club's appropriate motto was Sgar An Solus -- 'Spread the Light.' Its objects were the cultivation of Irish history, art, and literature, and the providing of a medium of social and intellectual intercourse for Irish people of both sexes.5

The Southwark Irish Literary Club was preceded by the Southwark Junior Irish Literary Club which was one of "a couple of Junior Irish Literary Clubs, and a central council" in London. Thomas Mooney reported the existence of one of these Junior Irish Literary Clubs to Irish World as early as March 24, 1884. But he had nothing to say of the Southwark, although it was formed in 1883.

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 176.
3. See p. 221.
5. Ibid., p. 16.
6. Ibid., p. 12.
7. Trans-Atlantic, Irish World, April 12, 1884, p. 11.
Among those who were attracted to the Southwark, the following may be mentioned: T.D. Sullivan, R. Barry O'Brien, John Augustus O'Shea, D.J. O'Donoghue, Justin McCarthy, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, W.P. Ryan and, after March, 1888, W.B. Yeats.

Among the guest lecturers who addressed the Southwark society was the pre-Raphaelite socialist, H. Halliday Sparling. Sparling, who compiled an anthology of Irish poetry, numbered Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, William Morris and George Bernard Shaw among his friends.

Although Yeats had succeeded in interesting John Todhunter and Katharine Tynan in the society, before that date, in 1890 it "did not do quite as well as before." According to Yeats, "the girls got the giggles when any member of the Committee got up to speak." Yet it gave birth to the Irish Literary Society of London and the Irish National Literary Society of Dublin.

Shortly before the birth of the Irish Literary Society, the Southwark Irish Literary Club had published the poems of an old Fenian, John Francis O'Donnell. And in acknowledging the receipt of a complimentary copy of the volume, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy wrote:

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 18.
2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
5. Ibid., p. 29.
9. Ibid., p. 33.
What you say of the need for publishing the verse and prose of men and women who have helped the national cause for the last generation or two is very true, and has often been the subject of my thoughts...

I have often thought of forming a small Limited Liability Company for this purpose. The Irish race in Ireland, England, and America ought to buy a large number of little books published at the size and price of Cassell's National Library. I dare say I could get the capital for the purpose, but it would need the enthusiasm of young men to work it. Their enthusiasm is a more important element than money, and I would not be a party to putting any pecuniary obligation on them.¹

Duffy's proposal served as a link between the older organization and its offspring, for it was favorably received by the members of the provisional committee which was set up to create the Irish Literary Society in 1891:

Amongst the ideas of the Society were the publication of works of neglected Irish authors, the collection of Irish literary material, contributions on Irish subjects to current literature, and most important of all, the establishment of a library of original Irish books. We believed... we could do something towards the extension and popularisation of Irish literature. The provisional committee consisted of F.A. Fahy, D.J. O'Donoghue, W.P. Ryan, Thomas Boyd, J.G. O'Keeffe, with John T. Kelly as secretary.²

However, Duffy was slow in following up his proposal and in December, as the result of conversations between W.B. Yeats and D.J. O'Donoghue in the British Museum, certain members of the provisional committee to create the Irish Literary Society decided that it might well devote itself "to original work rather than mere re-publication, and...a wide and thorough popular programme."

Yeats may have hoped to affiliate the new group with the

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2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. Ibid., p. 34.
4. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
Young Ireland Society, which, of course, was controlled by the Fenians, and in this connection it should be noted that Dr. Mark Ryan, Fenian chief in London, joined the Irish Literary Society when it was finally formed. This may explain why he "offered to induce Mr. T.W. Rolleston and others to throw themselves into the Irish Literary movement," and suggested a meeting at his father's house, Bedford Park, for December 28, 1881.

At any rate, the meeting was attended by D.J. O'Donoghue, John Todhunter, W.P. Ryan, Yeats and Rolleston who impressed Ryan as being "an enthusiastic believer in Whitman." Those present planned "a central Irish literary club for London, meeting weekly or fortnightly, comprising every friendly Irish writer" "with good lectures on its programme, and a scheme for the publication and circulation of Irish books." Later Rolleston was made secretary and to his tact and knowledge Yeats attributed the success of the Irish Literary Society which ultimately "was joined by every London-Irish author and journalist." It may be noted that Lionel Johnson was one of those who joined the Society and it was presumably in connection with it that Yeats declared: "Lionel Johnson was to be our critic, and above all our theologian."

2. See pp. 301-305.
7. Ibid., p. 52.
8. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
9. Ibid., p. 55.
10. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
12. Ibid., p. 190.
The Irish National Literary Society

In 1892 Yeats and another were sent to Dublin to found the Irish National Literary Society, which therefore may also be considered as an offshoot of the Southwark Irish Literary Club. Yeats has written:

At first I had great success, for I brought with me a list of names written down by some member of the Southwark Irish Literary Society, and for six weeks went hither and thither appealing and persuading... One man compared me to Thomas Davis, another said I could organise like Davitt, and I thought to succeed as they did, and as rapidly.³

The Parnellites United Ireland and "certain Young Ireland Societies in country towns" affiliated themselves with the new organization:

The first informal meeting... in Dublin was held at Mr. John O'Leary's house, in Mountjoy Square. Messrs. O'Leary, W.B. Yeats, John T. Kelly, P.J. McCall and J.P. Quinn were amongst this opening muster. A meeting was held in the Rotundo in June, 1892, to formally inaugurate the National Literary Society. Dr. George Sigerson... was in the chair. Miss Maud Gonne, W.B. Yeats, the Chairman, the Rev. T.A. Finlay, S.J., John O'Leary and John T. Kelly explained and urged the new departure.⁵

Yeats has printed a roll of prominent Dubliners who joined:

John O'Leary, John F. Taylor, Douglas Hyde, and Standish O'Grady... Dr. Sigerson, learned, artificial, unscholarly, a typical provincial celebrity, but a friendly man; Count Plunkett, Sinn Feiner of late and Minister of Dail Eireann; Dr. Coffey, now head of the National University; George Coffey, later on Curator of the Irish Antiquities at the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society; Patrick J. McCall, poet and publican of Patrick Street, and later member of the Corporation; Richard Asher King, novelist and correspondent of Truth, a gentle, intelligent person... and others, known or unknown.⁶

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 126.
The New Irish Library

Yeats "had definite plans" for the Irish National Literary Society:

I wanted to create an Irish Theatre; I was finishing my Countess Cathleen in its first meagre version, and thought of a travelling company to meet our country branches; but before that there must be a popular imaginative literature. I arranged with Mr. Fisher Unwin and his reader, Mr. Edward Garnett -- a personal friend of mine -- that when our organisation was complete Mr. Fisher Unwin was to publish for it a series of books at a shilling each. 1

Yeats had even thought of a name for these "books at a shilling each," "The Bell-Branch Library," when Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who had consented with alacrity to be the first president of the London Society, suddenly revived his plan to publish a similar series. Yeats, who held an executive position in the Irish Literary Society, later declared: "I did not expect to agree with him, but knew that I must not seek a quarrel," 5 Yeats' worst fears were realized when Duffy, with more candor than perpiciacity, suggested that there was "not one man of genius left of the Irish race," 6 and proposed a series of reprints.

Duffy's proposal was endorsed by T.W. Rolleston and another member of the London Society who "gave the principal share of their time and thought to it." 8 But when Duffy acted as chairman of the inaugural meeting of the Irish National Literary So-

3. Ibid., p. 59.
4. Ibid., p. 60.
7. Ibid., pp. 61-64.
8. Ibid., p. 66.
society in Dublin in August, 1892, he found a section of the Dublin group, headed by Yeats, disposed to be critical. Indeed, Duffy was made aware of this hostility even before the inaugural meeting when a reception to welcome him to Ireland was disrupted by those who remembered his quarrel with John Mitchel in 1847. Duffy was quite embarrassed by this unexpected outburst and Yeats later paraphrased his words as follows:

He had written a pamphlet, he explained; he would give us copies. We would see that he was in the right, however badly Mitchel had behaved. But in Ireland personal history, if it be but harsh and hard, has lovers, and some of us, I think may have gone hom muttering, 'How dare he be in the right if Mitchel is in the wrong?'

Yet, in spite of this difference of opinion between himself and the Fenians in 1892, Duffy was eager to print works of those who had supported physical force in 1848, that is, the Young Irelanders. Indeed, it was as a result of Duffy's desire "to complete the Young Ireland movement" that George Russell, according to Yeats, "refused to join my National Literary Society, because the party of Harp and Pepperpot had set limits to discussion."

Yeats had hoped for contributions from Douglas Hyde, Standish O'Grady and Lionel Johnson to the projected series of one-shilling books. Accordingly, he became so uneasy about Duffy's

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Ibid., p. 67.
3. See p. 33.
5. Ibid., p. 193.
6. Ibid., p. 194.
7. Ibid., p. 206.
8. Ibid., pp. 186-188.
9. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
10. Ibid., pp. 190-192.
"one-man management" that he "opened a correspondence in the
Freeman's Journal" on the subject. Duffy agreed to compromise
but nevertheless Yeats was to be disappointed:

Our very success had been a misfortune, for an opposition
which had been literary and political brought, now that it
had spread to the general public, religious prejudice to
its aid. Suddenly, when the company seemed all but estab-
lished, and a scheme had been thought out which gave some
representation on its governing board to contemporary Irish
writers, Gagan Duffy produced a letter from Archbishop Walsh
and threw the project up. The letter had warned him that
after his death the company would fall under a dangerous in-
fluence.2

However, Duffy, knowing perhaps of Yeats' arrangement,
went to T. Fisher Unwin with his proposed series of Irish books.
Yeats heard what had happened:

Fisher Unwin and his reader accepted the series under the
belief that it was my project that they accepted. I went
to London to find the contract signed, and that all I could
do was to get two sub-editors appointed, responsible to the
two societies. Two or three good books were published,
especially Dr. Hyde's Short History of Gaelic Literature,
and Standish O'Grady's Bog of Stars; but the series was
killed by its first volume, Thomas Davis's dry but inform-
ing historical essay. So important had our movement seemed
that ten thousand copies had been sold before anybody had
time to read it, and then came a dead stop.4

The two sub-editors were Douglas Hyde and T.W. Rolleston.

Contrary to Yeats' gloomy verdict, W.P. Ryan in The Irish
Literary Revival spoke of the "promising impetus to our national
literature " given by this "New Irish Library of '93-94."

Branches of the Irish Literary Society in various parts of England

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 68.
3. See p. 698.
and Scotland served as outlets. Ryan described the distribution of the books through "a scheme of colportage in Great Britain" and Ireland, and listed the books published as follows:

The volumes announced or decided on in 1893, in addition to "The Patriot Parliament," were: "The Bog of Stara," by Standish O'Grady; "The New Spirit of the Nation," edited by Martin MacDermott; "What Small Nations have done for Humanity," by T.W. Rolleston; "Irish Missionaries," by Dr. Sigerson; "Owen Roe O'Nellig," by J.F. Taylor; "Dr. Doyle (J.K.L.)," by Michael Donagh; "A Guide to Gaelic Literature," by Dr. Douglas Hyde; "Later-Day Irish Poetry," by W. B. Yeats; "Ulster and Ireland," by John McGrath; a new poem, also a "Life of Saratfield," by Dr. Tadmor; "Irish Songs and Airs," by A.P. Graves; Biographies of Some Representative Irishmen, by D.J. O'Donoghue; a volume on Irish Technical Education, by Arnold Graves. Mrs. E. M. Lynch undertook to point an Irish moral through an adaptation of a French novel, the present writer to edit a collection of stories of the people, and to contribute an original volume of Irish tales in the event of the success of the series.2

The Irish National Literary Society of Dublin and the Irish Literary Society of London are of particular interest because Yeats was associated with them at a time when he was a noted Fenian. He drifted away from the former as a result of a quarrel over a project of "small libraries of Irish literature in connection with our country branches":

The trouble came from half-a-dozen obscure young men who, having nothing to do attended every meeting and were able to overturn a project, that seemed my only bridge to other projects, including a travelling theatre.3

Yeats remained active in the London Society until 1900 when a quarrel over George Moore led him to resign:

My advocacy had threatened to disrupt the Irish Literary Society which I had founded and still thought a useful instrument. Early in the year its treasurer, Charles Russell, the famous lawyer, invited Moore to become a member

2. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
forgot he had done so, proposed that the Committee should blackmail him -- there was some anti-Catholic passage in A Drama in Muslin -- and was supported by Barry O'Brien who could not abide Farnell and His Island. I got rid of Charles Russell by producing his letter of invitation, but Barry O'Brien remained, and after a long fight I withdrew Moore's name and resigned rather than force his resignation. He and I had given the Society what energy it had, keeping it out of the commonplace that was bound to overtake it in the end.1

Yet this quarrel with Barry O'Brien is puzzling when it is remembered that he was editor of the Liberal Speaker. Moore had been an art critic for this paper for several years, and in Hail and Farewell he told how T. P. Gill reminded him in Dublin that they "had been fellow-workers" on it. Furthermore, in recording a contribution which J. M. Synge made to this paper in 1900, his biographer mentioned that at the same time "George Moore was bringing out a novel in serial form" in the Speaker.

