CHAPTER XVI

THE CLAN-NA-GAEL, 1870-1916

In the preceding chapter some American aspects of the Celtic renaissance were discussed, and it was found possible completely to separate them from Fenianism by focusing attention upon An Gaothl.

In the present chapter the ramifications of Fenianism in the United States will be investigated. This will be attempted by dividing the subject matter in three parts: first, there will be a brief history of the Clan-na-Gael from its formation to 1911; second, the careers of O'Donovan Rossa and James Connolly will be summarized; and third, the conduct of the Clan-na-Gael from 1910 to 1916 will be discussed.

The History of the Clan-na-Gael, 1870-1916

According to John O'Leary and John Devoy, the Clan-na-Gael came into being before 1870. Speaking of the origin of the same group, the British agent, Le Caron, testified that originally it had been known as the "Knights of the Inner Circle," an Irish-American organization formed "towards the end of the sixties":

1. See pp. 87-88, 97-98.
With its members where became associated, in the latter end of 1869, some three hundred members of the 'Brian Boru' Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood in New York City, who in consequence of a political quarrel over electioneering matters, seceded from their original body; and by these men, acting in concert with others under the name of the 'United Irishmen,' what were really the first camps of the Clan-na-Gael were established.¹

**Before the Establishment of Gaelic American**

The Clan-na-Gael grew slowly at first:

...it had, in 1876, a membership exceeding 11,000, which included amongst its leading names those of Alexander Sullivan, John Devoy, O'Donovan Rossa, Thomas Clarke Luby, Thomas F. Burke,...J.J. Breslin...²

Yet even in the seventies, the Clan-na-Gael was active in the Catalpa rescue, negotiations for a "treaty between the Russian Government and the Revolutionary organisation" and in the construction of a submarine to wage war on the British Navy.

Following the death of John O'Mahony in 1877, the Fenian Brotherhood elected Rossa to succeed him, but when it persisted in its efforts to restore James Stephens to a position of authority, Rossa resigned. As a result, by 1879, the Clan-na-Gael had superseded it and John Devoy, sent to attend an I.R.B. conference in Ireland as its representative, reported that the supporters of Stephens were similarly unsuccessful in an attempt to control the Irish organization:

Three of the best organised counties -- Dublin, Louth, and Wexford -- seceded from the S.C. (Supreme Council or Execu-

2. Ibid., p. 120.
3. See p. 246.
5. LeCaron, op. cit., pp. 141-142.
6. See p. 244.
8. LeCaron, op. cit., p. 147.
tive of the Irish Republican Brotherhood), and believing the statements, so often repeated, that the American organisation supported Mr. Stephens, transferred their allegiance to that gentleman. There still remained with the S.C. (Supreme Council), Ulster, Connaught, Munster, a portion of Leinster, Scotland, and South of England; but the work in these districts was almost paralysed, and the attention of the men distracted by repeated visits and communications of conflicting nature from contending factions, who all claimed to be "working for Ireland."

DevoY sought to remedy this grave situation by reorganizing the movement, but as late as October, 1883, Irish World reported that a "Stephens Branch of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood" still existed in Dublin.

In 1881, despite the opposition of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., the Clan-na-Gael adopted a "dynamite policy." At that time, John Devoy's Irish Nation was "the official organ of the Clan-na-Gael..., and subsidised with its funds." Among the contributors to this periodical were T.M. Healy, Thomas Clarke, Luby, F. H. O'Donnell and Devoy's "chief assistant," William O'Donovan, son of the Gaelic scholar, John O'Donovan.

It would seem that the "dynamite policy" put an end to this paper. At any rate, Devoy was a friend of John O'Leary, whose hostility to bombings has been sketched by W.B. Yeats as follows:

Men who had been of his party -- and oftener their sons -- preached assassination and the bomb; worst of all, the majority of his countrymen followed after constitutional poli-

1. LeCaron, op. cit., pp. 146-149.
2. Unsigned, Joe PooIe's Trial, Irish World, October 20, 1883, p. 5.
3. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 299.
4. See p. 324.
5. LeCaron, op. cit., p. 208.
ticians who practised opportunism. Though he would cast off his oldest acquaintance did he suspect him of rubbing shoulders with some carrier of bombs, I have heard him say of a man who blew himself up in an attempt to blow up Westminster Bridge, "He was not a bad man, but he had too great a moral nature for his intellect, not that he lacked intellect." He did not explain, but he meant, I suppose, that the spectacle of injustice might madden a good man more quickly than some common man. Such men were of his own sort, though gone astray, but the constitutional politicians he had been fighting all his life, and all they did dis- pleased him. 1

Nevertheless, in spite of his opposition to the "dynamite policy", 2 Devoy remained in the Clan-na-Gael.

On the other hand, O'Donovan Rossa was expelled in 1882, which rankled him to such an extent that, as a result of certain letters received in 1887 and 1888, he declared that there was "treachery and crookedness somewhere in its leadership:

Le Caron, the English spy, eighteen years ago had the acquaintance of every chief man in the organization; Gibney, the English spy in Doctor Gallagher's case fourteen years ago, had the confidence of the New York chiefs; Jones, the English spy, in the Ivory case in 1896, had their confidence. I look at all this, and I see myself denounced as a traitor and a spy by the men who took Le Caron and Gibney and Jones to their hearts. There is something rotten somewhere, something to be cast out. 4

The expulsion of Rossa revealed dissension in the ranks of the Clan-na-Gael, but matters did not come to a head until the murder of Dr. Patrick Henry Cronin in 1889. The leaders of the dissenters at that time were John Devoy and "Dynamite" Dillon, "who blew up the Carlton Club on one trip" to England. 7

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3. LeCaron, op. cit., p. 209.
4. O'D. Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 265-266.
and of whom Maud Gonne MacBride wrote:

Luke Dillon impressed me greatly, though when I met him then, I did not know what I learnt later, when he was dead, that he and Hugh O'Neill were the heroic men who actually placed the dynamite in the House of Commons and caused the explosion which had shaken England to her foundations and converted so many English politicians to the necessity for Home Rule. As Luke Dillon intended doing even greater work, he carefully guarded that secret, which might have made further work more difficult.

He said, 'You are right, Miss Gonne, we will get on with it.' And how he kept his word I heard later when, during the Boer War, not having succeeded in getting the whole Clan into action, he and a few went out in a heroic attempt to destroy the Welland Canal; and for fifteen years he was shut up in a British jail in Canada. Had he succeeded the food supply of the English army in South Africa would have been crippled. 1

In 1894-1895, while visiting the United States on behalf of the Political Prisoners' Amnesty Association, Maud Gonne attempted to heal the split. Although Alexander Sullivan, leader of one section of the Clan-na-Gael, had been dead for a year, her efforts were unsuccessful; and when she visited America again, in the winter of 1896-1897, it was under the auspices of "a man from the West known as "Rocky-Mountain" O'Brien "who...belonged to neither section of the Clan, but wanted to help Ireland."

Nevertheless, in 1901, when she visited America for the third time, Maud Gonne received the impression that John Devoy

1. M. G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 199.
2. Ibid., p. 188; sec p.
5. Ibid., p. 224.
6. Ibid., pp. 201-203.
7. Ibid., p. 201.
8. Ibid., pp. 321-324.
distrusted her. At that time she observed that the split had at last been healed and that Devoy "had great influence" in the reunited organization of which he was to become the virtual head.

She subsequently expressed regret that she had been unable to persuade the Clan-na-Gael to send help to the Boers. Yet a passage in The Wasted Island told of an Irish-American who took part in the war in South Africa; and Michael Davitt reported a contingent of Chicagoans in the Boers' service:

They numbered about forty, excluding the medics and other non-combatants, and were all young men of splendid physique and of the best soldierly qualities. They were under the command of Captain O'Connor, of the Clan-na-Gael Guards, and joined Blake's Irish Brigade.

Gaelic American, 1903-1911

In 1901, the only New York papers which sympathized with the Fenians were O'Donovan Rossa's United Irishman and Patrick Ford's Irish World. Then in 1903, the Clan-na-Gael began to publish its own organ, Gaelic American.

The new paper was started largely through the efforts of Tom Clarke. And his biographer has reported:

Clarke got to work visiting the principal Clan-na-Gael and other Irish-American clubs in the cities of the Eastern States and, in less than six months, had secured adequate guarantees of support. A Committee was set up, and in September, 1903, the Gaelic American was launched with Devoy as Editor-in-Chief, and Tom Clarke as Assistant Editor. Clarke's official description was 'chief clerk and book-

2. Ibid., pp. 322-324.
8. See p. 322.
keeper with charge of the business office, in other words, he was General Manager as well as Assistant Editor. 1

His work for Gaelic American acquainted Clarke with older Fenians -- such as Colonel Richard O'Sullivan Burke, of Manchester fame, 3 and O'Donovan Rossa. Perhaps it may have led him to attend Yeats' lecture on "Emmet the Apostle of Irish Liberty," when the latter visited New York in 1904 to raise money for his theater. At any rate the speech was reported in Gaelic American on March 5, 1904. And F.S. Bourke, compiler of a valuable Emmet bibliography, has drawn attention to Yeats' remarks with an interesting aside about Yeats' patriotism: "...an address given in New York many years ago by Yeats might be worth looking up. He was more national then (and there) than any time since." 7

So sum up Clarke's work for Gaelic American prior to his return to Ireland in 1907, his biographer wrote:

To know Tom's work at this period, one should go through the files of The Gaelic American in which his directing hand is felt, and the work of his own pen is found in every issue for four years. For Tom, when he was not canvassing advertisements or filling gaps with opposite clippings from the Irish papers, was writing the sub-leaders for Devoy or pressing Devoy's nominees to write them as by the chief's instructions. 8

John Devoy's work as editor of Gaelic American also is noteworthy. Like Patrick Ford, Devoy was interested in such annual Fenian activities as the commemoration of the execution of the Manchester Martyrs or of the death of Peter O'Neill

1. L.N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, pp. 63-64.
2. Ibid., pp. 72-73.
6. Unsigned, Emmet The Apostle of Liberty, Gaelic American, March 5, 1904, pp. 1, 5.
8. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 69.
Crowley; and, of course, Gaelic American reflected this interest. Again, in 1906, the Clan-na-Gael, which repudiated "the so-called Constitutional movement" of John Redmond, through Gaelic American endorsed the recently founded Sinn Fein party. Third, the editor of Gaelic American opposed British imperialism and thought that discontent among the Irish troops in the British army should be cultivated. Fourth, like the editor of Irish World, Devoy disliked demonstrations of loyalty to the British royal family. Fifth, Gaelic American opposed any Anglo-American alliance although King George's welcome to Ireland in 1911 was seized upon by friends of the treaty to counteract Devoy's hostility.

This triumphal tour of the King of England in Ireland was capitalized in the United States, for the official intention was again to win the Irish Americans to the cause of a projected Anglo-American Treaty and so prove Chamberlain's contention that "the Irish in America were a negligible political factor," and to smash John Devoy whom Redmond had styled 'an obscure Irish-American.' Nevertheless, Devoy and Clan-na-Gael and their associates prevented the ratification of the Bryce Treaty, early in 1912. (See John Devoy's article on the defeat of the Arbitration Treaties in The Gaelic American for March 1, 1924.)

Indeed, the entry of the United States into the War in 1917 did not change the attitude of Gaelic American toward Sinn Fein, British imperialism or British royalty and subsequently it was barred from the mails "by Post-master-General Burleson on Wilson's instructions."

1. Personal, Irish World, June 2, 1877, p.5; unsigned, Cork, Irish World, April 13, 1878, p. 2; see p. 187.
2. Le Roux, The Life of Tom Clarke, pp. 70-72.
3. Anon., The Unknown Power Behind the Nationalist Party, p. x.
6. Ibid., pp. 128-184.
To the student of Irish literature there is yet another aspect of Devoy's work which merits attention. Following in the footsteps of *Irish-American* and *Irish World*, Gaelic American sought to do away with the stage Irishman. As a result it came into conflict with the Abbey Players when the latter sought to produce *The Playboy of the Western World* in New York on November 28, 1911. Lady Gregory, who had accompanied the players to the United States later wrote:

The editor of the Gaelic American and his bodyguard were in the stalls, two rows of them. They were pointed out to me when I came in. The disturbers were very well arranged; little groups here and there... A good many potatoes were thrown on the stage and an old watch, and a tin box with a cigar in it and a cigarette box. Our victory was complete in the end.

The success with which Clan-na-Gael sympathizers had attacked "McPadden's Row of Flats" and the abomination produced by the Russell Brothers" was not repeated in the case of Synge's play, however. Indeed, the result was quite the reverse. Among those who came to the aid of the Abbey players were Theodore Roosevelt and George Bernard Shaw of whom W.B. Yeats wrote to Lady Gregory:

Shaw has just sent me a copy of an interview he is sending to the New York Sun. He says you are 'the greatest living Irishwoman,' and adds you will beat the Clan na Gael... He makes a most amusing and ferocious attack on the Clan-na-Gael, and says they are not Irish.

1. See pp. 70-71.
2. See pp. 222-227.
5. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
6. Ibid., p. 280.
8. Ibid., pp. 210-211.
All things considered, one might even suggest that the publicity which attended the demonstrations against Synge's play was the reverse of harmful.

**O'Donovan Rossa and James Connolly**

In the present discussion of the activities of the advocates of physical force in the United States, attention has been focussed upon a consideration of the history of the Clan-na-Gael, as the American Fenians now called themselves. Yet another aspect of Irish-American activities, with which the names of O'Donovan Rossa and James Connolly have been associated, deserves mention before the concluding words about the Fenian movement in the United States are written and in connection with them it may be noted that the American labor movement was, perhaps, no less influential than the English in Ireland.

**O'Donovan Rossa**

As early as 1876 *Irish World* began to print a regular column of *Labor Notes*. In 1877 it reported O'Donovan Rossa as being opposed to Democrats and Republicans alike and in favor of a third party -- "a Labor-Greenback or Industrial organization." This, of course, was the opinion of Patrick Ford.

Subsequently, *Irish World* published a pro-Greenback letter

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2. See p. 772.
4. O'D. Rossa, What the Secretary Has to Say. *Irish World*, November 17, 1877, p. 6.
from T.V. Powderly, outstanding member of the Knights of Labor. It hailed Emerson as a social reformer and a member of its staff wrote a book entitled The War of the Classes. Again, in a cartoon labor was depicted as Gulliver and the enemies of labor as Lilliputians who had bound him. Yet again, an article on Walt Whitman in the Radical Review was noted. Finally, Ford's paper argued that Irish-American politicians who were active Democrats, or Republicans, could not be trusted either by labor or the Fenians in an article headed:

IRELAND'S FREEDOM WILL FOLLOW THE SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT OF THE AMERICAN LABOR QUESTION

In the following years Irish World's continued interest in the underprivileged may be seen in its support of Henry George. But by 1893, although quite friendly with Davitt, its policy had changed to such an extent that it published an article entitled Socialism the Next Danger in which Karl Marx was attacked.

O'Donovan Rossa, too, had grown away from his earlier socialist leanings. In 1894 he was at last allowed to return to Ireland. In June he visited in Cork. Later, two other Fenians, Michael Cusack and John Sarsfield Casey, took him to

1. Unsigned, Knights of Labor, Irish World, June 1, 1878, p.5.
2. A. Bimba, History of the American Working Class, p. 175.
3. Unsigned, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Irish World, March 9, 1878, p.4.
see the burial place of the family of John O'Mahony, the man
who had revived the word "Fenian." In 1895 he visited London
where he saw Dr. Mark Ryan, J.F.X. O'Brien, M.P., and the House
of Commons.

He was interested in Maude Conne's tour of America in
1896-1897 at the invitation of his friend "Rocky Mountain" O'Brien
on behalf of the '98 centenary; and in her autobiography Madame
MacBride declared:

O'Donovan Rossa came to see me off at the boat. He was the
great veteran Fenian whose indomitable courage England had
not succeeded in breaking during all those years in her
prison hells... He was an old man now, but his spirit un-
broken and his faith in Ireland unshaken and anxious still
to help every movement to free Ireland...7

For unlike the Clan-na-Gael, Rossa paid considerable attention
to the '98 centenary. Indeed in "1896 he unveiled a centenary
memorial in his native town," Skibbereen.

Rossa also continued to take an interest in the Irish
language. Some time in 1903 he went with Tom Clarke and John
Carroll to see the grave of Michael Doheny in Calvary Cemetery,

New York;

Before they left, the trio knelt to pray. Rossa began the
prayer in Irish, Carroll giving the responses in English.
Clarke rebuked him, but the rebuke he got from Clarke was
mild compared to that which he got from O'Donovan Rossa, who
was indignant that an Irishman could not pray in his own
language.12

1. O'D. Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 235-236.
2. See p. 77.
5. See p. 77.
7. Ibid., p. 283.
8. Ibid., p. 283.
10. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 70.
11. See pp. 65, 66.
12. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 72.
Rossa was back in Ireland in 1904. And in 1905 the Dublin Weekly Freeman reported that a Rossa Testimonial was being collected. Then in the autumn of the latter year he was appointed "Secretary of the Cork County Council to the indignation of the anonymous author of The Unknown Power Behind the Irish Nationalist Party:

This man Rossa was one of the most prominent personages in promoting the dynamite explosions in London a quarter of a century ago. He once said at a public meeting held in honour of one of the invincible murderers: 'I hold that every Englishman who goes into Ireland for the purpose of administering English law should be slain within twenty-four hours.'

The man who uttered this bloodthirsty speech has never apologized for his utterance. Accordingly, in November, Rossa set sail for Ireland with "his wife and two youngest daughters" but before the end of 1906 Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa had become so homesick for America that he resigned in order to return with her.

In 1910, Rossa became ill with the disease which was to leave him more or less incommunicado until his death. It was "in his last illness" that he became reconciled to Devoy and, presumably, the Clan-na-Gael, through the efforts of 'Rocky Mountain' O'Brien. He died on June 29, 1915 and his body was taken to Ireland.

5. Ibid., p. 167.
Although there is little to associate Rossa with the labor movement in his declining years, James Connolly honored him in "The Pages of the O'Donovan Rossa Souvenir" in an article entitled "Why the Citizen Army Honours O'Donovan Rossa." Connolly declared:

For generations this conflict between the sanctity of the soul and the interests of the body has been waged in Ireland. The soul of Ireland preached revolution, declared that no blood-letting could be as disastrous as a cowardly acceptance of the rule of the conqueror; nay, that the rule of the conqueror would necessarily entail more blood-letting than revolt against the rule. In fitful moments of exaltation Ireland accepted that idea, and such men as O'Donovan Rossa becoming possessed of it became henceforth the living embodiment of that idea.1

James Connolly

When Connolly emigrated to America in 1903, he was already a Socialist; and he seems to have gravitated to the American syndicalist, Daniel De Leon, and his Socialist Labor Party. In this connection, it is interesting to read the article on Syndicalism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica:

James Connolly, the Irish Labour Leader who was executed after the Easter rising in Ireland in 1916, started a similar organization to that of Daniel De Leon on the Clyde in 1906. In his pamphlet Socialism Made Easy, he enunciated the syndicalist principles that they who rule industrially will rule politically, and that 'the functions of Industrial Unionism is to build up an industrial republic inside the shell of the political state, in order that when the industrial republic is fully organized it may crack the shell of the political state and step into its place in the scheme of the universe.'2

It may be noted at this point that there is a noteworthy parallel

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between this theory of the Socialist Labor Party and the Sinn Fein policy of creating a government in Ireland "inside the shell of the political state" which governed from Westminster.

In 1905, it would seem, De Leon quarreled with Connolly and refused to print the latter's contributions to his paper. In any event, it was in this year that Connolly became an active organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, which had been founded in June.

It may have been from this group that Connolly learned his "great scheme of unions and branches merging in the One Big Union..."

For in an article entitled "Old Wine in New Bottles" he later wrote:

In the year of grace 1905 a convention of American Labour bodies was held in Chicago for the purpose of promoting a new working-class organisation on more militant and scientific lines. The result of that convention was the establishment of the Industrial Workers of the World -- the first Labour organisation to organise itself with the definite ideal of taking over and holding the economic machinery of society. The means proposed to that end -- and it is necessary to remember that the form of organisation adopted was primarily intended to accomplish that end, and only in the second degree as a means of industrial warfare under capitalism -- was the enrolment of the working class in Unions built upon the lines of the great industries.

And in the same article Connolly attributed the origin of the sympathetic strike to the I.W.W. It was that technique, of course, which became known as "Larkinism" in Ireland.

Two years after the formation of the I.W.W., Connolly indicated his persistent Irish nationalism when he became interested

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6. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
in another American organization, the Irish Socialist Federation:

The following year the Federation began the publication of its monthly paper, The Harp, with Connolly as editor. Significant stress was laid in the first number on the purpose of the Federation and the paper. Connolly urged the Irish socialist to translate his ideas into terms of Irish thought, instead of breaking the ties that bound him to national organizations and traditions through a foolishly sentimental interpretation of the socialist doctrine of universal brotherhood.¹

But Connolly hoped that his new paper would benefit American as well as Irish-American labor. Therefore, he declared:

...we propose to take the control of the Irish vote out of the hands of the slum Secinini who used it to boost their political and business interests to the undoing of the Irish as well as the American toiler.²

And in two celebrated essays he sought to expound syndicalism to American workers:

His Axe to the Root and Old Wine in New Bottles expand the ideas of industrial unionism in a clear and vigorous fashion. The essays contained in the first were written about 1906, primarily as a guide for American workers. One of them, Political Action of Labour, was used by Tom Mann in his campaign for the One Big Union in Australia.³

Yet in a third work, Socialism Made Easy, his Irish nationalism again cropped up:

That work was written for the guidance of the American and the Irish-American workers in particular, but as the greater portion of it had a general application for the working-class everywhere, it has proved of value in all countries...⁴

And finally, it was this same nationalist spirit which in 1908 prompted him to proceed "with the publication of Labour in Irish History in The Harp" and later compelled him to return to Ireland:

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¹ Ryan, op. cit., p. 156.
² Ibid., p. 157.
³ R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 106.
⁴ J. Connolly, The Axe to the Root and Old Wine in New Bottles, p. 3.
Connolly was appointed organizer of the Socialist Party of America the following year; he toured and lectured in that capacity for twelve months, and then he accepted an invitation to come on a lecturing tour in Ireland. In point of fact, he had been considering the possibility of return and permanent settlement, and friends in Dublin helped eagerly in the scheme. The Harp had already been transferred to Ireland (January, 1910), and was published from the Irish Nation office, Jim Larkin acting as sub-editor. ¹

Connolly’s subsequent career in Ireland can hardly be considered an Irish-American activity and so the discussion of it will be temporarily discontinued; but it may be noted that in 1913 at the time of the Dublin strike, one of the organizers of the I.W.W., William D. (Big Bill) Haywood, spoke in favor of the strikers in Dublin and, according to Captain J.R. White, "called for boos for the police...”

The Clan-na-Gael from 1910 to 1916

To conclude these remarks about the Irish physical force movement in the United States, particular attention will now be devoted to the Clan-na-Gael and its connection with certain Irish affairs both before and after the outbreak of war in 1914.

Before the War

Before the War, attention may be focussed upon Tom Clarke and the Dublin Irish Freedom, the Abbey Theatre, Douglas Hyde and various I.R.B. envoys to the United States.

¹ Ryan, op. cit., p. 157.
² See ibid., p. 212-224.
⁴ Capt. J.R. White, Misfit, p. 225.
Tom Clarke, Irish Freedom and the Abbey Theatre

The genesis of the Dublin paper, Irish Freedom, can be traced back through the person of Tom Clarke to Gaelic American which he also helped to found.

In 1905, Clarke had become a naturalized citizen of the United States, but his continued association with the Clan-na-Gael kept his attention directed toward Ireland. The visit of Bulmer Hobson to America in 1907 as representative of the I.R.B. proved the last straw and Clarke decided to return to his native land. He told this decision to Devoy:

The old man heartily approved, but also made it clear to Tom that he was returning without any specific mission from the Executive of Clan-na-Gael. He was not a paid envoy, but Devoy and the Revolutionary Directory assured him that he would receive their full support provided that the movement in Ireland went in the right direction towards "smashing English Rule in Ireland." The Supreme Council of the I.R.B. was duly notified of Tom Clarke's forthcoming arrival, and Tom was also the bearer of an accredited transfer from Clan-na-Gael to the I.R.B.

He was more than cordially received by the I.R.B.:

Tom Clarke was co-opted a member of the Supreme Council, I.R.B., on his arrival in Ireland, and from the very start he was roused by the enthusiasm of the younger I.R.B. members and other separatists, whose Belfast journal, The Republic, was now dead, and who had no longer any means to make themselves heard effectively. Some of them, and in particular, Bulmer Hobson, were urging their colleagues to launch a paper of some sort. Tom Clarke encouraged them, for he, too, could see no better medium for propaganda.

As a result, Irish Freedom was established as the organ

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2. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 69.
3. Ibid., p. 73.
5. Ibid., p. 80.
6. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
7. Ibid., p. 92.
of the I.R.B. In view of this connection between the Gaelic American and Irish Freedom, it is not surprising to see John Devoy described in the latter as the "one man alive that we know of capable of undertaking the task" of writing a history of Fenianism. Indeed, in 1911, Devoy wrote to Irish Freedom to express his regret at his inability to accept its invitation to attend a meeting in Dublin to protest against a proposed visit by King George. In the latter Devoy said: "...fifty years ago I took an oath of allegiance to 'the Irish Republic, virtually established'...it remains my ideal of the proper and only final solution of the Irish National Question." In the same issue of Irish Freedom Devoy repudiated any compromise on the question of Irish autonomy, saying, "The next great war will remake the map of Europe, and it is coming soon." In connection with Devoy's contributions, it would be interesting to know to what extent, if any, the Clan-na-Gael subsidized Irish Freedom, for in his autobiography he asserted:

The supplies of money from the Clan-na-Gael in America were largely increased from the time that Clarke returned, and sums never less than 1,000 pounds at a time reached the Supreme Council of the I.R.B.

Perhaps it was this indebtedness which arrayed Irish Freedom against the Abbey Theatre when W.B. Yeats, on the occasion of a visit to America on its behalf, called the members of the Clan-na-Gael "ignoramuses." Yeats had accepted a Civil List

3. J. Devoy, The Outlook, Ibid., p. 5.
pension of 150 pounds a year from the English Government, and

Irish Freedom pointedly asked:

On another occasion during this tour we heard Mr. Yeats state that as 'soon as England saw a man of any intellect in Ireland she missed no opportunity of bribing him to turn away from the service of his country.' One is now inclined to ask oneself if Mr. Yeats has accepted the bribe.1

Yet, curiously, Yeats' visit was partially the result of the withdrawal of the subsidy which the Abbey Theatre had been receiving from an English woman, Miss A.E.F. Horniman. To make ends meet, the Abbey players had decided on a tour of the United States. They had opened at the New Plymouth Theatre in Boston, September 6, 1911 with Bithurk, a two-act play by T. C. Murray; In the Shadow of the Glen by Synge; and Lady Gregory's Hyacinth Halvey. Fearing trouble, the Company had not attempted to produce Synge's Playboy of the Western World for over a month;

It may be mentioned that this play was greeted with hisses when produced in Boston on October 23rd, 1911, and caused a riot in the theatre at New York on November 27th, 1911. It had come to be known as the 'police-protected' drama.

The entire company was arrested at Philadelphia on the plea that this play was immoral, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1912.2

And, Yeats wrote of a New York performance of his play:

It is never played before any Irish audience for the first time without something or other being flung at the players. In New York a currant cake and a watch were flung, the owner of the watch claiming it at the stage door afterwards.3

The attack which Gaelic American made on the play has already been mentioned. In January, 1912, Irish Freedom, taking its cue from the journal of the Clan-na-Gael, published an article

2. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbares, p. v; cf. E.A. Boyd, The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, pp.142-143.
5. See p. 773.
which criticized Lady Gregory for imitating Yeats in her defense of Synge's play in the United States. In addition, it accused her of disregarding the evidence of three prominent American Gaelic Leaguers that Douglas Hyde disapproved of the Playboy and the Piper (another controversial play). Furthermore, Hyde had cabled to America to deny that there was any connection between the Abbey and the Gaelic League, and it deplored Lady Gregory's vengeful spirit for replying to the telegram in an interview which appeared in the New York Sun because thereby she made it difficult for Gaelic Leaguers to collect money. The article concluded by expressing agreement with Dr. George Sigerson, who asserted that the Abbey had never succeeded in portraying the Irish peasant as he really was.

Douglas-Hyde

Hyde's readiness to deny any connection between the Gaelic League and the Abbey Theatre may have been the result of his desire not to offend the physical force party. Yet this did not satisfy the Clan-na-Gael which wished to know whether he favored the creation of an Irish Republic:

When...Douglas Hyde toured America, Billy Crossin, a prominent Irish-American, pressed Hyde for his attitude to a Republic, Hyde replied: 'Let us do the education and we'll leave the rest to you men.' That was accepted by the Clan as satisfactory.

The Clan-na-Gael had a similar interest in the Gaelic League and, accordingly, John Devoy asked Tom Clarke to inter-

1. C. Weygandt, Irish Plays and Playwrights, p. 33.
3. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 117.
view certain prominent members of the Irish organization:

In June, 1910, Tom Clarke wrote to John Daly, who was staying at Dalkey, that 'Pat McCartan and I have been chatting over things to-night. He is getting some interviews on compulsory Irish from Hyde, Bigger of Belfast, and possibly Dr. Siger son. We are anxious to have an interview for The Gaelic American from you also.... The boys on the other side I know would be just as interested in what you would have to say as in Hyde's talk, many of them much more interested. 1

That Gaelic American was justified in considering the Gaelic League as a potential source of revolutionists has been indirectly verified by Devoy's comments on an article "on the work of the Gaelic League," which the Irish-American weekly reprinted on August 11, 1923:

Many of us thought that Dr. Hyde rather resented the large and important part played by members of the Gaelic League in the Revolutionary Movement which brought about present conditions, but his splendid article showed that we were mistaken. Not only did he not resent it, but he was evidently proud of it and said truly that the Gaelic League was the mother of Sinn Fein. 2

I.R.B. Envoys

Finally, the envoys which the I.R.B. sent to the Clan-na-Gael deserve a few words. As examples, Patrick H. Pearse, Bulmer Hobson and Sir Roger Casement may be noted. P.H. Pearse

Perhaps it is incorrect to regard Pearse as an envoy of the I.R.B. His primary reason for visiting America was to collect money to relieve his school of the budgetary difficulties which it was expected to experience in the 1913-1914 sessions. But before leaving Ireland, Pearse had appealed to Tom Clarke to help him arrange a lecture tour in the United States:

1. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 117.
Clarke agreed right away, and advised Pearse to ask John Daly to help also. It is clear that though he had been staying with Daly, Pearse had not broached the matter to him until after this meeting with Clarke.¹

Therefore, in view of the fact that he had introductions and messages from Clarke, Daly and Bulmer Hobson, who was a regular contributor to *Gaelic American* at this time, Pearse may be regarded as an envoy of the I.R.B.

Thus, when he arrived in New York, he was immediately invited to address the "Emmet Commemoration in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York, 2nd March, 1914"; and he promised the audience "that before this generation has passed the Volunteers will draw the sword of Ireland." Again, on March 9, 1914, at another Emmet Commemoration meeting, he openly praised two Clann-na-Gael chiefs:

I think I can speak for a younger generation still; for some of the young men that are entering the National University, for my own pupils at St. Enda's College, for the boys of the Fianna Eireann. To the grey-haired men whom I see on this platform, to John Devoy and Richard Burke, I bring, then, this message from Ireland: that their seed-sowing of forty years ago has not been without its harvest, that there are young men and little boys in Ireland today who remember what they taught and who, with God's blessing, will one day take - or make - an opportunity of putting their teaching into practice.⁶

It is particularly significant that Pearse in one of those speeches publicly identified the causes of the Gaelic League, the newly formed Irish Volunteers and the Fenians:

A new junction has been made with the past: into the movement that has never wholly died since '67 have come the young

2. Ibid., p. 130.
6. Ibid., p. 112.
man of the Gaelic League. Having renewed communion with its origins, Irish Nationalism is to-day a more virile thing than ever before in our time. Of that be sure.