As it is difficult to associate the subsequent history of the Irish Literary Society with the Fenian movement, it may be dropped at this point. However, it may be noted that through the efforts of Stephen Gwynn the Society welcomed the Abbey Theatre Players to London in May, 1903.

Unorthodox Literary and Political Activities in Great Britain

In addition to these peculiarly Irish interests which inspired Fenian agitation in both political and literary spheres,

2. Ryan, op. cit., p. III.
certain unorthodox literary movements and radical political ac-
tivities attracted Irish separatists in Great Britain.

Unorthodox Literary Movements

The unorthodox literary activities which will be discussed were the literary theater movement, the Rhymers' Club and pre-
Raphaelitism.

The Literary Theater Movement

An unorthodox literary activity in Great Britain which was 1
to attract Irish attention may be traced back to 1889 when Ibsen was produced in England for the first time. Of this event, W.B. Yeats wrote:

Two or three years after our return to Bedford Park A Doll's
House had been played at the Royalty Theatre on Dean Street, the First Ibsen play to be played in England, and somebody had given me a seat for the gallery. 2

At that time Yeats was much interested in the Irishman, John Todhunter, as a dramatist. Todhunter's love of the theater can be traced back at least to 1879, but in 1886 his ardor had cooled after a vain attempt to arouse Dublin to an appreciation of a pseudo-Greek play which he had written. Stimulated by Ibsen, in 1891, Yeats revived Todhunter's dormant enthusiasm:

Bedford Park had a red-brick clubhouse with a little theatre that began to stir my imagination. I persuaded Todhunter to write a pastoral play and have it performed there. 6

3. W.B. Yeats, Letters to the New Island, pp. 112-113; 213-222.
Other Irish play-goers who lived in London at that time were also stimulated by the performance of Ibsen: Edward Martyn, George Moore and George Bernard Shaw. But for some reason it failed to appeal to Oscar Wilde, although he was friendly with both Shaw and Yeats. In this connection Yeats observed:

Shaw and Wilde, had no catastrophe come, would have long divided the stage between them, though they were most unlike -- for Wilde believed himself to value nothing but words in their emotional associations, and he had turned his style to a parade as though it were his show, and he Lord Mayor.  

Reference has already been made to the creation of an Irish literary theater through the efforts of Martyn, Moore, Yeats and Lady Gregory. All of these, with the exception of Lady Gregory, had been attracted to Ibsen. Two other names which were later to be associated with the Irish literary theater also deserve mention -- Florence Farr and A.E.F. Horniman. Todhunter's "pastoral play," Sicilian Idyll, introduced Yeats to Florence Farr whose "most perfect poetical elocution" delighted him. At about the same time she also met Shaw through William Morris. Shaw persuaded her to play Rebecca West in Rosmersholm and in 1892 when the Independent Theatre produced Widower's Houses, she appeared in Shaw's play. Todhunter,

4. Ibid., p. 117.
7. See pp. 539-542.
11. Ibid., p. 359.
Yeats and George Moore also wrote for this "little theatre." But Florence Farr's particular interest for the Celtic renaissance is that for three years she played with the Irish Literary Theatre.

In 1894, Miss A.E.F. Horniman, who was to befriend the Abbey Theatre, financed a season of plays at the Avenue Theatre and Florence Farr appeared in Shaw's Aras and the Man. Yeats not only disliked this play but also objected to Rosmersholm because he discovered in the latter a mixture of "symbolism and a stale odour of spilt poetry." Of Florence Farr, at this time, he later said:

In 1894 she became manageress of the Avenue Theatre with a play of Dr. Todhunter's, called The Comedy of Sighs, and Mr. Shaw's Aras and the Man. She asked me to write a one-act play that her niece, Miss Dorothy Paget, a girl of eight or nine, might make her first stage appearance, and I with my Irish Theatre in mind, wrote The Land of Heart's Desire...

The Rhymers' Club and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement

The results of this radical new little theatre movement were subsequently to be felt in Ireland in the formation of the famous Abbey Theatre largely through the help of Miss Horniman. Two other unorthodox activities in English letters also deserve mention. One was the Rhymers' Club, which was founded through the combined efforts of Yeats and Ernest Rhys and with which

5. Ibid., p. 238.
was affiliated The Yellow Book. In 1892, Yeats listed the following as members in an article which he contributed to the Boston Pilot: Arthur Symons, John Davidson, Richard Le Gallienne, Lionel Johnson, George Greene, Ernest Rhys, T.W. Rolleston, John Todhunter and himself. He also announced the forthcoming Book of the Rhymers' Club.

The other, and older, was the pre-Raphaelite movement to which peculiar significance may be attached because of George Bernard Shaw's opinion that the Celtic renaissance was "a quaint little offshoot of pre-Raphaelitism."

It is probable that Shaw had some such understanding of the Irish revival as early as 1894 when he wrote Candida for his biographer, Archibald Henderson, has declared:

The character of Marchbanks (aside from its association with a phase in Shaw's own development) might have been linked with...some leading poet (say William Butler Yeats) in the Celtic Renaissance. 4

To support Shaw's opinion, The Trembling of the Veil, in which Yeats has told of the four years from 1887 to 1891 during which he lived at Bedford Park, London, may also be put in evidence. At that time, Yeats wrote, he "cared for...Blake and the pre-Raphaelites" in spite of the hostility to them of his friend and occasional employer, W.E. Henley. Indeed, Yeats reported of the Rhymers' Club:

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1. O. Burdett, The Beardsley Period, p. 255.
3. G.B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island, p. xxxvi
6. Ibid., p. 102.
All were pre-Raphaelite, and sometimes one might meet in the rooms of one or other a ragged figure, as of some fallen dynasty. Simeon Solomon the pre-Raphaelite painter, once the friend of Rossetti and of Swinburne, but fresh now from some low public-house.  

But, perhaps, the most concrete evidence of Yeats' enthusiasm for pre-Raphaelitism is to be found in his friendship with William Morris. For he introduced his sisters to Kelmscott House:

My elder sister stayed on and became an embroidress under Miss May Morris, and the hangings round Morris's big bed at Kelmscott House, Oxfordshire, with their verses about lying happily in bed when 'all birds sing in the town of the tree,' were from her needle, though not from her design. She worked for the first few months at Kelmscott House, Hammersmith, and in my imagination I cannot always separate what I saw and heard from her report, or indeed from that tribe or guild who looked up to Morris as to some worshipped medieval king.  

Radical Political Activities

Up to this point, those unorthodox literary movements in Great Britain in which Irish separatists were interested have been under consideration. As examples of the political radicals to whom an intelligent Irishman might pay attention, Herbert Gorman has enumerated the following in his biography of James Joyce:

Among the many whose works he had read may be mentioned Most, Malatesta, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Elisee Reclus, Spencer and Benjamin Tucker, whose Instead of a Book proclaimed the liberty of the non-invasive individual. He never read anything by Karl Marx except the first sentence of Das Kapital and he found it so absurd that he immediately returned the book to the lender.  

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2. Ibid., p. 126.
It will be seen that the name of William Morris does not appear in this enumeration. Yet he will serve as a better focal point than any of the above and accordingly the following remarks will be concerned first with William Morris and then with the labor movement.

William Morris

To introduce William Morris a word may be said about the Democratic Federation of England and the Socialist League. As early as 1881, H. M. Hyndman, president of the Democratic Federation and, according to Henry George, a constant reader of Irish World, addressed a Land League meeting at Phoenix Park, Dublin. Therefore, it may be assumed that William Morris, who joined the Federation in 1883 and became its treasurer, was already interested in Irish affairs.

In 1884, Morris quit Hyndman's organization to help found the Socialist League but Irish World, which followed Morris' career with some interest, reported that they were on friendly terms in 1885. Later in the same year Ford's paper took exception when Morris called upon the Irish people to put socialism before nationalism. Commenting on Morris' "manifesto to the Irish people," Irish World asserted:

Mr. Morris asks the Irish to surrender all ideas of a separate nationality and devote themselves to the work of assisting the English socialists... To all such invitations Irishmen can only reply that Ireland's independence is the condition precedent to Irish redemption.

2. Unsigned, A Crisis Ahead, Irish World, August 6, 1881, p. 5.
It was, presumably, at about this time that Morris, following Hyndman's example, visited Ireland to address "a certain workingmen's club." After the meeting he proceeded to the Contemporary Club where he "discoursed upon sagas to Yeats and upon stained glass to Walter Osborne." It may also be assumed that it was to this meeting that Yeats referred in his preface to Lady Gregory's Cuchulain of Muirthemne.

Perhaps this was Yeats' first meeting with Morris. At any rate he became a visitor at Kelmscott House and met George Bernard Shaw, Hyndman and "the Anarchist Prince Kropotkin" there. It may have been in such company that Yeats learned of the class struggle. And he never quite forgot the lesson because in describing certain correspondence with Lady Gregory at a later date he reported:

In one letter I used a phrase Lady Gregory was often to chaff me about, though never to repudiate: 'In a battle like Ireland's which is one of poverty against wealth, we must prove our sincerity by making ourselves unpopular to wealth. We must accept the baptism of the gutter.'

Around Morris there clustered anarchists and Marxists. It may have been the sight of Kropotkin at Kelmscott House which led Shaw, who knew "the Anarchist Prince," to confide in Yeats that Morris was "an anarchist without knowing it." Yeats, who found that his own political philosophy accorded more with Morris' vaguer radicalism than with Shaw's Marxism, may have agreed. In

3. S. Gwynn, Experiences of a Literary Man, p. 44.
4. A. Gregory, Cuchulain of Muirthemne, p. xii.
this connection it is noteworthy that Yeats' religious sympathies led him to attack one of the Marxists at Kelmscott House and then to quit Morris' company.

The English Labor Movement

It was not until after Morris' death in 1896 that the labor movement became important in Irish affairs. This was chiefly the result of the activities of the Liverpool Irishman, James Larkin, and the returned Irish-American, James Connolly.

Larkin's father had taken part with Davitt in the Fenian raid on Chester Castle in 1867 and in 1890 when Davitt was in "Liverpool during the dock strike along with Cunningham Graham," Larkin's father introduced his son to the old Fenian with the advice that he was a Socialist. Later Larkin declared:

Davitt turned, and putting me on the head, said, 'Let the boy think for himself, Jimmy!' The next time I saw Davitt he was speaking in favour of Hyndman, I think at Burnley. I believed then, as I believe now, that Davitt was a socialist, but he knew the time was not ripe in Ireland to speak out. The only two Irishmen I have ever had a regard for were Fintan Lalor and Michael Davitt. I hope the sod lies light on both.

In 1901, Larkin joined the National Union of Dock Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland. He worked as organizer for that organization in Scotland until 1907 when the central office inLiverpool sent him to Belfast to continue these activities.

2. Ibid., p. 150.
5. Ibid., pp. 143-144.
6. See p. 166.
7. See pp. 487, 492.
9. Ibid., p. 176.
Ireland, Larkin won immediate fame not only as an organizer of
strikes but also for his ability at uniting Catholic and Pro-
testant workers. Indeed, in 1908, Arthur Griffith denounced
him as the "Strike Organizer in Sinn Fein" and at the same time,
the Liverpool Union repudiated him. The result was significant:

On January 4, 1909, the Irish Transport and General Workers'
Union was established. But Griffith persisted in denounc-
ing its activities as 'English trade unionism,' and was as
bitter in his hostility to the new Irish Labour struggle as
were the English union officials. 2

Shortly after the formation of the Irish Transport and
General Workers' Union Larkin was joined by James Connolly who
had returned from the United States. W.P. Ryan wrote:

The following year an Ulsterman till then unknown in Ire-
land, though he had suffered, studied, and agitated in Scot-
land, began to preach the doctrines of Thompson, Lalor,
and Marx, with pointed application of his own, in Dublin. 4

Elsewhere, Ryan spoke of Connolly's initiation into socialism in
Scotland:

In his Scottish years he went specially to school to socialism,
so to say. The movement was then full of life, meetings and
debates were many, and Connolly was often present at the Edin-
burgh and other gatherings with his uncle, an old Fenian. 5

Yet Connolly is more accurately to be associated with an American
organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, than with the
English labor movement. Accordingly, he will be considered sub-
sequently.

2. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 71.
3. See p. 808.
5. Ibid., p. 147.
6. Fox, op. cit., p. 86.
7. See pp. 784-787.
Summary

In Chapter XIV activities of interest to Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance in France and Great Britain have been discussed. In discussing these activities in France, Irish interest in France, French interest in Ireland and a mutual interest of both have received attention.

Irish exiles who found France attractive enough to make it their home were John O'Leary, George Moore, Maud Gonne, Stephen MacKenna, J.M. Synge and James Joyce. Particular attention was devoted to the last four named. MacKenna was a journalist who was employed by various American newspapers and who was on intimate terms with Synge. Synge became quite friendly with Joyce in Paris but the latter was particularly attracted to a Fenian refugee.

French interest in Ireland was aroused by Maud Gonne and the '98 centenary. Maud Gonne, who founded a branch of the Fenian organization in Paris (the Paris Young Ireland Society), first became known to the French public through a French editor. Her subsequent efforts to turn French opinion against England had notable results. The French War Office was persuaded to consider an invasion of Ireland. Extradition to England of an Irish-American dynamite suspect was blocked. The British government sought vainly to silence her with John Redmond's help. And a French delegation was sent to celebrations of the '98 centenary in Ireland.

This French interest in the '98 centenary celebrations played a part in the literary revival. Maud Gonne regretted that
the French delegations which visited Ireland in 1898 were not an expeditionary force, but they were significant not only as being partially responsible for Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* but also the subject of a passage in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

The name of Arthur Griffith's friend, John MacBride, has been most prominently associated with certain events which transpired in connection with the Boer war. England's campaign against the Boer Republics was most unpopular both with the French people and with the Irish exiles in France. And Arthur Lynch undertook to organize an Irish Brigade to fight the British.

Therefore, it is not surprising that when MacBride returned from the Transvaal he was welcomed to Paris by Maud Gonne, Stephen MacKenna and other members of the Paris Young Ireland Society. Maud Gonne immediately told him of her anti-recruiting activities in Ireland and suggested that he visit the United States for the purpose of stirring up the Clan-na-Gael to make use of England's difficulties in South Africa. Later John O'Leary and Dr. Mark Ryan arrived to welcome him.

After this reception MacBride proceeded to America where Maud Gonne joined him. Then, in 1903, having rejected W.B. Yeats' proposal, she married MacBride and the wedding was blessed by John Daly.

Like Maud Gonne, Synge also sympathized with the Boers. Accordingly, he admired MacBride and introduced Lynch into *A Playboy of the Western World*. Even Yeats eventually forgave MacBride for having married the woman both loved, and celebrated him in a poem in honor of the men who were executed for their part in
the Easter Week rising.

The ramifications of the Irish physical force movement in Great Britain have been traced back as far as the Act of Union and an Irish historian who lived in England was quoted as having declared "that every patriotic movement set on foot in Ireland, whether constitutional or revolutionary, has had its counterpart here." For the sake of exploring that statement, the discussion of the Irish physical force movement in Great Britain was subdivided into a discussion of various concrete evidences of Fenian activities in England and Scotland, some remarks about the London theater and an indication of those British radicals with whom the Irish separatists were most in sympathy.

Evidences of Fenian activities in England and Scotland were found in the careers of various organizations and such individuals as Parnell, F.H. O'Donnell, Thomas Mooney, Maud Gonne, W.B. Yeats, Dr. Mark Ryan, Sir Charles Gaven Duffy, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Alice Stopford Green, Michael Collins, P.S. O'Hegarty, William Morris, T.W. Rolleston, Lionel Johnson, George Moore, George Bernard Shaw, H. M. Hyndman and James Larkin.

The organizations were composed mostly of Irish residents in Great Britain and were revolutionary, moral suasionist or literary in nature. Of the revolutionary and moral suasionist organizations, the most important, of course, was the I.R.B.

Fenian activities in Great Britain reached a climax in 1867 when the raid on Chester Castle, the execution of the Manchester Martyrs and the Clerkenwell explosion occurred. Then, in 1870, one of the Fenians, Michael Davitt, received a prison sentence for smuggling guns for Ireland out of England. Next they
formed the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain of which Parnell was later to become President and F.H. O'Donnell Vice-President.

O'Donnell was a writer who capitalized on his religion and made enemies of such distinguished individuals as Isaac Butt, Parnell, T.M. Healy, Maud Gonne and W.B. Yeats. Indeed, Healy and Maud Gonne suspected that he was in the pay of the English government. Furthermore, although George Moore suspected Yeats' story that with the help of Maud Gonne he had saved O'Donnell from being executed by the Fenians as a traitor, it would appear that the author of Hail and Farewell derived the theme of his novel from such supposedly ultra-Roman Catholic attacks on literature as O'Donnell wrote against Yeats' play, The Countess Cathleen. In the same connection it is also noteworthy that James Joyce also refused to be associated with such sentiments as O'Donnell expressed.

In the early eighties Fenian activities in Great Britain were affiliated with the Irish National Invincibles through the London Land League and with Thomas Mooney, London correspondent of Irish World through a mutual interest in land reform.

Later, when the Fenian-inspired Amnesty Association came into being to rescue the dynamite prisoners, its chief supporters were in England. Dr. Mark Ryan was chairman of the London branch to which W.B. Yeats introduced Maud Gonne. She immediately joined the cause. Sometime in 1892 she visited the prisoners at Portland and subsequently she addressed a series of Amnesty meetings in England and Scotland. In 1894 she toured America to raise funds for the Association. She also sought French aid and in
1896 she brought J.F. Taylor from Dublin to London to defend a
dynamite suspect.

Although Yeats was reticent about his connections with
the Amnesty Association, he made no secret of his collaboration
with the Fenians in Great Britain. He said that his purpose was
"to combine once more our constitutional and unconstitutional
politics." But he also recorded his part in "demonstrations of
disloyalty" to the King and an attempt to heal the split in the
physical force party which had followed the murder of Dr. Cronin
in Chicago.

Perhaps the most important result of his Fenian activities
was his election to "the Presidency of the '98 Commemoration
Association of Great Britain." In this capacity he toured Eng-
land and Ireland with Maud Gonne, and interested Edward Martyn,
Lady Gregory and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in the celebrations. Yet,
curiously enough, he did not record any attempt to involve George
Russell and he barely mentioned the interest in the centenary
displayed by such Irish leaders in Parliament as John Redmond,
John Dillon and T.M. Healy.

After the '98 centenary celebrations Dora Sigerson, Alice
Stopford Green and others attempted to help the Boers in their
unequal struggle against the British Empire. Perhaps the two
most outstanding figures to appear in London Fenian circles before
the outbreak of war in 1914, however, were Michael Collins and P.
S. O'Hegarty. Finally, Dr. Mark Ryan's efforts on behalf of Cas-
ment in 1916 were mentioned.

In addition to the above-mentioned political groups the
work of three literary organizations in which the Fenians took
considerable interest were noted -- the Southwark Irish Literary Club, the Irish Literary Society of London and the Irish National Literary Society of Dublin. And a project to publish a "series of books at a shilling each" was discussed.

Of these three organizations, the oldest was the Southwark Irish Literary Club to which W.P. Ryan attributed the origins of the Irish literary movement which came to be known as the Celtic renaissance. The Southwark Irish Literary Club was founded in 1883 when Thomas Mooney and Patrick Ford were popularizing the phrase "Spread the Light" in connection with land reform. It is unmistakable evidence of the indebtedness of the Southwark Irish Literary Club to the Irish World that it took for its motto "Sgar an Solus" which is Irish for "Spread the Light."

Among those attracted to the Southwark Irish Literary Club were T.D. Sullivan, R. Barry O'Brien, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, W.P. Ryan, John Todhunter, Katharine Tynan and W.B. Yeats. Perhaps the most significant of the projects upon which this society entered before its demise was the republication of the poems of an old Fenian. In acknowledging the receipt of a complimentary copy of this book, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy agreed as to "the need for publishing the verse and prose of men and women who have helped the national cause for the last generation or two" and suggested the formation of "a small limited Liability Company for this purpose."

The passing of the Southwark Irish Literary Club put a temporary end to this suggestion but it was revived by the members of the provisional committee which was set up to create the
Irish Literary Society of London which succeeded it. W.B. Yeats
was particularly interested in Duffy's proposal but he insisted
that the new society should devote its energies "to original work
rather than mere re-publication." Furthermore, he hoped to se-
cure control of the Irish Literary Society for the Fenians' Young
Ireland Society. Accordingly, the names of Dr. Mark Ryan, T.W.
Rolleston and Lionel Johnson, as well as that of Yeats, became
associated with the revival of the Southwark Irish Literary Club
under this new name.

In 1892, pleased with his success in London, Yeats went to
Dublin with "a list of names written down by some member of the
Southwark Irish Literary Society" to found an Irish National
Literary Society in the capital of Ireland. In this effort he was
aided by John O'Leary, Maud Gonne and "certain Young Ireland So-
cieties in country towns." In addition to Yeats, O'Leary and
Maud Gonne, the new Dublin literary organization was joined by
such leaders of the Celtic renaissance as Douglas Hyde, Standish
O'Grady, George Sigerson and George Noble Plunkett.

Yeats hoped that the Irish National Literary Society would
create an Irish theater and sponsor "a series of books at a shill-
ing each." He was vague as to the manner in which the project
of an Irish theater was destroyed but declared that the series of
books of a "popular imaginative literature" came to grief through
the actions of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

Duffy, with amazing stupidity, announced that there was "not
one man of genius left of the Irish race" and suggested that the
new library should be devoted to reprints. He was backed in his
proposed schedule of publications by T.W. Rolleston and the London Irish Literary Society. But the Dublin Society was more critical. For Duffy had antagonized both the physical force party and those who were not interested in chauvinism in any form, such as George Russell.

In the face of this hostility, Duffy agreed to a compromise but neither he nor Yeats were satisfied with the new arrangement. Nevertheless, the "New Irish Library of '93-4" was successfully launched under the editorship of Duffy with Douglas Hyde and T.W. Rolleston as his assistants; and W.P. Ryan ascribed a "promising impetus to our national literature" to it. Perhaps the best known books which it published were Hyde’s The Story of Gaelic Literature and Standish O’Grady’s Bog of Stars.

The most significant aspect of these three literary societies was W.B. Yeats' association with them when he was at the height of his activities as a Fenian. By 1900 he had drifted away from both the Irish National Literary Society and the Irish Literary Society but it was curious that he should have quit the London organization as the result of a row over its refusal to admit George Moore to membership.

The evidences of Fenian activities in England and Scotland which have been summarized above do not completely indicate the ramifications of the Irish physical force movement in Great Britain. Therefore, a few words have also been written about the theater in London and those English radicals with whom leaders of the Celtic renaissance were sympathetic.

So far as the London theater is concerned, the names of Oscar Wilde, John Todhunter, W.B. Yeats, George Moore, Edward
Martyn and George Bernard Shaw have been mentioned. All of these men, except Wilde, were involved in the new little theater movement which resulted from the sudden popularity of Ibsen in England. And it was through this movement that Yeats met two Englishwomen, Florence Farr and A.E.F. Horniman, who were to help create the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.

In a sense these two Englishwomen may be considered radicals. Other unorthodox developments in English letters which aroused Irish enthusiasm were the Rhymers' Club, which was formed through the combined efforts of W.B. Yeats and Ernest Rhys, and the older pre-Raphaelite movement. A peculiar interest has been attached to the latter because George Bernard Shaw once declared that the Celtic renaissance was merely "a quaint little offshoot of pre-Raphaelitism." To give weight to Shaw's assertion it has been noted that all of the members of the Rhymers' Club "were pre-Raphaelite" and that Yeats himself was so friendly with William Morris that he introduced his sisters to Kelmscott House.

The affinity between English radicals of a political character and Irish separatists may easily be traced back to the Act of Union. Among the individuals and organizations which encouraged this relationship were Tom Moore, Ernest Jones, the Chartists and the socialists.

In connection with the last named, it has been noted that it was Morris' socialism which first attracted W.B. Yeats to Kelmscott House where he met George Bernard Shaw, Hyndman, Prince Kropotkin and, perhaps, Halliday Sparling. Yeats' interest in the class struggle, which led Lady Gregory "to chaff" him, may have come from Morris, but yet he quit the group at Kelmscott
House because one of Morris' Marxist friends was too outspoken in condemning organized religion. Curiously enough, James Joyce, like Yeats, displayed considerable interest in radicalism but rejected Das Kapital because he found the first sentence "so absurd."

It was not until after Morris' death in 1896 that the British labor movement began to play an important part in Irish affairs. Michael Davitt had become involved in it as early as 1890 and later in the same decade James Connolly and James Larkin were attracted to it.

Connolly returned to Ireland and thence went to the United States. On the other hand, Larkin remained in England where he joined the National Union of Dook Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland in 1901. In 1907 that organization sent him to Belfast as an organizer and two years later he established the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in Dublin.

In 1910 Larkin was joined in his new enterprise by James Connolly who had become well-known as an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States. Thus it might be said that the form of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union came from Great Britain and the spirit from America.
CHAPTER XV

AN GAODAL OF 1901 AND THE CELTIC RENAISSANCE
IN THE UNITED STATES

In the preceding chapter various elements in France and
Great Britain which contributed to Fenianism and the Celtic
renaissance were analyzed. The next two chapters will tell of
the encouragement which the Celtic renaissance and Fenianism,
respectively, received in the United States.

In the present chapter the Celtic renaissance will be ex-
amined in detail by a study of the contents of An Gaodal, leading
organ of the movement in the United States, for the year 1901.
A brief mention of American affairs which aroused interest in
Irish circles will serve as an introduction. Then the contents
of Volume XX New Series of An Gaodal will be analyzed under
four headings: first, some prefatory remarks; second, a discussion
of its interest in the revival of the Irish language; third, a
treatment of the concern which it displayed for the literature,
music, and art of Ireland; and fourth, some concluding remarks.