I have said again and again that when the Gaelic League was founded in 1893 the Irish Revolution began. The Gaelic League brought it a certain distance upon its way; but the Gaelic League could not accomplish the Revolution. For five or six years a new phase has been due, and lo! it is with us now. Today Ireland is once more organising, once more learning the noble trade of arms. In our towns and country places Volunteer companies are springing up....What this movement may mean for our country no man can say. But it is plain to all that the existence on Irish soil of an Irish army is the most portentous fact that has appeared in Ireland for over a hundred years; a fact which marks definitely the beginning of the Second stage of the Revolution which was commenced when the Gaelic League was founded.1

During his trip, Pearse lectured "on Irish literature and on his own ideas of education." And early in the summer of 1914 he returned to Ireland "with funds that compensated for long and serious financial anxieties";

He never wearyied of praising the Fenians of America, those Irish patriots of the Clan na Gael, victims of forced evictions, those felons, those 'traitors' whom the English would dearly have loved to hang one and all, but had only been able to drive into exile or transport to distant colonies whence they had escaped.... Among them were Colonel Richard Burke, and the veterans, John Devoy and O'Donovan Rossa, former 'convicts in jail for Ireland,' and for these in particular Pearse had an affection which was returned in full measure.3

Hobson and Casement

Casement and Hobson were also envoys whom the I.R.B. sent to the Clan-na-Gael. One of Hobson's trips has already been mentioned. In 1914, while Pearse was yet in America, Hobson, who

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4. See p. 753.
was a member of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., arrived with a memorandum from Casement for the German Embassy in Washington in which the latter outlined his proposals for cooperation with Germany in the event of war, provided the German Government would undertake to secure the independence of Ireland under international guarantees.

This latter mission of Hobson's may be noted as an example of the constant intercourse between the I.R.B. and the Clan-na-Gael. For I.R.B. envoys regularly attended Clan-na-Gael conventions to make known the status of the physical force organization in Ireland:

This was invaluable, coming from men who themselves were members of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. and had a thorough knowledge of Irish affairs. Sean MacDermott was the envoy in 1912, and Diarmuid Lynch in 1914. The latter attended our Convention in Atlantic City, where a committee was appointed to draft and publish an address to our people in America pointing out that Ireland's interests would be best served by taking sides with Germany against England in the war which had just broken out.2

Like Pearse, Casement was to some extent an envoy of the I.R.B. when he went to the United States on the eve of war in 1914. For, although such Fenian chiefs as John Daly and Tom Clarke had not approved of the admission of Redmondites to the Executive Committee of the Irish Volunteers, Clarke, according to Devoy, did not blame Casement:

Tom Clarke had written me putting the chief blame for the surrender on Bulmer Hobson. Hobson, who was then Dublin correspondent of the Gaelic American, had written for publication an article defending the expediency of the sur-

1. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 135.
2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 396.
render, and a private letter informing me that Casement was coming to America to collect funds for the Volunteers.

After the War, 1914-1916

While Casement was in America in 1914, war broke out. The remainder of these remarks about the Irish physical force movement in the United States will be concerned with the period from that event until Easter week, 1916.

The period was characterized by a new departure — an alliance between Irish and Germans. Intercourse between German and Irish emigrants in America had prepared the way for it and, indeed, Mr. Dooley, "with the combined wisdom of saloon and Solon" had observed:

'Twas not long after when I heard a man singing The Wearin' of the Green down the street and in come Schwartzmeister. 'Faugh a ballagh, get out of the way;' says he, meaning to be polite. 'Lieb Vaterland,' says I, and we had a drink together. 'Glory be,' meditated Mr. Dooley, 'who ever thought the Irish'd live to see the day when they'd be freed by the Dutch?'

The Clan-na-Gael was the leader of this new departure and in connection with it the names of Casement, whom it sent to Germany, Joseph Plunkett and others deserve mention.

Roger Casement in America

When he went to America in 1914, Casement, who, like Pearse, was a Gaelic Leaguer, probably considered himself as an envoy of the Irish Volunteers, rather than the I.R.B. From the formation of the Volunteers he had been active recruiting for the new or-

2. See p. 798.
organization. In December, 1913, he had visited Galway in company
with Pearse and Eoin MacNeill to speak on its behalf, and be-
fore the end of the year he and MacNeill had spoken for the same
cause in Cork. In January, accompanied by Pearse, he had ad-
dressed meetings in Limerick and while there had stopped at the
home of John Daly. Then in March, with Thomas MacDonagh, he had
"held a meeting in Kilkenny City for the purpose of forming a
branch of the Irish National Volunteers." Indeed, so publicly
was Casement associated with the Volunteers that the anonymous
biographer of Augustine Birrell in the fourteenth edition of the
Encyclopaedia Britannica attributed the "apparent" leadership of
the "extremists" to him:

With the outbreak of the World War the Home Rule controversy
was left in abeyance; and the danger with which Mr. Birrell
had to cope came from extremists of the Sinn Fein, Irish-
American and Irish Labour parties of whom Casement and Larkin
were the apparent leaders. They promoted a strong and largely
successful propaganda against enlistment in Ireland, which
culminated suddenly in open rebellion at Easter, 1916.

On July 4, 1914, Casement embarked for America where he
was to speak "in the name of the Irish Volunteers." Immediately
upon his arrival in New York, Casement got in touch with John
Devoy who had known him as a subscriber and contributor to
Gaelic American before he had quit the service of the British
Government to settle down in Ireland. Of his later recollections

2. Ibid., pp. 192-193.
3. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, pp. 128-129.
8. Ibid., pp. 24-26.
of Casement Devoy wrote:

I need not dwell on Casement's activities after his return to Ireland further than to say that he joined the Gaelic League, did much to relieve the acute distress then prevailing in the West, made a nearly successful effort to have German Transatlantic steamers call at Queenstown to offset the Cunard Line's withdrawal, and thus connect Ireland directly with the outside world. But his most notable work in Ireland was in the Volunteer movement, and in this he made a bad mistake in conjunction with other well-meaning men by surrendering the control of it to the Parliamentary Party.1

Casement arrived in America shortly after the creation of the Irish Volunteer Fund and may be associated with it. Of this fund Devoy wrote:

...our fund, amounting only to about $50,000, supplemented by the Clan-na-Gael's remittances to the I.R.B., making in all fully $100,000, supplied the men of Easter Week with the means of striking their historic blow... It was a small amount with which to start an insurrection, but it was larger than any sum ever previously received by an Irish insurrectionary movement.2

In America on the eve of war in 1914 Casement "was evidently, even then, thinking of going to Germany." For after the outbreak of hostilities Casement immediately arranged with his friend, Kuno Meyer, a leader of "German scholarship in the Celtic field," for the republication in Germany and America of certain articles concerning Ireland's position in relation to the war:

The pamphlet proclaimed openly in its preface that 'the whole six parts furnish in outline the case for a German-Irish alliance as this presented itself to the writer's mind when the world was still at peace. It was the writer's intention to show in succeeding chapters how the vital needs of European peace, of European freedom of the seas, and of Irish national life and prosperity were indissolubly linked with the cause of Germany in the struggle so clearlyimpending

1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 407-408.
2. Ibid., pp. 392-393.
3. Ibid., pp. 416-417.
between that country and Great Britain. The war had come sooner than was expected. The rest of the writer’s task must be assayed not with the author’s pen, but with the rifle of the Irish Volunteer. As a contribution to the cause for Irish Freedom this presentation of the cause for Germany, friend of Ireland and foe of England, is now published.1

Likewise, as far as the Clan-na-Gael was concerned, the war which began in 1914 was “England’s difficulty”:

When the war broke out, the Clan therefore sought German help, as our forefathers had sought Scottish, Spanish and French assistance, and as the living organization had tried to provide for French and Russian aid in case of war.2

And it immediately communicated its desire for help to the German Ambassador to the United States.

Then the “Revolutionary Directory” of the Clan-na-Gael decided to utilize Casement’s services and endorsed “an Address to the Kaiser” which he prepared. Casement still was not satisfied:

He next decided to leave America for Germany, chiefly for the dual purpose of securing German military aid for Ireland and of organizing Irish prisoners of war in that country into an ‘Irish Brigade’ to fight for Ireland’s freedom. He advised the Revolutionary Directory of the Clan to this effect; they acquiesced and financed his mission.

Tom Clarke was, according to Mrs. Clarke, one of those who, reluctantly at first, approved the sanction given by the Revolutionary Directory to Casement’s journey to Germany. During his stay on the Continent, Casement’s reports on the situation were necessarily and almost entirely conducted through German official channels with the Irish leaders in America.3

Roger Casement in Germany

Casement left for Germany late in September, but before

2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 401.
3. Ibid., pp. 403-406.
4. Ibid., p. 413.
5. Ibid., pp. 404-406.
he left, he wrote a letter which was published in the Irish
Independent on October 5, 1914 and in which he sought to justify
his course of action:

Ireland has suffered at the hands of British administrators
a more prolonged series of evils, deliberately inflicted, than
any other community of civilized men. To-day, when no margin
of vital strength remains for vital tasks at home, when its
fertile fields are reduced by set design to producing animals
and not men, the remnant of our people are being urged to lay
down their lives on foreign fields, in order that great and
inordinately wealthy communities may grow greater and richer
by the destruction of a rival's trade and industry. Had this
war the highest moral sin in view, as its originators claim
for it, it would still be the duty of Irishmen to keep out
of it. ¹

2

After a perilous passage, Casement reached Berlin and pre-
sented his credentials. Devoy later declared:

We were without definite information as to his safety until
Kuno Meyer arrived in New York from Germany with a letter
from him. A group of us met Professor Meyer on the evening
of his arrival, towards the end of November (1914), and
heard the interesting story he had to tell. ⁴

During 1915, the Clan-na-Gael seems to have sent Casement
a total of $7,000 to carry on his work. Presumably some of this
money was used to publish The Crime Against Ireland and How the
War May Right It which he used together with "500 copies weekly"
of Gaelic-American for recruiting prospective members into the
Irish Brigade which he was raising among captured Irish soldiers
in Germany. At any rate one of these men testified at Casement's
trial in 1916:

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¹. Curry, op. cit., p. 18.
². J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 423-429.
³. Ibid., pp. 417-418.
⁴. Ibid., p. 420.
⁵. Ibid., pp. 420-422.
⁶. Curry, op. cit., p. 139 note.
Casement visited the camp four times, about a week between each visit. Casement promised them 10 pounds each if they joined, and if Germany lost the war they would be sent to America. Witness added that copies of a paper, the Gaelic American, and a book, 'The Crime Against Ireland,' were circulated in the camp.

Aside from this financial aid, the Clan-na-Gael was able to supply Casement with a Roman Catholic chaplain who had Fenian sympathies and thereby was of assistance in recruiting the brigade; and also, although it was unable to supply him with "an Irish-American officer," it was able to furnish him with "an ex-British N.C.O." whom Tom Clarke had enrolled into the I.R.B. This was Robert Monteith who had been "dismissed from his employment in the Ordinance Department because of his Volunteer activities" on November 12, 1914.

Monteith had been sent to New York by the I.R.B. and thence he was dispatched to Munich where, according to his book, Casement’s Last Adventure, he met Casement in October. With him Monteith bore a plan for landing German guns in Ireland.

On March 11, 1916, Monteith left Germany with Casement and the informer, Bailey, in a submarine. News that the three had been landed in Ireland reached Connolly at his headquarters in Dublin on April 22, 1916:

1. Curry, op. cit., p. 84.
2. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, pp. 436.
4. LaRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 169.
5. Ibid., p. 124.
6. Ibid., pp. 148-149.
7. Ibid., p. 149.
8. LaRoux, Tom Clarke, pp. 169-170.
...two messengers had arrived, early morning, one carrying a message from Monteith to Pearse, and the other a message from Casement to MacNeill. It is said that Connolly read both messages and did not forward his to MacNeill.

Shortly after he had dispatched this message Casement was captured and later Bailey was seized. Monteith escaped although his rescuers were brought to trial. The subsequent fate of Casement has already been related but it may be added that when he was brought to trial Devoy raised $5,000 for his defense:

...the fact that the Clan-na-Gael was standing by him (which was demonstrated by Doyle's presence), and the knowledge that the organization was paying for his defense, had a favorable effect on Casement's spirits. He looked surprised when Doyle handed him the money, and tears came into his eyes. He had been forming hasty and wholly unjustifiable conclusions about us..., which the receipt of the money dissipated...

Joseph Plunkett and Others

Two others whose names should be associated with the Clan-na-Gael's new pro-German departure were Joseph Plunkett and Nora Connolly.

Like Casement and Monteith, Plunkett used New York as a stopping off place en route from Ireland to Berlin:

Joseph Plunkett had come to New York in 1915, en route to Berlin on a special mission in behalf of the Revolutionary Council, but on arrival here was detained at Ellis Island because of glandular tuberculosis.

John Devoy was able to procure permission for him to land and remain for two months "to do literary work." For Plunkett was

4. See pp. 552-554.
5. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 477.
6. Ibid., p. 460.
7. Ibid., pp. 460-461.
a distinguished poet and had been an editor of *Irish Review*. It was perhaps on this account that Padraic Colum entertained him while Plunkett was in America; or, perhaps, it was because, like Pearse and MacDonagh, Plunkett was a member of the I.R.B. It may also be remarked that Casement, too, was a poet and had contributed to *Irish Review*. Therefore, it may be assumed that he was acquainted with Joseph Plunkett before they met in Germany during the war.

In connection with Joseph Plunkett, certain others, members of the Plunkett family, are noteworthy. His father, George Noble Plunkett, was likewise a poet and editor who had encouraged Katharine Tynan when she published her first book of verse and of whose loyalty to Parnell she wrote:

There is one of those who stood by him for whose action I have always had the greatest admiration, and that is Count Plunkett. Count Plunkett belonged to what one might call the official Catholics of Dublin. I mean he was one of those trusted Catholic laymen who represented the best and most orthodox Catholic feeling of Dublin. He had entertained the Papal Legate, Monsignor Persico, when he came to Dublin. He was a Papal Count... Yet he came out to stand by Parnell, at whose Land League Movement he had looked askance, and bore with the rest of us the obloquy, the unjust condemnation, the wrongs, that even yet have left their iron in the soul.

Count Plunkett had certain influence at Rome and even had access to the Holy Father. Nevertheless, in February, 1916, his

3. Ibid., p. xxx.
4. Ibid., p. xxxii.
5. Ibid., p. xxxiii.
6. Ibid., p. xxxiv.
10. Ibid., p. 187.
11. Ibid., p. 303.
wife was in New York "seeking aid of the Catholic Church in America for the canonization of Oliver Plunkett, who belonged to the same branch of the family." This Oliver Plunkett had been arraigned in London, 1681:

The Indictment charged the accused with writing letters to Monsignor Baldeschi, the Secretary of the Pope, the Bishop of Aix, the Prince Colonna, and to Cardinal de Bouillon, soliciting them to procure and send aid into Ireland in order to establish there the Catholic religion and destroy the Protestants; that he had sent an Irish captain to the King of France, inviting him to send an army into Ireland and take possession of the Kingdom; that he had enrolled 70,000 men to unite with the French on their arrival; that he exacted money from the clergy to introduce the French and pay the Army; that he had visited all Ireland, and examined and explored all the seaport towns and fortresses of the kingdom, in order to introduce the French by a sure port; and finally, that he had held many synods and meetings in which a collection was ordered to supply funds for the French.

As a result of the trial Oliver Plunkett was executed and it is striking to record that Joseph Plunkett was to be put to death for similar reasons.

Early in February, 1916, while Joseph Plunkett's mother was in New York working for the canonization of Oliver Plunkett, John Devoy received a message from the I.R.B. that a rising was planned for April. About a week later Philomena Plunkett, Joseph Plunkett's sister, arrived in New York with detailed information about the plans for the rising, including instructions for "the arms ship" which Germany had promised to send:

1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 460.  
4. Ibid., pp. 55-57.  
If all was well the arms ship was to send out the word 'Fionn,' and if there was any mishap, or danger of one, the word 'Brann' was to be substituted. From the fact that Padraic Pearse was steeped to the lips in old Gaelic lore, I came to the conclusion that he was the author of the signals. Fionn, of course, was the Chief of the Fianna Eireann, and his dog Brann always scented danger first and gave warning.

The signal 'Aisling' was for use if a submarine reached Dublin Bay.1

When the German Government had acknowledged the receipt of Philomena Plunkett's message, Devoy entrusted the reply to her. Thereupon she "took the next steamer for Liverpool and delivered it safely in Dublin." John Devoy's praise of the Plunkett family deserves repetition:

The services of the Plunkett family at that time were invaluable. Had the English Government known of them fully, it would have realized what a sweet revenge it wreaked when after Easter Week it executed Joseph, sent his two brothers to convict prisons, and detained the father and mother for some time.2

Finally, the name of Nora Connolly, daughter of James Connolly, deserves mention in connection with the pro-German policy of the Clan-na-Gael. Prior to the war Devoy never seems to have interested himself in the labor movement and, indeed, when James Larkin arrived in New York late in 1914, Devoy found such information as the Irish labor chief possessed to be "utterly unreliable." As the war continued Devoy's attitude began to change and accordingly Tom Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Constance Markievicz and James Connolly dispatched Nora Connolly from Ireland with a message for him. While in New York she stayed "with Padraic and

2. Ibid., p. 561.
4. Ibid., op. cit., p. 394.
Mrs. Colum" and attended meetings of the Industrial Workers of
the World, at one of which Larkin "was the principal speaker." 1
Nevertheless, she distrusted Larkin and refused to tell him the
purpose of her visit. On the other hand, she has told how Devoy
took her into his confidence:

He said that he had some letters from Casement in Germany
that he wanted brought back to Ireland, and there was also
some money to be brought over, and if I was going home soon
would I take them...I agreed....

Before summarizing the foregoing remarks about Fenianism
in the United States, it may be added that the executions which
followed the failure of the Easter Week rising in Dublin greatly
distressed the British Ambassador at Washington who reported to
his chief:

I do not think we can count on American help, perhaps not even
American sympathy...the attitude towards England has been
changed for the worse by recent events in Ireland... If we are
able to in some measure settle the Home Rule question at once,
the announcement will have a beneficial effect here, although
I do not think that anything we can do would conciliate the
Irish here. 2

Although the estimate that "the United States would have
entered the war in 1916 but for Easter Week" may be somewhat
exaggerated, Dorothy MacArdle's summary of the extent of Ameri-
can sympathy for the Fenians seems to be conservative:

'The hurried vengeance of the military authorities, for which
the Government is responsible, has written a chapter that will
for ever stand to Great Britain's discredit,' the New York
World declared. An Irish Relief Fund had been opened in the
United States with Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet as President, with
forty Archbishops and Bishops among its patrons and a formid-

2. Ibid., pp. 215-217.
3. Ibid., pp. 216-217.
able list of eminent Vice-Presidents. A great memorial service, organised by the poet, Joyce Kilmer, for those who died for Ireland in the Rising, was held in Central Park, New York.1

And the widow of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington reported:

One of the facts that struck the Americans most profoundly was that the leaders of Easter week, afterwards executed, were men of such outstanding intellectuality -- poets, writers, painters, sculptors. As an American writer said, speaking of Joseph Plunkett and Padraic Pearse: 'In Italy they blind nightingales -- in England they kill poets.'2

Summary

In the three preceding chapters it has been seen that Irish separatists, especially of the physical force school, found more inspiration in the United States than in Great Britain or France. Accordingly the last chapter has been devoted to various aspects of Fenianism in America.

Chapter XVI was divided into three unequal parts -- two devoted to the history of the Clan-na-Gael and one to two famous exponents of physical force, O'Donovan Rossa and James Connolly.

The Clan-na-Gael was formed as a sort of caucus in the Fenian Brotherhood sometime before 1870. Prior to the death of John O'Mahony in 1877 its activities paralleled those of the Brotherhood, but after that time it began to supplant the older group. John Devoy had been associated with the Clan-na-Gael almost from his arrival in New York in 1871. In 1879 he was sent to Ireland as its representative. Then he undertook to edit Irish Nation for it. His indifference to the dynamite policy of

2. Sheehy-Skeffington, op. cit., pp. 6-71
the Clan-na-Gael seems to have coincided with the end of that paper. At all events, when O'Donovan Rossa was expelled in 1882, evidence of dissensions within the organization were indisputable. However, Devoy remained a member and was one of the leaders of a revolt in 1889. In 1894-1895 Maud Gonne tried vainly to end the split which was finally healed in 1900.

**Gaelic American**, founded in 1903, largely through the efforts of Tom Clarke, was the organ of the reunited Clan. In many matters it copied the policies of **Irish World** but, unlike Ford, it repudiated the constitutional agitation of John Redmond and endorsed Sinn Fein. **Gaelic American** is of interest to the student of the Celtic renaissance because of its friendliness to W.B. Yeats on his first visit to the United States. But in 1911 it displayed a marked hostility to Lady Gregory and the Abbey players because of their performance in America of Synge's **Playboy of the Western World**. However, this hostility probably helped the Irish theater by much free publicity which led such celebrities as Theodore Roosevelt and George Bernard Shaw to speak on behalf of the players and Lady Gregory.

Before continuing the history of the Clan-na-Gael which was introduced in connection with **Gaelic American**, another radical American influence on Ireland was mentioned. This was the labor movement. Such Irish-Americans as Patrick Ford and T.V. Powderly were leading figures in the American labor movement but the closest links between Fenianism and labor, so far as Irish history is concerned, were O'Donovan Rossa and James Connolly.

In the seventies Rossa had been drawn toward the First International and the pro-labor attitude of Patrick Ford's **Irish**
World. When he was allowed to return to Ireland in 1894, Rossa seems to have been less of a socialist than he had been two decades earlier. A perusal of any issue of his paper, United Irishman, will reveal that he had not lost his faith in physical force and in 1897 Maud Gonne was proud to meet "the great veteran Fenian" in New York. In 1898 he participated in the centenary celebrations of 1798 and five years later Tom Clarke found that he had not forgotten the Irish language when he accompanied Rossa to a visit to the grave of an Irish patriot of an earlier day. In 1905 Rossa was made Secretary of the Cork County Council but he returned to New York in 1906. In 1910 he became ill with a disease which was to leave him bed-ridden until his death. It was during this last illness that Rossa became reconciled to John Devoy and met Patrick H. Pearse. He died in 1915 and his body was taken to Ireland for burial. That he had never lost his appeal to socialists may be seen in the tribute which James Connolly wrote in his honor.

James Connolly's adherence to Fenian principles was more tenacious than Rossa's admiration for socialism. Yet from the time of his arrival in America in 1903, Connolly avoided the Clan-na-Gael, preferring the company of the syndicalist, Daniel De Leon, and, after they quarrelled, of the leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World for which he became an organizer. It is to the I.W.W. that Connolly ascribed his faith in the practicability of "One Big Union," that is, industrial instead of craft unionism. Two years after he began to work for the I.W.W., Connolly became active in the Irish Socialist Federation and undertook to edit its paper, The Harp. This brought him into direct
contact with purely Irish affairs and the problems "of the Irish as well as the American toiler." In 1908 he published Labour in Irish History in The Harp and in 1910 he returned to Dublin and became an officer in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Thereafter his direct connections with America virtually came to an end and his close relations with the I.R.B. began.

Irish revolutionaries looked particularly to the physical force movement in the United States for inspiration and this was supplied by the Clan-na-Gael both before and after the outbreak of war in 1914. Before the war, the relation between the two can be traced through Tom Clarke and the Dublin Irish Freedom, the Abbey Theatre, Douglas Hyde and various I.R.B. envoys to America.

Thomas J. Clarke, who helped to found Gaelic American, also was largely responsible for the Dublin I.R.B. paper, Irish Freedom. He had returned to Ireland in 1907, bearing "an accredited transfer from the Clan-na-Gael to the I.R.B." Upon his arrival, Clarke "was coopted a member of the Supreme Council, I.R.B." and before long Irish Freedom was established.

The relationships between Irish Freedom and Gaelic American were numerous. Devoy, for example, contributed to both and was described in the former as the "one man alive that we know of capable of undertaking the task" of writing a history of Fenianism. Bulmer Hobson also contributed to both periodicals. Both were critical of the Abbey Theatre and of Yeats, especially in connection with Synge's Playboy of the Western World. Both were friendly toward the Gaelic League and Douglas Hyde, although the Clan-na-Gael would have liked Hyde to have been more ardent in
"his attitude to a Republic" for Ireland. Indeed, the Clan-na-Gael probably subsidized Irish Freedom as well as Gaelic American.

The envoys which the I.R.B. sent to the Clan-na-Gael were also concrete evidence of the decisive role which the latter played in Irish affairs. Bulmer Hobson, Sean MacDiarmada, Patrick H. Pearse and Sir Roger Casement may be considered as examples. Of the four, Hobson and MacDiarmada were envoys of the I.R.B. in the strictest sense of the word, but Pearse and Casement were only incidentally in that category.

Pearse's primary reason for visiting the United States was to collect money for his school, but he bore messages from Tom Clarke, John Daly and Bulmer Hobson. While in New York, he publicly praised certain Clan-na-Gael chiefs in speaking at an Emmet Commemoration Meeting and he publicly identified the cause of the Gaelic League, the Irish Volunteers and the Fenians. Even after he returned to Ireland, Pearse "never wearied of praising the Fenians of America, those Irish patriots of the Clan-na-Gael."

Like Pearse, Casement was only an incidental envoy of the I.R.B. His main objective in visiting the United States was to speak "in the name of the Irish Volunteers." However, the outbreak of war changed matters completely.

After the outbreak of war, the Clan-na-Gael adopted a pro-German policy, which to some extent had been prepared for by intercourse between German and Irish emigrants in the anti-bellum days. The names of Casement, Joseph Plunkett, Nora Connolly and others indicate the importance of this new development on Irish affairs.
Casement, who had been a prominent recruiting agent for the Irish Volunteers before his departure for America in 1914, as soon as he arrived in New York gave evidence that he was, "even then, thinking of going to Germany." After war had been declared, Casement immediately arranged with his German friend, Kuno Meyer, for publication of a pamphlet which outlined "the case for a German-Irish alliance." At the same time, the Clan-na-Gael sought German help, dispatching Casement to Berlin as its emissary and also as the representative of the I.R.B.

In Germany, Casement not only sought to raise help for the Irish, but also to recruit an Irish Brigade among the Irish prisoners of war. To help him, the Clan-na-Gael sent over money, a Roman Catholic chaplain and an officer, Robert Monteith, for the Brigade. The net result of Casement's efforts was his capture and execution. Yet even to the last, the Clan-na-Gael stood by him and sent $5,000 to help pay for the expense of his trial.

Like Casement, Joseph Plunkett stopped in New York en route from Ireland to Germany. Plunkett was a distinguished poet, who had been an editor of Irish Review, and in that capacity had known Casement and Padraic Colum, who entertained him while he was in America. Plunkett, it has been noted, was the member of the family which had often come into collision with the English Government. The Blessed Oliver Plunkett, who had been hanged in London in 1681 on charges of having plotted with the French to send an expeditionary force to Ireland, "belonged to the same branch of the family." Joseph Plunkett's father, who was also a poet and editor, had been a Parnellite and his sister, Philomena, was an intermediary between the I.R.B. and the Clan-na-Gael.
Unlike Casement and Plunkett, Nora Connolly was not en route to Germany when she came to New York as an emissary of Tom Clarke, Sean MacDiarmada, Constance Markievicz, and her father, James Connolly. While in the United States, she stayed with Padraic and Mrs. Colum and avoided James Larkin when he sought to learn the purpose of her visit. This reticence was not displayed toward John Devoy, who entrusted "some letters from Casement in Germany" to her to be delivered upon her return to Ireland.

To conclude, the remarks of the three preceding chapters about the ramifications of the Irish physical force movement in France, Great Britain and the United States between 1892 and 1916, it may be noted that the outbreak of war in 1914 put the quietus on the Fenians in France and Great Britain. In the United States, on the other hand, matters were somewhat different. The Fenian Brotherhood had been founded there. And of the seven signers of the Easter Week proclamation of 1916, five had either visited, or lived, in America and one of the five, Thomas J. Clarke, had taken out United States citizenship papers. However, in spite of the flare-up of sympathy for the men who were executed as a result of the insurrection, a year later the United States also entered the war and Fenianism, temporarily at least, was relegated to the background.
CHAPTER XVII
JOHN O'LEARY, FENIANISM AND THE CELTIC RENAISSANCE, 1892-1907

The concluding chapters of the present research will be devoted to the relations between Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance in Ireland from 1892 to 1916. And it may be noted at the outset that after 1900 the Celtic renaissance was often described as the Irish Ireland movement.

The most significant aspect of Fenianism during the period under consideration was a new technique which was a natural outgrowth of the New Departure. This, it may be remembered, was the collaboration of the physical force party with the moral suasionists in the Land League.

The new technique was a method of penetrating various Irish organizations in order to orient them toward the day when Ireland would seek independence by physical force. The groups which were infiltrated by the Fenians usually had the revival or encouragement of some particular element of Irish life for their announced objective. And P.S. O'Hegarty, who joined the I.R.B. in 1903 and was a member of its Supreme Council from 1908 until his arrest in August, 1914, explained the organization's method as follows:

It had members everywhere, its tentacles went into everything, it maintained a footing in every organisation and movement in Ireland which could be supported without doing

violence to separatist principles. And when money was needed at a pinch for any of the organisations which it regarded as key organisations -- the Gaelic League, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Fianna, and the Irish Volunteers -- it found the money. Strange and transient Committees and Societies were constantly cropping up, doing this and that specific national work. The I.R.B. formed them. The I.R.B. ran them. The I.R.B. provided the money. The I.R.B. dissolved them when their work was done. The major portion of its funds, without which the home organisation would have been helpless because of its paucity of numbers and the poverty of its members, came from the Clan na Gael of America, which played the same part in American-Irish organisations that the I.R.B. played at home, and to which no appeal for money for an object even remotely separatist was ever made in vain.¹

The success of this policy may be recognized in the fact that the word "Fenian" gradually disappeared and that after 1914 it was supplanted by the completely misleading phrase, "Sinn Feiner."² But although its old name had been forgotten, the physical force party remained very much in existence.

It is important to insist that this "boring from within" technique was not cordially received by all believers in physical force. Its most distinguished critic was John O'Leary who, according to W.B. Yeats, liked to say:

'I have only three followers, Taylor, Yeats, and Rolleston,' and presently he cast out Rolleston, 'Davitt wants to convert thousands, but I want two or three.' I think that perhaps it was because he no more wished to strengthen Irish Nationalism by second-rate literature than by second-rate morality, and was content that we agreed in that.³

On the other hand, its most distinguished proponent was Tom Clarke. But he did not return to Ireland until 1907, the year in which O'Leary died.

In spite of O'Leary's distrust of the advisability of at-

¹ P. S. O'Hegarty, The Victory of Sinn Fein, pp. 13-14.
² See pp. 638-641.
³ W.B. Yeats, Autobiography, p. 183; see p.
tempting to bore from within, the technique made headway even while he was the leader of the physical force organization. Accordingly in the present chapter the organizations, periodicals and committees of which O'Leary approved will be treated. Then in the succeeding pages Irish Ireland phenomena which were to become the objects of Fenian attention, especially after O'Leary's death, will be discussed. Finally, there will be a chapter apiece on the I.R.B. and Fenianism in Ireland from 1914 to 1916.