Introduction

A continued Irish interest in American affairs after 1891
may easily be observed. For example, Synge's observations about
the effects of the Spanish-American war on the Aran Islands may
1
be noted, or Yeats' recollection of Paris in 1898 might be cited:

"I was eager for news of the Spanish-American war and went to the Rue Mozart before breakfast to buy a New York Herald."

That this interest in American affairs also extended to the literature of the United States may be indicated by three examples. First, the arch-Unionist, Edward Dowden, an early master of W.B. Yeats, may be mentioned. For as professor of English literature at Trinity College, Dublin, he undoubtedly inspired in his students some of his admiration for Emerson and Walt Whitman.

Second, reference has already been made to George Moore's acquaintance with the work of Emerson and Thoreau. In 1925, an old friend reported Moore's enthusiasm for another American writer:

In this last conversation I was ever to have with him it was no longer a temperate admiration for Poe that he showed, but enthusiasm. He provoked me to some objections, and the dispute waxed hot, for I was far enough by this time from the awe of my young days. I did not see why I should be bullied into silence because George Moore had laid down the law.

Third, W.B. Yeats equated Paris, London and Boston as intellectual centers of the nineteenth century. And in his Autobiography, Yeats spoke of Whitman as influencing him through "an earlier generation," which was probably a reference to his

2. Ibid., pp. 76-79.
5. See p. 531.
8. Ibid., p. 197.
father who had also read James Fenimore Cooper and Thoreau to him when he was a boy:

My father had read to me some passage out of Walden, and I planned to live some day in a cottage on a little island called Innisfree, and Innisfree was opposite Slish Wood where I meant to sleep.

I thought that having conquered bodily desire and the inclination of my mind towards women and love, I should live, as Thoreau lived, seeking wisdom.3

W.B. Yeats associated Emerson with Carlyle and of the former's influence on George Russell he wrote:

I sometimes wonder what he would have been had he not met in early life the poetry of Emerson and Walt Whitman, writers who have begun to seem superficial precisely because they lack the Vision of Evil; and those translations of the Upanishads, which it is so much harder to study by the sinking flame of Indian tradition than by the serviceable lamp of Emerson and Walt Whitman.5

In 1887, when Yeats was living in London, he had written a review of Miss Tynan's New Book for Irish Fireside. It is therefore not improbable that Yeats was familiar with her poem on "Thoreau at Walden" and with its praise for Emerson and Hawthorne:

Seeking this sage in fair fraternity
Came Hawthorne here and Emerson, I know.
0 happy woods, that watched them to and fro!
Thrice happy woods, that hearkened to the three!7

Finally, in describing his life in London from 1887 to 1891, Yeats attributed to Thoreau the genesis of his celebrated poem, "The Lake Isle of Innisfree," although in this connection

1. Unsigned, Editorial Note and Comment, Modern School April-May, 1919, p. 159.
2. Yeats, op. cit., p. 27.
3. Ibid., p. 64.
4. Ibid., p. 184.
5. Ibid., p. 211.
it is noteworthy that he may have been reminded of the American
hermit by Katherine Tynan:

I had still the ambition, formed in Sligo in my teens, of
living in imitation of Thoreau on Inisfree, a little
island in Lough Gill, and when walking through East Street,
very homesick I heard a little tinkle of water and saw a
fountain in a shop-window which balanced a little ball upon
its jet, and began to remember lake water. From the sudden
remembrance came my poem Inisfree, my first lyric with any-
thing in its rhythm of my own music. I had begun to loosen
rhythm as an escape from rhetoric and from that emotion of
the crowd that rhetoric brings, but I only understood vaguely
and occasionally that I must for my special purpose use noth-
ing but the common syntax. A couple of years later I would
not have written that first line with its conventional archaism,
'Arise and go', nor the inversion in the last stanza. 1

On the other hand, in view of the fact that in her Reminiscences
Katharine Tynan printed an early draft of the 'Lake Island of
Inisfree', it may have been that Yeats had set her a-thinking
of the American writer.

An Gaodal, Prefatory Remarks

The most direct connection between Irish and American
letters, of course, was the periodicals which were published in
America to appeal to both an Irish and an American audience. On
this account, such Irish-American periodicals as Irish-American,
Irish World, Boston Pilot, and Donohoe's Magazine have been
discussed. To this category also belongs An Gaodal.

An Gaodal has already been described as a periodical founded

2. K. Tynan, Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences, p. 299.
5. See pp. 339-345.
in Brooklyn by the Philo-Celtic Society of that city to encourage
the study of the Irish language and as edited in 1901 by Geral-
dine M. Haverty. Page one of Number 1, Volume XX for January,
1901, has the following title:

AN GAODAL
(THE GAEL)
A MONTHLY BI-LINGUAL MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE PROMOTION OF
THE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND ART OF IRELAND.

From this caption, it may be seen that the magazine's original
purpose had been greatly expanded.

Volume XX may serve for an analysis of the nature of this
magazine and attention will be paid particularly to its concern
for "the promotion of the language, literature, music, and art
of Ireland."

However, before the analysis is begun, it may be noted
that Father Brown in Ireland in Fiction, after reporting that
An Gaodal reached "its 23rd and last vol. in 1904," concluded his
entry on the magazine: "Spirit strongly national." Furthermore,
in 1904, according to an unpaginated item facing page 1 of Joseph
Denieffe's Personal Narrative or the Irish Revolutionary Brother-
hood, "Denieffe's Recollections were printed serially in The Gael
(S.J. Richardson, Editor and Publisher), New York, 1904." Never-
theless, An Gaodal was not a physical force organ and to create
the impression that it was would be decidedly incorrect.

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1. See p. 351.
2. See p. 72; cf. unsigned, The Gael, An Gaodal, October, 1901,
p. 312.
An Gaodal's Interest in the Revival of the Irish Language

In view of the historic reason for the creation of An Gaodal, it seems appropriate to open this analysis of the contents of Volume XX with a discussion of its continued interest in the Irish language. For a beginning an editorial which appeared in March, 1901, may be quoted:

THE GAEL was started in Brooklyn twenty years ago by the late Mr. M. J. Logan and was the pioneer and first advocate of the Gaelic movement.

It has seen the organization and expansion of the Gaelic League and has witnessed the Gaelic League movement grow from obscurity and unpopularity into a powerful and far-reaching organization that is making its influence felt more strongly every day.1

Every issue of the twentieth volume contained contributions in Irish. After hailing W.B. Yeats as the "head of the modern Celtic school" in a eulogistic review of the anthology, A Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue, the anonymous critic asserted:

We are sure our readers will not agree with Mr. Stopford Brooke when he says: 'The gain to Irishmen of speaking and writing English is very great. It enables them to put their national aspirations, and the thoughts and passions which are best expressed in poetry, into a language which is rapidly becoming universal. It enables them to tell the world of literature of the ancient myths, legends, and stories of Ireland, and to represent them, in a modern dress, by means of a language which is read and understood by millions of folk in every part of the world. These considerations lie at the root of the matter, and if Irish writers do not deviate into an imitation of English literature, but cling close to the spirit of their native land, they do well for their country when they use the English tongue.' Apart from this Dr. Stopford Brooke and Mr. Rolleston have produced a volume with which no lover of poetry and no serious student of literature can afford to remain unacquainted.2

To this attitude of *An Gaodal* the paradoxical conduct of George Moore may be compared. Early in 1901, *An Gaodal* reported Yeats' resignation from the London Irish Literary Society as a result of its refusal to admit Moore to membership and added:

The action of the Society has not altered Mr. Moore's intention to devote himself to things Irish, and he has gone to Dublin to learn the Irish language and cultivate the atmosphere. It is said he has abandoned London forever. Then, it reprinted from an English magazine, The Academy, an article commendatory of *The Irish Brogue*, which declared the Anglo-Irish idiom to be "interesting and profitable to a student of English literature" and ridiculed Moore's return to Ireland in the belief "that English was worn out as a means of literary expression:

He has gone to his own, and his own, so far, have welcomed him not. Like nine-tenths of the Gaelic League, he has no Gaelic, and he scorns the English which his Irish fellow-countrymen speak.

In spite of this statement the fact is that Moore collaborated with the Gaelic League worker, Thomas Concannon, before 1901 had ended and in a manner prophetic of future work with T.W. Rolleston, P. O'Sullivan, who translated the Untilled Field (entitling the translation *An T-Ur Gort*) and "my Irish translator", Tadhg O'Donoghue. Indeed, of this relation with Concannon in 1901, *An Gaodal* reported:

MR. GEORGE MOORE, the famous novelist, has written a powerful story entitled 'The Flood,' which has been translated

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1. See p. 702.
into Irish by Mr. Thomas Concannon, and is being published in the Dublin Weekly Independent and Nation. The story, which is of an absorbing character, is accompanied by a brief vocabulary containing the meaning in English of the less familiar words in the text. 1

Like the paradoxical George Moore, An Gaodal professed a considerable interest in the Irish language but most of its content was published in English. It further resembled Moore in its concern for the Gaelic League. In considering its devotion to the Gaelic League, the interest which An Gaodal displayed in the American branch which was founded in 1893 may first be mentioned and then a longer discussion of its relations with the parent organization will follow.

The Gaelic League in America

Among those who attended the fourth annual convention of the Gaelic League in America were Stephen J. Richardson, publisher of An Gaodal and "the National President," Father P.C. Yorke of San Francisco who had known Father O'Crowney and was believed to be a sympathizer with the Fenians, the Reverend Richard Henebry who was "associate professor of Gaelic" at the Catholic University in Washington and Michael Davitt who hailed the revival of Irish.

In a brief speech he told how the Gaelic movement was spreading in Ireland. Thanks to such men as Father O'Crowney, O'Neill Russell, Dr. Douglas Hyde, the Rev. Peter O'Leary, and Dr. Sigerson, the language was again heard in Dublin, and in all the principal cities of the island. 2

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4. See pp. 573—574.
5. See p. 647.
Among those who had been invited but were unable to attend was W.B. Yeats. Yeats wrote his letter of regret from the country home of Lady Gregory, who was familiar with the Irish; and although Yeats, like Maud Gonne, had never learned it, his views on the subject as expressed in the note deserve repetition. He said, "I look forward to some day visiting America":

The work before the Gaelic League of America and the Gaelic League of Ireland is perhaps the most important that is before the Irish people today. The nationality of Ireland is in her songs and in her stories, and in her chronicles and in her traditions, and this nationality can be ever present with the exile as with those at home, but it can only be perfectly present with those who understand the language of Ireland.

F.N. Robinson, professor of Celtic Languages at Harvard, also was unable to attend.

Perhaps a few words about the state of the study of the Irish language in the United States should be interpolated here before turning to the attention with An Gaodhál displayed in the Gaelic League in Ireland. In his Preface to the second part of his Simple Lessons in Irish, which was signed in San Francisco in 1895, Father O’Growney wrote:

During the past year several classes, both large and small, have been organized in various parts of Ireland, and in America the Gaelic Societies have set to work with renewed energy in many of the chief cities.

I cannot omit mention of an event of such importance to the Irish language as the establishment this year of a Celtic chair in the Catholic University of Washington, and its endowment by the generosity of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Oddly enough, An Gaothl was not as enthusiastic as Father O’Growney. It said:

Without grudging the Chair of Celtic to the University at Washington we do not hesitate to say that $50,000 placed at the disposal of the Gaelic League in Ireland... would do more to preserve and popularize the Irish language in Ireland than fifty chairs of Celtic in as many colleges.  

In his Preface to the third part of Simple Lessons in Irish O’Growney declared:

The preliminary expenses of this volume have been paid by the Gaelic Societies of San Francisco, Providence, R.I., and New York (Captain Norris), and by some of the readers of the Gaothl of Brooklyn. To them the volume is gratefully dedicated.

Thus there can be no question that Father O’Growney promoted interest in the Irish language in the United States:

He was constantly writing to The Gael, the 'Irish World,' the 'New World,' the 'Hibernian' of Chicago, the 'Monitor' of San Francisco, the 'Providence Visitor,' the 'Irish-American,' the 'Boston Pilot,' 'Donahoe's Magazine,' and some other Irish-American papers, and the theme was always the same, his object being to stir up interest in the struggle for the National tongue.

That this interest in some cases was purely academic may be gathered from the announcement of a series of lectures at the Catholic University, Washington, which appeared in An Gaothl. F.N. Robinson was to lead off with "a talk on 'The Interest in Celtic and the Present State of Celtic Studies':

The other lectures...were as follows:
April 16th, 'Druidism and the Religion of the Ancient Celts'; April 17th, 'The Elder Irish Saga Cycle,' story of the sons of Usnech; 'The Elder Irish Saga Cycle, Cuchulainn,' hero tales centering about Cuchulainn; story of

Deirdre from the earliest existing version down to the
now current popular tales. April 18th, 'The Later Irish
Saga Cycle and the Ossianic Controversy,' influence of
Celtic on English and Continental writers.¹

The climax of this interest in the Irish language came
about in 1905 when Douglas Hyde was invited by the Gaelic League
of America "to tell the Americans about the League;"
The American tour was a great success; more than 11,000
pounds was collected and the number of Hyde's personal
adherents was largely increased...

The 11,000 pounds collected in 1905-6 was of immense use to
the League. In a way it may be said that the present posi-
tion of Irish in Irish education is due to the support of
the American Irish. A condition was attached to the gift
that not more than 2,000 pounds should be spent in any one
year; thus from 1905 to 1910 the Gaelic League had an extra
fighting fund of 2,000 pounds a year. This just carried the
League through the struggle about Irish in the National Uni-
versity of Ireland, a struggle on which depended the ulti-
mate success or failure of the Gaelic revival.²

The Gaelic League in Ireland

After the above interpolation about the state of the study
of the Irish language in the United States, attention may now be
directed toward the interest which An Gaedal displayed in the
Gaelic League in Ireland. In so doing, attention may be particu-
larly directed toward those workers whose interest in the revival
of the language was active, intermediate and passive.

Active Workers

In connection with the active workers for the revival a
series of photographs of Gaelic Leaguers which appeared in An
Gaedal in 1901 may be mentioned. In its January issue through

¹. Unsigned, Lectures on the Ancient Celts, An Gaedal, May, 1901,
p. 185.
"the courtesy of Mr. J.J. O'Kelly, of the Gaelic League, Dublin" it reproduced "a group photograph of the Representative Congress, 1900." The faces of two young men who were to be executed for their part in the Easter week rising may be noted — P.H. Pearse 2 and M. O'Hanrahan. Also among the forty-nine may be seen Eoin 3 MacNeill, W.P. Ryan, Anna M. Johnston, Douglas Hyde and J.J. O'Kelly himself whose work in the 1916 rebellion for The Catholic Bulletin has already been mentioned. In July more photographs appeared of which one of "the late William Rooney" may be noted because of the "high personal tribute" which Douglas Hyde 8 paid him. Then in August there was a "reproduction of a photograph of the Representative Congress held in Dublin on June 30," 9 1901.

Douglas Hyde

Of all the workers for the language revival, Douglas Hyde may be singled out as the most active because of his presidency of the Gaelic League. It was in this capacity that Hyde signed a bi-lingual appeal for funds which was republished in An Gaodoil in November, 1901. The appeal is of particular interest because it singled out Irish World for praise due to its "timely aid" in

3. B. O'Neill, Easter Week, p. 28.
7. Ibid., p. 229.
8. Ibid., p. 230.
the past.

Numerous other references to Hyde appeared in *An Gaodh* in every season of the year. In January, it reported a recent lecture by Hyde in Kilkenny with the added comment:

Through the efforts of Mr. Standish O'Grady, Mr. Hanrahan, J.P., and others new life has been infused into the local Gaelic League branch with the result that many new members have joined the classes. 2

In March, it published a Gaelic story by Hyde and announced a volume of essays, edited by Lady Gregory, to which Hyde, Standish O'Grady, Yeats, George Moore, George Russell and Edward Martyn were to contribute.

In April a biographical sketch of the president of the Gaelic League was republished from a Dublin paper with "a Hitherto Unpublished Snap-shot Photograph." In May, Hyde's name appeared in an article on *The Intellectual Revival in Ireland* and in *Notes on Modern Irish Literature* "the Celtic renaissance" was attributed "largely to the transcendent abilities of Hyde, Sigerson and Yeats."

In June Katharine Tynan's autobiographical article contained references to him and in a form letter on behalf of the Irish Literary Theatre George Moore, after announcing that *Diarmuid and Grania*, a play which he had written in collaboration with W. B. Yeats, was to be produced, stated:

'Diarmuid and Grania' will be followed or preceded by 'The Twisting of the Rope,' a one-act play in Gaelic, by Dr. Douglas Hyde. The principal character in this play is a wandering poet, and will be played by the author. The other characters will be played by Gaelic-speaking actors specially selected by the author.

Dr. Douglas Hyde has asked me to look after the stage arrangements of his play, and through the medium of Lady Gregory's excellent translation I shall do this to the best of my ability.

The Committee of the Irish Literary Theatre believe that Dr. Hyde's play will prove something much more than a mere experiment in language. The Irish Literary Theatre believes that this play will be found to compare favorably with any one-act play in English or French literature.

In August An Gaodh noted that Hyde's Literary History of Ireland had gone into its fourth edition and that on the eighteenth of that month he had joined with Lady Gregory in honoring the Gaelic poet Raftery. An Gaodh observed:

Recently Lady Gregory, Mr. E. Martyn and Dr. Douglas Hyde have interested themselves in the works of the well-nigh forgotten Connacht poet, Dr. Hyde having collected a goodly number of his poems, which are to be published shortly.3

In October, Hyde and Henegry figured favorably in Kuno Mayer's Survey of Celtic Philology, and in the same issue there was more news of the Irish Literary Theatre. The latter was of a nature to substantiate Moore's claim in Hail and Farewell that he was more interested in Hyde's play than in Diarmuid and Grania.

In December there was an article by Alice Milligan on the Literary Theatre Week in Dublin which also displayed greater concern for

2. Unsigned, Last of the Connacht Bards, An Gaodh, October, 1901, p. 324.
Hyde's play than for the work on which Moore and Yeats had collaborated:

The audience at every performance was large and enthusiastic. The gallery was crowded with the boys of the Gaelic classes, and in the intervals they sang solos and hearty choruses in Irish. Lady Gregory, to whose enthusiastic support the production of the Irish play was largely due, was accompanied on the first night by Thomas Concannon, Gaelic League organizer, Miss Maud Gonne, Mr. T.W. Russell, Mr. T.P. Gill, Professor Atkinson, of T.C.D.; Mr. Edward Martyn, Mr. George Moore, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Standish O'Grady, Lady Ferguson, widow of Sir Samuel Ferguson...¹

Hyde acted the part of the poet Hanrahan and, incidentally, in an essay on Hyde's plays, in which she observed that he had written a play about Raftery as well, Lady Gregory said of a song in "The Twisting of the Rope":

Mr. Yeats made Red Hanrahan the hero of this song in a story in 'The Secret Rose'; and it is Hanrahan Douglas Hyde has kept in the play, with his passion, his exaggerations, his wheedling tongue, his roving heart, that all but coax the girl from her mother and her sweetheart...³

Lady Gregory might have added that "The Song of Red Hanrahan" is one of Yeats' most patriotic poems.

T. O'Neill Russell, Eoin MacNeill and P.H. Pearse

Three other active workers in the Gaelic League deserve mention because of their association with the Fenian movement -- T. O'Neill Russell, Eoin MacNeill and P.H. Pearse. Russell and MacNeill were among the founders. The former has already been discussed, particularly in connection with the attempts to revive

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2. A. Gregory, Poets and Dreamers, p. 198.
3. Ibid., p. 197.
5. See p. 573.
the Irish language in the United States. In March An Gaedal mentioned him as editor of part of Standish Hayes O'Grady's Silva Gadalica and again in November as editor of a selection from Archbishop MacHale's translations into Irish.

Russell also contributed to An Gaedal. In September it published an essay by him in which the general awakening of interest in Gaelic literature was traced back to the initial efforts of John O'Donovan (O'Donovan Rossa's friend). According to Russell, O'Donovan gave rise to an important group of German scholars of whom the first was Zeuss. But he attributed even more of the impetus to the Gaelic renaissance to the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. He concluded, optimistically:

Five years from now with the language taught in the national schools, there will be such a general knowledge of it that we may see newspapers and periodicals printed entirely in Gaelic instead of partially as at present.

The name of Reis MacNeill, who, like Russell, was a Fenian sympathizer, although of a younger generation, also appeared with some regularity in An Gaedal. In May he was reported to be at work "on an edition of the collection of Ossianic poems" for the London Irish Literary Society and also as general editor of the "Irish-English Dictionary of Modern Irish, compiled by the...Irish Texts Society." In October he was again mentioned twice, once

2. Unsigned and uncaptioned, An Gaedal, March, 1901, p. 86.
6. See p. 293.
8. See p. 555.
in connection with the Gaelic periodical, Fainne an Lao, and
the second time as editor "of the so-called 'Dunnaire Finn,' a
collection of Ossianic poems."[2]

Younger than Russell or MacNeill was P.H. Pearse. In
1901 he was mentioned in An Gaodhal only in connection with the
Gaelic League — as a member of the executive committee. It may
be noted that in 1901 Noin MacNeill resigned as editor of An
Claideam Soluis and that Pearse succeeded him in 1903. In 1901,
Pearse was secretary of the Publication Committee and, therefore,
a meeting of this group which was reported by An Gaodhal is of
double interest:

The committee have pleasure in announcing the forthcoming
publication of a volume of tales from the 'Cuchulainn Cycle,'
collected by Lady Gregory, and re-told in present-day Irish
by Dr. Hyde. The stories will be woven into a consecutive
narrative, and will be formed into an attractive and simple
reading book. [6]

An Intermediate Interest

According to An Gaodhal, Lady Gregory and Edward Martyn
displayed what might be described as an intermediate interest
in the revival of the Irish language in 1901.

Anticipating George Moore, An Gaodhal described Martyn
in a sketch entitled: "Gaelic League Workers — XI." After men-
tioning his interest in the theatre and pictures, the article

1. Unsigned and uncaptioned, An Gaodhal, October, 1901, p. 327.
2. K. Meyer, A Survey of Celtic Philology, An Gaodhal, October,
   1901, p. 299.
continued:

His generous donation of 50 pounds in response to the recent appeal of the League for funds, was a scarcely less valuable contribution than his brilliant pamphlet entitled 'Ireland's Battle for her Language,' in which he sets forth the necessity of holding to the olden tongue.

Mr. Martyn is one of the founders of the Feis Ceoil and the Dublin Orchestral Society, and is connected with every organization which tends to promote Irish literary or artistic interests.1

George Moore also considered himself a "Gaelic League Worker" and it is curious to see his name linked with Martyn's in An Gaedal through the intermediary of Standish O'Grady's Library of the Nore:

Mr. Standish O'Grady, editor and proprietor of the 'Kilkenny Moderator,' makes the following announcement:

'We are glad to be able to announce that we have just signed a contract with Mr. Edward Martyn...for the printing of his two new plays. The fact has been commented upon as follows....

'Mr. Edward Martyn will shortly publish in Mr. Standish O'Grady's 'Library of the Nore,'... 'The Enchanted Sea,' and the comedy from which 'The Bending of the Bow,' performed last year by the Irish Literary Theatre, was adapted by Mr. George Moore....'2

As a Gaelic League worker Lady Gregory, according to An Gaedal, was willing to defy the police:

WE understand that as a result of the police prosecution of Bartley Hynes, of Kinvara, Co. Galway, for putting his name in Irish on his cart, Mr. Edward Martyn has ordered his name to be put in Irish on all his carts, and so has Lady Gregory. It is said that the carts in question will be sent at an early date to Kinvara. We shall see if the English-speaking police of that quarter take any steps to prosecute Lady Gregory and Mr. Edward Martyn for what they summoned Bartley Hynes. The end of the matter is that Irish police must learn Irish....4

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3. Unsigned, Two New Irish Plays to be Published, An Gaedal, May, 1901, p. 144.
A Passive Interest

Finally, attention should be directed by way of An Gaedal toward two men whose interest in the revival of the Irish language was more passive than that of the preceding -- Standish J. O'Grady and John M. Synge.

Standish J. O'Grady

An Gaedal was well aware of O'Grady's many interests. It told how he undertook to publish in his Library of the Nore works by such writers as T.W. Rolleston, Paul Gregan (a "worthy follower in the footsteps of W.B. Yeats"), John Eglinton and his own In the Gates of the North. Furthermore, An Gaedal commended his "literary weekly" All Ireland Review. Indeed, in February it published two excerpts from O'Grady's Bog of Stars and in the same issue it announced:

A NEW edition of 'Finn and His Companions,' by Standish O'Grady, with illustrations by Jack B. Yeats, will be published by Mr. Fisher Unwin in the near future in his 'Children's Library.'

(This was the book which was rejected by the Unionist Irish Board of National Education when O'Grady offered it to them as a reader.)

However, An Gaedal recommended O'Grady's All Ireland Review to its readers for linguistic reasons:

1. Unsigned. Irish Books and Authors, An Gaedal, April, 1901, p. 132.
2. See p. 555-556.
MR. STANDISH O'GRADY, publisher of the 'Kilkenny Moderator' and 'All Ireland Review,' is a most enthusiastic advocate of the movement for the preservation and use of the Irish language. At present in the columns of 'All Ireland Review' he is publishing a series of lessons in Irish contributed by Mr. E.E. Fournier...

In the same publication Mr. O'Grady has undertaken to publish the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' and is giving short instalments of the translations each week.

John M. Synge

In connection with John M. Synge's interest in the revival of the Irish language the name of Father Eugene O'Grownney may be mentioned although the association of these two is accomplished through the pages of An Gaodhal rather than through anything which Synge wrote. For in 1901, Synge contributed an article on the Aran Islands to the American journal and in the same year An Gaodhal proposed "to raise a fund for the purpose...of returning the remains of the late Father Eugene O'Grownney to his native land."