The present chapter will be divided into two parts. The first will be concerned with events, organizations, periodicals and committees over which the Fenians exercised complete control and will cover the period anterior to 1899. In the second the Irish Literary Theatre, the Boer War, United Irishman and O'Leary's last years will be taken up.

**Events, Organizations, a Periodical and Committees, 1882-1899**

Under the present subheading, (a) a few words about the history of the I.R.B., the Celtic Literary Society and the Shan Van Vocht will be said; and (b) the '98 centenary will be discussed in more detail.

**The I.R.B., Celtic Literary Society and Shan Van Vocht**

A detailed review of Fenian activities in Ireland between 1867 and 1892 does not seem essential but a few words should be said about Charles Kickham and John O'Leary.

Charles J. Kickham died in 1882. The tributes at the Dublin obsequies for the veteran Fenian afford interesting evidence
about the strength of the physical force party at that time:

The I.R.B. was then 35,000 strong and the members came from all over Ireland and from England and Scotland to pay their last tribute of respect to the Chairman of the Supreme Council, John Ryan of London, head of the Organization in Southern England; John Torley of Dumtocher, leader in Scotland; Dr. Mark Ryan, then living in Brighton, Member for Connacht; Robert Johnson of Belfast, Representative of Ulster, and every member of the Council, as well as practically all the County Centres in Ireland, marched in the procession. John Dillon, Timothy Healy, Thomas Sexton and other Members of Parliament rode in carriages.¹

And of the ceremonies at Kiskham's grave in Tipperary, John Devoy wrote:

John Torley of Dumtocher then introduced John Daly of Limerick, who delivered a short funeral oration, in which he said:

'Surely in some distant time when Irishmen visit the shrines of their illustrious dead this lonely Tipperary grave will not be forgotten, for here repose in death Ireland's purest, bravest, and best loved son.'

Thus ended the career of Charles J. Kickham, the finest intellect of the Fenian Movement and the truest Irishman that ever Tipperary produced.²

In 1884, John O'Leary returned to Ireland from his long exile in Paris. He immediately became popular with the young Dublin intellectuals because of his revolutionary background and, perhaps, because of a bookish nature of which Yeats wrote:

Stephens, the founder of Fenianism, had discovered him searching the second-hand bookstalls for rare editions, and enrolled him in his organisation. 'You have no chance of success,' O'Leary had said, 'but it will be good for the morale of the country' (morale was his great word), 'and I will join on the condition that I am never asked to enroll anybody.' He still searched the second-hand bookstalls, and had great numbers of books, especially of Irish history and literature, and when I, exhausted over our morning's casuistry,

¹ J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 317.
² Ibid., p. 318.
³ See pp. 403-414.
⁴ S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, pp. 117-118.
would sit down to my day’s work (I was writing The Secret Rose) he would make his tranquil way to the Dublin Quays.\footnote{1}

When Yeats’ early volume, The Wanderings of Oisin, appeared in 1889, O’Leary “found almost all the subscribers” for it. Indeed, O’Leary had such a high opinion of Yeats that he counted him among his “three followers.”\footnote{2}

So close did the friendship become, that after his sister, Ellen O’Leary, who had been his housekeeper, died in 1890, Yeats went to live with him. Of this period in O’Leary’s career, George Sigerson’s daughter wrote:

Stephen MacKenna, among others, helped with the arranging of his books, which still continued to increase. He came every Sunday to dine with my father at Clare Street, where he liked to meet such notabilities as often gathered there; Lionel Johnson, perhaps, Louise Imogen Guiney, or others, native born.

Sometimes he would go out to Blackrock to lunch with Richard Ash King, to Rosa Mulholland, Standish O’Grady, or Mr. and Mrs. Piatt, the American poets.\footnote{4}

Again he would go to Whitehall, Clondalkin, where Katharine Tynan would be found every Sunday presiding over her particular guests.\footnote{5} O’Leary was writing his Reminiscences of Fenianism at this time. When it was finished Ash King typed the manuscript for her.\footnote{3}

Although Yeats was disappointed with the book, it must be pointed out, as O’Leary himself noted, that the subject of Fenianism was a popular one:

I am happy to have had unmistakable evidence lately that there are students, and very laborious, intelligent and sympathetic ones, too, of both the period and the paper. While I am writing these pages, I find a series of articles in the Shanrock on the literature of ‘97’ by Dr. D. J.

\footnotesize

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1.] Yeats, op. cit., p. 182.
  \item[2.] F.W. Reid, F.E. Yeats, A Critical Study, pp. 19-26, 255.
  \item[3.] See p. 315.
  \item[5.] Yeats, op. cit., p. 182.
\end{itemize}
O'Donoghue of London, the author of a very wonderful and exhaustive 'Biographical Dictionary of Irish Poets.'

And, further evidence of this general interest in the early days of the Fenian movement may be found not only in the Dictionary of National Biography which published a biography of James Stephens and John O’Leary and a biography of the latter by D.J. O’Donoghue, but also in the pages of Freeman’s Journal, for which James Stephens wrote a series of articles "giving his Recollections" of the Fenian movement:

The Dublin Freeman’s Journal paid him for these contributions, and that helped him to keep himself comfortable for a while. Finally, that paper collected a fund for him which kept the wolf from the door until he died in Blackrock County, Dublin, April 23, 1901.

In 1893, the Celtic Literary Society and the Gaelic League were formed. So far as the latter is concerned, it may be noted that shortly after his return to Ireland, O’Leary made a speech in which he indicated his indifference to the attempt which was then being made to revive the Irish language. Although his close friend, George Sigerson, often twitted him for his ignorance of Gaelic literature, O’Leary never seems to have changed his opinion about the importance of the language revival. On this account, consideration of the Gaelic League will be postponed.

But as far as the Celtic Literary Society is concerned, O’Leary was present at its inaugural meeting and Yeats would have

3. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 278.
4. See p. 499.
5. See pp. 570-582.
7. Piatt, op. cit., p. 16.
8. See pp. 932-967.
presided had he not been in London. One of the objectives of the new society was the popularization "of the new Irish library" in which Yeats and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy were interested. Additional objectives were the study of elocution, Irish literature, language, history, antiquities and music. Furthermore, it was to issue a manuscript journal, An Seanachie. And the founders agreed that the "Political Policy of the Society shall be that of Independent Opposition."

William Rooney was the first president. Others associated with it were P.J. Gregan, John Devoy, P.J. McCall, George Noble Plunkett, Father O'Gorman, James Connolly, and Arthur Griffith, who was later to write that William Rooney "was the greatest Irishman whom I have known or whom I can ever expect to know." The Celtic Literary Society is of peculiar importance because along with the Young Ireland Society, in which O'Leary was also interested, it was largely responsible for the formation of the Sinn Fein Party.

Connected with William Rooney and the Celtic Literary Society, and hence with John O'Leary, was a periodical started by

2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
5. See p. 535.
6. Minute Book of the Celtic Literary Society, p. 64.
7. Ibid., p. 67; see p. 749.
8. Ibid., in cover.
10. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 93.
12. W. Rooney, Poems and Ballads, p. x.
Belfast Republicans in 1895, The Northern Patriot. In addition to Rooney, Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston (Ethna Carbery), who was the daughter of the representative for Ulster on the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., Robert Johnston, may be associated with the Belfast paper.

When these two women took over the editorship of The Northern Patriot and renamed it the Shan Van Vocht, Rooney continued to contribute. And Seumas MacManus, husband of Anna Johnston, has recorded how the Shan Van Vocht, like Rooney, was linked with the Gaelic League. Likewise, in addition to himself, MacManus has listed Nora Hopper, Rooney, Lionel Johnson (who dedicated his Ways of War to O'Leary) and James Connolly as contributors to the Shan Van Vocht. Other contributors were: Arthur Griffith, Maud Gonne, T.W. Rolleston, Eoin MacNeill, Douglas Hyde, O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Cusack, Michael Cavanagh, T. O'Neill.

12. H.A. Griffith, The Shan Van Vocht, August 1, 1896, pp. 146-149.
17. O'D. Rossa, Ibid., May 5, 1897, p. 84.
Russell and F. H. O'Donnell. The Shan Van Vocht continued in existence for four years until Griffith and Rooney started the United Irishman, to which the I.R.B. transferred its "financial help."

The '98 Centenary

In discussing the '98 Centenary, James Connolly, William Rooney, the memorial exercises and their results will be taken up seriatim. But first an introductory paragraph seems advisable.

The year after the establishment of the Shan Van Vocht, according to Maud Gonne, its editors became interested in the '98 centenary:

The approaching Centenary of Ireland's great fight for independence in 1798 provided the opportunity for putting the Separatist idea before the people. Anna Johnson, Alice Milligan, Willie Rooney and myself prepared and delivered many lectures on the United Irishmen in many places and as early as 1896 Centenary Committees were being organised throughout Ireland with the object of erecting monuments in their honour.

The activities of Maud Gonne and W.B. Yeats at this time have already been mentioned. And it may be added that John O'Leary was made chairman of the central committee in Dublin.

James Connolly

In 1897, the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation was celebrated in Dublin by a Jubilee. Maud Gonne has told how James Connolly helped the '98 Centenary Commemoration Committees to honor the event:

2. F.H. O'Donnell, Ibid., June 7, 1897.
5. N.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 256-259.
6. See P., 672-676.
7. See pp. 687-691.
We had arranged for the Convention of the '98 Centenary Commemoration Committees to be held at the City Hall on Jubilee Day and delegates from all over the country attended. John O'Leary presided at the Convention which lasted all the afternoon. I sat beside Willie Yeats at the Executive table, listening anxiously for the harmonious sounds of Connolly's band...

It was eight o'clock when I heard the first sounds of the band. I asked John O'Leary, as chairman, to suspend the meeting and to invite all the delegates present to come out on the steps of the City Hall to see our Jubilee procession.

It had crossed Capel Street bridge in safety, James Connolly leading. A rickety hand-cart had been draped in the semblance of a hearse and was pushed by members of the Socialist Party. When we came out on the steps of the City Hall it was being got into shape and the coffin of the British Empire disclosed and the distributors of the black flags were busy placing them advantageously. Willie Yeats and I and many of the '98 Centenary delegates joined the procession, which moved down Dame Street to the strains of a Dead March played on the cracked instruments of the band.\(^1\)

After pointing out that Connolly was one of those executed for having made "the Insurrection of 1916," Yeats continued the narrative in a manner which throws an unfamiliar light on his character:

The meeting is held in College Green... Maud Gonne speaks... Her voice rises to a cry, 'Must the graves of our dead go undecorated because Victoria has her Jubilee?'

It is eight or nine at night, and she and I have come from the City Hall, where the convention has been sitting...we find a crowd in the street...Presently I hear a sound of breaking glass, the crowd has begun to stone the windows of decorated houses, and when I try to speak that I may restore order, I discover that I have lost my voice through much speaking at the Convention...

Later that night Connolly carries in procession a coffin with the words 'British Empire' upon it, and police and mob fight for its ownership, and at last that the police may not capture it is thrown into the Liffey...I read in the morning papers that many have been wounded...an old woman killed by baton blows...\(^2\)

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According to W. P. Ryan, James Connolly, who in 1897 had begun "the publication of Ninety-Eight Readings, reprints from the writings of the United Irishman," was responsible for these demonstrations:

...he had attracted more than Irish attention in a very different way: by his organization of the great anti-jubilee demonstration and his manifesto setting forth the social and industrial havoc that had come on Ireland in Queen Victoria's reign. His own social faith was expressed in this document, which implored the workers to have no more of their paralysing dependence on other classes but to agitate, educate, and organize.1

However, the story went abroad that Yeats was responsible and when in 1899, the Irish Literary Theatre presented his play, The Countess Cathleen, to a hostile Dublin audience, he complained:

I had asked for police protection and found twenty or thirty police awaiting my arrival. A sergeant explained that they could not act unless called upon. I turned to a friend, once Secretary to the Land League, and said: 'Stay with me, I have no experience.' All the police smiled,and I remembered a lying rumour that I had organised the Jubilee riots, people had even told each other what sum I paid for every rioter.2

William Rooney

To Maud Gonne's regret, James Connolly was not on any of the '98 Centenary Commemoration Committees.3 Aside from O'Leary, Maud Gonne and Yeats, perhaps the most important person associated with them was William Rooney.

Rooney had been educated in the Christian Brothers' schools and through the Irish Fireside Club had become interested in the revival of Irish language. His part in the Parnellite Leinster Literary Society has been mentioned.4 In the Celtic Literary

3. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 280.
4. Ibid., p. 282.
7. See pp. 499-500.
Society, he continued to give evidence of his interest in the language:

The papers he read for it were numerous -- its Irish classes he taught from its foundation until his fatal illness... As Davis's comrades said of Davis, Rooney's comrades say of Rooney: they had the utmost confidence in him. 1

A fourth organization to which Rooney belonged was the Young Ireland League which also was concerned with "educational work, procuring, amongst other things, the passage of the Public Libraries and Compulsory Education Acts for Ireland:

The League during its existence organised excursions to numerous places of historic interest over the country, in the hope that the custom of honouring national anniversaries would continue in their various districts. The pilgrimages were made to such places as the grave of Wolfe Tone (which has been continued since), to Vinegar Hill, to the burial place of Owen Roe O'Neill in County Cavan, and elsewhere; and in the early days of the Celtic, a pilgrimage was made to the grave of Niall Glundubh, on the top of Tibraadden mountain. 2

However, this "custom of honouring national anniversaries" had long been a concern of Patrick Ford and the Irish World.

In 1898 such a pilgrimage as the Young Ireland League might have endorsed was made to the grave of Charles J. Kickham:

On Sunday the 28th of November, 1898, a memorial statue was amid a most remarkable demonstration, unveiled in Tipperary by John O'Leary, his old companion. John O'Leary's address was a beautiful and eloquent tribute to the work and memory of his old and valued friend. 3

And also, although it may be somewhat far-fetched, the famous pilgrimage, described in Salve, which George Moore and George Russell made to Meath in 1901 may be considered in the light of

2. Ibid., pp. xxi-xxii.
this "custom of honouring national" shrines.

A fifth organization of which Rooney was a member was the
Gaelic League and he was at once attracted to the musical enter-
tainments (scoruicotsa) when they were introduced in Hyde’s or-

2. O’D. Rossa, Rossa’s Recollections, p. 36.
7. See p. 227.
8. Rooney, op. cit., p. xxv.
leadership of the League to allow it to participate as an organization in the demonstrations:

To him...was due the fact that on all the monuments of the '98 Committee Irish found a place; he was chiefly responsible for the publication and the editing of the series of '98 pamphlets which appeared, and which would probably have been continued on a larger scale but for the events which occurred afterwards. As the centenary year was coming near, a guide to Ireland, giving all the places of historic note, was contemplated. William Rooney was to be the compiler. A history of '98 in a more complete form than anything before published, was also projected; William Rooney undertook the work, and completed the manuscript of the first part of it; while at the great demonstration at Stephen's Green on the 15th of August, 1898, it was he who was selected to speak in Irish. During the year 1898, the Weekly Freeman offered a prize for the best poem on some incident in '98. He completed and won the prize with 'The Priest of Adergool.'

The Memorial Exercises

Separate commemorations of the '98 centenary were observed by the various country committees and the Dublin central committee. Maud Conne has declared that she supported the former because of their opportunities to preach "Wolfe Tone doctrines throughout the country":

Willie Yeats accused me of responsibility for encouraging much bad art. His faith in the capacity of local committees to select artists to execute the monuments was weak. Their taste was certainly influenced by the cheap Italian plaster statues decorating the churches and reproduced in marble or stone in the cemeteries.

Even more specifically, she mentioned particular exercises:

I had the honour of laying the foundation stone of a very creditable monument in Tralee which was later destroyed by the Black and Tans 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 visit Ireland and a return invitation for an Irish delegation to visit France.

3. Ibid., p. 223.
Toward the Dublin commemoration exercises Maud Gonne took a critical stand:

On the 15th of August contingents from every county and every town in Ireland gathered for the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Wolfe Tone Memorial in Dublin. Unanimously, John O’Leary, the veteran Fenian who had never compromised Wolfe Tone’s claim for the Sovereign Independence of Ireland, was selected for laying the Stone. Sharp divisions occurred in the Central Centenary Committee over inviting members of the discredited Parliamentary Party, who had whittled down Ireland’s claim to Home Rule under an English king, to speak on the occasion. In the end the desire for a united National demonstration, in honour of the man England had murdered, prevailed and John Redmond, representing the Parnellite section, and John Dillon representing the anti-Parnellite section, received invitations. As compromise never stands still, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who had refused the use of the Mansion House to the Wolfe Tone Memorial Fund Committee, was also invited. To offset him, after much discussion, Willie Yeats, as an I.R.B. man, was also asked to speak.1

This critical attitude was shared by what might be called the dynamite wing of the I.R.B.

There were too many mixed elements on the Centenary Committee, and too much intrigue, and when our chairman, John O’Leary, unveiled the monument, some of the recently released treason-felony prisoners and members of the Amnesty Association wanted me to make a public protest... The presence of foreign delegates and my love and respect for John O’Leary, prevented me making an open demonstration.2

Their Results

The results of the '98 centenary commemorations on the Irish Drama and the Fenians deserve mention before these remarks about the '98 centenary are concluded.

Cathleen Ni Houlihan

Of thirty-three plays about 1798 mentioned by Joseph Halloway in Father Brown's Guide to Books on Ireland, over two-thirds

2. Ibid., pp. 232-236.
were produced during or after 1896. And of "Lord Edward; or, '98, A Romantic Irish Drama in 5 Acts" by J.W. Whitbread, which was first produced in 1894, Holloway noted:

A popular patriotic play for popular audiences. The first of a series of romantic dramas founded on Irish History, written for the Queen's Theatre, Dublin, by this dramatist.2

Whitbread also wrote plays about Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy McCracken, 3 Michael Dwyer and Francis Higgins. And Holloway reported of "The Old Land, A Romantic Irish Drama in 5 Acts" which was first produced in Dublin in 1903: "A '98 play, full of stirring incidents. J.W. Whitbread offered a prize of 100 pounds for the best '98 play and this piece was awarded the prize." Another play, "The Wearin' of the Green," according to Holloway, "was performed with success, in various parts of Ireland in connection with the '98 celebration." Holloway also mentioned an unpublished play by Alice Milligan, "The French Are on the Sea," as a '98 play, but for some incomprehensible reason he did not include Cathleen Ni Houlihan in that category.3

Since it was produced in 1902, Cathleen Ni Houlihan may not have been eligible for the prize offered by Whitbread, but the play undeniably dealt with events in 1798. The title role, of course, had been written for Maud Gonne and Stephen Gwynn, of the Irish Parliamentary Party, was so deeply stirred by it that

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3. Ibid., p. 225.
4. Ibid., p. 259.
5. Ibid., p. 242.
6. Ibid., pp. 253-254.
7. Ibid., p. 249.
8. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, p. 156.
he wrote:

...the effect of Cathleen Ni Houlihan on me was that I went home asking myself if such plays should be produced unless one was prepared for people to go out to shoot and be shot. Yeats was not alone responsible; no doubt but Lady Gregory helped him to get the peasant speech so perfect; but above all, Miss Conne’s impersonation had stirred the audience as I have never seen another audience stirred. At the height of her beauty, she transformed herself there into one of the half-mad crones whom we were accustomed to see by Irish roadsides; and she spoke, as they spoke, in a half-crazy chant... But the song that rebel Ireland had made for itself when Ireland was grown English-speaking was a song about ‘The Poor Old Woman,’ and all Ireland knew the ‘Shan van Vocht.’ ‘Oh, the French are in the bay, says the Shan van Vocht,’ What bay? Killala Bay, where Humbert landed in 1798. A bay, half of whose shores belong to Yeats’s own county of Sligo; and there and then he set his scene. The old woman had been talking to the young bridegroom, saying: ‘They that have red cheeks shall have pale cheeks, for my sake; and yet they will think themselves well paid.’ As she speaks, a far-off noise of cheering is heard; the old woman rises, still bent and weighed down with years or centuries; but for one instant before she went out at the half-door, she drew herself up to her superb height; change was manifest; Patrit Dea. Then in an instant the younger son of the house rushes in crying out: ‘The French are in the bay! They are landing at Killala!’ and such a thrill went through the audience as I have never known in any other theatre. Such a thrill these words could awaken only in an Irish audience — and indeed that audience was largely composed of Miss Conne’s ultra-nationalist following. Only one thing was needed to drive home the symbolism. ‘Did you meet an old woman and you coming up the road?’ the mother says. ‘No,’ the boy answers, ‘but I met a young woman and she had the walk of a queen.’

The Wolfe Tone Clubs

Such a play undoubtedly pleased the Fenians, but the ’98 centenary had one, or perhaps two, results which affected the Fenians even more intimately. The first, was the formation of Wolfe Tone Clubs. In his biography of Terence MacSwiney, P. S. O’Hegarty declared of the Fenians:

In Cork they kept together as ‘The Old Guard,’ and marched together at all public functions. Now in 1898, they formed a

'Wolfe Tone Club,' which included young men and old men, but it collapsed owing to the existence in it of a section of the young men who had got caught by Socialism and insisted on preaching it. So that in 1899 those who believed that Ireland must settle her quarrel with England first, withdrew and formed the 'Young Ireland Society,' which was composed of the 'Old Guard,' and of the group of young men who believed in the principles of Fenianism.'

In Dublin, a similar liaison between labor and the I.R.B. was more successfully accomplished by the Wolfe Tone organization. P.T. Daly, who was later to be an organizer for Larkin's union, was an ostensible link between the two:

In fact, P.T. Daly was the foremost public leader of the I.R.B. in Dublin, where he used his position in the Labour Movement and his membership in the Dublin Corporation to forward the ideals of the Republic. He did as much spade work as most, and he accepted only all that was best in Dublin in the movement.

In this connection, it may be noted that the Weekly Freeman of Saturday, August 25, 1906, carried an account of a meeting of the Wolfe Tone and United Irishman Memorial Committee on August 11th. Among those present were S. O'Hanlon, Major MacBride and P.T. Daly, who had presided. John O'Leary, President, had been unable to attend but, nevertheless, he was re-elected to the post.

Tom Clarke and "Skin-the-Goat" Fitzharris

A less obvious result of the '98 centenary on the Fenians may have been the release of the political prisoners, Thomas J. Clarke and "Skin-the-Goat" Fitzharris.

It may be remembered that the "three worst prisoners" of those who had been sentenced on dynamite charges were James Egan

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2. R.M. Fox, Green Hammers, p. 103.
3. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 77.
(released in 1892), John Daly (released in 1896), and Clarke.

Maud Gonne wrote of them:

John Daly, elected Mayor of his native city Limerick on release, filled that office with such ability that he was re-elected Mayor three times in succession. James Egan was elected Sword-Bearer to the Dublin Corporation and retained the office till his death and Tom Clarke was the first President of the Republic in 1916.

One of the first acts of John Daly's as Mayor was to confer the freedom of the city of Limerick on his tried and trusted comrade Tom Clarke and on me for my work for their release. It was when staying with the Dalys for the ceremony that Tom fell in love with John's pretty niece Cathleen and carried her off as his wife to America...5

Clarke's license to be at large was granted not much more than a month after the centenary ceremonies in Dublin. It was dated September 21, 1899.

"Skin-the-Goat" Fitzharris' release did not follow the centenary so quickly. He had been sentenced to a long term in prison in 1883 as one of the Irish National Invincibles who had a part in the killing of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Walter M. Bourke in Phoenix Park. And, it is probable that he bought the cabman's shelter, which played such a prominent part in Joyce's Ulysses, with the thousand dollars which was given to his wife in 1883 as her share of "the fund for the families of the men convicted of the Phoenix Park murders" by the Irish World. Fitzharris' amnesty would seem to have been in 1899 if "Rocky Mountain" O'Brien's curious come-all-ye on the subject may be believed.

2. See p. 329.
3. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 316.
5. See pp. 400-409.
His sentence he received as cool as Emmet or Wolfe Tone—
And stood before the English judge, like monument of stone;
That day in Dublin Court House they sentenced him for life;
A gallant man he still remains through every storm and strife.

And after seventeen weary years, from out a living hell,
He comes among us once again, his 'prison life' to tell.¹

**New Developments in 1899**

The year after the '98 centenary was one in which the
Irish Literary Theatre and United Irishman were established. It
was also in this year that the Boer war began. John O'Leary and
the Fenians were interested in all three phenomena and so a few
words shall be said about each.

**The Irish Literary Theatre**

The origins of the Irish literary theatre movement may be
found in the United States, England and Ireland. Its first result
was the Irish Literary Theatre, 1899-1901, of which a few words must
also be said.

**Origins of the Irish Literary Theater Movement**

So far as America is concerned, the campaigns of Irish-
American and Irish World against the "stage Irishman" have already
been mentioned; as have the suggestions for doing away with him
which appeared in Patrick Ford's paper. One of these suggestions,
it may be remembered, was the formation of an Irish drama such as
the Irish literary theater movement was to foster.

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2. See p. 223.
4. See p. 225.
As early as 1876 Irish World noticed results of its campaign against the stage Irishman in the person of the Dublin actor, Auguste Cremer, of whom it said:

Mr. Auguste Cremer, a popular and talented artist, who plays in the 'Shaughraun,' is announced in the Dublin papers as 'the only Irish actor who will not pander to the depraved tastes of the English and Scotch audiences by the shameful representation of the disgraceful wake scene.'

And in view of their interest in American affairs, it is also conceivable that Sir Samuel Ferguson's one-act play, Deidre, and the scenario composed by T. O'Neill Russell, which George Moore described in Hail and Farewell, were also indebted to Irish-American opinion.

However, at the same time as it noticed results from its campaign Ford's paper acknowledged Boucicault's great influence:

The suit of Dion Boucicault against J. Hart on account of alleged infringement of copyright of the 'Shaughraun' by Mr. Hart's play of the 'Skibbeah,' has been amicably settled.

Indeed, in 1882, Irish World even defended him when a play of Boucicault's "was ostracised, boycotted, and evicted" from London because of its pro-Irish sentiments, saying:

England was not always so sensitive to the influence of the drama, especially when its tendency was to vilify her Irish neighbors as her own historian, MACAULAY, chronicles that a play maliciously representing them kept the stage, and was performed continuously for two years in London.

MACAULAY's own words are as follows: 'A crowd of half-naked savages appeared on the stage, howling a Celtic song, and

2. Unsigned, Personal, Irish World, April 20, 1878, p. 5.
3. See pp. 887-888.
5. See pp. 888-889.
dancing round an ox. They then proceeded to cut steaks out of the animal while still alive, and to fling the bleeding flesh on the coals.'

The distinguished British historian does not quote the above to denounced the atrocity of the libel but rather to approve... 1

Likewise, in view of the more generally held belief in the 2 English, or, rather, Ibsenite, origins of the Irish literary Theater movement, the following estimate of Boucicault is suggestive as well as surprising:

Last of the ancients is Dion Boucicault, who... reverted to the peasant play -- a kind of artificial prelude to the Gaelic revival. Though his plots are in the main borrowed from novels, he knew how to dramatize them: 'Colleen Bawn,' 'Arrah na Pogue,' and 'The Shaughraun,' are melodramatic and sentimental, pitched in a tone more suited to the lower classes of a sophisticated city life or its intellectual counterpart -- an American audience -- than to persons seriously interested in drama. 4

In the same connection, the words of Andrew E. Malone also deserve repetition. For, after telling of Boucicault's successes in America, Malone tells of the popularity which he later won in Ireland:

He brought the Irish masses into the theatre by giving them drama they could understand and characters with whom they could sympathise, and for that alone he deserves to be remembered. His work was continued by J.W. Whitebread in a series of patriotic melodramas which continued to fill his theatre almost to the outbreak of the Great War. The type of stage Irishman which these two playwrights managed to popularise was an amalgam of all the patriotic virtues which the Irishman liked to think were his own exclusive property; and the self-satisfied audiences were given really heartless villains whom they could hiss to their heart's content, and heroes who were really heroes and died for the liberation of their country. Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Napper Tandy were but a few of the patriotic heroes

2. See pp. 703-705.
who roused the enthusiasm of Dublin audiences. These plays
were Irish in theme and mood, and almost for the first
time gave to Ireland a drama which had some connection with
the life and thought of the people.1

Although this Irish-American influence is not clear in the Irish
Literary Theater, its effect may be noted in Yeats' Cathleen Ni
Houlihan.

After 1901, Synge seems to have responded to it. Thus,
Bourgeois wrote of In the Shadow of the Glen: "As to the idea of
the mock-dead man, it already occurred in the wake scene of Dion
Boucicault's The Shaughraun (1875) and in Groffton Croker's The
Corpse Watchers." And another critic, Cornelius Weygandt, has
made the same observation.

Bourgeois also saw traces of Boucicault's influence in the
character of Pegeen in The Playboy of the Western World. And a
parallel between the keening women in the Shaughraun and in Riders
to the Sea has already been indicated. To clinch the point a
bibliographical item about Synge's unreprinted contributions to
the press may be set down:

ACADEMY AND LITERATURE (LONDON);
June 11, 1904, p. 630 (under the heading: 'Literary Notes');
a most interesting unsigned paragraph (identified on the au-
thority of Mr. F.J. Fay; cf. an article on 'John Millington
Synge as Critic of Boucicaultian Irish Drama,' by Mr. Joseph
Holloway, in the Evening Herald (Dublin), July 10, 1913, p. 2)
on performances of the Shaughraun at the Queen's Theatre,
Dublin - valuable as a document of Synge's fond study of
melodrama and on his view of the Irish National Theatre's re-
lation to the 'Stage Irishman' school.2

2. See pp. 828-830.
5. Ibid., p. 206.
Thus the melodramatics of the Fenian, Boucicault, were metamorphosed by the Irish literary theater movement into something rich and strange. That the brogue which he favored should have suffered a similar change is not surprising.

It may be remembered that the editor of Irish American had objected to the dialect of the "stage Irishman" and that Patrick Ford raised similar objections. Perhaps such men would have preferred Irish playwrights to use only the Irish tongue and hence it would be worth knowing their opinion of An Bard Gus An Fo which was produced in New York in 1884. At any rate in 1893 a correspondent of Irish World found much to praise in Jane Barlow's handling of the brogue and in 1901 An Geodal which had been started in 1881 to revive the Irish language, approved of the Anglo-Irish dialect.

Of course, the tributes paid to Synge for his use of the "broken tongue" are well-known; but as an example the following might have startled Patrick Ford, had he read it:

In the result, and that is all that matters, we have a speech that is apt for every demand put upon it for character and beauty; an instrument for dramatic expression so fine that it may be at once ecstatic and plaintive, may rise into sudden defiance or sink to a plausible whine, may turn in a moment from easy volubility to the sharpest fear.

It is irresistible to compare this with George Bernard Shaw's amazing declaration about the Irish (presumably the Anglo-Irish) language in 1897:

2. See p. 70.
But the Irish language is an effete language and the nation is effete, and as to saying there are good Irish actors, there are not, and there won't be until the conditions in Ireland are favourable for the production of drama, and when that day comes, I hope I may be dead.1

Less interest may be attached to the story of the "stage Irishman" in Great Britain because he was never a storm center there as he was in the United States. However, the four founders of the Irish Literary Theatre seem to have been inspired by the little theater movement in London, three of them directly (Yeats, Moore and Martyn) and the fourth (Lady Gregory) by association with the others.