While a student at Maynooth, Father O'Grownney "had paid several long visits to the Aran Islands and other districts to learn Irish as it is spoken." He liked Inishmaan best and, according to An Gaodhal, "established the reputation" of it "as an Irish 'summer school':

This island contains about 500 inhabitants, every one of whom speaks Irish. It had previously been visited by Professors Zimmer and Kuno Meyer, the well-known philologists and Celticists, and by Mr. O'Mulreanin, who are still often talked about by the islanders.  

Among those who visited Inishmaan after Father O'Grownney

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had established its "reputation" was W.B. Yeats and the cleric
thus may have been indirectly responsible for Synge's first visit
in 1898. Synge's initial acquaintance with the Aran islanders,
however, was at Inishmor where he discovered his Irish instructor
by accident:

He told me that he had known Petrie and Sir William Wilde,
and many living antiquarians, and had taught Irish to Dr.
Finck and Dr. Pedersen, and given stories to Mr. Curtin of
America. 2

And, in describing Inishmaan for An Gaodial, Synge merely observed:
"Lodgings in the ordinary sense are not, of course, to be had, but
I was fortunate enough to find a room, sometimes used by Gaelic
scholars, which was tolerably comfortable."

When this article was incorporated into his book of es-
says, The Aran Islands, Synge gave the impression that he first
learned that "Gaelic is more generally used" on Inishmaan from
natives of Inishmor:

They walked on with me to the sound which separates this
island from Inishmaan -- the middle island of the group --
and showed me the roll from the Atlantic running up between
the two walls of cliff.

They told me that several men had stayed on Inishmaan to
learn Irish, and the boy pointed out a line of hovels where
they had lodged running like a belt of straw round the
middle of the island. 6

Nowhere did he mention Father O'Groomsney although he stayed in
the same house that the latter did while on Inishmaan. For that

2. J.M. Synge, The Aran Islands, p. 3.
3. J.M. Synge, The Last Fortress of the Celt, An Gaodal, April,
   1901, p. 109.
6. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
7. A. O'Farrelly, Leabar An Åtar Eogan, p. 293.
matter, although he mentioned Douglas Hyde and a French student who "was in the islands recently," Synge did not tell of his first meeting with Lady Gregory at that time "in the North Island of Aran."

An Gaodhal and the Literature, Music and Art of Ireland

This promotion of the revival of the Irish language was but one aspect of the concern with An Gaodhal evidenced in Irish culture.

Literature

In discussing the language revival, reference was made to the Irish theater as well as to literature in both the English and Irish languages. A fuller discussion of the interest which An Gaodhal displayed in the literature produced in Ireland is now in order and for a beginning a few words may be said about the Irish Literary Theatre.

The Irish Literary Theatre

An Gaodhal has already been quoted as well aware that Lady Gregory, Edward Martyn and Douglas Hyde were deeply involved in the Irish Literary Theatre. In addition to these, George Moore and W.B. Yeats merit particular attention.

2. Ibid., p. 119.
4. See p. 739.
5. See pp. 738-739.
George Moore

George Moore devoted Salve, the middle third of Hail and Farewell, to the period from March, 1901 to October, 1903. At that time his brother, Colonel Maurice Moore, was a member of the Coísde Gnotha of the Gaelic League and early in 1901, George Moore volunteered to raise funds for the organization in America. Although Eoin MacNeill discouraged the offer, Moore remained on good terms with its officers and helped to produce Hyde's play, The Twisting of the Rope, in October.

It may have been this concern for the Gaelic League which prompted An Gaoil in February, May and July to note that Moore had revised Evelyn Innes to agree with Sister Teresa. In any event, readers of the American periodical were familiar with his association with the Irish Literary Theatre. Indeed, Moore's letter, which has already been quoted, began:

Editor The Gael:

Paragraphs about the plays the Irish Literary Theatre propose to produce during the present year have appeared in different newspapers, but the information hitherto supplied to the press has been more or less inaccurate or incomplete.

The committee of the Irish Literary Theatre has, therefore, authorized me to communicate to the press the arrangements it has been able to make for the production of plays.

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2. Ibid., p. 371.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 340.
9. Ibid., p. 231. (July, 1901).
10. See pp. 734-735.
This year one of our plays, 'Diarmuid and Grania,' will be produced by Mr. Benson's Shakespearean company. This play is by Mr. Yeats and myself. It is in three acts, and it follows strictly the events narrated in the legend. 1

In Hail and Farewell, Moore declared that it was on his invitation that Sir Edward Elgar composed certain incidental music for Diarmuid and Grania. Yet it was this music that provoked the only harsh words in Alice Milligan's appraisal of "Literary Theatre Week in Dublin" for An Gadoir:

In conclusion, we may say that the literary theatre week in Dublin brought into prominence the literary and artistic element in the life of the Irish capital and gave an impetus to the language movement. The Irish musical movement alone was neglected, for, though the play of 'Diarmuid and Grania' called for characteristic ancient music, the orchestral passages and chants introduced were utterly out of keeping, though very high class. With our treasure of ancient song and a Feis Ceoil committee available for consultation, the authors or their interpreters might well have crowned their triumph by introducing music in the appropriate Gaelic style.

The 'gods' in the top gallery came gallantly to the rescue and drowned light operatic selections between the acts by choruses such as 'Faistin Ficann,' 'Fainne Gael an Lais' and 'A Nation Once Again.' 4

Of the two plays produced in 1901 by the Irish Literary Theatre, Hyde's proved the more popular and Moore declared in Salve:

...the enthusiasm which The Twisting of the Rope had evoked brought Willie Fay to my house one evening, to ask me if I would use my influence with the Gaelic League to send himself and his brother out, with a little stock company, to play an equal number of plays in English and Irish.

But do you know Irish sufficiently?

He admitted that neither of them had any Irish at all, and my brow clouded. 5

Nevertheless, Moore agreed to lay the project before the secretary of the Gaelic League and as a result he reported the following conversation with the latter:

There is nothing to hinder you and Mr. Martyn from starting a company.

Fiddlesticks. The Moore and Martyn Company would have no success whatever. If it is to be done at all it will have to be called The Gaelic League Touring Company. Besides, Mr. Martyn wouldn't go into any project that the priests opposed on the ground of faith and morals; so I suppose the thing is at an end. 1

W. B. Yeats

Moore succeeded in interesting T. O'Neill Russell, who was something of a playwright himself, and, it would seem, Edward Martyn in the "Gaelic League Touring Company" although nothing ever came of it. An Gaodhal reported that W. B. Yeats was also interested.

The American journal rarely allowed a month to pass without some reference to him. In January, there was a "Pen Portrait of Mr. Yeats." In March, the publication of The Shadowy Waters, a "dramatic poem" which Moore was silly to ridicule in Ave, was announced. In June it reported Yeats' opinions on the language of Diarmaid and Grania with which Moore's reflections in Ave deserve comparison:

Mr. Yeats says the language has the abundance of Elizabethan English, and adds: 'It is full of picturesque phrases and pathetic and humorous idioms, and it has the vividness of a language still unworn, for all unworn languages are half poetry. In old languages, like English, one has to reject many words before one finds the right one, but in a young language the word which emotion brings first is the proper

2. Ibid., pp. 421-422.
5. Unsigned and uncaptioned, An Gaodhal, March, 1901, p. 36.
one. The play, therefore, has an air of ease and power in its speech no one could get in modern English.\(^1\)

Also in June, \textit{An Gaodhal} reported the second presentation\(^2\) in New York of Yeats' play, \textit{The Land of Heart's Desire}. There was a gushing tribute to him in August. And in the same month, according to the periodical, he was one of the speakers before the Pan-Celtic Congress in Dublin:

Mr. Yeats...praised the Gaelic League, and spoke of the Irish Literary Theatre and a project under way for sending a traveling company to perform Irish plays at the crossroads for the people.\(^3\)

In October it told of his preoccupation with magic and reproduced a review of \textit{Samhain}, "the little magazine" edited by Yeats for the Irish Literary Theatre, from the Dublin \textit{Independent}.

This review of \textit{Samhain} described articles by Moore and Martyn and spoke of "a play in Irish by Dr. Douglas Hyde, with English translation by Lady Gregory." Furthermore, it reported essays by Yeats, Martyn and Moore on the future of the Theatre which had been projected in 1899 to the last three years. In connection with Moore's proposed "Gaelic League Touring Company" Martyn's opinions are of particular significance:

The first requisite is to supply a stock company of native artists, because the foreign strollers are too wedded to the debased art of England to fall in with the change. This can only be done by instituting a school for the training of actors and actresses, a most important branch of which should be devoted to teaching them to act plays in the Irish language.\(^6\)

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2. Unsigned and Uncaptioned, \textit{An Gaodhal}, June, 1901, p. 195
5. Unsigned and uncaptioned, \textit{An Gaodhal}, October, 1901, p. 327.
Irish Writers Publicized

Although, perhaps, the Irish Literary Theatre was the most celebrated aspect of Irish literature in 1901, this was not the fault of An Gaoil which sought directly to popularize Irish authors by publishing their works or drawing attention to what they had written; and indirectly to interest a still wider audience by encouraging a pan-Celtic movement.

So far as the two aspects of the direct help which An Gaoil extended to Irish writers is concerned, first it may be indicated that the American periodical published poems by A. P. 1 Graves, Nora Hopper who married W.H. Chesson in 1901 and whose poetry was admired by Yeats for its "extraordinary delicacy and charm," Aubrey De Vere, Stephen Gwynn, Herbert Trench, 2 3 Moira O'Neill and Eva Gore-Booth.

Essays of an autobiographical, geographic or scholarly nature were also a regular feature in An Gaoil. Of the first category In The Days of My Youth -- An Autobiography by Katharine Tynan which contained references to leading literary lions in Dublin may be noted. The Last Fortress of the Celt may be cited as an example of a geographic essay. Although it has already been mentioned, additional interest may be attached to

8. The Little Son, An Gaoil, November, 1901, p. 343.
10. An Gaoil, June, 1901, pp. 175-177.
11. See p. 742.
this essay because it was illustrated by Synge's own photographs, presumably some of the photographs of which he spoke in the book:

When my photographs of this island had been examined with immense delight, and every person in them had been identified, even those who only showed a hand or a leg, I brought out some I had taken in County Wicklow.²

As examples of the essays of a scholarly nature which appeared in An Gaodhl, T. O'Neill Russell's Irish Manuscript Literature and a "paper read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland" by P.W. Joyce on "The Truthfulness of Ancient Irish Historical Records" may be cited.

Another manner in which An Gaodal sought directly to popularize Irish authors was by drawing attention to what they had written or to such Irish publications as United Irishman and The Leader which were apt to contain such writings. Thus, in an essay by Sir Thomas Esmonde, M.P. on "The Intellectual Revival in England," volumes published by the New Irish Library were listed and P.J. McCall's The Fenian Night's Entertainment, published by D.J. O'Donoghue in The Shamrock Library, were described.

2. J. M. Synge, The Aran Islands, p. 82.
8. P.J. McCall, The Fenian Night's Entertainments...
Again, Irish writers might be the subject of brief dispatches. In this manner, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's name appeared and there was a brief biographical sketch of Shan F. Bullock, who enjoyed "taking part with Conan Doyle" in cricket matches. Indeed, An Gaedal regularly devoted a column to Irish books and authors and boasted of it: "The Gael is the only magazine making a feature of Irish Books."

Three separate novels and a projected book of poems by Katharine Tynan were announced in this column. Other less fecund writers mentioned were Jane Barlow, Ernest Rhys and his wife (who wrote of the Fenians in The Prince of Lismoyer), Eithna Carbery and her relict Seumas MacManus, Stephen Gwynn and Canon Sheehan, who celebrated the Fenians in his novel, The Graves at Kilmorna.

The reference to Father Sheehan concerned his two novels, Luke Delmego and My New Curate, either of which might have been

4. Ibid., November, 1901, pp. 355-357.
5. Ibid., September, 1901, p. 279; December, 1901, p. 392; November, 1901, p. 356.
6. Ibid., October, 1901, p. 327.
8. Ibid., November, 1901, p. 356.
in George Moore's mind when, according to *Salva*, he was plaguing Edward Martyn:

But, my dear Edward, how can it be offensive to propose that all Ireland shall take orders? Didn't Father Sheehan say in his last masterpiece that he looked forward to the day when Ireland should be one vast monastery?—When that day comes they'll make short work of fellows like you -- ship you all off.²

The Pan-Celtic Movement

So far as a wider audience is concerned, *An Gaodhal* sought to encourage a pan-Celtic movement.

To explain why the word "Celtic" was used rather than "Irish" in connection with literature produced in Ireland, Lady Gregory declared in her autobiography: "When I was asked about it, I used to say it was...meant to persuade the Scotch to begin buying our books, while we continued not to buy theirs."³

*An Gaodhal* took a less flippant attitude. In June, 1901, it reprinted from *Celtia*, "a Pan-Celtic Monthly Magazine" printed in Dublin under the editorship of E.E. Fournier, as the organ of the Celtic association in the interests of the Pan-Celtic movement, a brief note about "the great Pan Celtic Congress to be held in Dublin in August."⁴ The Congress which was thus announced had been prepared for by an "exchange of delegations between various Celtic festivals, which was begun in 1897, and has since then grown into a permanent feature of the festive gatherings in

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all the countries concerned." And in August there were more
details about this "first Pan-Celtic Congress ever held anywhere"
with the information that there would be delegations "from Ire-
land, the Highlands of Scotland, the Isle of Man, Wales and
Brittany":

The object of the Congress is to receive reports upon the
movements which are being carried on in these five countries
for preserving their national language, music and character-
istics, and to prepare for joint action whenever feasible. 2

The sincerity with which An Gaedal viewed the Celtic move-
ment was reflected in its dispute with an unnamed "Irish-American
Journal of great influence." This periodical had objected to
Lord Castletown, leader of the movement, because he "was an of-
licer of the British army" which had fought "against the Boers
in South Africa." In reply, an article in An Gaedal declared:

...this journalistic champion of ours mars our cause and
grates our feelings by slurring the names of Ernest Renan,
Matthew Arnold, Fiona McLeod, Dr. Douglas Hyde, George
Moore, W.B. Yeats and others by asserting that their par-
ticipation 'in the movement' is only a movement in English
literature! Even so, which is by no means the correct view,
in this light it would have inestimable value, for English
literature in regard for the Celt, badly needs reforming. 4

In an editorial in the same issue, An Gaedal advanced
other arguments in favor of the pan-Celtic movement and when the
Gaelic League refused to welcome the Pan-Celtic Congress to Dub-
lin or to take any part in its proceedings, the American periodi-
cal was sharply critical. Furthermore, it sent a representa-

3. "Old Timer" A Plea for Pan-Celticism, An Gaedal, September,
1901, p. 288.
4. Ibid., p. 289.
5. Unsigned and uncaptioned, An Gaedal, September, 1901, p. 280.
to the Congress.

An Gaedal devoted over four pages to the Congress and printed a revised version of a paper read before it by Kuno Meyer. As among those in attendance, in addition to Meyer it listed T. O'Neill Russell, W.B. Yeats, Count Plunkett, Alfred Percival Graves, and Standish J. O'Grady. And it reported that Lady Gregory and Stopford Brooke, who were unable to attend, sent messages of approval. Before the end of the Congress, "a proposal to hold the next in Ireland about 1904, was passed upon."

Subsequently, Meyer became a subscriber to An Gaedal and contributed to its fund to bring back "the remains of my dear old friend, Father O'Growney, to his native land." The letter which accompanied the gift is likewise an indication of Meyer's interest in George Moore's proposed "Gaelic League Touring Company."

For in it Meyer said:

I wish...they would bury him in Clonmacnois, or some other ancient hallowed ground, rather than in Glasnevin.

I am going across to Dublin this week to see the Irish plays performed at the Gaiety. Nothing could do the Language Movement more good than the creation of a good repertoire of Irish plays and their performance throughout the country.10

1. Unsigned, Pan-Celtic Congress in Dublin, An Gaedal, October, 1901, p. 316.
2. Ibid., pp. 316-320.
5. See p. 747.
7. Ibid., p. 320.
8. Ibid., p. 318.
Irish Music

In addition to promoting its language and literature, An Gaothdál was interested in the music of Ireland.

So far as Irish music is concerned, a beginning may be made by mentioning two articles about Irish Music and Minstrelsy.

The earlier dealt mainly with the Irish harp but in the later the author observed:

I am glad to note that a movement is now being prosecuted in Ireland to rescue Irish music from oblivion. It is headed by Dr. Stanford and other eminent musicians, the National Literary Society, and the Gaelic League, and aims to give the public an opportunity of hearing Irish music—

to encourage the publication of old Irish airs now in music or not yet scored, and to stimulate the formation of a new Irish school of composers as national in their art as Wagner, Chopin, Dvorak or Grieg.

A similar interest was displayed by the Feis Ceoil association (which nearly awarded James Joyce a medal in 1904).

For in 1901, according to a report in An Gaothdál, "it decided to publish the Irish airs it has collected at its annual festivals":

Many of these were sent in in manuscript; but quite a number were taken down on the phonograph. Altogether there are about two hundred and fifty unpublished airs, and the suggestions has been made that some of the melodies required for next year's Feis should be taken from this store. Many of the airs are very beautiful and characteristic, and it would be well if some of them were arranged as part-songs, and thus popularize these melodies which otherwise may be lost to the musical world, as have been so many of the magnificent old Irish melodies, which now only linger in the memories of a small proportion of the rural population.

1. See p. 726.
3. Ibid., April, 1901, pp. 105-108.
4. H. Gernan, James Joyce, pp. 120-122.
In addition to the foregoing, Edward Martyn, Eamonn Geannt, the Gaelic League and various Pipers' Clubs evidenced an interest in the revival of Irish music.

Edward Martyn, "one of the founders of the Feis Ceoil and the Dubhain Orchestral Society," was, perhaps, the most celebrated music-lover in Dublin in 1901. George Moore devoted a long section of *Ave to a trip to the Bayreuth, Wagner festival* with Martyn in 1900; and, writing of a Gaedway Gaelic League Feis in *Salve*, Moore spoke of his friend as "one of the judges of traditional singing" as well as being "President of the Pipers' Club."

Martyn, who was indirectly responsible for the discovery of John MacGormack, had been interested in "the Feis Ceoil, or musical festival" from its inception in Dublin in 1897. But he was critical of the members of its Executive Committee because of what he considered "their anti-national prejudices." Indeed, he declared: "I have always advocated that the Feis Ceoil should be the musical branch of the Gaelic League. It is a pity the promoters of the Feis Ceoil will not see this."

*An Gaodal* in 1901 testified to the interest of the Gaelic League in Irish music. Thus, an article about William Phair (President of the Cork Pipers' Club) told of his connection with the League. Again, when *An Gaodal* reported remarks which were

3. Ibid., p. 438.
4. Ibid., p. 440.
6. Ibid., p. 274.
7. Ibid., pp. 278-279.
made at the Chicago Convention of the Gaelic League of America "about the desirability of reviving Irish Pipes," the president of the Belfast branch of the Gaelic League wrote: "...it will interest you to know that there were four entries for a prize offered by me at this year's Cireachteas for a chanter made within the twelve preceding months." An Gaodal also reported a musical festival "attended by over 2,000 persons," held by the London Gaelic League. Finally, it announced "a new series of Irish songs, with accompaniments" which were probably those mentioned by Brendan Rogers at the Pan-Celtic Congress:

Mr. Brendan Rogers told of the work being done by the Gaelic League in producing old melodies in book form, to which work he was giving his assistance, so that the people would shortly have the old melodies with native words in two or three-part or chorus arrangement. 4

Eamonn Ceannt, one of the signers of the Easter Week Manifesto of 1916, is not quite so well-known a music lover as Edward Martyn, yet it has been said that he "founded the Dublin Pipers' Club." Presumably, this was a branch of the Irish Pipers' Club, which "decided to hold competitions for Irish Pipers, Step-dancers, and Fiddlers" on May 16, 1901 and of which An Gaodal reported:

The Club has been in existence for nearly three years, and during that time has done much to popularize the Irish Union Bag-Pipes, which is so well adapted to the production of our native melodies, most of them indeed, having been handed down through the medium of this time-honored instrument. Much has also been done for the cultivation of Irish music. 7

5. See p. 542.
A similar item about the Cork Irish Pipers' Club which appeared in December may also be noted.

But of particular interest to the student of the physical force movement was Alice Milligan's description of the piper and dancers in the performance of Ryde's play, The Twisting of the Rope: "The piper, Mr. Kent, was supplied by the Dublin Pipers' Club, and Gaelic League dancing classes supplied the dancers of the reel." As "Kent" is the anglicized form of "Ceannt," Éamonn Ceannt undoubtedly was the piper "supplied by the Dublin Pipers' Club." It is therefore to be regretted that this early mention of Ceannt is so brief. However, an indication of his appearance in October, 1901, may be surmised from the following description which was written shortly before he was executed in 1916:

'When a long, grave man -- well dressed, of religious mien, a native philosopher and mystic, showing in his luminous face and solemn presence the race of which he is sealed -- stands massively on the platform of a garishly-lighted hall before a vast audience...; when with thoughtful deliberation he takes the pipes from a gill, arranges the curious tubes and bags, elaborately tunes, solemnly begins to play -- why, may the outraged spirit of the ancient Ireland absolve me -- such a sight would normally make me smile.

'None the less:

'One of my cherished memories is of Éamonn Ceannt piping just so at the Ancient Concert Rooms a short time before the Rebellion...I do not know whether Éamonn piped well that night or whether he ever could pipe well; I know only that long ago he lamented humorously the tragedy it was in one's life to take up the cruelest and most unbiddable of instruments; but I know that that solemnest of all Irish pipers stands

2. A. Milligan, Literary Theatre Week in Dublin, An Gaodhal, December, 1901, p. 364.
and will long stand before my mind like some colossal work of sculpture, some Mestrović figure full of the entire meaning of a racial existence. 1

Irish Art

So far as Irish art is concerned, An Gaodhal had little to say in 1901. In February, there was a brief notice of a meeting of the Art Union of Ireland in Dublin; and in December, it reported "a joint exhibition of the work of Mr. Nathaniel Hone and Mr. J. B. Yeats," held at the same time as "the performances of the Irish Literary Theatre," and "due to the generous energy of another Irish artist, Miss Sarah Purser." The latter article is of peculiar interest because it contains George Moore's estimate of Hone and George Russell's opinion of J.B. Yeats.

In Alice Milligan's account of Literary Theatre Week in Dublin, this joint-exhibition of Hone and Yeats was also mentioned. Miss Milligan pointed out that J.B. Yeats, the portrait painter, was the father of one of the authors of the play, Diarmuid and Grania, which had been performed by the Irish Literary Theatre. She also mentioned a second exhibition:

In another gallery Lady Gregory presided at the exhibition of a series of West of Ireland sketches by 'Jack' Yeats, the son of the portrait painter...

The exhibition of the elder Yeats and Hone's landscapes were made up of pictures which had already found possessors, lent for the occasion, but the western sketches by 'Jack' Yeats were for sale, and it is interesting to note that a couple of the best of them were bought by a purchaser from as far away as San Francisco. 2

2. Unsigned, Art Union of Ireland, An Gaedal, February, 1901, p. 58.
Concluding Remarks About An Gaodal

Up to this point, An Gaodal's "promotion of the language, literature, music, and art of Ireland" has been discussed. Certain other matters deserve consideration, especially the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, Irish Athletics, American interest in Ireland and the Fenians.

So far as the Irish Agricultural Organization Society is concerned, An Gaodal passed the following judgment on its organ:

"The Irish Homestead," an industrial weekly, in which information concerning farming, cattle raising, co-operative creameries, and various village industries are set forth deserves to be better known. 2

Likewise, a program which the Society proposed was quoted with approval:

(a) Revival of national sports and Gaelic pastimes.
(b) Establishment of classes for Gaelic, Irish literature, and poetry, disseminating acknowledge of local antiquities.
(c) Organization of village libraries.
(d) The revival of the Gailladh.
(e) Encouragement of Irish music and songs by local concerts or classes.
(f) Dances, jigs, and recitations.
(g) Crusade against badly kept and dirty homesteads, the beautifying of cottages by cultivation of flowers, shrubs and vegetables. 3

Needless to say, An Gaodal appreciated Sir Horace Plunkett's work for the Irish peasantry; and as for George Russell, the controversy which he had with Fiona McLeod, whom An Gaodal suspected of being William Sharp was noticed in a passage which

1. See p. 726.
favored the latter but which indicated A.E.'s patriotism.

An Gaedal also had something to say about Irish athletics and American interest in Ireland.

As far as Irish athletics are concerned, it may be remembered that the Gaelic Athletic Association was very close to the Fenians. Some recognition of this close relationship may be found in a serial by the Reverend James B. Dollard, who incidentally was an admirer of Charles Kickham. It was indicated also in an account of a proposed memorial to a past president of the Association. Again, in articles about the prowess of Irish and Irish-American athletes, two celebrated Fenians were mentioned -- Maurice Davin (with his photograph) and John Boyle O'Reilly.

So far as American interest in Ireland is concerned, Theodore Roosevelt and William Lyon Phelps were recorded as admirers of An Gaedal. Horace Greeley's praise for Thomas Davis was recalled. An Gaedal was pleased to announce that "William McAdoo, ex-Assistant Secretary of the Navy" was to preside at a meeting of the New York Gaelic Society; and that he was to "de-

2. See pp. 421-424.
5. Unsigned, The Late Mr. Michael Deering, An Gaedal, June, 1901, p. 194.
10. Unsigned, An Gaedal, April, 1901, p. 123.
liver an address on "Irish Ideals and the Gaelic Movement." 