Martyn's interest in Ibsen and part in the foundation of the Irish Theatre has already been traced back to 1891. Yeats has said that he first met Lady Gregory in 1896, the year that the opera Shemus O'Brien was sung in London at the Opera Comique. In 1897, the year in which an opera about Diarmuid and Grania was first performed at Covent Garden, London, George Moore was so enthusiastic about a play by Martyn that when certain London producers refused to put it on, he advised the latter to produce it in Dublin, together with Yeats' The Countess Cathleen. A year later, according to the biographer of James Joyce, London was the scene of still further activities of importance to the Irish literary theater movement:

1. A. Gregory, Our Irish Theatre, p. 36.
2. See pp. 703-704.
7. See pp. 744-747.
10. H. Gorman, James Joyce, p. 52.
During the autumn of 1898... W.B. Yeats, Edward Martyn and George Moore sat about a London tea table with Lady Augusta Gregory and conceived the idea of the Irish Literary Theatre. And with that inception the Irish Literary Renaissance may be said to have been, if not full-blown, well on the way...

Finally, although the Irish Literary Theater produced some seven plays during its three years of existence, all were "played, with the exception of the last, by English actors."

Obviously, the origins of the Irish literary theater movement may be found in Ireland as well as in England or in the United States. The Feis Ceoil festival in 1897 had helped prepare for it by performing a cantata with music by Michele Esposito and words by T.W. Rolleston. Then a year later at the Letterkenny Aonach (Gaelic League Fair) in November, a play in Irish by Father O'Growney on the subject of St. Patrick at Tara was performed.

It was in this year that Lady Gregory and Yeats set about to get their amazing list of guarantors for the Irish literary theatre which was subsequently to appear in Beltaine, its organ. And it is not surprising that in addition to the Unionist support which enabled them to have the necessary legislation passed through Parliament, many friends of the physical force party promised their assistance. In this connection, although they were associated with Yeats in the '98 centenary celebrations, it may be an exaggeration to classify Lady Gregory and Edward Martyn as Fenians but W.B. Yeats, Maud Gonne and John O'Leary were.

And furthermore, Lionel Johnson, "Miss C. Gore Booth" (who was

1. E. Boyd, The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, p. 6.
3. Ibid., p. 219.
7. See p. 690.
8. See p. 221.
to marry Casimir Markievicz and to take an outstanding part in the rising in 1916, C. H. Oldham and Arthur Griffith may also be put in that category.

The Irish Literary Theatre

A few words about the Irish Literary Theatre, also, should be said. In addition to the references which have already been made to the opening, two items of particular interest to the student of the interrelation between the Irish Literary Theatre and the physical force party merit attention. First, Yeats had a reputation with the Dublin police as a revolutionary; and, second, Arthur Griffith, inspired by the old Fenian hostility to the clergy, sought to turn the attacks of the heresy hunters during the production of The Countess Cathleen into an "anti-clerical demonstration." Yeats has reported:

Every disturbance was drowned by cheers. Arthur Griffith, afterwards slanderer of Lane and Synge, founder of the Sinn Fein movement, first President of the Irish Free State, and at that time an enthusiastic anti-cleric, claimed to have brought 'a lot of men from the Cuays and told them to applaud everything the Church would not like.'

A third item, which does not bear directly on the opening but which also is noteworthy, is that George Moore was the guest of Martyn at Tullyra in the summer of 1899. At that time Martyn was in hot water with his Unionist neighbors because of his

1. S. O'Faolain, Constance Markievicz, pp. 46-318.
2. See p. 305.
4. See pp. 528-531, 682-684.
5. See p. 824.
8. See p. 556.
separatist views. Perhaps Martyn's nationalism infected Moore, for the two men, assisted by Yeats who was visiting Lady Gregory near-by at Coole Park, collaborated on *The Bending of the Bough*, "a satire upon contemporary Irish politics."

During the second year of its existence, the Irish Literary Theatre produced three plays. Of particular interest to Fenians was *The Last Feast of the Fianna*, a one-act play by Alice Milligan which has been described by Joseph Holloway:

> It tells how Oisin, charmed by the fairy princess, Niamh, follows her into the Land of the Ever Young, leaving his parents, Grainne and Fionn, to mourn his loss... This little piece was produced the same night as *Maev* (February 19th, 1900). It is full of the music of sweet speech.  

On the other hand, W.B. Yeats said:

> On February 19th, *The Bending of the Bough* and a narrative undramatic play by Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna;* on February 20th, *Maev,* were performed at the Gaiety Theatre. The actors had been collected by Moore in London... *The Bending of the Bough* was...the first dramatization of an Irish problem. Lady Gregory wrote in her diary: 'M. is in great enthusiasm over it, says it will cause a revolution. (Whoever M. was he was not Martyn, who hated the play.) H. says no young man who sees that play will leave the house as he came into it.... The Gaelic League, in great force, sang 'Fainne geal an lae' between the acts, and 'The Wearing of the Green' in Irish.... The play hits so impartially all around that no one is really offended...' *Maev,* Lady Gregory wrote, 'which we did not think a nationalist play at all, has turned out to be one, the audience understanding the allegory. There is such applause at 'I am only an old woman, but I tell you Erin will never be subdued,' Lady - reported to the Castle that they had better boycott it, which they have done.'

Perhaps "M" was Moore. Martyn, "who hated the play," resented the conduct of Yeats, Moore and Lady Gregory which had necessitated

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1. See pp. 556-559.
2. See p. 556.
the collaboration of the three men on it. And after the Irish Literary Theatre had produced two more plays in 1901 severed his connection with the enterprise, preferring the company of musicians and Gaelic Leaguers.

As Martyn had provided the financial support for the project, his gift of 10,000 pounds to establisha Palestrina Choir under the conductorship of Vincent O'Brien in the pro-Cathedral, Dublin, may be regarded as evidence of his displeasure with his former associates. Such a sum would have assured a long life to the repertory theater. Incidentally, to his account of Martyn's conduct, Denis Gwynn adds the following note: "...it had delighted him that within a few months of his endowing the Palestrina Choir he had been able to persuade the Archbishop to lend its services for the funeral of Father O'Gorman."

**The Boer War**

The year 1899 was of importance to the Fenians not only because of the formation of the Irish Literary Theatre but also because of two other events — the beginning of the war between England and the Boer republics; and the establishment of the United Irishman in Dublin.

The Boer war, of course, was England's difficulty and the anti-English activities of Fenians in France, Great Britain and the United States have been indicated. In Ireland the Fenians set up a Transvaal committee, began a campaign to prevent Irishmen

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1. See pp. 754-756.
4. See pp. 691.
5. See pp. 763-764, 776.
from enlisting in the army which was being raised to fight the
1
Boers, entered into plots with foreign powers and encouraged
2
the Irish Brigade which was fighting against England.
3

The Transvaal Committee

Particular attention is due the Transvaal Committee be-
cause on it were representatives of Irish labor as well as Fenians.
Indeed, the Irish Socialist Republican Party

conducted a strong agitation in opposition to the imperialist
war of Great Britain against the Boer Republics, and with the
other revolutionary movements in Ireland, the Republican
Party helped to establish the Irish Transvaal Committee which
organised an Irish Brigade for service in the field on the
side of the Republican armies in South Africa.4

The climax of the activities of the Transvaal Committee
occurred on the day that "Trinity College was conferring Honorary
Degrees on Joseph Chamberlain to show Ireland's loyalty to the
British Empire." In her autobiography Maud Gonne has told how
she "was billed to speak at a pro-Boer meeting arranged by the
Transvaal Committee" to take place in Beresford Place on the
same day:

John O'Leary was to preside at the meeting. Michael Davitt,
Willie Redmond, Griffith, Connolly and myself were the
speakers. Great posters banning the meeting were posted up
in the streets. The brake which was to serve as platform
was standing at the door of our office in Abbey Street when
I arrived.6

Driven by Connolly, the vehicle broke through a cordon of police
"at a furious gallop":

1. See p. 675.
2. See pp. 666, 762-763.
5. N.C. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 300.
6. Ibid., pp. 296-298.
In a moment Beresford Place was a seething mass of people all shouting: 'Up the Boers! Up the Republic!'

'Quick,' Connolly said to me. 'Get O'Leary to put the resolution. We are not likely to have much time.'

O'Leary, looking very happy, rose, his grey beard blowing in the wind, a frail venerable figure the people honoured. When he could get silence, he said:

'There is no need for speeches. We are here to pledge all the help in our power to the Boers whose enemy is ours,' and he called on me to read the resolutions.1

Maud Gonne had just finished reading the resolutions and getting them passed when the police arrived and the speakers were taken to a police station. They were immediately released and at Connolly's suggestion the speakers drove to Trinity College. Their arrival was attended by cheers for the Boers "and a big crowd gathered around":

The noise and the cheering must have considerably marred the dignified proceedings within the College and made Chamberlain doubt about the love and loyalty of the Irish nation of which he was being assured. Then the police reinforcements arrived and there were baton charges and charges of mounted police...2

Leopold Bloom's recollection of the scene is recorded by James Joyce in Ulysses:

That horse policeman the day Joe Chamberlain was given his degree in Trinity he got a run for his money. My word he did! His horse's hoofs clattering after us down Abbey street. Luck I had the presence of mind to dive into Manning's or I was scuped. He did come a wallop by George. Must have cracked his skull on the cobblestones. I oughtn't to have got myself swept along with those medicals. And the Trinity jibs in their mortarboards. Looking for trouble. Still I got to know that young Dixon who dressed that sting for me in the Mater... Police whistle in my ears still. All skedaddled. Why he fixed on me. Give me in charge...

1. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 299-300.
2. Ibid., pp. 300-301.
-Up the Boers!
-Three cheers for De Wet!
-We'll hang Joe Chamberlain on a soupaple tree.
Silly billies: mob of young cubs yelling their guts out... Few years time half of them magistrates and civil servants.

Bloom sought to forget the scene but one night a voice called at him: "Turncoat! Up the Boers! Who boomed Joe Chamberlain?"

Then a terrifying vision appeared to him:

It rains dragon's teeth. Armed heroes spring up from the furrows. They exchange in amity the pass of knights of the red cross and fight duels with cavalry sabres: Wolfe Tone against Henry Grattan, Smith O'Brien against Daniel O'Connell, Michael Davitt against Isaac Butt, Justin McCarthy against Parnell, Arthur Griffith against John Redmond, John O'Leary against Lear O'Johnny, Lord Edward Fitzgerald against Lord Gerald Fitzgerald, The O'Donoghue of the Glens against the Glens of the O'Donoghue.

The carriage which bore Maud Gonne, James Connolly, Arthur Griffith and John O'Leary eventually "was forced out of College Green." Connolly proposed that they attempt to seize Dublin Castle which was unguarded but Maud Gonne turned the suggestion down:

Though at that time Connolly was little known outside the labour movement, I had absolute confidence in him, but the people with whom I was working hardly knew him and distrusted all socialists.

I knew very few people were armed and I had plans for arming which I hoped would materialise. We drove O'Leary back to his lodgings. He was tired but satisfied; we had held the banned meeting; we had considerably disturbed loyal addresses and no one could say Dublin was loyal to the British Empire.

Anti-Recruiting Campaign

2. Ibid., p. 449.
3. Ibid., p. 583.
The campaign to prevent Irishmen from enlisting in the army which was being raised to fight the Boers has already been mentioned in telling of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in 1900. Maud Gonne's connection with these two matters is worth some elaboration.

In her autobiography she has told how, even as Patrick Ford had years earlier, the girls of the Irish women's organization, Inghinidhe na hEireann, set about the task:

Our girls used bravely to follow the recruiting sergeants even into the public houses, distributing thousands of leaflets written by a courageous priest, the Rev. Father Cavanagh of Limerick, setting forth Catholic teaching to the effect that anyone taking part in a war, knowing it to be unjust, and killing anybody, was guilty of murder.

In Ulysses, Joyce has told how Arthur Griffith and the recently established United Irishman also became involved in the campaign which Maud Gonne was leading:

Rebels. Too showy. That must be why the women go after them. Uniform. Easier to enlist and drill. Maud Gonne's letter about taking them off O'Connell street at night; disgrace to our Irish capital. Griffith's paper is on the same track now: an army rotten with venereal disease; overseas or halfseasover empire. Half-baked they look: hypnotised like. Eyes front. Dark time.

Maud Gonne not only organized "pro-Boer meetings in Ireland" but also carried her appeal to England where, she states, the police attempted to break up meetings she had been invited to address:

Irish crowds are not easily intimidated and there was some pretty hard fighting. Once I was rescued from the police...

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1. See pp. 550-552.
2. See p. 778; cf. Unsigned, Saxon Shilling, Irish World, June 17, 1876, p. 4.
5. M. G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 309.
by Jim Larkin and a band of Liverpool dockers: once I was rescued from the mob by some Canadian volunteers on their way to South Africa to fight for the British.\(^1\)

In her autobiography Maud Gonne told of her part in the agitation against Queen Victoria when she visited Ireland in 1900:

Inghinidhe na hÉireann was one of the first societies for open Revolutionary work, and we almost stopped enlistment for the British Army in Dublin and considerably reduced it throughout the country.

This eventually so disturbed the authorities that they arranged that Queen Victoria should visit Ireland to stimulate recruiting.\(^2\)

The disorders which attended Queen Victoria's visit were not unprecedented. *Irish World,* which had no use for the institution of monarchy, reported disaffection as early as 1849:

A gentleman named Fitzpatrick hearing that the Queen was to pass through Dame street, procured a large black flag, which he suspended from a window and on it was inscribed:

'Arise, ye dead of Skibbereen
And come to meet your gracious Queen,'

As might be expected, the police tore it down before her Majesty was favored with the pleasure of seeing it.\(^3\)

The "dead of Skibbereen," of course, were victims of the potato famine.

If the Dublin Corporation of 1900 in deciding to present Queen Victoria with a loyal address forgot this catastrophe, there were those in the city who had longer memories:

Queen Victoria did get her loyal address, under the protection of regiment after regiment of soldiers, and thousands

\[\text{References:}\]

5. See pp. 104-105.
of police, in a city which displayed many black flags, and legends such as 'Remember the Famine Queen.' Miss Gonne's house among others displayed these expressions of devotion. But in fact she did get the address of welcome from the Corporation.

Maud Gonne easily outdid George Moore and W.B. Yeats in demonstrating her disaffection. In preparation for the visit she had written "Reine de la Disette" which had appeared "both in L'Irlande Libre and in the United Irishman." For printing this United Irishman was seized and Ramsey Collis, editor of the Dublin Figaro, libelled her in his paper. She brought suit, retaining J.F. Taylor as her lawyer. Her version of the affair involves John O'Leary:

The Dublin Figaro had a leading article entitled 'Miss Gonne and her Government Pension' and had the country covered with posters with this heading. Taylor appeared for me and Mr. Campbell afterwards Lord Glenavy, appeared for Ramsey Collis and the Police... John O'Leary sat beside me in the court house which was crowded to overflowing. Mr. Campbell read out the Famine Queen article, to my great delight, to show the sort of woman I was. We won our case... Meeting me later in London, Mr. Campbell...told that Dublin Castle had paid for Ramsey Collis' defence.

I didn't mind; we had great fun over it and it helped the anti-recruiting campaign a lot," I answered. Arthur Griffith had gone to the office of the Dublin Figaro as soon as he had seen the powers and had horsewhipped Ramsey Collis, who was double his size, for doing which he got a month in Mountjoy and a Geilidh-Reception from Inghinidhe na hEireann on his release.

The reception for Griffith referred to in the above quotation took place "on Easter Sunday, 1900" at the Celtic Literary Society rooms where the inaugural meeting of Inghinidhe na hEireann had been held earlier in the day.

1. Letter to the writer from Helena Moloney; Cf. Fox, R.M., Rebel Irishwomen, pp. 119-132.
2. See p. 551.
To mark their appreciation...the women presented him with an Irish blackthorn with a silver band, suitably inscribed. Griffith, who was shy and reserved, tried to back out, but the women guarded the stairs. He explained then that he had not used a horsewhip, but a South African sjambok.1

Although Inghinidhe na hEireann was not founded merely to express Dublin's dissatisfaction with the Queen of England, that was its first task. At the inaugural meeting the assembled women first discussed "the founding of a women's national organization";

And then we spoke of Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland. One said it was a fine idea that, in the 'United Irishman' of that week, of giving a treat to children who refused to go to the Park to bow-tow to her majesty, and then the girls said... 'Let's do it!'...All were free on Easter Monday and expressed their willingness...to go round and collect subscriptions...3

W.B. Yeats' recollection of the event is evidence, perhaps, that he was drifting away from the physical force party under the influence of Lady Gregory. For it seems somewhat critical:

Queen Victoria visits the city, and Dublin Unionists have gathered together from all Ireland some twelve thousand children and built for them a grandstand, and bought them sweets and buns that they may cheer. A week later Maud Gonne marches forty thousand children through the streets of Dublin, and in a field beyond Drumcondra, and in the presence of a priest of their Church, they swear to cherish towards England until the freedom of Ireland has been won, an undying enmity. How many of these children will carry bomb or rifle when a little under or a little over thirty?5

Maud Gonne's version is more conservative. She called it "a Patriotic children's treat" and set the number of participants at twenty thousand:

Headed by beflagged lorries piled with casks of ginger beer and twenty-thousand paper bags containing sandwiches, buns

1. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 286.
2. See pp. 322-333.
and sweets, that wonderful procession of children carrying
green branches moved off from Beresford Place, marshalled
by the young men of the Celtic Literary Society and the
Gaelic Athletic Association on the march to Clonturk Park.1

A curious echo of the animosity displayed against Victoria
at this time may be detected in Ulysses in the postprandial conver-
sations of Kevin Egan and his son Patrice, French-born offspring
of an Irish political exile, who shared his father’s nationalism.
The father told Stephen Dedalus of many things:

Of Ireland, the Dalcassians, of hopes, conspiracies, of Ar-
thur Griffith now. To yoke me as his yokefellow, our crimes
our common cause. You’re your father’s son, I know the voice.
His fustian shirt, sanguine-flowered, trembles its Spanish
tassels at his secrets. M. Drumont, famous journalist, Dru-
mont, know what he called queen Victoria? Old hag with the
yellow teeth. Vielle ogresse with the Dents Jaunes. Maud Gonne,
beautiful woman, Le Patrie, M. Millevoye...5

Later in Dublin Stephen summoned up the memory of the Egans:

(Kevin Egan of Paris in Black Spanish Tasselled Shirt and
Peep-O’Day Boy’s hat signs to Stephen.)

KEVIN EGAN

Hi lo! Bonjour! The Vielle Ogresse with the Dents Jaunes.
(Patrice Egan peeps from behind, his rabbit face nibbling
a quince leaf.)

PATRICE

Socialistes!4

The I.R.B. Plots, Irish Brigade and Casualties

The Fenians were not satisfied with the Transvaal Committee,
and an anti-recruiting drive, they also entered into plots with
various powers which were believed to be hostile to England.
Plots with France and Russia have already been reported. In ad-

1. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 332-335.
2. J. Joyce, Ulysses, pp. 44-45.
3. Ibid., p. 44.
4. Ibid., p. 577.
dition, a project, which Maud Gonne, Arthur Griffith and another
had arranged, to blow up British transport ships, miscarried;
and Sir Roger Casement's "old friend," Dr. Leydes, "the Trans-
vaal representative in Europe" whose name appeared in Birming-
ham's Hyacinth, was swindled out of 2,000 pounds.

Likewise, the Fenians sought to encourage the Irish Brigade
which was fighting on the side of the Boers. John MacBride,
of course, was a member of the I.R.B. Writing about "The Irish
Brigade in South America" for Weekly Freeman, he told of his pony
"christened 'Fenian Boy.'" He told also of a Fenian banner
which the Brigade "held proudly aloft":

At the head of the Brigade a green flag which had been es-
pecially made for the expected rising in Connaught in '67
was held proudly aloft by Sergeant Joe Wade, of Balbriggan,
and the sight of its green folds fluttering in the breeze
thrilled every heart with thoughts of what might have been,
and still more with hopes of what might be in a not too dis-
tant future, when yet another fight for Irish freedom would
be waged.  

Maud Gonne told how Inghinidhe na nEireann sought to en-
courage the Brigade:

I felt that little band of Irishmen in the Brigade had done
more for Ireland's honour than all of us at home, for it is
action that counts. MacBride said the flag sent out by
Inghinidhe na nEireann had been greatly appreciated.

And United Irishman, also, took great interest in the Brigade,
particularly, in MacBride: "The United Irishman started a vigorous

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1. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 305.
2. Ibid., pp. 305-307.
4. G.A. Birmingham, Hyacinth, p. 150.
5. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 306-308.
7. See p. 674.
8. J. MacBride, The Irish Brigade in South Africa, Weekly Free-
man, December, 15, 1906, p. 29.
campaign. Griffith had worked with John MacBride in the Langlaars mine in the Transvaal until homesickness brought him back to Ireland. On the other hand, George A. Birmingham's Hyacinth tells a story of this period in Dublin from the Unionist viewpoint. In it Maud Gonne and John MacBride are ridiculed under thinly veiled pseudonyms; and the Irish Brigade as well as the anti-recruiting campaign play a prominent part in the tale.

According to the policeman, H.B.C. Pollard, the enrollment of the I.R.B. at the time of the Boer War was 27,317. Before the war was over it was to sustain five, or perhaps seven, significant losses.

O'Leary had put his confidence in three lieutenants—Yeats, T.W. Rolleston and J.F. Taylor. According to Maud Gonne, Yeats, herself and, presumably, Arthur Griffith quit the I.R.B. because of the suspicion that a British agent had the confidence of its chief in London. However, it would seem that Yeats did not consider his break with the I.R.B. to have been completed until after the death of O'Leary in 1907 when he said of the old Fenian chief:

He belonged, as did his friend John F. Taylor, to the romantic conception of Irish Nationality on which Lionel Johnson and I myself founded, so far as it was founded on anything but literature, our Art and our Irish criticism.

5. Ibid., pp. 45-49, 56-73.
7. See p. 674.
10. See p. 663-687.
The cause of Rolleston’s defection is less clear. In 1900 *A Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue*, edited by Stopford A. Brooke and T.W. Rolleston, appeared. Following the introduction, a brief note, signed “The Editors,” paid tribute to O’Leary and others: “Mr. John O’Leary has also kindly permitted us to draw upon his valuable library of Irish works, as well as upon his no less valuable store of judgment and information.” 1

Furthermore, the head-note to the selection of poems by Kickham was signed by O’Leary who paid his tribute to the former chairman of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. 2

Yet in that very year, growing cool toward Irish separatism and hotly imperialistic, Rolleston published a pamphlet in favor of the “Anglo-Celtic Empire.” J.P. Taylor’s sharp reply appeared in *United Irishman* on May 12, 1900, but Rolleston persisted and from his death-bed in 1902 J.P. Taylor wrote to Freeman’s *Journal* to denounce Rolleston for his letter to that paper in which the convert sought to justify Oliver Cromwell. 3

To complete the list of casualties the deaths of William 4 Rooney and Lionel Johnson must also be recorded.

*United Irishman*

The third event which happened in 1899 and in which John O’Leary and the Fenians took particular interest was the establishment of the *United Irishman*. The ensuing discussion of this

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1. P. xxvi.
2. Ibid., pp. 199-200.
periodical will be divided into three parts: first, some general remarks; second, a few words about William Rooney; and third, a discussion of other contributors, including Arthur Griffith.

General Remarks

United Irishman, which bore a name made famous by Mitchell’s physical force paper in 1848 and which had been used by O’Donovan Rossa for the periodical which he published in New York, first appeared on March 4, 1899, and it continued in existence until 1906:

During this time twenty-three issues were seized and confiscated in the Post Office and upon three occasions in the year 1900 the paper was publicly suppressed. In 1905 the Secret Service threatened the printer with prosecution unless the printing of the paper was discontinued; and in 1906 the increasing liabilities of the United Irishman Publishing Company (who engaged Mr. Griffith as editor) led to the discontinuance of the paper. 5

Lord Cadogan, “lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1895 to 1902,” was responsible for the suppressions of United Irishman in 1900 which were the result of its anti-recruiting campaign. Fortunately, the wrappers of an edition which was seized by Dublin Castle at this time have been saved by the foresight of the National Library, Dublin. On the list of subscribers which could be reconstructed from the names to which copies of the paper had been addressed would be included: John Devoy, O’Donovan Rossa, Mark Ryan, John O’Leary, W.B. Yeats, Lionel Johnson, Maud Gonne, Douglas Hyde, P.J. McCall, Seamus MacManus, F.H. O’Donnell, John

1. See pp. 44-47.
2. See pp. 322, 776.
Sweetman, An Gaedal, Irish World, Boston Pilot and La Patrice.

According to Maud Gonne, the origin of United Irishman can be traced back to the Celtic Literary Society. There, presumably before Griffith went to South Africa in 1896, she found the two men chiefly responsible for it:

I recited some of Davis's poems to illustrate a lecture of Willie Rooney's at the Celtic Literary Society, and I met there Arthur Griffith for the first time. He was a fair, shy boy one would hardly notice, but I was at once attracted to him, I hardly knew why, for he did not speak, and I got to know him well only in 1899 when he and Willie Rooney came to me with the first copy of the United Irishman. They had collected 50 pounds and hoped it would be enough to start the paper, and found that they had not enough for the second Number. 5

This would seem to throw some light on the opinion of Arthur Lynch that United Irishman "was...the lineal descendent of a journal published in France, founded and edited by Miss Maud Gonne and styled 'Irelande Libre.'" 4

Presumably it was at this time that the I.R.B. stepped in with its financial support. In the first issue there had been an unequivocal endorsement of physical force:

Lest there might be any doubt in any mind we will say that we accept the Nationalism of '98, '48 and '67 as the true Nationalism and Grattan's cry 'Live Ireland - Perish the Empire!' as the watchword of patriotism. 6

Also, evidence of John O'Leary's influence may be detected in the use of the word "morale," called O'Leary's "great word" by Yeats, in an article about the '98 Clubs:

1. See pp. 819-820.
3. M.G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 94.
5. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 67.
7. See p. 448.
We look to them for the fostering of a national and tolerant public opinion, which will raise the morale of the people, so grievously lowered by the squalid agitations of the past; we look to them for the insculcation of the doctrine of self-reliance, without which neither our land nor any other can hope for salvation; and we look to them anxiously for the teaching and training of youth, for our future depends largely on the young. 1

William Rooney

Of the two founders of the paper, Rooney and Griffith, 2 Rooney has already received attention. His attitude toward the physical force party deserves additional comment:

He took Tone and Emmet and Davis as his models, and he worked as he thought they would have worked under similar conditions. He worked for the same end; with them he believed that Ireland could be freed by only one means — all else was merely preparing the way for the time when that means could be utilized. 'The question of Irish freedom must,' he says, 'eventually be settled by the same means that gave independence to America, Greece, Belgium and Italy; but it would be folly to invite a pitched battle yet. Our forces need to be concentrated and organized; they need discipline and education. These in our hands, the hour will come, and coming, shall find us prepared to grasp the opportunity.' 3

Rooney's friendship with the Fenian, John MacBride, led 4 to a contribution to United Ireland. He also contributed to 5 Northern Patriot and Shan Van Vocht articles in which he expresses his faith in the Fenian doctrine. His series of essays on "the Young Ireland and Ninety-Eight periods" for United Irishman "astonished" John O'Leary by their erudition and it may be assumed that his other contributions were satisfactory to the

4. Ibid., p. xxviii.
5. Ibid., pp. xxviii-xxxi.
6. Ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
7. Ibid., p. xxxv.
Fenian chief. These were legion:

...until illness overtook him in March, 1901, he was its most prolific writer, and the amount of prose and verse...which he contributed to its columns was enormous. He wrote over at least eleven *Homes-de-Guerre*..."Fear na Muintire," "Hi Fiachra," and "Cridhain" in his poetry; "Shel Martin," "Sliabh Ruadh," "Gleann an Smoil," "Knocksedan," "Killester," "Feltrim," "Ballinscormey," and "BalkSCALE: A" in his prose. For months after its foundation, no issue of the journal appeared without a poem from him.

In view of such fertility it is possible to ascribe to Rooney an editorial at the time of the Royal visit in 1900 which spoke of Victoria "who is now in her dotage" being "sent amongst us to seek recruits for her battered army." And in view of his active republicanism it is interesting to speculate, along with Maud Gonne, whether Griffith would ever have compromised if Rooney had remained alive.

Other Contributors and Arthur Griffith

Before turning from this account of *United Irishman*, a word should be said of Griffith and the other contributors: "It is said that at one time or another most of the poets and literary men of Dublin wrote for Griffith's *United Irishman* or his later journal *Sinn Fein*".

Amplifying this assertion, Ernest Boyd spoke of contributions to the *United Irishman* by Padraic Colum and James Stephens, Seumas O'Sullivan, Thomas MacDonagh "and a host of young poets, some of whose work was collected by A.E. for his little anthology,

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2. Ibid., pp. xxxiii-xxiv.
New Songs (1904). In the same vein James Stephens wrote:

Mr. Griffith's paper in those days was the 'United Irishman.' Yeats and Russell, Colum, O'Sullivan, O'Connolly, Alice Milligan, with Oliver Gogarty as a kind of perpetually disappearing astonishment, all wrote for him. I began to work for him the week after an article appeared in which one of our number stated that if Mr. Redmond did something or other he would find himself up against 'a categorical imperative as rigid as a decalogue.' That noble sentence fired me at a stroke into both patriotism and literature.

All the poets of Ireland were then solid for Mr. Griffith... We boasted, and will not now question its truth, that the best poetry and literary criticism in the English language was written weekly by us in the 'United Irishman.'

And George Moore, praising Russell and mocking Yeats, Eglinton and himself for the former's recognition of James Stephen's talent as contrasted to the lack of vision of the last three, described Griffith's paper as "a tree full of small singing birds carolling sonnets and rondeaux and villanelles, with a butting-ram underneath, and this for device; Believe that England doesn't exist, and it won't."

Yeats Versus Russell

This difference of opinion between Yeats and Russell went deeper than a disagreement over the ability of James Stephens. As already noted, after the Boer War Yeats' Fenianism began to cool. On the other hand, Russell, who had refused to join the Irish National Literary Society because of his dislike for "the party of Harp and Pepperpot," took the occasion of that struggle to put himself on record as favoring Irish separatism rather than

British imperialism:
1. E. Boyd, The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, p. 111.
4. See p. 852.
5. See p. 699.
British imperialism.

The literary man, who is, or ought to be concerned mainly with intellectual interests, should only intervene in politics when principles affecting the spiritual life of his country are involved. To me the imperial ideal seems to threaten the destruction of that national being which has been growing through centuries, and I ask myself, what can it profit the race if it gain the empire of the world and yet lose its own soul...?...The twentieth century may carry us far from Finn and Oscar and the stately chieftains and heroes of their time, far even from the ideals of Tine, Mitchell, and Davis, but I hope it will not carry us into contented acceptance of the deadness, the dullness, the commonplace of English national sentiment, or what idealism remains in us, bequeathed from the past, range itself willingly under a banner which is regarded chiefly as a commercial asset by the most famous exponent of the imperial idea...

I confess I do not love England. Love is a spirit which will not, with me at least, come at all.1

During the Boer War, Yeats, seemingly, accepted similar sentiments. The first hint that his opinion was changing came in 1902 when an Irish troupe produced Russell's Deirdre and Yeats' Cathleen Ni Houlihan on the same program. Of this double feature Yeats wrote:

A.E. himself, then as always, I loved and hated, and when I read or saw his play, I distrusted my judgment, fearing it mere jealousy, or some sort of party dislike. It was admired by everybody, hurt no national susceptibility, but in a few years A.E. himself abandoned it...2

And in his biography of Russell, John Eglinton ascribed the partial estrangement of Russell and Yeats to differences of opinion over this Irish troupe of players.

It may well be, however, that the differences were also due to Russell's friendship for the young contributors to United Irishman of whom Yeats declared:

...writers or would-be writers, among them James Stephens, who has all my admiration today, gathered at his house upon Sunday nights, making it a chief centre of literary life in Dublin. I was not friendly with that centre, considering it made up for the most part of 'barren rascals' — critics as Balsac saw critics. For the next few years it seemed to lead the opposition, not the violent attacks, but the sapping and mining.

Elsewhere, Yeats indicated another grievance with this cottrice:

"I have noticed that when these men (certain disciples of A.E.) take to any kind of action it is to some kind of extreme politics."

Since Yeats did not identify the "disciples of A.E." to whom he had reference, perhaps a list of them can be made in another way. First, New Songs Selected by A.E. was an anthology of verse by the following eight poets: Padraic Colum, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Kechler, Alice Milligan, Susan Mitchell, Seumas O'Sullivan, George Roberts and Ella Young. Second, in 1907 Russell wrote a letter to Katharine Tynan in which he listed the leading new Irish writers as Seumas O'Sullivan, Joseph Campbell, James Stephens, Eva Gore-Booth, Padraic Colum, Ernest Boyd, D.J. O'Donoghue, Jane Barlow, Paul Grogan and Susan Mitchell. Surely it is in this list that the "disciples of A.E." who took to "extreme politics" are to be found. Therefore, it is significant to note that these writers were, almost without exception, contributors to United Irishman and, hence, under the influence of Griffith rather than Russell who, although he had become editor of Irish Homestead in 1906, cannot have had the same effect on them as their publisher. Indeed, one might almost suspect that

2. Ibid., p. 393.
A. E. was influenced toward "extreme politics" by his coterie, rather than vice-versa.

The Irish Drama

To support the suggestion that the "disciples of A.E." were stimulated in their dislike of Yeats by Griffith rather than Russell, the very cause which Yeats believed to have started the estrangement between A.E. and himself may be cited — that is, the Irish Literary theater.

United Irishman was definitely interested in this subject. It printed plays by Yeats (Where There Is Nothing) and Padraic Colum (The Saxon Shillin' and The Kingdom of the Young). Likewise, its pages became the battleground for opposing theories as to the subject matter appropriate for an Irish theater. George Russell argued in it that antique, Gaelic legend might well be used:

I can hardly believe Mr. O'Grady to be serious when he fears that many forbidden subjects will be the themes for dramatic art, that Maeve with her many husbands will walk the stage, and the lusts of an earlier age be revived to please the lusts of today. The danger of art is not in its subjects, but in the attitude of the artistic mind.

And Edward Martyn contributed an article to urge

that Irish actors should try to train themselves so that they should be able to present competently and adequately the modern intellectual drama of society. The plays based upon the heroic legends, which were being talked about, or plays like Kathleen Ni Houlihan, in which the speech was that of the country people, were not, and could never be, a preparation for such drama. It had always been clear that Edward Martyn and George Moore inclined markedly towards the theatre of Ibsen and the modern drama of intellect, as W.B. Yeats and Lady Gregory inclined towards the folk-drama.

3. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
4. Ibid., pp. 85-86.
In reply to Martyn’s article, Yeats, who was an occasional contributor to United Irishman, declared:

Plays about drawing-rooms are written for the middle classes of great cities, for the classes who live in drawing-rooms; but if you would enoble the man of the roads you must write about the roads, or about the people of romance, or about great historical people. We should, of course, play every kind of good play about Ireland that we can get, but romantic and historical plays, and plays about the life of artisans and country people, are the best worth getting.2

Frank Fay attempted to reconcile these conflicting opinions:

Mr. F. Fay felt that the time had come to train a troupe of Irish actors to act Irish plays — instead of having English players who ‘put on’ a brogue, mainly with the object of being funny to the English section of the audience...

Mr. Frank Fay mentioned his idea to his brother, and wrote about it to the United Irishman (now Sinn Fein), going on to explain how the Norwegian National Theatre had hatched Ibsen; how from the amateur Moliere had grown the great stage of France...3

Griffith took little part in the controversy until October, 1903, when United Irishman attacked Synge’s In the Shadow of the Glen:

This...attack...was opened in the daily press, but soon... The United Irishman, which had once supported the dramatic movement, joined in..., and from this time onward criticized adversely almost every play produced by the Theatre. It was especially hostile to Synge, who was accused of being ‘a French decadent,’ and to his consistently hostile propaganda in an influential periodical can be traced the beginnings of the riot which greeted the first production of The Playboy of the Western World four years later. Synge’s first play, In the Shadow of the Glen, was attacked on the ground that no Irishwoman could be so base as to encourage a lover as did this Nora Burke...5

This seems to have led to a rejoinder by Yeats. Yet it would

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5. Ibid., pp. 94-95.
appear that Griffith did not intend to attack the peasant drama because Oliver St. John Gogarty in a review of *Broken Soil* a few weeks later declared:

*Padraic Colum's first play, Broken Soil, was produced by the company in the Molesworth Hall. It was greeted as being more normally and typically Irish than anything yet offered by the theatre. Gogarty wrote in The United Irishman: 'The play is built on the catastrophe produced from circumstances arising out of the temperament, religion, and tradition peculiar to the Irish people'; it was, in short, the work of a representative Irish Catholic, depicting the life in which he had been brought up; and it pleased the more because it was without the fantastic distortion which Synge's vision always imposed on his view of Irish themes.*

For a year Griffith was quiet. Then Yeats referred to Synge's play in *Samba*. Immediately the controversy was renewed. On January 28, 1905, *United Irishman* published a letter from Yeats and Griffith's reply. In the next issue Yeats insisted that *In the Shadow of the Glen* was of Irish origin. Then on February 11th, when there was also an "analysis and criticism of The Well of Saints" (Synge's latest play), Synge's letter, stating that the plot of *In the Shadow of the Glen* came to him from an Aran Islander, appeared. And elsewhere Lady Gregory, too, pointed out that the American, Jeremiah Curtin, had given it as an Irish story. However, Griffith insisted that the latter play was "but a re-telling of the ancient Oriental legend of the Faithless Widow."

3. *loc. cit.*
In October, 1905, United Irishman finally came out against the peasant drama as produced in the Abbey. And it praised the original version of Martyn's The Tale of the Town, which had been rejected by Yeats, Moore and Lady Gregory, when it was produced "by another group": "It was hailed by The United Irishman, which declared that 'an Irish play which brings home to us, as this does, the secret of the endurance of foreign government in this country, is a national asset.'" Then in 1906 it published George Sigerson's lecture on the Abbey which, it may be assumed, disapproved of the version of Irish rural life as portrayed in that theater.

Thus the riots over The Playboy of the Western World in 1907 may be regarded as a symptom of the differences between Yeats' supporters and those whom he called the "disciples of AE" but whom he should more correctly call "the disciples of Arthur Griffith." As evidence one need only consult James Stephens' biography of Griffith, A.E. Malone's Irish Drama, an anonymous pamphlet, The Abbey Row, which appeared at the time of the riots and which ascribed them to "certain whose motto is 'Ourselves alone!'" or, best of all, Yeats' essay on Synge which described Griffith's editorial technique as follows:

A patriotic journalism which had seen in Synge's capricious imagination the enemy of all it would have young men believe,
had for years prepared for this hour, by that which is at once the greatest and most ignoble power of journalism, the art of repeating a name again and again with some ridiculous or evil association. The preparation had begun after the first performance of The Shadow of the Glen, Synge's first play, with an assertion made in ignorance but repeated in dishonesty, that he had taken his fable and his characters, not from his own mind nor that profound knowledge of cot and curragh he was admitted to possess, but 'from a writer of the Roman decadence.'

It may be noted that Padraic Colum sided with his friend, Arthur Griffith, and "withdrew from the Abbey in protest against The Playboy of the Western World."

In discussing the contributors to United Irishman much has been written above about the drama in Ireland and Griffith's attitude toward it. Griffith, of course, became the sole editor when Rooney died in 1901, and, curiously, his hatred of John Redmond has been dated from that year. His practice of signing himself "Shanganah" has also been traced back to 1901. In this connection an amusing attack on Queen Victoria, which, seemingly, appeared in Griffith's paper, deserves mention because of Joyce's use of it in Ulysses:

-Is that by Griffith? says John Wyse.
-No, says the citizen. It's not signed Shanganagh. It's only initialed: P.
-And a very good initial too, says Joe.

Elsewhere in the same book, Leopold Bloom is credited with having a high opinion of Griffith:

...he was going about with some of them Sinn Fein lately or whatever they call themselves talking his usual trash

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1. W.B. Yeats, Essays, p. 386.
5. J. Joyce, Ulysses, p. 326.
6. Ibid., p. 733.
and nonsense he says that little man he showed me without the neck is very intelligent the coming man Griffith is.

**John O'Leary's Last Years**

John O'Leary's activities in 1898, 1899 and 1900 have been indicated in the foregoing discussion of the '98 centenary, the Irish literary theater movement, the Boer War, and the United Irishman respectively.

In 1903 he took an important post on the committee formed to commemorate the centenary of the execution of Robert Emmet. However, the latter fell short of the '98 centennial. For example, of the fourteen plays about Emmet catalogued by Holloway, seven appeared before 1890 and only one was definitely connected with the anniversary:

First played, October 31st, 1903, in Molesworth Hall, and after being revised and partly re-written, played at the Abbey by the National Players on November 3rd, 1906. A good stirring drama, winding up with an excellent representation of Emmet's trial, in which the young, ill-fated patriot delivers his great speech from the dock.

In 1904 Barry O'Brien wrote to the Weekly Freeman from London to suggest a pilgrimage to Fontenoy where in 1745 the Irish Brigade in the French army had played a decisive role in the defeat of the English. The Irish Literary Society of London became interested and enthusiasm was displayed in Dublin. Weekly

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Freeman of October 1, 1904 reported that a meeting had been held in the Irish capital at which John O'Leary had taken the chair. On the committee to arrange details were D. J. O'Donoghue, Charles G. Doran (who seems to have been Secretary of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B.), P. T. Daly, Arthur Griffith, Major MacBride and his wife (the former Maud Gonne).

During the years after the '98 centenary the Wolfe Tone and United Irishman Memorial Committee had continued in existence and, as has already been noted, in 1906 O'Leary was reelected president. Less than a year later he was dead. The pious Katharine Tynan wrote:

He died very happily, cared for by his devoted niece, and with all the consolations of the Catholic Church. His niece wrote to me just before his death. 'Father Tom Finlay gave Uncle John Holy Communion on Friday and sees him very often.' I mention this fact because John O'Leary had had a quarrel with the priests from the old Fenian days. Ellen O'Leary, despite her full participation in her brother's Fenianism -- the true Fenianism... had always remained a devout Catholic.

Among those who attended the funeral were P. T. Daly, Sean O'Hanlon and Major MacBride. Conspicuous by his absence was W. B. Yeats who wrote shortly afterward in August, 1907:

WHEN O'Leary died I could not bring myself to go to his funeral, though I had been once his close fellow-worker, for I shrank from seeing about his grave so many whose Nationalism was different from anything he had taught or that I could share.

In 1908 Yeats believed that O'Leary's "romantic conception of Irish Nationality" had perished with its conceiver. And he wrote

1. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 54.
3. See p. 676.
4. See p. 831.
7. W. B. Yeats, Essays, p. 322.
8. Ibid., p. 304.
9. Ibid., p. 252.
a celebrated poem which revealed how far he had drifted from the
physical force party. The refrain was:

Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,
It's with O'Leary in the grave.

Summary

Chapter XVII has been divided into two parts. In the first
various events, organizations, a periodical and committees which
may be dated before 1899 and in which the Fenians were interested,
were taken up. And in the second part some new developments in
1899 were discussed. Through the whole chapter the name of John
O'Leary was used to link the subjects under consideration with
both the physical force movement and the Celtic renaissance. And
at the end a postscript told of his death.

The first part was introduced by a brief survey of the
I.R.B. from the death of Charles J. Kickham in 1882 to the year
1892. In it O'Leary's popularity with the young Dublin intellec-
tuals of that day, especially W.B. Yeats, was noted.

O'Leary's indifference to the Gaelic League when it was
founded in 1893 was contrasted with his concern for the Celtic
Literary Society which can be dated from the same year. William
Rooney, James Connolly and Arthur Griffith were among those whose
names were associated with this Society -- which was later to be
considered one of the principal sources of the Sinn Fein move-
ment.

The Shan van Vocht was introduced in connection with the

2. W.B. Yeats, Collected Poems, pp. 122-123; cf. E.C. FitzHenry,
Nineteen-Sixteen Anthology, pp. 63-64.
Celtic Literary Society. Anna Johnston, whose father was the representative for Ulster on the Supreme Council of the I.R.B., and Alice Milligan were the editors of this periodical. And the I.R.B. helped to finance it. Perhaps the best known contributors were Lionel Johnson, James Connolly, Arthur Griffith, Maud Gonne, T.W. Rolleston, Eoin MacNeill, Douglas Hyde, O'Donovan Rossa, Michael Cusack and T. O'Neill Russell.

The first part was concluded with a discussion of the '98 centenary with particular emphasis upon James Connolly, William Rooney, the memorial exercises and their results.

James Connolly was discussed in connection with the anti-British riots which occurred at the time of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897. Maud Gonne, W.B. Yeats, and others who were active in preparing for the centenary took part in these disorders.

William Rooney was a Gaelic Leaguer and Fenian. In his person these two groups were joined despite O'Leary's indifference to the boring from within policy. Rooney's battle against the stage Irishman was mentioned as well as his regret at being unable to persuade the Gaelic League executive to take part in the '98 memorial exercises.

The memorial exercises were held in various parts of Ireland. Outside Dublin, O'Donovan Rossa and Maud Gonne took an active part in them. And in Dublin, John O'Leary and W.B. Yeats represented the I.R.B.

Three results of the '98 centenary were noted. First, there was a veritable deluge of plays about the United Irishmen, of which the most important was Yeats' *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. Second, Wolfe Tone Clubs were formed which became a "front" for
the I.R.B. and in which labor and the physical force party united. Third, Tom Clarke and "Skin-the-Goat" Fitzharris, immortalized in Ulysses were amnestied.

The second part of Chapter XVII was devoted to three events which can be dated from 1899 and it was concluded with a brief obituary note about John O'Leary. The three events were the founding of the Irish Literary Theatre, the Boer War and the birth of United Irishman.

The Irish Literary Theatre was introduced by a discussion of the Irish literary theater movement which was discovered to be of American, English and Irish origin. The American origin was traced specifically to Irish-American, Irish World and Dion Boucicault; and Synge's debt to Boucicault was noted. The English aspects of its origin were dated from the first production of Ibsen in England in 1889 and traced through the person of W. B. Yeats, Edward Martyn, George Moore and Lady Gregory. The Irish sources were found in the Feis Ceoil, the Gaelic League and a mixed group of Irish Unionists, Home Rulers and Fenians who guaranteed to meet the expenses of the initial productions of the Irish Literary Theatre. John O'Leary was one of the guarantors.

The Irish Literary Theatre came into being in 1899 while Yeats' reputation as an exponent of physical force was well-known to the Dublin police. At that time George Moore was being drawn towards Irish separatism by his friend Edward Martyn whose Unionist neighbors in Galway looked upon him with considerable suspicion.

During the second year of its existence the Irish Literary Theatre attracted Fenian interest by producing the Last Feast of the Fianna by Alice Milligan. However, Yeats, Moore and Lady
Gregory seem to have believed that a play upon which the two former had collaborated with Edward Martyn had had considerable appeal to the separatists. In 1901 Martyn severed his connection with the Theatre and it came to an end.

In addition to the birth of the Irish Literary Theatre the year 1899 was memorable because of the Boer War — England's difficulty. A Transvaal Committee, an anti-recruiting campaign and other I.R.B. activities were noted in connection with it.

The Transvaal Committee united labor and the I.R.B. against British imperialism. Associated with it were John O'Leary, James Connolly, Arthur Griffith and Maud Gonne. It is also memorable as having inspired certain passages in Ulysses.

The anti-recruiting campaign interested Maud Gonne, Arthur Griffith, Inghinidhe na hEireann, J.F. Taylor and John O'Leary. And it afforded W.B. Yeats and James Joyce subject matter for their pens.

The other Fenian activities included plots with France, Russia and the Boers; and encouragement for the Irish Brigade fighting the British. I.R.B. casualties which may be traced to the period of the war, if not to the war itself, were W.B. Yeats, T.W. Rolleston, J.F. Taylor, Maud Gonne, Arthur Griffith, William Rooney and Lionel Johnson.

The United Irishman, like the Irish Literary Theatre and the Boer War, began in 1899. It continued in existence until 1906 in spite of the fact that "twenty-three issues were seized and confiscated" by Dublin Castle. It was financed in part by the I.R.B. and by Maud Gonne. When it was founded it unequivocally endorsed physical force; and it numbered among its subscribers:

The paper was started by William Rooney and Arthur Griffith. And while Rooney lived it remained on close terms with the I.R.B. After Rooney's death in 1901 Griffith took charge and it is with his name that the paper is more commonly associated.

United Irishman attracted "most of the poets and literary men of Dublin." Among the contributors to it were Padraic Colum, James Stephens, Thomas MacDonagh, P.H. Pearse, W.B. Yeats, Oliver St. John Gogarty and George Russell.

For some reason Yeats chose to identify most of these writers as friends of Russell and his contention that Russell was becoming increasingly a separatist in outlook can readily be verified. However, it was noted that Yeats, himself, was drifting away from Fenianism.

It was also emphasized that these so-called "disciples of AE" were contributors to Arthur Griffith's paper and therefore could more accurately be called "disciples of Arthur Griffith."

In this connection it was pointed out that Griffith took the side of Edward Martyn in a controversy between the latter, W.B. Yeats and Synge, which occupied the pages of United Irishman for some time. Indeed, Yeats himself was quoted to show that he was aware that United Irishman, rather than AE, was responsible for the hostility of the "disciples of AE" toward his associates in the Abbey Theatre.

The significance of Griffith as editor of United Irishman was not alone in his hostility to the Abbey Theatre but also in
his animosity for John Redmond and the Home Rule party. And James Joyce's interest in him may be discovered in *Ulysses*.

John O'Leary's sectarianism kept him more and more out of the Irish Ireland activities such as the Gaelic League. And it may be assumed that he tended to exercise a restraining influence upon those in the I.R.B. who favored a technique of boring from within. Accordingly, it was noticed that in his declining years O'Leary tended only to work on Committees the Fenian nature of which may be imagined from their very names. He died in 1907 and W.B. Yeats took the occasion to renounce the I.R.B. openly.

In the subsequent chapters the boring from within technique will be investigated.
CHAPTER XVIII
THE ABBEY THEATRE, 1900-1916

With the notable exception of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, which will receive passing attention in the ensuing discussion of Irish labor, it seems accurate to say that the I.R.B. had less influence in the Abbey Theatre than in any other constituent element of the Irish Ireland movement. Yet the popularity of the literary theater which began in England after the production of Ibsen in London in 1889, was duplicated in Ireland. Accordingly it attracted those Fenians who believed in the boring from within technique. And since the Abbey Theatre was to become the most celebrated aspect of the literary theater movement in Ireland, it merits attention in a consideration of the relations between Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that the Abbey Theatre was not an isolated phenomenon in Ireland and therefore the present chapter has been divided into two parts. In the first will be discussed the Irish literary theater movement which was independent of the group with which the names of Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory and Sean O'Casey are associated. And in the second part the Abbey will receive attention.

1. See pp. 1061-1065.
The **Irish Literary Theater Movement**

The following discussion of the literary theater movement in Ireland which was independent of the Abbey Theatre will be divided into two parts in which regional and non-regional aspects of the movement will receive attention.

**Non-regional Aspects of the Irish Literary Theater Movement**

Under the present rather indefinite sub-head will be discussed the use which Irish labor, schools and the Gaelic League made of the popular interest in the literary theater. The use which Irish labor found for the movement will be passed over briefly but one of the schools, Saint Enda's, and the Gaelic League will receive more detailed consideration.

Irish Labor and the Literary Theater

As early as 1895 an Irishman, George Moore, brought the dramatic possibilities of the labor movement home to the English public by his play, *The Strike At Arlingford*. Subsequently the Cork Dramatic Society was to exploit the same subject.

The first Irish labor leader who turned to the stage to express himself seems to have been James Connolly who wrote a play entitled *The Agitator’s Wife* sometime after he emigrated to the United States in 1903. Then in 1909 and 1911 melodramas by Ira Allen dealing “with the ’98 period” were produced in Dublin and one of them was performed at the Workmen’s Club. Subsequently a farce

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2. See pp. 888-891.
by the same author was produced in the same place. Then, in September 1911, "The Bailiff of Ballyfoyle: or, Ireland in the Penal Days" was played "by the Workmen's Club Dramatic Society." Unfortunately, further information about the group is not readily obtainable but it was probably connected with one of the organizations in which Constance Markievicz was to take an active interest:

She herself wrote plays, all of a rebel and propagandist character — Blood Money, The Invincible Mother, Broken Dreams. The Píanna and Cumann na-mBan of The Republican Players staged these, and she herself helped to produce them. And "the Workmen's Club Dramatic Society" might very well have been the group which performed a play by James Connolly in 1916 which has been described as follows:

A three-act play of Connolly's, 'Under Which Flag?' was produced by the Workers' Dramatic Company in Liberty Hall just a month before the Rising. Sean Connolly played a leading part. A tribute to play and players, by Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, appeared in The Workers' Republic.

The Gaelic League

In discussing the use which the Gaelic League made of the literary theater movement, Feisanna, the Feis Ceoil and the Oireachtaí deserve particular attention.

Feisanna

The Feisanna which were held under the auspices of the Gaelic League have been described by W.P. Ryan as follows:

These festivals, known as Feisanna, usually start with

2. Ibid., p. 312.
that of Wexford at Whitsuntide, and the series continues till the late autumn. Sometimes on a particular day there are half-a dozen Feiseanna in different parts of the country, all with similar competitions, social features, and often industrial exhibitions. They mean gala days in the various town, and bring to a head the quiet work of many months in branch classes, schools, homes, and sometimes workshops and gardens. One who could go on a round of the more typical ones, week by week, taking the Oireachtas in due course, visiting also the Gaelic training colleges, and following in the winter and spring something of the work of the travelling teachers already described, would see a rather vivid and joyous Ireland... 1

George Moore told of visiting a Galway Feis in Hail and Farewell. It took place in "a long low room pleasantly lighted by four square shining windows." Moore and Edward Martyn listened to a traditional singer and a piper. Moore tells how he dozed and awakened with a start:

Edward's hand was still at his ear, just as if he was afraid of missing a note; and at a little distance away Yeats and Lady Gregory sat colloquing together, their faces telling me nothing. Dancers rushed in, hopped up and down, round about and back again, the women's petticoats whirling above grey worsted legs, the tails of the men's frieze coats flying behind them, their hobnails hammering a great dust out of the floor, and as soon as the jig was over the story-teller came in, and, taking a chair, he warmed his hands over an imaginary peat fire, and began to tell of a man lost in a field, who had to turn his coat inside out to rid himself of the fairy spell... 2

A similar Feis, which took place at Cushendal in the Glens of Antrim, has already been reported. Alice Milligan, Joseph Campbell, Padraic Colum, F.J. Biggar, Eoin MacNeill, Horace Plunkett, Stephen Gwynn and Roger Casement were present. One of Casement's biographers has described it in the following words:

In County Antrim, when he was home on leave, there was being

3. See pp. 578, 598.
organised an ambitious festival called the 'Feis of the Glens,' where competitions in Gaelic singing and dancing, and exhibitions of Irish handicrafts, were being held. His neighbour, Miss Ada McNeill, was one of its chief promoters; another man was Francis Biggar, the antiquarian of Belfast. With them, there was the historian, Mrs. J.R. Green, who had met Casement in London, with Mr. Haldane and her other friends among the Liberal politicians, and who had become his most devoted admirer... They were all Ulster men and women in revolt against the traditions of Protestant Ulster and encouraging the younger men who seemed to have inherited... the vitriolic nationalism of John Mitchel... 1

It was at a Feis in Letterkenny "that the earliest attempt 2 at drama in the Irish language" was made in November, 1898.

The Feis Ceoil

The Feis Ceoil, or music festival, was founded in Dublin, 4 partly through the efforts of Edward Martyn. It was not a Gaelic League affair but had much in common with that organization and 5 hence may be mentioned in connection with it.

With the Feis Ceoil may be associated a cantata, Deirdre, 6 by T.W. Rolleston and Michele Esposito; a second, The Lord of Corrigogumbl, by Edward Oxenford and Signor Bosselli; an opera by Douglas Hyde and Esposito; and, perhaps, a comic opera by 8 Arthur Sullivan and a tone poem by Sir Hamilton Harty.

The tone poem and the opera deserve some slight attention. 9 Harty was born in Ireland but later settled in England. His tone poem with The Wild Geese has been described as follows:

5. See p. 755.
8. Ibid., p. 255.
The music having for its basis two poems on the subject by Emily Lawless. They tell of the Irish exiles who fled to the Continent on the surrender of Limerick in 1691, where they became soldiers of fortune, noted for their bravery, particularly at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745. At this battle the majority of them perished, and a legend tells that their ghosts sailed back to Ireland. It is this episode that Mr. Harty illustrates, and it has inspired him with several significant themes. 1

The opera was based on Hyde’s one-act play, The Tinker and the Fairy:

A fairy is placed under a spell, and assumes the shape of an old woman. If not kissed by a mortal within a certain period she can never return to her fairy home again. The time is on the verge of expiration, when a merry tinker comes along and obliges the old woman with a kiss, when lo and behold! a lovely young fairy stands before him, and his heart goes out to her at once, and she takes kindly to his loving overtures. When the poor tinker sees paradise in sight the fairy is called away to fairyland and vanishes from his sight, leaving him, a poor broken man, to go the roads alone. First played at a garden party given by George Moore, at Ely Place, Dublin. The Tinker and the Fairy was sung as an opera in one act, with libretto by Dr. Hyde, and music by Michael Esposito, at the Gaiety, Dublin, for the first time, on March 29th, 1910. 2

Additional interest may be attached to The Tinker and the Fairy because the scenario was composed by George Moore:

Moore gave a garden party during the annual festival of the Gaelic League; there was a Gaelic play by Douglas Hyde based upon a scenario of Moore’s, and to this garden party he invited the Catholic Archbishop, beginning the letter with ‘Cher confreere,’ The Archbishop did not answer. 3

This memorable garden party took place in 1902 and it was at a rehearsal of the play that Moore first met Kuno Meyer, whom he was later to entertain in his Dublin house for an unspecified period of time.

2. Ibid., p. 259.
The Oireachtas

In 1897, the Oireachtas, "or literary festival," was initiated by the Gaelic League in the hope that it would "do as much for the Irish language as the Eisteddfod had done for the Welsh." W.P. Ryan has described the Oireachtas as follows:

With its Irish language, literary, historical, story-telling, and varied musical and other competitions for children and adults, with its Irish plays, concerts, conferences, and industrial exhibitions, with its numerous social revels, its democratic blending of classes and creeds, its rallies of town and village and remote rural character, and its Irish visitors from abroad, the Oireachtas is unique.

To judge from W.B. Yeats' comment, The Tinker and the Fairy was composed for the Oireachtas in 1902. It is possible that another of Hyde's plays, The Bursting of the Bubble, was written for the 1903 festival. It was directed against certain Trinity College professors who professed contempt for the study of the Irish language:

It describes how an old apple woman puts the curse of Gaelic on the professors for some unkindness done her, so that when his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant visits the College he finds all who welcome him speaking in a tongue he does not understand.

Irish, or bilingual, plays by Douglas Hyde and Alice Milligan have also been noted by Joseph Holloway.

The plays mentioned in the preceding paragraph can only be associated with the Oireachtas by inference. Holloway has linked plays or pageants by the following with the festival unmistakeably:

5. Ibid., pp. 259; 264-265.
7. Ibid., p. 270.
8. Ibid., p. 305.
9. Ibid., p. 306.
(1911), and Fred Morrow (1911). In addition W.F. Ryan has stated that an opera, Eithne, whose libretto was composed by Father Thomas Kelly, was performed at the Oireachtas in 1909. It was undoubtedly the activities at the Feiseanna and the Dublin festival which encouraged George Moore and W.B. Yeats in their hope to establish a Gaelic League Touring Company to succeed the Irish Literary Theatre in 1901. And although they were to be disappointed, it is interesting to note that Ernest Boyd in The Contemporary Drama of Ireland reported the existence of a group of amateur players known as the "Gaelic Repertory Theatre."

Saint Enda's

Joseph Holloway, who wrote "the entire section on Irish Plays, together with the bibliography of the Theatre in Ireland" for Father Brown's Guide to Books on Ireland, has listed the following educational institutions as having produced plays: St. Kevin's (1905), Blackpitts (1905), St. Vincent's (1908 and 1910), St. Munchin's (1911), the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art (1909 and 1910) and Saint Enda's. Saint Enda's deserves attention in connection with the literary theater movement, rather than the other schools mentioned, because it regularly produced plays whereas the other schools seem only to have experimented in

2. Ibid., p. 312.
3. Ibid., p. 296.
5. See pp. 746, 747, 753.
8. Ibid., p. 277.
9. Ibid., p. 289.
10. Ibid., p. 311.
11. Ibid., pp. 298-299.
the theater once or twice.

Saint Enda's was founded by P.H. Pearse in 1909. Holloway has reported the following as having been produced within the first three years of its existence: The Coming of Fiann by Standish O'Grady, The Destruction of the Hostel by Padraic Colum, The Boy Deeds of Cuchulain and A Passion Play by Pearse. It was to produce even more.

In its very first year of existence at "St. Enda's Day celebration on March 20th, 21st, and 22nd" 1909, when the "boys performed An Craobhín's "An Naomh ar Iarraidh" and Mr. Standish O'Grady's "The Coming of Fiann", "very kindly" press notices appeared in Irish Independent, Freeman's Journal, the Leader (by D.P. Moran), the Nation (by W.P. Ryan, father of one of the students, Desmond Ryan) and Sinn Fein (by Padraic Colum).

Pearse himself reported in the school's paper, An Naomh:

We had an audience of over a hundred each evening, our guests on the third evening including Sir John Rhys, Mr. Eoin MacNeill, Mr. W.B. Yeats, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, and Mr. Padraic Colum. All these, especially Mr. Yeats, were very generous in their praise of our lads...

Still later in the year a "Cuchulainn Pageant" was performed and Pearse reported:

We had over five hundred guests in our playing-field including most of the people in Dublin who are interested in art and

4. Ibid., pt. 1, p. 294.
5. Ibid., p. 309.
7. D. Ryan, Remembering Sinn, p. 23.
literature... Mr. Colum wrote very generously of us in Sinn Fein, Mr. Ryan in the Irish Nation, and Mr. Bulfin in An Claidheamh Soluis. The Freeman's Journal, in addition to giving a special report, honoured us with a leading article from the pen of Mr. Stephen MacKenna.

Mr. MacNeill distributed the prizes, and he, Mr. Bulfin, and Dr. Henry addressed the boys and our guests.

Presumably, the "Cuchulainn Pageant" was "Mac-iniogarta Cuculainn play in 3 Acts from the Tain" which appeared in An Macaomb in 1909.

In 1910 the students at St. Enda's produced a new work by Pearse, Iosagen. It was a miracle play which involved the appearance of Jesus as a boy. Of it, Pearse asserted:

In writing the Cuchulainn Pageant I religiously followed the phraseology of the Tain. In 'Iosagen' I have as religiously followed the phraseology of the children and old men in Iar-Connaught from whom I have learned the Irish I speak.

The "Cuchulainn Pageant" (presumably the pageant described by Holloway as The Boy Deeds of Cuchulain) and Iosagen were produced along with Padraic Colum's The Destruction of Daderga's Hostel. Pearse wrote of the performances:

We performed the plays three times in our theatre during February. In April we repeated them at the Abbey with Dr. Hyde's 'An Naoimh ar Iarraidh' and Mr. O'Grady's 'The Coming of Pionm.'

We brought the year to a close by going down to Cuchulainn's country and performing the Cuchulainn Pageant at the Castlebellingham Feis.