Although a friend of O'Donovan Rossa's, the Irish-American, Rocky Mountain O'Brien described Finley Peter Dunne as "the most contemptible lampooner of the Irish race, and the lowest scavenger cad in America,″ An Gaodh praised the creator of "Mr. Dooley." And finally, it reported the activities of Louise Imogen Guiney and was gratified by the pro-Irish sympathies of Kate Douglas Wiggin, which she expressed in her novel, Penelope's Irish Experiences.

To conclude this survey of An Gaodh in 1901, a few words should be said about its relations with the Fenians.

Various articles about incidents associated with 1798 may be assumed to have interest to advocates of physical force. For example, there was a brief biography of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Again, The Story of Sarah Curran retold in a few pages the career of the woman whom Robert Emmet had loved; and another article described "The Priory" in Rathfarnham which Patrick Pearse was to associate with these famous Irish lovers. Yet again, a reprinting of Davis' poem, Tone's Grave, and an original poem

5. Ibid., June, 1901, p. 196.
entitled *The Memory of Tone* may be noted as reminders of the days of '98.

Of peculiar interest to Fenians, however, was *Mhaire Dubh Dileas, A Story of '67*. And likewise, it is probable that the advocates of physical force were interested in such societies as *Inghinidhe na hEireann*, founded by Maud Gonne in 1901 "to work for the complete independence of Ireland," and the Celtic Literary Society, which had invited John O'Leary to attend its first formal meeting, both of which were mentioned in *An Gaodal*.

Yet certain omissions reveal that *An Gaodal* was not in complete sympathy with the advocates of physical force. Three of these omissions deserve elaboration.

First, *An Gaodal* failed to express an opinion on the proposed Anglo-American alliance. Yet in opposition to this, Davitt had visited the United States in 1897 and George Moore was to threaten to cross the Atlantic at the time of the Boer War.

Furthermore, after 1901, the "Clan-na-Gael decided to block the Treaty" and John Devoy, assisted by Tom Clarke, organized Irish-American and German-American opposition.

Second, *An Gaodal* failed to mention the negotiations for an anti-English alliance which the Clan-na-Gael carried on with the "French and Russian Ambassadors in Washington" through its

7. See p. 545-546.
new head, Judge Ryan, who, it may be added, was much admired by "Rocky Mountain" O'Brien. However, this omission may have been due to ignorance.

The third, and most striking, omission of all was the failure of An Gaoil to mention the Boer War. In 1901, both Maud Gonne and her future husband, Major John MacBride, visited America on behalf of the Boers. "Rocky Mountain" O'Brien celebrated Maud Gonne in a ballad:

Miss Gonne has stopped enlisting from Cork to Belfast town,  
No more recruits King Ned can get to guard his blood stained crown.5

In another ballad, entitled A Tribute to Major John MacBride, O'Brien declared:

Now he is in America and ready as of yore  
To strike a blow for Motherland on poor old Erin's shore.  
The Feeleys or the Redcoats, of them he has no fear,  
On foot or on a prancing steed, this Irish Volunteer.6

Likewise, Tom Clarke, who was employed by the Clan-na-Gael at this time, was eager to go "out to South Africa to join the Boers." But his impending wedding to Kathleen Daly, the niece of his former prison companion, prevented this:

The marriage was performed by Rev. J.A. Talbot in St. Augustine's Catholic Church on July 16, 1901, the witnesses being Major John MacBride who, like the bridegroom, was to fall before a British firing squad fifteen years later, and one Catherine McFadden.7

Yet no word of MacBride, Tom Clarke or the Boer War appeared in

1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 400-401.  
4. See p. 676.  
An Gaodhal. And Maud Gonne was mentioned only as one of those present at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin on the first night of Theatre Week in Dublin.

Summary

In Chapter XV the Celtic renaissance in America was put under a microscope, as it were, and the contents of An Gaodhal for 1901 were examined in some detail.

As an introduction to this analysis, a brief mention of American affairs was used. Irishmen and women of every shade of political opinion, it was noted, were attracted to American letters. The Unionist, Edward Dowden, greatly admired Emerson and Whitman; the unpredictable George Moore became enthusiastic about Edgar Allen Poe; the Roman Catholic Parnellite, Katharine Tynan, honored Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow and Thoreau; and the Fenian, W.B. Yeats, paid tribute to Whitman, James Fenimore Cooper, Emerson and especially to Thoreau to whom he ascribed the genesis of his celebrated poem, "The Lake Isle of Innisfree."

However, the closest literary ties between United States and Ireland were not in the admiration which individual Irishmen felt for American letters but in certain periodicals, published in the United States, which were designed to appeal to both an Irish and an Irish-American audience. After 1892, the most important of these for the student of the Celtic renaissance was An Gaodhal.

1. See p. 736.
An Gaodal was a monthly bi-lingual magazine devoted to the promotion of the language, literature, music and art of Ireland which was published in New York. Like the Boston Pilot and the Providence Journal, it had distinguished Irish contributors of whom J.M. Synge, Lady Gregory, Alice Milligan, Douglas Hyde and Kuno Meyer may be noted. It is, in addition, a mine of information about the Celtic renaissance. To demonstrate its significance, the issues of An Gaodal which appeared in 1901 have been chosen.

First its interest in the promotion of the revival of the Irish language was discussed, although this led to the curious paradox of the use of the English tongue to criticize "speaking and writing English." As a result of this paradox, Yeats, who knew no Irish, could be hailed as the "head of the modern Celtic school"; and George Moore esteemed for having discovered a Gaelic scholar to translate his "powerful story entitled 'The Flood'" into Irish.

Its attempts to promote the Irish language led An Gaodal to take particular interest in the Gaelic League, both in America and in Ireland. The Gaelic league of America was founded in 1898 and had become powerful enough to raise more than 11,000 pounds for Douglas Hyde when he toured America to collect funds for the language revival in Ireland in 1905-1906. Prominent members in 1901 were Stephen J. Richardson, publisher of An Gaodal, Father Yorke, the Reverend Richard Hensbry of Catholic University, and F.N. Robinson of Harvard.

Michael Davitt spoke at the fourth annual convention and praised the efforts of Father O'Crowney, T. O'Neill Russell,
Douglas Hyde and George Sigerson to revive Irish. Yeats, who was unable to attend, wrote a letter of regret from the country estate of Lady Gregory, which An Gaodhal published. It expressed Yeats' belief in the importance of the work of the Gaelic League and asserted that Irish nationality could "only be perfectly present with those who understood the language of Ireland."

Also, although Father O'Grownney, who composed the basic text used by the Gaelic League, had devoted much time to stirring up Irish-Americans to take part "in the struggle for the National tongue," An Gaodhal believed that only Ireland was fit to be the final resting place of his remains and in 1901 it started a fund to return his remains to his native country from their temporary grave in California.

The interest which An Gaodhal displayed in the Gaelic League in Ireland was reflected in the attention which it devoted to the workers for the language revival there. In this connection the group photographs and articles by J.J. O'Kelly are of importance because three of the 1916 leaders -- Eoin MacNeill, Patrick Pearse and Michael O'Hanrahan -- may be seen in one of these pictures and because J. J. O'Kelly was the first competent, pro-rebel historian of the rising.

The leading worker in 1901, of course, was Douglas Hyde and numerous references to him appeared in An Gaodhal during that year. As examples have been noted: the announcement of a volume of essays, edited by Lady Gregory, to which Hyde, Standish J. O'Grady, Yeats, George Moore, Edward Martyn and George Russell were to contribute; George Moore's letter announcing that the Irish Literary Theatre would produce Hyde's The Twisting of the
Rope, a one-act play in Gaelic; and Alice Milligan's article on Literary Theatre Week in Dublin in which she spoke highly of the play.

Of the other workers whose names appeared in An Gaodal, the following were interesting for various reasons: T. O'Neill Russell, Eoin MacNeill, P. H. Pearse, Lady Gregory, Edward Martyn, Standish J. O'Grady and J. M. Synge. Russell is of interest in connection with earlier efforts, especially in America, to revive Irish. MacNeill and Pearse combined scholarship with revolutionary activities.

Lady Gregory, Edward Martyn and J. M. Synge are more generally associated with the Irish theater; and Standish J. O'Grady was an important figure in the prose writing of the Celtic renaissance. Yet in the pages of An Gaodal these people were shown to be concerned for the state of the Irish language. In the case of the last two, O'Grady's interest was brought out by noting that his All Ireland Review devoted space to Gaelic; and Synge's attraction to the language was made clear in an article on the Aran islands which he contributed to the Irish-American periodical.

Synge's article served to introduce a passage to the effect that visits to the Aran Islands seem to have been popularized by Father O'Growney and were made also by Yeats, Kuno Meyer, Jeremiah Curtin and Lady Gregory.

Second, the interest which An Gaodal displayed in the Irish Literary Theatre was stressed as significant of the periodical's importance to the student of the Celtic renaissance.

The names of George Moore and W. B. Yeats were singled out in connection with this interest in the drama because, along with
a one-act comedy by Hyde, the Irish Literary Theatre in 1901
produced a play upon which they had collaborated. The period
covered in the middle third of Hail and Farewell is 1901-1903,
and it is curious that although Moore described himself as a Gaelic
League worker in his book, An Gaodhal made him out as a novelist
and theatrical man. On the other hand, An Gaodhal printed Yeats' 
name in reference to the Gaelic League of America and in con-
nection with a sort of Gaelic League stock company which he pro-
jected.

So far as the Irish Literary Theatre is concerned, An
Gaodhal reported Yeats' opinions on Diarmaid and Granua (the play
on which he had collaborated with Moore) and reproduced a review
of Samhain, a "little magazine" which he edited for the Theatre.
This review of Samhain is of added interest because in it Martyn's
opinions of the proposed Gaelic League stock company were set forth.

Third, An Gaodhal's attempt to popularize Irish authors
was significant. This was done by publishing their contributions
or drawing attention to what they had written; and by seeking
to create an international audience for them through the Pan-
Celtic movement.

In addition to those already named in 1901 An Gaodhal pub-
lished material by A.P. Graves, Nora Hopper, Aubrey De Vere,
Stephen Gwynn, Herbert Trench, Moira O'Neill, Eva Gore-Booth,
Katharine Tynan, T. O'Neill Russell and P.W. Joyce. It drew at-
tention to P.J. McCall, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Shan F. Bullock,
Jane Barlow, Ethna Carbery, Seumas MacManus and Canon Sheehan.

The Pan-Celtic movement which it sought to encourage had
become influential enough by 1901 to possess a monthly magazine
and convene a congress in Dublin. *An Gaodha*, disregarding the fact that Lord Castletown, President of the Congress, had fought against the Boers, criticized the Gaelic League for refusing to welcome it to Ireland and sent a representative to the assemblage. In addition it printed a revised version of a paper read before the meeting by Kuno Meyer and noted that T. O'Neill Russell, W.B. Yeats, Count Plunkett and Standish J. O'Grady were among those in attendance.

Fourth, *An Gaodh*"s significance was demonstrated by its concern for the music and art of Ireland.

It sought to record every attempt "to rescue Irish music from oblivion." The names of Edward Martyn, Eamonn Ceannt, the Gaelic League, the Feis Ceoil association and various Pipers' Clubs were reported in connection with musical affairs. It may be unnecessary to add that Martyn's love of music was celebrated by George Moore in *In Praise and Farewell* and that *An Gaodh* told of the Dublin Pipers' Club in which Eamonn Ceannt was active. Since Ceannt was to be executed for his part in the rising of 1916, it is curious to learn that in 1901 he was known as a bag-piper, not a revolutionist.

*An Gaodha* has less to say about Irish art than Irish music. George Moore's estimate of Nathaniel Hone and George Russell's opinion of John Butler Yeats were noted as was Alice Milligan's report of an exhibition by Jack Yeats. However, the paucity of material about art may have been because 1901 was not a representative year for Irish artists.

Finally, *An Gaodh*"s significance was demonstrated by its attention to such Irish interests as the Irish Agricultural Or-
ganization Society, the Gaelic Athletic Association, American
interest in Ireland and the Fenians.

An Gaodhal approved of Irish Homestead, Sir Horace Plunkett
George Russell and even reproduced a program approved by the I.
A.O.S. As far as Irish athletics are concerned, the names of
Maurice Davin and John Boyle O'Reilly were recorded; and, as for
American interest in Ireland, Theodore Roosevelt, William Lyon
Phelps, Horace Greeley, Finlay Peter Dunne, Louise Imogen Guiney
and Kate Douglas Wiggin were noted as examples of this phenomenon.

In conclusion, An Gaodhal's relations with the Fenians were
discussed. The Irish-American periodical had little to say about
the living exponents of physical force even if the activities of
the Celtic literary Society and the recently formed Inghinidhe
na hÉireann be taken into account. The proposed Anglo-American
alliance, which deeply stirred the Clan-na-Gael, was never men-
tioned nor was the Boer War, except incidentally, nor was there
any word of John MacBride, Maud Gonne, John Devoy, or Tom Clarke,
all of whom were in the United States in 1901. However, An
Gaodhal found Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Thomas Davis and the men
of '67 admirable.