In 1911, the "Passion Play by Pearse was performed at the Abbey.

1. Ryan, op. cit., p. 41.
4. Ibid., pp. 101-123.
5. Ryan, op. cit., p. 42.
8. Ibid., pp. 101-108.
A year later, An Rí, which caught the attention of W.B. Yeats, was performed. Pearse wrote appreciatively:

Mr. Yeats, in a lecture on Rabindranath Tagore, had spoken of Mr. Tagore's school for Indian boys as 'the Indian St. Enda's.' A friend of mine, interested by this, suggested that we should go to Mr. Yeats and ask him whether his Theatre could not do something to help St. Enda's. We had hardly time to frame our project in words when Mr. Yeats assented to it; and then he did a more generous thing still, for he offered to produce for the benefit of St. Enda's a play of Mr. Tagore's to the production of which he had been looking forward as to an important epoch in the life of the Abbey -- the first presentation to Europe of a poet who, he thinks, is possibly the greatest now living. And he invited me to produce a St. Enda's play along with Mr. Tagore's. I understood then more clearly than ever that no one is so generous as a great artist; for a great artist is always giving gifts. 5

Later Yeats went even further and suggested that the two plays be presented on the same evening at the Abbey. As a result, Irish Review noted:

The production of The Post Office and An Rí was in aid of the building funds of St. Enda's, the bi-lingual college which Mr. Pearse has established in Rathfarnham. The play, with an English translation, is published in the new number of An Macaomh, with contributions by Séosamh MacCathmhaoil, Padraic Colum and Thomas MacDonagh. 4

And in its appreciation of the two performances, the same periodical said:

What was probably the first production of any of Rabindranath Tagore's plays on a European stage took place at the Abbey Theatre, when The Post Office was performed. It was remarkably well staged by Mr. Robinson and admirably played by the Abbey Theatre Second Company....

There was a likeness of idea between The Post Office and the play in Irish by Mr. P.H. Pearse, An Rí, which was produced with it. In both plays there is the mystical idea of kingship, and in both the central character is a child. 5

3. Ryan, op. cit., p. 54.
Le Roux has summarized Pearse’s play more fully:

Authority or right, or, if you will, the people, retreats before the invader. The king is weary, and his soldiers are discouraged by their innumerable defeats. The king cries out that the people must elect another king or leader to give them victory. Giolla, a humble child, is elected and his fate is to give an example of resistance to the enemy which shall hearten the defenders and renew their courage. He is struck down in battle, but the invader is driven back and the spirit of the people is aroused. The wisdom of the people speaks through the mouth of an old Abbot who prays the King not to weep the heroic child who has purchased freedom at so great a price, but to give thanks to God.¹

Two other plays for boys, *The Master* and *The Singer*, were written by Pearse after the outbreak of war in 1914. The former was a miracle play, even as *Loisagair*, the latter, according to Padraic Colum, “has the same theme as Yeats’ Kathleen ni Houlihan — the going-forth of young men at the call of their country.” But particular interest may be attached to Pearse’s play because the protagonist might well be Pearse himself: “The Singer was written in the late Autumn of 1915. Joseph Plunkett was profoundly impressed when he read it. ‘If Pearse were dead,’ he said, ‘this would cause a sensation.’”² It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state that within a year Pearse had died in an effort to drive the British out of Ireland which was strikingly like the battle promised by MacDara, the hero of *The Singer*.

**Regional Aspects of the Irish Literary Theatre Movement**

The word "regional" has been used to refer to the locality

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2. Pearse, op. cit., pp. 70–123.
5. Pearse, op. cit., p. vi.
6. Ibid., pp. 1–44.
in which the players, who are about to be discussed, performed. Only in relation to the Ulster Literary Theatre will the word be used in a narrower sense. First the companies which performed elsewhere than in the Irish capital will receive attention; and last the troupes which made Dublin their headquarters will be treated.

Outside Dublin

Outside Dublin plays of a literary nature were attempted at Galway, Waterford (where the exploits of Neagher were recalled), Rathkeale (where The Fenian’s Death was played), Rathmines, Chapelizod, Kilkenny, Carrickmacross, Sligo, Loughrea, Tipperary, Sheestown, Belfast and Cork. Indeed, Brinsley MacNamara began his novel, The Clanking of Chains, with a description of the production of a play about Robert Emmet in the mythical town of Ballycullen. Passing over the others, a few words should be said about the literary theater movement in Belfast and Cork.

References

2. Ibid., pp. 297, 300; see id.
5. Ibid., pp. 274-275.
6. Ibid., p. 276.
7. Ibid., p. 256.
8. Ibid., p. 312.
10. Ibid., pp. 280, 67-68, 70.
11. Ibid., p. 281.
12. Ibid., p. 256.
In Belfast

In Belfast the leading exponent of the literary theater movement was the Ulster Literary Theatre. After referring to other little theaters in Ireland, Boyd says:

...the Ulster Theatre is distinguished from all these by reason of its having given birth to a group of writers whose relation to Ulster/more intimate than mere literary association in a given dramatic organization would imply. The regionalism of the Northern dramatists corresponds to a definite condition of Irish geography.1

Boyd then went on to trace the origins of the Ulster Literary Theatre to the presentation of *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* and a play by James H. Cousins in 1902 by the Belfast Protestant National Society:

...in 1904 the Ulster Literary Theatre came into existence. The inaugural season began in December of that year, when a poetic drama of the heroic age, *Brian of Banba* by Bulmer Hobson, and *The Reformers*, a satire of municipal politics by Lewis Purcell, introduced two new playwrights, both members of the Belfast Protestant National Society.

At the same time the first issue of *Uladh* appeared, containing a manifesto of the Ulster Theatre, and for a short time this review was the Northern counterpart of *Beltaine* and *Samhain*. In its pages, as in those of the latter, were published plays from the repertory of the Theatre, and in the first number appeared *The Little Coward of Slience*, a dramatic legend by Joseph Campbell, who has since become one of the most notable of the young Irish poets.2

3 4 5

In addition to Hobson, Campbell and Purcell, writers for the Ulster Literary Theatre were Gerald MacNamara, Rutherford Mayne,6 J.W. Good and, through the posthumous production of *The Naming* 7

of Cuchulain, Sir Samuel Ferguson. Particular interest, however, may be attached to Bulmer Hobson and Joseph Campbell because of the part they played in the formation of the Irish Volunteers.

Hobson, whose friendship for Sir Roger Casement can be traced back to the early days of the Ulster Literary Theatre, was a leader of the I.R.B. in addition to belonging to the Belfast Protestant National Society:

Next to Denis McCullough came Bulmer Hobson... With them were Sean O'Hanlon, Patrick McCartan, a native of Tyrone, who was transferred from New York Clan-na-Gael to Dublin in 1905, and from the end of 1906, Sean MacDiarmada, who was nominated organizer of the Dungannon Clubs. This Fenian group published their own paper:

To hasten the march of their cause, the young progressive leaders of Belfast founded in 1906 a lively monthly journal, The Republic, which was edited by Bulmer Hobson and which preached the best Republican doctrine and the most extreme theories of Sinn Fein. In fact, on many occasions it forced Sinn Fein to embody into its own policy National concepts which the more prudent and cautious bourgeois elements of Sinn Fein, such as John Sweetman and Edward Martyn, would never have accepted.

In Cork the leading exponent of the literary theater movement was the Cork Dramatic Society. Commenting on The Epilogue by Daniel Corkery, Joseph Holloway said:

First produced by the Cork Dramatic Society at the Dun Theatre, Queen Street, Cork, Thursday, May 18, 1910. This society is now in existence for a little over two years, and has produced 12 new plays by 6 authors.

Therefore, when in his description of The Last Irish King by T. O'Neill Russell, Holloway observed that it was first performed

3. S. Gwynn, Traitor or Patriot.
4. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 78.
5. Ibid., p. 79.
in 1904 "by the Cork National Theatre Society," he was evidently referring to a forerunner of the Cork Dramatic Society. Holloway also described plays by James H. Cousins, John O’Laughlin and Alice Milligan as having been produced by the older organization in 1905.

So far as the Cork Dramatic Society is concerned, Holloway lists as those who contributed to it: Daniel Corkery, T. J. MacSwiney, Lennox Robinson, T. C. Murray, Con O’Leary and E. K. Worthington. Presumably these are the men "to whom Mr. Yeats has given the name "Cork Realists," and his reasons may have been that Corkery wrote a play called The Labour Leader, that MacSwiney’s Holocaust told "of slum life, in which the problems of unemployment, underfeeding, joylessness, and unregarded misery are touched upon" and that Con O’Leary wrote Struck about the "disagreeable and saddening details of a strike in Cork." Pieces by Robinson, Murray and Worthington may also be described as "realistic."

Although the literary theater in Cork deserves more consideration, it will perhaps be enough to comment on plays by Daniel

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2. Ibid., pp. 257-258.
3. Ibid., p. 278.
4. Ibid., p. 253.
5. Ibid., pp. 294-295.
6. Ibid., pp. 303-304.
7. Ibid., p. 292.
8. Ibid., p. 295.
9. Ibid., p. 301.
10. Ibid., p. 307.
11. C. Weygangt, Irish Plays and Playwrights, p. 216.
15. Ibid., p. 292.
16. Ibid., p. 295.
17. Ibid., p. 307.
Corkery and T. J. MacSwiney.

In connection with Corkery's play, a curious story may be told. Sean MacDiarmada, who combined his work for Sinn Fein and the I.R.B., visited Cork in 1909. According to the affidavit of a chief inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, McDermott (as the English called Mac Diarmada) was already a suspicious character.

On 28th March, 1909, a Sinn Fein meeting was held near Mitchelstown to commemorate the memory of Peter O'Neill Crowley, who was shot there by the police when attempting to effect his arrest for prominent participation in the Fenian rising of 1867. The meeting was addressed by John McDermott, Dublin — lately executed — who was sent to Cork to organise the movement. He spent about two months here. On April 24th, 1909, a Sinn Fein meeting was held in Mitchelstown, addressed by McDermott and Edward Sheehan, a school teacher. The latter, in the course of his remarks, said the Billowing Bill recently passed through Parliament provided free quarters for the English soldiers in the coming war between England and Germany, and he advised his hearers to resist the bill and never allow a British soldier to cross their threshold.

Perhaps Daniel Corkery attended these meetings. In any event, in May, the Cork Dramatic Society produced his play, The Embers, which, according to Holloway, had the following defeatist theme:

The Embers are embers of the patriotic Fenianism and rebellion which have smouldered for twenty years in the village of Cooladuo. They glow into flame at the homecoming of a Fenian, who has been for years in prison. They strike fire in the heart of Lawrence Kiely, the son of a prominent man of the town. The youth gives vent to his opinions, and is disowned by his father. He tries in vain to plant his views in the breasts of others, and ultimately dies a lonely man in a lonely room, with all his feverish enthusiasm blighted by the scorn of others. A strong but saddening play. First performed by the Cork Dramatic Society on May 6th, 1909, at the Dun, Cork.

MacSwiney, on the other hand, reacted differently to such a

1. L.N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 88.
stimulus as that of MacDiarmada's. Thus in his play, The Last Warriors of Coole, MacSwiney uses the return of the Fenians for his subject:

The last warriors of Coole find their power passing away into the hands of The Men of Morna. In their extremity Críostal has kept them alive to his dream of the coming of Fiann, who, having defeated the Men of Morna, rescued them in the end. Successfully produced by the Cork Dramatic Society in the Dun Theatre on November 2, 1910.¹

Furthermore, in 1916, as second in command of the Irish Volunteers in Cork, he took part in the Easter Week activities there. But his most famous exploit, of course, was the historic hunger-strike in Brixton Prison, 1920. Curiously enough, it may be pointed out that in On the King's Threshold by W.B. Yeats, which was first produced in 1905, the custom of hunger-striking, which had been practiced in Ireland by the weak for redress against the strong in the early days of Irish history, was used as the basis for the action.

In Dublin

The literary theater movement in Dublin had keener competition to face than the parallel movement in the provinces. This competition was a sore trial to the intellectuals and in The Wasted Island, Eimar O'Duffy ironically reported of one of the characters:

...Teddy began to discuss critically with Bernard the musical comedy, a 'London success' of the year before last, then being performed by a fifth-rate company at the Gaiety. This

¹ Brown, op. cit., pp. 303-304.
³ Ibid., pp. 398-399, 407-408.
interesting topic exhausted, he searched about in his mind for more to say.

The theaters in which such productions appeared were usually the Gaiety and the Queen's, yet occasionally a patriotic as well as a popular show was staged at the former and, using Holloway as a source, the latter might almost be described as the only begetter of plays about '98. For not only were J.W. Whitbread's numerous melodramas and the prize play for which he paid 100 pounds produced but also, according to Holloway, there were plays performed at the Queen's on this subject by P.J. O'Hare, Johanna Redmond, P. Kehoe and Joseph Malachi Muldoon, inter alia. In addition to the Queen's and Gaiety, occasionally the Rotunda and the York Street theater were used for this popular type of entertainment.

To offset these productions at the Gaiety and the Queens, the Irish literary theater movement in Dublin was to have many bands of amateurs and the professional players of the Abbey Theatre at its service. Holloway has reported performances by the following amateur groups: The Players' (which performed The Enchanted Sea by Edward Martyn in 1904), the Irish Theatrical Club, the Pioneer Dramatic Club (which performed a '98 play of the variety to be seen at the Queen's Theatre) and an anonymous group at

3. Ibid., p. 224-226.
4. See p. 829.
6. Ibid., pp. 293-291.
7. Ibid., p. 311.
8. Ibid., p. 314.
10. Ibid., p. 293.
11. Ibid., pp. 305-306.
Dublin Castle. In addition to these there were six other groups which deserve somewhat more attention. But before investigating them, something should be said about the interest which two Dublin organizations took in promoting the Irish drama.

Inghinidhe na hÉireann and Cumann na nGaedheal

The two societies to be discussed were an indirect result of the protest of certain of its members against the sectarianism of the I.R.B. As such they will be mentioned subsequently but at this point it need only be noted that they came into existence in 1900. And that both of them were interested in the theater.

The interest which Inghinidhe na hÉireann took in the drama was undoubtedly stimulated by its secretary, the actress, Mary Quinn, who married Dudley Digges. For it was, presumably, through her that the "Ormond Dramatic Society," under the direction of the Fay brothers, began to collaborate with her organization.

Previous to this collaboration Fay's society had specialized in comedies:

Their first efforts were confined to old time farce which was so popular in those days: Box and Cox, Boots at the Swan, My Wife's Dentist, The Limerick Boy, The Secret, His Last Leg, and others of the same type. W.G. Fay was a professional actor with many years' experience; Frank J. Fay excelled as an elocutionist and had undergone a thorough course in the art of acting...

But all this was changed when in 1900 W. G. Fay "became stage

2. See p. 335-337.
5. D. Byrne, The Story of Ireland's National Theatre, p. 4.
manager of the performances" for Inghinidhe na h-Eireann: "It was their intention to hold dramatic festivals at Samhain and Beltane, Spring and Autumn, Celtic names for Hallowe'en and May Day, when festivals had been held in the past."

The first distinguished Irish writer to be attracted by the performances of Inghinidhe na h-Eireann was Padraic Colum:

Their plays and tableaux in the Ancient Concert Rooms in 1900 attracted his attention, and he wrote to the secretary, inclosing with the note copies of two plays that he had written... These plays were about the 'Children of Lir,' that one of 'The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling' that is less poignant than the story of Deirdre only because it is less human, and about Brian Boru, the high king that beat back the Danes at Clontarf. Faery and mediaeval history were not destined, however, to be Mr. Colum's field, and Mr. Fay, then stage manager of the Association productions, probably helped him on the way to his true field, the life of the peasant of the Midlands, by declaring them rubbish.3

In August, 1901, this group, which Yeats called "William Fay's amateur company," produced a play by Alice Milligan whose Last Feast of the Fianna had been produced by the Irish Literary Theatre in 1900. Holloway's description of the play is:

THE HARP THAT ONCE. A '98 PLAY IN 2 ACTS.
Played at the dawn of the Twentieth Century, at the Ancient Concert Rooms, with Frank Fay and Sara Allgood in the cast...6

One of the spectators had been W.B. Yeats who later asserted: "I came away with my head on fire. I wanted to hear my own unfinished Baile's Stand, to hear Greek Tragedy, spoken with a Dublin accent." Another may have been George Moore who certainly

2. Fox, op. cit., p. 25.
5. See pp. 341-342.
came to know Fay at this time:

In 1901, when The Twisting of the Rope was produced, George Moore, who had undertaken to produce it, handed over the task to W.B. Fay, who first of all rehearsed it in English and found that he 'could get the same acting value out of the play whether it was spoken in English or Gaelic'; while meantime he saw the Benson company sadly at a loss with Diarmuid and Grania. 1

The performance of The Twisting of the Rope and Diarmuid and Grania completed the three years of existence which the Irish Literary Theatre had been "promised." Therefore, it was probably at this time that George Moore made his unsuccessful effort to perpetuate it by persuading the Gaelic League to endorse Fay's troups. Yeats, too, did not wish the literary theater movement to die and he began to consider using the Irish troupe sponsored by Inghinidhe na hEireann to continue it:

William Fay and his brother, whose company of amateurs played in Lockhart's coffee-house, were putting their case, and all my Nationalist friends backing it. I summarised their arguments in Samhain, a little annual published in the interests of the movement. Any project that needed much money would have to promise good behavior, and Ireland was turning towards revolution...6

Like Moore and Yeats, George Russell took an interest in the company which was producing plays for Inghinidhe na hEireann and he decided to show Frank Fay "a play on Deirdre which he had just written:

Mr. Frank Fay heard Mr. Russell read his play, and liked it so much that he brought his brother to hear it too, and they

1. S. Gwynn, Irish Literature and Drama, pp. 155-156.
5. Ibid., pp. 433-37.
soon decided to produce it. This was done on April 2, 1902, by W.G. Fay's 'Irish National Dramatic Company' (so the new body called itself) at St. Teresa's Hall, Clarendon Street, Dublin.¹

Mary Quinn, secretary of Inghinidhe na hÉireann, played the title role.

Maud Gonne, president, took the title role of Yeats' Cathleen Nic Houlihan which appeared on the same program. Yeats had written his play "with Lady Gregory's help" and he reported:

After consulting with Lady Gregory I gave William Fay my Cathleen ni Houlihan, the first play where dialect was not used with an exclusively comic intention, to be produced in April, 1902, in a hall attached to a church in a back street.²

According to Stephen Gwynn, Yeats had "persuaded" Maud Gonne to take the title role which had been "written for her and about her:

The cast included -- over and above the two Fays, Dudley Digges and Miss Quinn -- a very beautiful young woman, Maire ni Shiublaigh (Mary Walker); a beautiful young man called Padraic Colum...; another poet, J. M. Cousins; and Frederic Ryan, a writer of socialist tendencies.³

So successful were these two productions that Fay's players were much encouraged. Deirdre and Cathleen ni Houlihan had been performed under the auspices of Inghinidhe na hÉireann for their Beltaine festival. The troupe immediately got busy preparing for Samhain:

Among the plays rehearsed that summer were: The Laying of the Foundations, by Fred Ryan; The Racing Jug and The Sleep

². See p. 395.
³. Gwynn, op. cit., p. 156.
⁵. Yeats, op. cit., p. 395.
⁶. Gwynn, op. cit., p. 156.
of the King, by J. H. Cousins; also A Pot of Broth and The Hour Glass, by W. B. Yeats. In the month of November, 1902, at what was known as the Samhain Festival, held at the Ancient Concert Rooms, Dublin, some of these plays were acted, and Deirdre and Cathleen ni Houlihan were revived. The first performance of The Magic Well, by Father Dineen, in Gaelic, was also given. 1

Again the performances were successful and yet Yeats, who was drifting away from his belief in physical force, wished to divorce the players from Inghinidhe na hEaireann:

Early in 1903 the Fays and their associates formed themselves into 'The Irish National Theatre Society,' with W. B. Yeats as President, George William Russell (A. E.), Douglas Hyde, and Miss Maud Gonne as Vice-Presidents. Mr. Yeats' motto for the newly-formed society was that it should have no propaganda other than that of good art. Up to this period, Lady Gregory had not been connected with the company, but from this time on she wrote pieces for them. 5

Stephen Gwynn adds:

Its membership included, in addition to the cast of the first performance, 'Honor Lavalle' (later Mrs. Curran), who created the role of the mother in Riders to the Sea; Seumas O'Sullivan, already commencing poet; and George Roberts, then also writing poetry but afterwards well known as an Irish publisher. It was thus a small, self-governing society of amateurs, electing its own officers. 4

On March 14, 1903, Lady Gregory's Twenty-Five was produced by the company. Not long after that Maud Gonne who, except for her performance in Cathleen ni Houlihan, had never been one of the players, resigned and Lady Gregory succeeded her as a vice-president. 6

In 1904 Fay's troupe drifted even further from Inghinidhe

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1. D. Byrne, The Story of Ireland's National Theatre, p. 16.
7. Ibid., p. 28.
na hÉireann when Mary Quinn and Dudley Digges emigrated to America. This loss was the indirect result of the excellent reception which the troupe had received on its first two visits to London:

Success...brought an invitation for the company to make part of the Irish section in the International Exhibition at St. Louis. What the society had to refuse, three leading players accepted, and so Digges, Miss Quinn and P.J. Kelly were wafted from the status of gifted amateurs into a prosperous professional career, out of Ireland.²

Indeed, of those who have been identified as members of Inghinidhe na hÉireann, only Sara Allgood appeared on the membership list of the troupe as of May 11, 1904. But Helena Molony may also have belonged to both:

She was trained by Dudley Digges, and achieved success when she played in Eleanor's Enterprise, by George Birmingham, in a company run by Count Markievicz. After this the Abbey Theatre asked for her services, and she played here up till the end of 1913.³

Fay's troupe, of course, became the original Abbey players, and from the foregoing remarks about Inghinidhe na hÉireann its importance will be recognized as greater than that of the Irish Literary Theatre in the formation of that famous band of actors.⁴ And when the split in the troupe occurred in 1908, it would seem that the rebels were welcomed back by their original sponsors because they took the name of the company in which Helena Molony performed and which was "run by Count Markievicz."

Cumann na nGaedheal resembled Inghinidhe na hÉireann so

2. Gwynn, op. cit., p. 163.
4. Byrne, op. cit., p. 35.
5. R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 125.
closely in its interest in the theater that little need be said about it in addition to what has been recorded about the latter. W.B. Yeats and P.H. Pearse seem to have been attracted to it because of its concern in the drama, or, perhaps, Yeats was responsible for the interest:

_Cumann na nGaedheal_ offered prizes for poems and plays and stories on national subjects. Padraig Pearse was on the judging committee. The prize poems and stories were often published in the _United Irishman_ and the plays acted at the Beltaine and Samhain Festivals. John Rogan, a good musician, had trained excellent choirs composed of men and women...and used to help...2

At first it sponsored the Irish National Dramatic Company, as 3 Fay's troupe called itself, but when Yeats and Lady Gregory got control of that organization, Cumann na nGaedheal helped to produce _A Tale of a Town_ to the delight of Edward Martyn and Arthur Griffith and to the probable annoyance of Yeats, Lady Gregory, 5 and George Moore.

The break which preceded the production may be dated from the rehearsals in 1903 for Padraic Colum's _The Saxon Shilling_ which had won a prize offered by Cumann na nGaedheal. Colum protested that W.G. Fay was destroying the play by changing its end to prevent hostilities between Unionists and separatists. Perhaps Holloway's version of the plot will explain the nature of the argument:

> It vividly depicts the dramatic incident of a country lad who has taken 'the shilling,' being called upon to assist

1. W.G. MacBré, _A Servant of the Queen_, pp. 315-316.
2. Ibid., p. 317.
5. See pp. 840-842.
7. Interview with Maud Conne MacBride.
at the eviction of his own people and of his refusal to do so, and of his being shot in defending them from the despoilers. It is very dramatically worked out... It was first played at the Bamba Hall... May..., 1903.¹

According to Dudley Digges the dissension which resulted in Fay’s troupe over this play "caused one poet to lift his hands to Heaven and declare that 'The Irish Theatre would go down in a sea of Fists.'"²

Six Other Troupes

In addition to the troupes already referred to, Holloway mentions the National Players, the Theatre of Ireland, the New Ireland Dramatic Company, the Leinster Stage Society and the Independent Dramatic Company as Dublin companies of players. The Irish Theatre, which was coming into existence at the outbreak of war in 1914, also deserves notice.

National Players and Theatre of Ireland

The National Players and the Theatre of Ireland were, according to Weygandt, begotten of Fay's troupe. In 1903, the National Players produced The Bursting of the Bubble. A Bi-Lingual Play in 1 Act by Douglas Hyde. A year later, they performed The Escape of Red Hugh by Alice Milligan and a farce by Seumas Manus. In 1905, they produced plays by Lady Gilbert and MacManus and Edward Martyn's The Tale of a Town to which reference

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¹ Brown, op. cit., p. 265.
³ Weygandt, op. cit., p. 35.
⁴ Brown, op. cit., p. 259.
⁵ Ibid., p. 253.
⁶ Ibid., p. 275.
⁷ Ibid., p. 280.
⁸ Ibid., pp. 275-276.
⁹ Ibid., p. 282; cf. Boyd, op. cit., p. 27.
has already been made. Performances in 1906 and 1907 may also be mentioned. After the latter year, Holloway reports no further productions by the National Players and the first of the Theatre of Ireland.

The origin of the Theatre of Ireland has been traced to the split in the Abbey troupe which followed The Playboy disturbances in 1907 and the differences of opinion between the two groups evidently continued in 1908 after the Fays had quit the National Theatre Society. In 1907 and 1908, the Theatre of Ireland produced plays by Padraic Colum and Seumas O'Kelly, O'Kelly's later play being about an incident in the rebellion of 1798. In 1909, it performed plays by O'Kelly and Rutherford Mayne. A year later, three more plays were staged, of particular interest being the revival of an eighteenth century comedy by Charles Macklin. Of the four productions in 1911, those written by James Stephens, Jane Barlow and Eva Gore-Booth deserve attention because of the literary renown of the authors. Holloway's catalogue ceases in the winter of 1911-1912 and this consideration

1. See pp. 840-842, 899.
3. Ibid., p. 291.
5. See p. 898.
9. Ibid., p. 286.
10. Ibid., p. 285; see p. 897.
11. Ibid., pp. 300, 287, 167.
12. Ibid., p. 167.
15. Ibid., p. 313.
16. Ibid., p. 316.
of the Theatre of Ireland may conveniently be stopped at the same point since sufficient indication of its scope has been given.

The New Ireland Dramatic Company, the Leinster Stage Society, the Independent Dramatic Company and the Irish Theatre deserve separate mention because of their particular interest to the student of Fenianism.

The New Ireland Dramatic Company and the Leinster Stage Society

The New Ireland Dramatic Company was short-lived. On May 5, 1910 it produced "When Wexford Rose, A Historical Melodrama of '98 Period" and in October it performed The Call to Arms: "It deals with the career of Peter O'Neill Crowley, who died for Ireland in the Fenian rising of 1867."

The Leinster Stage Society was significant because of those who took an interest in it rather than because of any productions which it attempted. Desmond Ryan has recorded how Margaret Pearse, mother of two of the men who were executed in 1916, became involved in the company:

She accompanied her daughter, Mary Bridget Pearse and Willie to Cork in 1911, with the Leinster Stage Society, a small amateur company of players which included Crawford Neil the poet...and some very well-known Dublin players. The society had to its mind, though, alas! not to the minds of the good citizens of Cork, a generous and varied programme: dramatic versions from Dickens, Gaelic plays, heroic plays, peasant plays and a farce or two.

One of these "well-known Dublin players" may have been P. H. Pearse's nephew, Alfred McGloughlin, although Ryan does not

2. Ibid., p. 306.
mention his name. Ryan did name some of those who welcomed
the Leinster Stage Society to Cork:

Among these friends of the company were Daniel Corkery, Con
O'Leary and Terence MacSwiney, who showed the Leinster Stage
Society Cork from the Shandon Bells to the mental ferment in
its clubs and societies all the world was to know less than
ten years later. And Daniel Corkery talks much of his friend
Terence MacSwiney... And ten years later, Margaret Pearse
again comes to Cork, with her two sons in the grave, and
walked behind Bishops..., to lay the Lord Mayor of Cork in
his resting place and listen to the final volley over his
grow under the tall trees.1

The Independent Dramatic Company

Holloway first mentions the Independent Dramatic Company
as having performed a silly farce by Nora Fitzpatrick and Casimir
Markievicz in 1908. In 1910, this group produced Markievicz's

The Memory of the Dead, of which Holloway noted:

This is a stirring story, with the rising of the year '98
as a background... It is full of 'piping hot' patriotism to
suit popular audiences. In a revised version played at the
Queen's, Dublin, on April 15th, 1911, an entire new scene
was added to the text.3

Other plays performed by the Independent Theatre Company were
Markievicz's Rival Stars, Eva Gore-Booth's Unseen Kings, Edward
Martyn's Grangecolm and George Birmingham's Eleanor's Enter-
prise. Both Edward Martyn and Ernest Boyd thought highly of
the production of Grangecolm; but even more interest may be
found in Birmingham's play.

1. D. Ryan, Remembering Sinn, p. 144.
2. Brown, op. cit., p. 539; cf. S. O'Faolain, Constance Markievicz,
   pp. 119-120.
4. Ibid., p. 303.
5. Ibid., p. 324.
6. Ibid., p. 324.
7. Ibid., pp. 315-316.
8. E. Martyn, A Plea for the Revival of the Irish Literary
   Theatre, Irish Review, April, 1914, pp. 82-84.
Eleanor's Enterprise, which the Abbey had failed to produce because of its "small resources," featured Constance Markievicz, née Gore-Booth, in the title role.

The play was produced by Count Markievicz, himself a dramatist and producer of no mean parts. Constance also played in his drama, The Memory of the Dead, a play of '98, in which the role of rebel heroine was written and cast for her. As an actress, her high-pitched voice and English accent, and her short sight, which in later years entailed the wearing of glasses, were disabilities. But her temperament suited rebel and heroic parts, and in these she shone. Later, too, her acting gifts helped her with various disguises, necessary when she was 'on the run,' a much-wanted Cabinet Minister.

Eleanor's Enterprise was Cannon Hannay's first attempt to write a play and his choice of plot may have been influenced by his knowledge of the career of the Gore-Booth family in the west of Ireland:

The scene is laid in the West of Ireland, and its story tells how Eleanor Maxwell, a Girton girl, tries to better the condition of the country folk, and how the experiment ends in failure... John Connolly and Helena Molony as Paudeen and Mrs. Finneghan, on whom 'Eleanor’s enterprise' falls un unstinted praise for their realistic character studies.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to emphasize the fact that Constance Markievicz, Helena Molony and John (Sean) Connolly were leaders in the Easter Week rising. Incidentally, since neither Weygandt, Malone nor Byrne mention Birmingham's General John Regan, it may be assumed that this play, also, was produced by the Independent Dramatic Company.

2. See p. 859.
4. Ibid., pp. 1-3.
7. Ibid., pp. 119-122; see pp.
The Irish Theatre

Of the unproduced plays which are recorded by Holloway, five by Alice Milligan and one apiece by Stephen Gwynn, Katherine Tynan, Susan Mitchell and Edward Martyn may be reported. Martyn's satire, The Place Hunters, had been published in The Leader, a periodical to which he also contributed poetry. According to Ernest Boyd, it was produced by the Players Club in 1904, but it may have been the failure of the Abbey troupe to perform works by such well-known Irish writers which encouraged Martyn to hope for a revival of the Irish Literary Theatre which had ceased to exist in 1901.

At any rate Martyn was interested in the various companies of actors which appeared in Dublin, even in "Mr. Frohman's experiment" of a Repertory Theatre in which the American "associated Mr. Dion Boucicault with Mr. Granville Barker as producer." Accordingly, in the issue of Irish Review for April 1, 1914, he announced his intention of starting a new amateur theatrical company:

What is my project then? It is not original. It is simply to apply the methods of the Abbey Theatre to an organisation of the most talented amateurs for the encouragement and production of native Irish drama other than the peasant species, and thereby see if, by study and perseverance, we may simi-

2. Ibid., p. 277.
3. Ibid., p. 283.
4. Ibid., p. 316.
5. Ibid., p. 252.
larly create a school of young dramatists who will devote themselves to this particular department. Ever since I helped to found the Irish dramatic movement in 1899, I have had this scheme in my mind, and made repeated efforts to carry it out... The artistic success of the Dohen performances... at the Theatrical Club should strengthen this expectation; so let us go forward with the title, The Irish Literary Theatre, which I invented for the foundation of the Irish dramatic movement in 1899.1

If the Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook may be credited, Joseph Plunkett's mother helped Martyn in his project which came to be known as the Irish Theatre. Its first production was The Dream Physician which was performed on November 2, 1914. The literary significance of this satire is that in it Martyn attempted to avenge himself upon George Moore for what the latter had said of him in Hail and Farewell. Moore "was held up to ridicule under the scarcely disguised name of George Augustus Moon."

Ernest Boyd has outlined the subsequent history of the Irish Theatre:

A satirical comedy by Edward Martyn, The Dream Physician, and two new works by young Irish playwrights were produced, in the course of the first two seasons, in addition to plays by Chekhov. To complete the illusion of former days, George Moore was among the spectators at one of the Premieres, a fact which he signalled in a letter to the press, announcing the resumption of his interrupted relations with Edward Martyn...7

Unfortunately, Boyd failed to specify the works produced by the Irish Theatre. Padraic Colum states that the troupe performed

2. See pp. 303-305.
Chekov's Uncle Vanya; and elsewhere Pearse's The Master and MacDonagh's Pagans are recorded as having been produced. Without further investigation, perhaps it will be enough to point out that even as in the person of W.B. Yeats and L.R.B. had its representative in the Irish Literary Theatre, so in the Irish Theatre the physical force party had its agents:

Thomas MacDonagh, who had had several plays produced at the Abbey Theatre, had joined eagerly with Joseph Plunkett -- they both married sisters -- in organising the Literary Theatre, which Edward had enabled them to bring into being. And Thomas MacDonagh's brother had been the chief producer of all the plays in Edward's venture with them. They were constantly with him, though he knew nothing of their political conspiracies; and on the very evening before the rising of Easter Sunday, 1916, Thomas MacDonagh had called at his rooms for the last time, and found him there...with Vincent O'Brien. They had even spent their last hour together discussing the possibilities of a rising, which Edward was still convinced could never materialise. Thomas MacDonagh had left him without revealing the secret in his own possession, and the next morning he was engaged with Pearse and Connolly in starting the revolution.

The Abbey Theatre

From the foregoing remarks it is safe to conclude that the physical force party was not hostile to the Irish literary theatre movement. But the differences between the Abbey and the Fenians were so numerous that one might almost come to the conclusion that there had been a complete break between the physical force party and the former. This was not the case, but first the history of the estrangement may be related, then a few words will be

3. P.L. O'Hegarty, Bibliographies of 1916 and the Irish Revolu-
said to show that the two were not as much at variance as they appeared to be, and finally some renewed differences will be mentioned.

**Estrangement**

The Fenians were estranged by the conduct of W.B. Yeats, J.M. Synge, Lady Gregory, Norreys Connell, St. John Ervine and George Bernard Shaw.

W. B. Yeats

The very head and front of the opposition to the physical force party in the Irish literary theater movement was William Butler Yeats. Yeats expressed this opposition in direct and indirect fashions.

Examples of his direct attacks are easy to discover. In a letter to Lady Gregory, Yeats explained:

'I imagine that as I withdraw from politics my friends among the Nationalists grow less and my foes more numerous. What I have heard confirms the idea that I had at the time of the Countess Cathleen row, that it would make a serious difference in my position.'

In 1906, when the Abbey players were estimated to have a Dublin audience of 4,000 regular patrons, he wrote with more asperity in a letter to Katharine Tynan: "I think that we are gradually working down through the noisy and hypercritical semi-political groups to a genuine public opinion, which is sympathetic..." Yet once again, completely reversing the second commandment, Yeats

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said in 1909:

...every now and then one meets some charming person who
likes all fine things and is quite delightful and who
would not have had these qualities if some great-grand-
father had not sold his country for gold.¹

According to Ernest Boyd, after 1903 Yeats and Lady Gregory
controlled the Abbey. If such is the case, then it is obvious
that Yeats could express opposition to the Fenians in an indirect
fashion by censoring the productions which the Theatre presented
or by encouraging contributions by playwrights whose views were
other than those of the Irish Celts.

It is doubtful whether or not any distinguished Irish play-
wright was adversely affected by censorship at the Abbey. Late
in October, 1905, T. O'Neill Russell lectured under the auspices
of Cumann na nGaedheal with the Fenian, P.T. Daly, in the chair.
He admitted that Lady Gregory's Kinscr, Padraic Colum's The Land,
and Yeats' Cathleen ni Houlihan were sufficiently nationalistic,
but he resented the rejection of a play he had written. In 1914
Edward Martyn also complained against the censorship at the Abbey:

That is why, although I have written more plays than anyone
else, which are, of course, quite useless for commercial pur-
poses, I so seldom get a chance of being produced. If I
could have written capable peasant plays, which I could not
because they do not interest me..., I have no doubt I should
have found my place naturally in the Abbey Theatre. But as
I could not, and as the Abbey Theatre could not produce work
like mine...I naturally became an isolated figure...²

For the most part, the Irish Celts did not object to
the policy against which Russell and Martyn took exception. But

¹. Yeats, Autobiography, p. 396.
². Boyd, op. cit., p. 36.
³. T. O'Neill Russell, Art MacMurrrough Kavanagh, Weekly Freeman,
   October 28, 1905, p. 12.
⁴. Martyn, op. cit., p. 81.
they did resent the production of plays which expressed views contrary to their own. Among the playwrights who fashioned such pieces were, in addition to Yeats and Synge, George Bernard Shaw, Norreys Connell, St. John Ervine and Lady Gregory.

Lady Gregory and Synge

In 1907 the Abbey management put aside any previous reluctance to offend its audience with an "uncompromising presentation" of Irish life. It produced Lady Gregory's The Rising of the Moon and Synge's The Playboy of the Western World. Lady Gregory's play did not turn out to be unpopular and it is mentioned only because it was produced shortly after the riots over The Playboy of the Western World. Of Lady Gregory's play, Yeats wrote:

Nobody reading today her Seven Short Plays can understand why one of them, now an Irish classic, The Rising of the Moon, could not be performed for two years because of political hostility. A policeman discovers an escaped Fenian prisoner and lets him free, because the prisoner has aroused with some old songs the half-forgotten patriotism of his youth. The players would not perform it because they said it was an unpatriotic act to admit that a policeman was capable of patriotism. One well-known leader of the mob wrote to me, 'How can the Dublin mob be expected to fight the police if it looks upon them as capable of patriotism?' When performed at last the play was received with enthusiasm, but only to get us into new trouble. The chief of the Chief Unionist Dublin newspaper denounced us for slandering his Majesty's forces, and Dublin Castle denied to us a privilege which we had shared with the other Dublin theatres of buying, for stage purposes, the cast-off clothes of the police. 4

At the same time he expressed his admiration for Synge and Lady Gregory:

I think when Lady Gregory's name and John Synge's name are spoken by future generations, my name, if remembered, will come up in the talk, and that if my name is spoken first, their names will come up in their turn because of the years we worked together.¹

The riots which occurred during the first production of The Playboy of the Western World in January, 1907, were more serious than the threats which had held up the performance of The Rising of the Moon.

After the production of his popular Riders to the Sea which ² was partly inspired by Boucicault and partly, perhaps, by James ³ H. Cousin's, The Racing Lad, in 1904, Synge had been appointed ⁴ "a director of the newly opened Abbey Theatre, Dublin." The ⁵ Well of the Saints was first performed in 1905 but, Lady Gregory ⁶ reported, "had very small audiences." Such was not the case when The Playboy of the Western World made its debut.

At that time resentment against Synge, encouraged by The ⁷ Leader and United Irishman, led to a demonstration of physical force in the theater which has been described by Lady Gregory as follows:

On the Monday night Riders to the Sea, which was the first piece, went very well indeed. But in the interval after it, I noticed on one side of the pit a large group of men sitting together, not a woman among them. I told Synge I thought it a sign of some organised disturbance and he telephoned to have the police at hand. The first part of the first act went undisturbed. Then suddenly an uproar began. The group of men I had noticed boosed, hooted, blew tin trumpets.⁸

¹ W. B. Yeats, Autobiography, p. 470.
² See p. 836-837.
³ Brown, op. cit., p. 257; see p.
⁴ Unsigned, John Millington Synge, Encyclopaedia Brittanica, p. 709.
⁵ Bourgeois, op. cit., p. 309.
⁶ A. Gregory, Our Irish Theatre, pp. 111-112.
⁷ Brown, op. cit., pp. 244-245.
Yeats adds: "We played it under police protection, seventy po-
lice in the theatre the last night, and five hundred, some news-
paper said, keeping order in the streets outside." According
to the same source, when Synge died in 1909 he was still unfor-
given:

The Irish weekly papers notice Synge's death with short
and for the most part grudging notices. There was an ob-
scure Gaelic League singer who was a leader of the demon-
stration against the Playboy. He died on the same day.
Sinn Fein notices both deaths in the same article and gives
three-fourths of it to the rioter.2

Norreys Connell and St. John Ervive

In 1903 there were disturbances at the Abbey in connection
with a play by Norreys Connell. W.C. Fay had quit the Theatre
in January and hence the responsibility for the production of the
play may be attributed to Yeats. Connell, who succeeded Synge
as co-director of the Abbey after the latter's death in 1909,
was concerned for the fate of such Irish dramatists as Shaw and
Synge in Holland. He got not only himself, but also the National
Theatre Society in Dutch by the presentation of The Piper on
February 15, 1908. In discussing The Piper, A.E. Malone said:

This play deals with the Rising in Wexford in 1798, and its
chief character, Black Mike, has some very unpleasant things
to say about the Irish character. The play is a rather ob-
vious satire upon Irish political tactics of the then recent
past, and upon Irish mentality generally, and it has some af-
finity with John Bull's Other Island... The recurrence of

1. W.B. Yeats, Dramatis Personae, p. 197.
6. Ibid., pp. 256; 254; cf. O'Riordan, Irish Review, Reviews,
   December, 1912, p. 557.
the disturbances at such a play...proved conclusively the political basis of the riots of 1907.¹

Connell, himself, has pointed out that George Bernard Shaw, Synge, George Moore, Padraic Colum, George Russell, Hugh Lane, Dion Boucicault, Yeats (who was reminded of Farnell by "Black Mike") and Lady Gregory expressed an interest in the play. Furthermore, the resentment aroused by The Piper does not seem to have been very great.

St. John Ervine's differences with the physical force party did not come about until after the war had begun. In 1911 he had won some reputation with Mixed Marriage:

John Rainey, a Protestant, has forgotten his religious prejudices during a strike in which laborers of both faiths are working together to ameliorate their condition and makes speeches advocating the cessation of religious strife. His son Hugh, who is more tolerant, is in love with a Catholic girl, and friendly with the Catholic labor agitator. The father, discovering that Hugh is to marry Nora, drives both away from home, and turns his speeches to denunciations of the Catholics, bringing about a riot, during which Nora is shot by the soldiers.⁵

Ervine's next play, the Magnanimous Lover, stirred up resentment in certain separatist quarters and thereby, it would seem, qualified its author to manage the production of plays at the Abbey. However, his conduct at the time of the Easter week rebellion so outraged those who sympathized with the rebels that he was forced to resign.

George Bernard Shaw

George Bernard Shaw deserves separate consideration be-

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2. C. O'Riordan, Shakespeare's End and Other Irish Plays, p. 11.
3. Ibid., p. 9.
cause he alternately ruffled and rejoiced the Fenians.

In his Preface for Politicians, Shaw has told how John Bull's Other Island "was uncongenial to the whole spirit of the neo-Gaelic movement." Yeats had asked him for a play:

Like most people who have asked me to write plays, Mr. Yeats got rather more than he bargained for. The play was at that time beyond the resources of the new Abbey Theatre, which the Irish enterprise owed to the public spirit of Miss A.E. F. Horniman (an Englishwoman, of course)....

There was another reason for changing the destination of John Bull's Other Island. It was uncongenial to the whole spirit of the neo-Gaelic movement, which is bent on creating a new Ireland after its own ideal, whereas my play is a very uncompromising presentation of the real old Ireland. 2

Yet in 1909 Shaw rejoiced the separatists exceedingly. In the summer of that year when Lady Gregory visited him at Ayot St. Lawrence, Shaw gave her a copy of The Shewing Up of Blasco Posmet which the Censor would not allow to be performed in England. The Abbey directors offered to present it in Dublin. Consequently, Shaw visited her at Coole Park and before the summer was over his play had been produced. Since a religious question constituted the basis of this play, a riot was anticipated. The reverse actually happened:

... at the end there was a tremendous burst of applause.... Some stranger outside asked what was going on in the Theatre. "They are defying the Lord Lieutenant" was the answer; and when the crowd heard the cheering, they took it up and it went far out through the streets. 6

2. B. Shaw, John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara, p. v.
6. Ibid., p. 168.
Agreement

The Abbey was not as completely estranged from the Fenians as the conduct of W.B. Yeats and the others might indicate. The estrangement is generally dated from 1903, but if a survey is made of the productions between that time and the outbreak of war in 1914, it will be seen that the Abbey managers were willing to perform plays of which the Fenians could approve. This period may be further divided into the years before and after the Playboy riots in 1907.

Before 1907

The most renowned playwrights who contributed to the Abbey in the earlier period were Yeats, Lady Gregory, J.M. Synge, Padraic Colum, Seumas MacManus and William Boyle. Of these, Synge was the most distasteful to the separatists. Yeats was remembered as the author of Cathleen ni Houlihan and, indeed, he called on the Playboy rioters in the name of that piece: "The author of 'Kathleen Ni Holohan' addresses you," he said. The audience remembering that passionately patriotic play, forgot its antagonism for a few minutes, and Yeats got his cheers."

The part which Lady Gregory had in writing Cathleen Ni Houlihan was not generally known. Her first signed play appeared in An Gaedal. And she was probably familiar to the Abbey audience

1. See pp. 908-914.
chiefly as a writer of comedies. The suspicion with which her celebrated *Rising of the Moon* was regarded may have been partly due to her association with Synge.

Seumas MacManus has already been mentioned as a friend of Maud Gonne and as one of the founders of Sinn Fein. There is no evidence of Fenian displeasure with him. Likewise, Colum was probably well considered by the advocates of physical force because of his anti-recruiting play, *The Saxon Shillin*.

Boyle, like Lady Gregory, was known to the patrons of the Abbey as a writer of comedies although *The Mineral Workers* presented a rather serious problem which he may have borrowed from Harold Frederic's novel, *The Return of the O'Mahony*.

After 1907

Within a year after *The Playboy* riots, Padraic Colum, William Boyle, and the Fays had left the Abbey. Then in his defiance Yeats went to the extreme of hiring an Englishman to direct the plays there. But this proved too much for Lady Gregory and Synge and the Englishman disappeared. Thereafter the tension between the Abbey and the Fenians was somewhat eased. Yeats continued to be somewhat recalcitrant and probably was responsible for encouraging Norreys Connell and St. John Ervine.

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In 1908-1909, Dunsany and MacDonagh

He also brought Lord Dunsany to the National Theatre Society in spite of the fact that the latter had been educated at Eton and Sandhurst, had fought the Boers and considered himself so English as to seek to represent West Wilts in Parliament for the Conservative Party. Dunsany's account of his meeting with Yeats may be found in the former's autobiography:

I met Mr. W.B. Yeats for the first time, and he asked me to write a play for his Abbey Theatre. I said I couldn't write plays. He said that I might write a play about a picture that I had drawn and which Miss Eva Hamilton, the artist, had told him about: it was a picture of a burglar breaking into Paradise and being punished by the irony of finding emptiness and stars as he opens the golden gates.

The result was that Dunsany wrote *The Glittering Gate* which was produced in 1909.

Perhaps Yeats would even have had *The Tinkers' Wedding* by Synge performed because Holloway noted tersely on a production of it in England in 1909 that it had "never yet been played in Ireland": "The tone and treatment of this piece makes its performance before an Irish audience impossible."

Presumably Yeats was restrained by Lady Gregory and Synge. It would be incorrect to say that the former's plays became more patriotic because *The Gael Gate* was first performed in 1906, and Ernest Boyd describes it as follows:

Here is the tragedy of a mother who comes to the prison where her son is held for a political offense. Grieved as

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2. Ibid., pp. 90-97.
3. Ibid., pp. 104.
4. Ibid., pp. 154-155.
7. Ibid., p. 261.
she is for his loss, her grief is embittered by the belief that he has turned informer to escape death. When she learns that he has paid the extreme penalty rather than betray his friends, her Gabin is one of mingled lament and joy at the thought of his patriotic faith. Yet it is true that all but two of her plays based on Irish folk-history were performed after The Playboy riots. And Synge's only attempt in this vein, Deirdre of the Sorrows, was also begun after those disturbances.

The riots which accompanied the production of The Piper were an anti-climax. Within nine months of that event When the Dawn Is Come, a three act tragedy by Thomas MacDonagh, the plot of which resembles Verhaeren's Les Aubes, was played by the Abbey players. An enthusiastic Irish Ireland reviewer declared:

Mr. MacDonagh calls his play a tragedy, but it has more of hope than of woe. The hero dies, but the Ireland he dies for lives -- is free "When the Dawn Is Come!" It is, I think, the first Sinn Fein drama I have ever seen. It is the first to proclaim that Ireland will yet by her own strength and of her own will drive out the foreign ruler. It is a manifestation of the spirit which cares much for the hope of tomorrow, and little for the sorrows or heroisms of yesterday. Valued solely on its dramatic merits, When the Dawn Is Come is the best piece produced in the Abbey in two years.

At the time when MacDonagh's play was performed, the Abbey was "under the brief direction of J.M. Synge." Yeats was exceedingly bitter then and when he met MacDonagh in 1909 he wrote:

3. A. Gregory, Irish Folk-History Plays, facing title page.
5. See pp. 912-913.
10. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. xix.
Met MacDonagh yesterday — a man with some literary faculty which will probably come to nothing through lack of culture and encouragement. He had just written an article for The Leader, and spoke much as I do myself of the destructiveness of journalism here in Ireland, and was apologetic about his article. He is managing a school on Irish and Gaelic League principles but he says he is losing faith... 'The League,,' he said, 'is killing Celtic civilization.' I told him that Synge about ten years ago foretold this in an article in the Academy... In England this man would have become remarkable in some way, here he is being crushed... because... they have no use for distinguished feeling or individual thought.\(^1\)

Synge's death later in 1909, in spite of the fact that his production of MacDonagh's play indicated his willingness to compromise with the Fenians, still further eased the tension and it may be assumed that Irish Ireland was pleased at the chagrin of Dublin Castle when the Abbey players performed Shaw's The Shawing Up of Blanco Posnet.

In 1910-1911, O'Kelly and Dunsany

In 1910 the Fenians were further rejoiced when the Abbey refused to mourn the death of Edward VII and when the Englishwoman, A.E.F. Horniman, withdrew her subsidy. Colum returned to the National Theatre Society and with him came Seumas O'Kelly, of whom the I.R.B. held a very high opinion. Indeed, of one of his plays Irish Freedom said: "The Stranger' is one of the finest things Seumas O'Kelly has written, and no National society in the habit of producing plays should fail to put it on the stage."\(^7\)

Furthermore, F.S. O'Hegarty, of the Supreme Council of the I.R.B.,

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3. See p. 914.
5. See pp. 705, 914.
8. See p. 652.
in his Bibliographies of 1916 and the Irish Revolution noted:

Many 'who knew not Joseph' will not understand why Seumas O'Kelly is included in this series. His connection with the Irish Ireland movement, and the Sinn Fein end of it particularly, went back to the early days of the Movement, and his Shillelagh Child was a landmark in the Dramatic Movement... Moreover, he died at the post of duty...as surely, and as finely, as if he had been shot...¹

In 1911 the rapprochement continued although Lennox Robinson, who certainly was no Fenian, was "manager and producer" from 1910 to 1914. Even Lord Dunsany seems to have been affected. In 1910 he had written his second play, King Argemenes and the Unknown Soldier, which certainly glorified the physical force movement and which might be understood as pro-Irish. Lord Dunsany's comment upon the play and gossip about Lady Gregory deserve repetition;

This play suffered curious chances, for although Lady Gregory intended to put it on at the Abbey Theatre as soon as I showed it to her, various causes of which I know nothing prevented it from being staged for a year, and during that year it happened that Lady Gregory wrote a play, also about the East, and this play was put on only a week or a fortnight before mine. And as they were a similar sort of people in both plays, for the theme of each play was the freeing of an enslaved eastern people, my cast had all the clothing that had actually been worn in Lady Gregory's play...This superficial resemblance might have led some to suppose that I had been copying Lady Gregory, although it ought not to have done so.⁶

Dunsany referred to The Deliverer and there was more difference between his play and that of Lady Gregory than he may have realized. For while it is possible to see Ireland allegorically represented

³. Ibid., pp. 176, 230.
⁵. E.J. Flunkett, Five Plays, pp. 61-66.
⁷. Ibid., p. 159.
in *King Argimenes* and the Unknown Soldier, in the case of Lady Gregory's play there is no mistaking the Irish scene, or Parnell.

In 1912-1913, O'Hegarty and Pearse

In 1912 and 1913 the relations between the Fenians and the Abbey company were almost cordial. In September, 1911, the National Theatre Society, accompanied by Lady Gregory, had begun its first tour of America. During their absence, which lasted until March, 1912, a second company performed new pieces by Jane Barlow, Rutherford Mayne, Lady Gregory and William Boyle at the Abbey Theatre. In addition, Hyde's *The Tinker and the Fairy* was presented in Irish.

However, it was possibly the success of the troupe in America, rather than approval of the second company, which stimulated the editors of *Irish Freedom* to reverse the sharp criticism of its December and January numbers in a series of articles by P. S. O'Hegarty entitled "Art and the Nation." In the first article, O'Hegarty replied to Yeats' charge that the Fenians were "chewers of sawdust" by saying: "He was a notable chopper of sawdust himself once, and at the time, too, when he produced his best poetry." The article began with an appeal to Irish Nationalists for peace:

The recent visit of the Abbey Theatre Company to America, and the methods adopted by the Nationalists of America in order to manifest their disapproval of the 'Playboy,' have raised once more in many minds that old question which lies at the root of all the 'Playboy' trouble of the function of Art, its relation to life, to the imagination, and to the nation generally.... Irish Nationalists as a whole have never realized the importance, to the nation, of the absolute freedom of the artist, and, ever since the production of the 'Shadow of the Glen,' nine years ago, when the 'United Irishman' turned against the Abbey Company, neither the Abbey plays nor the Abbey players have been fair consideration in the Irish National Press (I do not include the Home Rule Press), save, perhaps, in the 'Peasant' and 'Nation.'

In June, 1913, P. H. Pearse not only indicated his agreement with O'Hegarty in a contribution to Irish Freedom, but even went further:

When a man like Synge, a man in whose sad heart there glowed a true love of Ireland, one of the two or three men who have in our time made Ireland considerable in the eyes of the world, uses strange symbols which we do not understand, we cry out that he has blasphemed and we proceed to crucify him. When a sleek lawyer, rising step by step through the most ignoble of all professions, attains to a Lord Chancellorship or to an Attorney-Generalship, we confer upon him the freedom of our cities.¹

As a sort of response to this the National Theatre Society presented plays by Joseph Campbell, and Seumas O'Kelly, and lent the Abbey theatre to Pearse for the production of An Rí.

Renewed Difficulties -- 1912-1916, Lennox Robinson

Yet these apparent cordial relations were really little more than a truce.

On April 11, 1912, the Abbey Company presented a new play

¹. P. H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, p. 145.
³. Ibid., p. 330.
⁴. See pp. 884-885.
by Lemnox Robinson, *Patriots*, which might almost have been construed as an attack of Tom Clarke:

"Patriots,"...is a trenchant satire aimed both at the physical force party, and at the comfortable agitation of the political leagues that take their patriotism out in talk. James Nugent, a political criminal, has been imprisoned for eighteen years, and returns to find his daughter a cripple because of his early campaigning, and his neighbors and friends unwilling to listen to the talk that made them potential revolutionists after the Parnell case. He realizes that Ireland is, after all, a nation of 'comfortable shopkeepers', as Yeats has said, and that his career has been a failure and a waste of life.¹

Possibly, some critical remarks by Ernest Boyd may have been provoked by Robinson's management of the National Theatre Society:

If a repertory theatre cannot afford to make experiments for the sake of art and literature, it has no justification for its existence. The ordinary commercial theatres are sufficiently unenterprising, to be entrusted with the task of providing purely popular amusement.²

And it is not surprising that the official I.R.B. organ, *Irish Freedom*, noted on the front page that O'Hegarty's opinions, as stated in "Art and the Nation" were not obligatory on members of the organization:

Some of our friends have written to us rather wrathfully on the supposition that the articles of our contributor, P.S. O'Heigartaigh, on the 'Playboy,' and the art question generally, represent the views of this paper. In this, as in other things, however, Fadaic represents, and claims to represent, himself alone.³

Further differences between the physical force party and the Abbey management are reported at the time of the Dublin strike in 1913. Helena Molony was particularly involved:

In the strike days she was playing in The Mineral Workers, having to appear on the stage in the closing scenes at 10:20. After her first appearance she went out one evening by the back way to address a great strike meeting at Liberty Hall, returning in time to finish her part on the stage. Mr. St. John Ervine, who acted as Abbey Manager for a time, attempted to stop this by getting an understudy dressed for the part on the plea that she had left the theatre. But, with the backing of the company and her own insistence, she went on and finished her part. Among her theatrical memories is the time when she played the mother in Cathleen ni Houlihan, when Lady Gregory played Cathleen.¹

And that Yeats continued to support the anti-Fenian element in the Abbey may be surmized from his volume of poetry, Responsibilities, which appeared in 1914. For in that book appeared his famous lament:

Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,
It's with O'Leary in the grave.²

And he denied that "sword-strokes were better meant than lover's music..."

Thus, on the eve of the war the Abbey and the Fenians were not the best of friends. The subsequent consideration of George Bernard Shaw's O'Flaherty, V.C., and production of a critical play by Lennox Robinson did not improve their relations. Indeed, it was not until after the war, and MacSwiney's celebrated hunger-strike, that The Revolutionist by that outspoken advocate of physical force could be produced:

It is certain that the author expected that the coming of Home Rule would mean a great outburst of jingo imperialism, of flag-wagging, military bands and all the rest of it. In

¹ R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 125.
² See p. 283.
³ W.B. Yeats, Collected Poems, p. 121.
⁴ Byrne, op. cit., p. 105.
⁵ E. Boyd, The Contemporary Drama of Ireland, pp. 157-168.
⁶ See pp. 890-891.
the play, then, the Revolutionist (Hugh O'Neill) is shown as wrestling with this new hideous world. Some of those on whose help he depended are wrenched from him, as it were, in this flood-tide of jingoism. They must live, they must marry, they must settle down, build up homes, etc., etc. Only a few faithful remain to him; and these are as difficult to manage as soldiers ever are when they find the enemy to be overwhelmingly strong. Hugh O'Neill's task is all up hill, never-ending, exhausting, killing. He rushes from place to place, encouraging, organising, steadying. He wears himself out. He dies. 1

It may also be added that Sean O'Casey's plays were not produced by the National Theatre Society until after the war although the Abbey had presented plays inspired by the Irish labor movement from the time of the great strike in 1913.

Summary

In Chapter XVIII the Irish literary theater has been discussed. And the remarks about the Abbey Theatre have been pre-
faced by a somewhat longer dissertation upon the popularity of the movement in Ireland of which it became the most celebrated example.

The discussion of the popularity of the Irish literary theater movement was divided into two parts. In the first, the use to which Irish labor, the Gaelic League and Irish schools put the literary theater was investigated.

James Connolly, who wrote two plays, was singled out as the most distinguished Irish labor leader who used this medium to express himself. The earlier of his plays does not seem to

have been produced but the later was performed on the eve of the 1916 insurrection which was to be responsible for Connolly's execution. Another Irish labor sympathizer who took part in the rising was Constance Markievicz and she, too, employed the theater as a means of spreading her rebel sentiments.

The Gaelic League manifested its interest in the theater in its Feiseanna, the Feis Ceoil and its Oireachtais. The Feiseanna were local festivals at which performances of various types were common. George Moore, Edward Martyn, W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, Alice Milligan, Joseph Campbell and Padraic Colum -- all of whom were playwrights -- took an interest in these Feiseanna. And what has been described as "the earliest drama in the Irish language" was performed at a Feis in November, 1898.

The Feis Ceoil was an annual musical festival. It was not, strictly speaking, a Gaelic League affair but was associated with the latter through Edward Martyn, T.W. Rolleston, George Moore, Kuno Meyer and Douglas Hyde. Also mentioned in connection with the Feis Ceoil were Sir Hamilton Harty, Arthur Sullivan and James Joyce. On the other hand, the Oireachtais was a literary festival which was initiated by the Gaelic League. Theatrical ventures in the Irish language were a regular feature of its annual meeting. And Douglas Hyde, Alice Milligan, W. P. Ryan, George Moore, Ernest Boyd and W.B. Yeats were among those attracted to it.

The use to which Irish schools put the literary theatre was epitomized in the activities of Saint Enda's because that school displayed more interest than any other in the movement. Saint Enda's was associated with Fenianism through P.H. Pearse,
W. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett and Desmond Ryan. It presented works by Standish J. O'Grady, Padraic Colum, P. H. Pearse and Douglas Hyde. As a result it won the admiration of Eoin MacNeill, W.B. Yeats, Stephen Gwynn, Edward Martyn and Stephen MacKenna. Indeed, Yeats was so enthusiastic that he had Pearse's An Rí performed at the Abbey by the Saint Enda's boys.

In the second part of the discussion of the Irish literary theater movement the "regional" aspects of it received attention. The word "regional" was used with reference to the places where the plays were performed rather than their contents. The remarks were devoted to troupes which performed outside and in Dublin. Particular emphasis in the case of the former was laid on productions in Belfast and Cork.

In Belfast the Ulster Literary Theatre was brought into touch with the I.R.B. through Bulmer Hobson and Joseph Campbell. Hobson was a friend of Sir Roger Casement, Tom Clarke and John Devoy; and, together with Joseph Campbell, became one of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers. Others connected with the Belfast literary theater were: Gerald MacNamara, Rutherford Mayne and Sir Samuel Ferguson.

In Cork the literary theater movement found support from such Fenian sympathisers as Daniel Corkery, T.O'Neill Russell, Alice Milligan, Terence MacSwiney and Con O'Leary. These men, together with Lemox Robinson and T.C. Murray, have been called the "Cork realists" by W.B. Yeats and it was observed that some of them displayed considerable preoccupation with the Irish labor movement.
In Dublin the literary movement had more competition from the commercial theater. Two organizations and six troupes were discussed. The two organizations were Inghinidhe-na-bEireann and Cumann na nGaedheal.

Inghinidhe-na-bEireann was the actual begotter of the Abbey Theatre. For it gave the "Ormond Dramatic Society" of the Fay brothers its first encouragement. Maud Gonne was president of the former group and Mary Quinn, wife of Dudley Digges, was its secretary. Fay's troupe was first turned toward the literary theater movement by Inghinidhe-na-bEireann and as a result of this new orientation it attracted the attention of Padraic Colum, W.B. Yeats, Alice Milligan, George Moore, George Russell and Lady Gregory. But unfortunately for the Fenians, Yeats and Lady Gregory succeeded in winning Fay's troupe from its connections with the physical force movement although Sara Allgood and Helena Molony seem to have retained their affiliations with the Abbey and Inghinidhe-na-bEireann.

Cumann-na-nGaedheal resembled Inghinidhe na bEireann in its interest in the literary theater and thereby attracted W.B. Yeats, P.H. Pearse, Edward Martyn and Arthur Griffith. One of the plays to which it awarded a prize was Colum's The Saxon Shillin', the Fenian nature of which led Dudley Digges later to remark that it "caused one poet to lift his hands to Heaven and declare that 'The Irish Theatre would go down in a sea of Fists."

The six Dublin troupes which were discussed in addition to Fay's were: the National Players, the Theatre of Ireland, the New Ireland Dramatic Company, the Leinster Stage Society, the
Independent Dramatic Company and the Irish Theatre.

The National Players and the Theatre of Ireland were largely composed of dissentients who had quit Fay's troupe or the Abbey. The former produced plays by Douglas Hyde, Alice Milligan, Seumas MacManus, Lady Gilbert and Edward Martyn. The Theatre of Ireland was served by the pens of Padraic Colum, Seumas O'Kelly (suspected of being a member of the I.R.B.), Rutherford Mayne, James Stephens and Eva Gore-Booth.

The New Ireland Dramatic Company and the Leinster Stage Society have been associated with the physical force party through their productions and sympathizers. The former produced plays about '96 and '67. Among the members of the latter was William Pearse; and considerable sympathy for it was displayed by Daniel Corkery, Con O'Leary and Terence MacSwiney.

The Independent Dramatic Company and the Irish Theatre, like the Leinster Stage Society, had direct associations with the 1916 rising. The former received the attentions of Countess Markievicz, Sean Connolly and Helena Molony; and Eva Gore-Booth, Edward Martyn and George Birmingham were playwrights whose works it performed. The Irish Theatre was connected with the 1916 rising in a similar manner. It was an attempt by Edward Martyn to revive the Irish Literary Theatre of 1899-1901 and, curiously, George Moore took a passing interest in it. In addition to performing Martyn's *The Dream Physician*, the Irish Theatre produced works by P.H. Pearse and Thomas Maconagh. And in addition to these two last mentioned men, Joseph Plunkett, a third leader of the rising, was active in Martyn's theater.

The Abbey Theatre was discussed immediately after the fore-
going remarks about the various troupes of players who made Dublin their headquarters because it, too, was essentially a Dublin group although it did travel occasionally. However, unlike the preceding it was discovered to be at odds with the Fenians on many matters and, accordingly, the consideration of that troupe was divided into three parts in order to indicate the differences and agreements between them.

The differences were traced to W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, Lady Gregory, Norreys Connell, St. John Ervine and George Bernard Shaw. Yeats, having quit the I.R.B. used his commanding position in the Abbey for direct and indirect attacks upon the former, but his censorship did little damage. And the playwrights whom he did encourage were important artists.

Lady Gregory, J. M. Synge, Norreys Connell and St. John Ervine were all directors of the Abbey and provoked varying degrees of hostility. The three men were distinguished by being more unpopular than Lady Gregory. And, with the possible exception of Ervine, the four were disliked by Sinn Fein and The Leader rather than by the I.R.B.

George Bernard Shaw, on the other hand, was alternately liked and disliked by the advocates of physical force. For an example of his unpopularity the reader was referred to John Bull's Other Island, and for popularity The Shewing Up of Blanco Posnet was mentioned. In the latter connection Shaw's brave efforts on behalf of Roger Casement were also alluded to.

The Fenians found elements in the Abbey Theatre with which they could agree. They never forgot Yeats' Cathleen Ni Houlihan, on which Lady Gregory collaborated with him. Likewise Seumas
MacManus and Padraic Colum were much esteemed in Irish Ireland circles. Then, after 1907, Lady Gregory and J.M. Synge became increasingly conciliatory. And Lord Dunsany, whom Yeats may have brought to the Abbey because of the former's Unionist background, wrote a play which openly glorified physical force. Plays by Thomas MacDonagh, Seumas O'Kelly and Joseph Campbell also deserve mention in this connection since all three were fellow-travellers, if not sworn members, of the Fenian organization. The reproachment was closest in 1912 and 1913 when P. S. O'Hegarty and P. H. Pearse praised the Abbey in *Irish Freedom*, organ of the I.R.B.

The friendly relations were strained even at that time by Lennox Robinson; and after the outbreak of the war, St. John Ervine was to strain them still further. Although it does not fall within the scope of the present research, the post-war production of a play by the celebrated hunger striker, Terence MacSwiney, was mentioned. And it was also noted that Sean O'Casey did not begin to write for the Abbey until even later.
CHAPTER XIX

CONNRA DHA NA GAEDHILGE, CUMANN NA nGAEDHEAL AND SINN FEIN

In Chapter XVIII the Abbey Theatre was discovered to be comparatively estranged from the I.R.B. In the present chapter three groups with more Irish-sounding names will be investigated with reference to their relations to the physical force organization -- Connradh na Gaedhilge (the Gaelic League), Cumann na nGaedheal and Sinn Fein. It will be noticed at once that all three bear Irish names and that this is a new departure.

Connradh na Gaedhilge

Although the organization itself has been popularly known as the "Gaelic League," it seems safe to date the popularity of Irish names from the foundation of Connradh na Gaedhilge in 1893. The following discussion of this influential organization will be divided into three parts: first, its formation, early propaganda and recruits; second, its schools; and third, the growth of Fenianism in it after 1907.

Formation, Early Propaganda and Recruits

The three terms in the present subheading will be taken up seriatim.

Formation

On February 6, 1933, in his "Opening Speech of Athlone..."
Broadcasting Station" Eamonn De Valera, President of the Irish Free State, declared:

The Irish language is one of the oldest, and, from the point of view of the philologist, one of the most interesting in Europe. It is a member of the Indo-European family, principal of the Celtic group, of which the other two dialects are ancient Gaulish, which has come down to us only in inscriptions, and Brythonic, represented today by Welsh and Breton. Irish is closely related to Greek and Sanscrit, and still more closely to Latin.1

Taking up the story, Desmond Ryan continued:

Ireland, often disarmed, has seemed to find in that old speech...something more powerful than armies. In the folklore of Ireland sometimes a warrior prevails by a strange weapon known as the Sword of Light. One old saga tells of how the spy of the Norse invaders crept by night to the court of the sleeping High King, whose half-drawn sword seemed to light up the hall. The learned have explained this Sword of Light as a memory transmitted from some poetic observer who first saw a glint of steel in the dying Bronze Age.2

In the present research, interest in the revival of Celtic has been traced to American, Scotch and Irish sources. It may be added that in 1875, when John Stuart Blackie on a visit to Ireland displayed his interest in Celtic by stopping to see Archbishop MacHale at Tuam, Sir Samuel Ferguson wrote to the Scot:

I enclose a contribution to your Celtic Chair. If my means were larger, my support would be more substantial. We have done our endeavour to found such a Chair here; but all things Celtic are regarded by our educated classes as of questionable ten, and an idea exists that it is inexpedient to encourage anything tending to foster Irish sentiment.3

Yet it was not long after Ferguson had written the above that the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded:

1. E. De Valera, President De Valera Recent Speeches and Broadcasts, p. 50.
Its main achievement was to secure the recognition of Irish on the new Intermediate Board. A petition with influential names was addressed to the British Parliament in favour of admitting Irish to the list of languages for examination as well as Latin, Greek, and French. 'And Celtic?' pleaded the O'Connell Don as he moved that innocent amendment without any objection. And thus Irish disguised as 'Celtic' slipped into Irish secondary schools... The second achievement of the Society was to publish cheap editions with interlinear English translations of such Gaelic classics as The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Gairme, The Fate of the Children of Lir, parts of Keating’s History, and some other works including elementary grammars and textbooks.

But in spite of these accomplishments, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was not progressive enough for some of its "more active spirits":

Among the more active spirits in the Society were... Dr. Sigerson... Michael Cusack, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association... the original it is believed of James Joyce’s immortal Citizen in Ulysses, Dr. Croke, Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, one of the most national of the Irish bishops of the time, who was patron of the Society... T. O'Neill Russell... and Rev. Canon Ulick Bourke. 2

These men, together with James Murphy and Douglas Hyde, decided to form a new organization -- the Gaelic Union.

In time the Gaelic Union was discovered to be too timid by some of its members, notably Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill, Father O'Grownney and the Reverend Maxwell Close:

Even the Gaelic Union in 1882 was so rattled by a Times leading article attacking its efforts to introduce Irish into the schools as an attempt to bribe 'teachers and school-children to learn a language which can teach them nothing and by which they can learn nothing' that its Council passed a resolution repudiating any desire to make Irish the spoken language of Ireland as such a policy would injure trade and international travel and deprive Irishmen of Government positions and other well-paid posts.

2. Ibid., pp. 212-213.
4. See pp. 236, 381.
Accordingly, in 1891, Douglas Hyde, addressing an Irish-American society in New York, proposed "to stop the decay" of the Irish language "by an organized appeal" to native speakers of it:

He had spoken in Irish for half an hour, saying he was under an oath to speak only Irish wherever his audience or companions could understand that language, and until Irish speakers had the courage to use that tongue in public there was little hope, not only of a revival of the language, but of the national spirit. He had found in the United States, what he knew before through his correspondence, that among the Irish exiles small groups still kept up a written and spoken cultivation of Irish, and by this apparently simple appeal he perhaps hoped to encourage these scattered workers.1

Hyde had some reason to expect help from America. Indeed, he had told a Trinity College friend "that although he wrote much in Irish, no Irish newspaper would publish it, and he sent it to an Irish paper in Chicago where the editor, ignorant of Irish, had sent for O'Donovan Rossa, and Rossa's translation of Hyde's work had then appeared in the paper." Then in 1893 Eoin MacNeill, who had succeeded Father O'G rown emy as editor of the Gaelic Journal, aroused Irish interest in Hyde's project and before the end of the year Connradh na Gaedhilge was formed.

It may be added that in time the Gaelic League absorbed the Gaelic Union. For as early as September 30, 1896, Connradh na Gaedhilge reported:

The Gaelic League, which has been managing the Gaelic Journal since Father O'G r own emy's departure for America, finally took it over in 1895, and it has been produced regularly every month under their direction. The editor and manager are respectively Mr. John MacNeill, B.A., and Mr. John Hogan.6

1. Ryan, op. cit., pp. 219-221.
2. See pp. 344, 365-367.
4. A. O'Farrelly ed., Leabhar an A t a r E O g A N, pp. 113, 122.
5. See pp. 573-576.
Early Propaganda

The Gaelic League drew attention to itself in various ways — by literature, entertainments and controversies.

As an example of its propagandist literature, the Gaelic Journal may be noted. Later, there were two other periodicals, Fainne An Lao and An Claidheamh Soluis.

Fainne An Lao was "a weekly paper largely in Irish and wholly devoted to the cause of the Irish language." Evidently, the Gaelic League agreed to subsidize it when it was started in January, 1898, but before it was a year old this connection was broken:

At the end of 1899 the Committee came to the conclusion that its connection with Fainne An Lao could not be maintained satisfactorily, and therefore discontinued that paper as an organ of the League. Arrangements were made to publish a weekly paper under the name of An Claidheamh Soluis, which should be the League's own property and exclusively under its management. The first number...appeared on 17th March, 1899.

The publication of the Gaelic Journal as a monthly literary journal has been continued under the editorship of Mr. J.H. Lloyd.3

An Claidheamh Soluis was edited by Eoin MacNeill, the friend of Father O'Grownen, until 1901, when he was succeeded by O. Naughton. At that time, the Publications Committee consisted of Douglas Hyde, chairman, Agnes O'Farrelly, "Rev. M.P. O'Hickey, D.D.; Messrs. J.H. Lloyd, S.J. Barrett, T. O'Donoghue, E. O'Neill, R.A. Foley, J. Clarke and Ph.D. Pearse, B.L., hon. secretary."

1. Unsigned, uncaptioned, An Gaedal, October, 1901, p. 327.
3. Ibid., 1899-1900, p. 3.
Among the songs, leaflets, booklets and books in which this com-
mittee was interested at that time, perhaps the most important
involved the collaboration of Hyde and Lady Gregory on "a volume
of tales from the 'Cuchulainn Cycle'."

In 1903, P.H. Pearse became editor and Sean T. O'Ceallaigh
of the I.R.B., manager of An Claideamh Soluis. Pearse thereupon
"announced his intention of making it "the organ of militant Gael-
dom." His work for the paper has been summarized as follows:

...he wrote many articles on new methods of language teach-
ing, the use and place of history in education, on the influ-
ence of native and national inspiration in literature. He
carried on a vigorous campaign for Irish in the primary
schools, where he urged the language should be taught on bi-
lingual lines, and this slogan of bilingualism he raised in
every discussion on the future of the Irish language. He
visited Belgium, France, and Wales, and studied the two-
language system there, and on his return expounded the prin-
ciples he had seen at work in the Belgian schools in many
articles and finally in textbooks of his own. In 1903, he
founded a bilingual school of his own, St. Enda's College in
Rathmines, Dublin, and two years later removed it to the
Hermitage, Rathfarnham, where William Elliott Hudson had
worked before him.

In a sense, the conflict which was to lead to the taking
over of the Gaelic League by the separatists in 1915 may be said
to have been initiated when Pearse became editor of the Gaelic
League organ. And it may be supposed that Pearse's militancy
was ably abetted by another Gaelic League publicist who also was
8 to be executed in 1916, Mr. M. O'Hanrahan:

1. See p. 739.
2. Report of the Executive Committee of the Gaelic League, 1902-
   1903, p. 12.
4. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
5. P. Colum and E.J. O'Brien, ed., Poems of the Irish Revolu-
tionary Brotherhood, p. x.
7. Ibid., p. 237.
Micheál Ó h-Ámhracháin was Honorary Secretary to the Ard-Gaoth of the Gaelic League in 1904-5. The printed annual report of the Branch for this year has 15 pages of text, of which nine consist of the Honorary Secretary’s report, in Irish, signed and dated 31 Bealtaine, 1905, with a three-page summary in English, also similarly signed and dated. The other three pages of the text are occupied by a report of the Hon. Librarian, Seamus Ua Casaide, with a list of donations to the library.1

Entertainments which the Gaelic League used for propaganda purposes have already been referred to with special emphasis on Feiséanna and the Oireachtas.

In addition to propagandist literature and entertainment, the Gaelic League attracted attention by various controversies. Thus, the Fenian members expostulated when it refused to take part in the ‘98 centenary; and W.P. Ryan filled The Pope’s Green Island with stories of other conflicts.

Perhaps the most significant controversy resulted from the hearings of a Royal Commission which was gathering information about secondary education in Ireland in 1898 and 1899. Dr. Mahaffy and Dr. Atkinson of Trinity College had attacked the teaching of Irish before it. Mahaffy’s arguments have been summed up as follows:

Taken as a whole, according to Professor Mahaffy, the Gaelic movement is a childish and factitious movement, merely a plaything for the people, invented by rebels who are trying to foment anti-British feeling, and to accentuate the separation between Ireland and England, and who know that Home Rule is ‘only a question of time provided they can nourish separation sentiment, and revive the hitherto decreasing sense of contrast in race by establishing contrast in language.’ As to what is called Celtic Literature, Mr. Mahaffy has no expres-

sion strong enough for its condemnation; he affirms, on the authority of those who know, that outside religious writings there are no Irish writings which are not either 'silly or indecent.' His colleague, Mr. Atkinson, upholds him with his authority in declaring that all this old literature is 'almost intolerably low in tone.' 'Never,' he says, 'let your children be brought into contact with this.'

To answer Mahaffy and Atkinson, Professor Zimmer of Greifswald, "Dottin of Rennes, Windisch of Leipzig, Stern of Berlin, M. Pedersen of Copenhagen and others" were invoked by the Gaelic League. Also, W.B. Yeats, William Larminie, Alfred Nutt, Kuno Meyer, Douglas Hyde, Edward Martyn, Eoin MacNeill and P.H. Pearse spoke out in defense of the Irish language. However, such a distinguished array of names carried little weight with the Government. And in 1901, Mahaffy was nominated to membership on the Board of Intermediate Education, "a nomination that was resented as a personal insult by all Gaelic Ireland."

An interesting result of the controversy to which reference has already been made was a play by Douglas Hyde, The Bursting of the Bubble, in which Mahaffy and Atkinson were satirized.

Recruits

The most important result of these efforts of the Gaelic League to attract attention was the enlistment of various distinguished recruits. Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill and T. O'Neill Russell have already been described as founders of the organiza-

1. L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland, p. 414.
2. Ibid., p. 415.
3. Ibid., p. 416.
4. See p. 880.
tion. Two notorious Fenians and an old Fenian sympathizer also were recruited in its first year of existence — Michael Cusack, James Boland and George Sigerson.

The interest which James Joyce took in Cusack has already been referred to. Lady Gregory also knew him. Those who have read Hail and Farewell, may remember that George Moore, Edward Martyn, W.B. Yeats and Lady Gregory were together in the west of Ireland during the summer of 1899. Perhaps Cusack was there too for Yeats recorded:

Douglas Hyde was at Coole in the summer of 1899. Lady Gregory, who had learnt Gaelic to satisfy her son's passing desire for a teacher, had founded a branch of the Gaelic League; men began to know the name of the poet whose songs they had sung for years.

James Boland belonged to the dynamite faction of the I.R.B. and was the father of Harry Boland who took part with the Fenians in the Easter week rising and was subsequently killed in the Irish civil war in 1922. James Boland had fought against Michael Davitt and T.M. Healy, for he was a Farnellite:

He had no belief in parliamentary agitators, but when the great leader of the Irish party in the British House of Commons was struck at by England and her Irish MacMurroughs, Boland and his friends rendered him untold service. As a result of an unprovoked assault by a cowardly crowd of political opponents, he died in his prime on March 11th, 1895... His remains were accorded a public funeral.

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2. See pp. 497-498, 573.
3. See pp. 159-160.
4. See pp. 244, 423, 573.
Sigerson had been a friend of John O'Leary at least since the days of Irish People. At the time of that periodical he had been a subscriber to the Ossianic Society along with such noted exponents of physical force as John O'Mahony, O'Donovan Rossa and John Mitchel. His academic career has been outlined by Desmond Ryan:

He was, among many other branches of science and art, professor of botany and biology at Newman’s Catholic University, the Royal University, and the National University in turn... On one occasion while he lectured to his students there was excitement in the Dublin streets, as well there might be, as it was one of Queen Victoria’s rare visits to Ireland. His students rushed to the windows but were drawn back by the scornful protest of Sigerson: 'How dare you leave my lectures to look at that woman!'

(One would like to know if James Joyce were in that class.)

Sigerson, of course, had belonged to the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, and the Gaelic Union. Accordingly it was appropriate that he should have been elected to the Council of the Gaelic League, although this did not happen until 1895, two years before the appearance of his anthology, Bards of the Gael and the Gall.

Other recruits who joined the Gaelic League within a decade of its formation were Edward Martyn, George Moore, Lady...

1. See p. 186.
3. See p. 541.
5. Ibid., p. 204.
7. See p. 234.
11. See pp. 738-739.
12. See p. 738-739.
The contrast in the attitudes of Synge and Pearse toward the League is noteworthy. Synge expected little permanent good to come from it. To conclude his essays entitled In the Congested Districts, Synge dismissed it in favor of Home Rule as a solution to the problem of emigration:

For the present the Gaelic League is probably doing more than any other movement to check this terrible evil, and yet one fears that when the people realise in five, or perhaps in ten, years that this hope of restoring a lost language is a vain one, the last result will be a new kind of hopelessness and many crowded ships leaving Queenstown and Galway. Happily in some places there is a counter-current of people returning from America. Yet they are not very numerous, and one feels that the only real remedy for emigration is the restoration of some national life to the people.6

In contrast to this pessimism was the attitude of P. H. Pearse. In March, 1907, the latter said:

There is growing up, however, in the ranks of the Gaelic League, a school of modern Gaelic writers; and their work may be seen, month by month, in the columns of the Gaelic Journal. A modern Gaelic prose style is being formed, and, when developed, it will combine, let us hope, the purity and elegance of Keating, with the nature-love and imagination-play of the mediaeval romances.7

And two years later he was lecturing in Gaelic at University College, Dublin:

Already in 1899 he started his Irish classes at University College, and in 1901 and 1902, he was still teaching Irish there at the same time as Eoin MacNeill. In the same years also he gave lectures in Irish for beginners, and these

1. See p. 739.
4. See pp. 738-739.
5. See p. 940.
lectures were attended by such men as...Francis Hackett, and, it is said, James Joyce.1

James Joyce

Joyce's biographer partially confirmed this story that his subject had attended Pearse's class in the following words:

At the earnest solicitation of George Clancy he attended some of the Irish classes conducted by either Patrick Pearse or another but dropped out in disgust and boredom at the continual ridicule aimed by the overenthusiastic lecturer at English: sound, sense, syntax and all.2

George Clancy had a career which in some ways paralleled that of Pearse. For not only was he an enthusiastic Gaelic Leaguer in college but afterwards he was to be shot by Crown forces:

Years later (in 1921) Clancy was sacrificed to those ideals when, as Lord Mayor of Limerick and 'the heart' of the Sinn Fein movement in that district, he was shot down in his home by Black and Tans.3

But he is of even greater interest to the student of James Joyce as the original of "the Davin of A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" who "had sat at the feet of Michael Cusack, the Gael." 4

In view of their parallel careers it may be supposed that Clancy's background was not unlike that of Pearse and therefore it is illuminating to record that Davin (Clancy) was suspected by his college friends of being a Fenian:

Side by side with his memory of the deeds of prowess of his uncle Nat Davin, the athlete, the young peasant worshipped the sorrowful legend of Ireland. The gossip of his fellow students which strove to render the flat life of the college significant at any cost loved to think of him as a young Fenian. His nurse had taught him Irish and had shaped his rude imagination by the broken lights of Irish myth.5

1. LéRoux, op. cit., p. 17.
4. See p. 248.
(Presumably "uncle Mat Davin" was the same as the man whose photograph appeared in An Gaedel in 1901.) Indeed, Dedalus (Joyce) twitted Clancy about his belief in physical force:

—Now that you have signed the petition for universal peace — said Stephen — I suppose you will burn that little copybook I saw in your room.

As Davin did not answer Stephen began to quote:
— Long pace, fianna! Right incline, fianna! Fianna, by numbers, salute, one two!
— That's a different question — said Davin. — I'm an Irish nationalist, first and foremost. But that's you all out. You're a born sneerer, Stevie.
— When you make the next rebellion with hurley-sticks — said Stephen — and want the indispensible informer, tell me. I can find you a few in this college.
— I can't understand you — said Davin. — One time I hear you talk against English literature. Now you talk against Irish informers. What with your name and your ideas... are you Irish at all?
— Come with me now to the office of arms and I will show you the tree of my family — said Stephen.
— Then be one of us — said Davin. — Why don't you learn Irish? Why did you drop out of the league class after the first lesson?

Dedalus replied that he took no stock in nationality, language or religion (if Joyce had left the three out of his major prose works, there would be little left of them!) and attacked the Irish people as fickle:

— My ancestors threw off their language and took another — said Stephen. — They allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them. Do you fancy I am going to pay in my own life and person debts they made? What for?
— For our freedom — said Davin.
— No honourable and sincere man — said Stephen — has given up to you his life and his youth and his affections from the days of Tone to those of Parnell but you sold him to the enemy or failed him in need or reviled him and left him for another. And you invite me to be one of you. I'd see you damned first.
— They died for their ideals, Stevie — said Davin. — Our day will come yet, believe me.

Unlike Clancy (Davin), Pearse probably did not consider

1. See p. 760.
2. J. Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, p. 236.
3. Ibid., pp. 237-238.
himself a Fenian at this stage in his career although he was interested in physical force. Indeed, it would seem that he did not consider himself a member of the physical force party until 1910:

His maternal grandfather was a Fenian, his own father had, to say the least, Fenian sympathies, and he himself considered himself a Fenian since his connection started first with the Wolfe Tone Club in Dublin towards 1910.3

Yet Pearse, the sympathizer, and Davin, the Fenian, must have appeared alike to Mahaffy and Atkinson since both were enthusiastically in favor of the revival of the Irish language and therefore were trying to "foment anti-British feeling."

Schools

The Gaelic League won adult recruits by its literature, entertainments and controversies. Its message was imparted to the young through various schools. Among the secondary schools which taught Irish, those maintained by the Christian Brothers, a Roman Catholic order, deserve mention. Writing of the influence of the formation of the Gaelic League, P.S. O'Hegarty reported in his brief biography of Terence MacSwiney:

Since then, Irish history has been made by two things; by the study of the Irish language and by the study of Irish history. And in these studies the Christian Brothers were honorable pioneers. Of the men who, since Parnell's debacle, have remade Ireland, it may not be inopportune to set down that, like Terry, Arthur Griffith, William Rooney, and P.H. Pearse were pupils of the Christian Brothers schools.5

Another secondary school, Saint Enda's, deserves more detailed

1. P.H. Pearse, Three Lectures on Gaelic Topics, pp. 43-55.
2. Ibid., pp. 15-19.
3. Lecky, op. cit., p. 22.
4. See p. 538.
consideration; but first something must be said about the teaching of Irish at the college level.

College Level

In speaking of the teaching of Irish at the college level, various summer colleges and the National University merit particular consideration.

Summer Colleges

In 1899, as a result of the "inveigling" of Sir Horace Plunkett, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland was created by the Conservative Government. The first chief of the new Department, of course, was Plunkett, whose sympathy with the Gaelic League has already been noted. Evidence that the League was willing to cooperate with him is to be found in the composition of its Industrial Committee in 1903: Reverend T.A. Finlay, S.J., Count Plunkett, John Sweetman, W.P. Ryan, P. T. MacGinley, G.W. Russell, D.P. Moran, Edward Martyn, Arthur Griffith, Reverend J. o'Donovan and Richard Hazleton. Furthermore, the existence of such cooperation may be discovered in a trip which a member of the Gaelic League, P.H. Pearse, made to Connacht in the spring of 1903 as an examiner in Irish. For a grant was given by the Department of Agriculture for each teacher who obtained a certificate in the language.

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3. Ibid., p. 453, note.
4. See p. 578.
7. D. Coffey, Douglas Hyde President of Ireland, p. 64.
The various summer colleges, which subsequently came into existence, were indebted to Plunkett's Department for this grant. They were "not directly controlled by the Gaelic League, but intimately connected with the Gaelic movement:"

In their early days the Summer Colleges were largely attended by individuals who were learning Irish for its own sake, though there were always a number of school-teachers who required it for the purposes of their profession. 1

An allusion has already been made to Sir Roger Casement's interest in two of these colleges as early as 1906, Ballingeary and Clohaneely. Also associated with the latter were P. H. Pearse, Alice Milligan, Eoin MacNeill and Agnes O'Farrelly.

Other Irish summer colleges of peculiar concern to the student of the physical force movement were An Rinn, Spideal, and Eawin, and Cortahork.

An Rinn is memorable because of the visits to it of Cathal Brugha, second "in Command at the South Dublin Union, under Eamonn Kent, in 1916." Teachers at Spideal were Colm O Lochlainn and Michael Breathnach:

Eamonn Ceannt was there and Liam Mellows, Joseph Mary Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh. Padraig Pearse was an external examiner for the language and came every year for the tests. Sean Phadraic O Conaire, between his wayward wanderings, came and taught and told humorous stories... 6

Eawin is of particular interest because of the link which it provided between Casement and Eamonn De Valera. As one of De

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2. See p. 895.
Valera's biographers said:

Besides his work as teacher of Irish in the Dublin Gaelic class, de Valera also took charge of the Tawn Summer School in County Galway. It was founded by Roger Casement, whom he first met there. From this remote Western village a troupe of Gaelic-speaking players toured Ireland and the United States.\(^1\)

In view of Casement's interest in Gortahork, a description of the activities there which appeared in *The Wasted Island* has a peculiar importance. During his stay at the summer college, the protagonist of Eimar O'Duffy's novel, "learned how to dance the Rinne Feada and the Walls of Limerick," and also heard of the Irish poet Aodhagan O'Rahilly: "Floruit circa 1700. The Penal days, you know. The Gaelic people of Ireland - Lecky's 'degraded Catholic multitude' - could produce poets even then..."

Yet, the sophisticated hero found the study of the Irish language to be rather boring:

After a very few lessons, to the disgust of his friends, he ceased attendance and took to wandering about the country by himself. Thenceforward he only visited the college for an occasional ceilidhe in the evening, or to hear the blind German musician, Carl Hardebeck, lecturing on the melodies he was engaged in collecting from the peasants.\(^4\)

The National University

The struggle to make Irish compulsory at the National University of Ireland when it was established in 1908 has already been remarked, as has the support of the Clan-na-Gael for those who favored making the language essential. The I.R.B., the

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\(^1\) D. Ryan, *Unique Dictator*, p. 34.
\(^2\) See p. 600.
\(^3\) E. O'Duffy, *The Wasted Island*, p. 211.
\(^6\) See pp. 580-582.
\(^7\) See p. 792.
Gaelic League and the County Councils also joined in the fray.

The I.R.B. was represented in the battle by Tom Clarke and

by his friend, Patrick MacCartan:

It was at Tom's bidding that a students' meeting was or-

ganized at the Mansion House at which Douglas Hyde spoke. 
Tom made many suggestions for the meeting, which was an 
I.R.B. affair, and at which McCartan was the I.R.B. agent.

Later, MacCartan launched and edited the Irish Student, but
only after a consultation with Clarke, who was irritated by 
the action of the National University in deciding against 
essential Irish. Tom and the executive of the I.R.B. gave 
MacCartan all the support they could with the Irish Student, 
which began by advocating leaving the National University 
if it were to become a creche for the 'suckling saddlers', 
and MacCartan even left the University. Shortly after the 
publication of the first two issues of the Irish Student, 
Douglas Hyde made representations to MacCartan through the 
Secretary of the Gaelic League, who promised MacCartan that 
Irish would be made essential in the University. The gal-
lant little journal then stopped publication, although the 
Clan-na-Gael of Philadelphia had sent 100 pounds, and promised 
more through Joe McGarrity, to whom the money was promptly 
returned.1

Perhaps the most striking display in favor of compulsory 
Irish appeared on St. Patrick's Day when the Gaelic Leaguers used 
the annual parade as an excuse to turn out in force. The Chris-
tian Brothers sent thousands of their schoolboys to swell the 
been 
procession. Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill, who had/appointed to the 
chair of Early Medieval History at the new University, and many 
others made eloquent appeals to the multitude who had assembled 
in honor of Ireland's patron saint.

Subsequently, the popularly elected County Councils took 
up the fight, refusing to provide money for scholarships unless 
Irish were made a compulsory subject:

A deputation from the General Council of County Councils was received by the Senate with that courtesy and consideration which those who can give or withhold money ever command. The deputation was headed by Mr. Ennis, who told the Senate that the Irish County Councils, through their general Council, wished to have Irish placed on the course for matriculation as a compulsory subject. The Senate bowed to the demand of the Nation, and by a narrow majority decided that Irish should be compulsory on all Irish students, thus permitting those who from foreign birth were not able to speak Gaelic to pass in other subjects alone.1

Saint Enda's

In discussing Saint Enda's school, something will be said about P.H. Pearse as its founder and Thomas MacDonagh as the most famous member of its staff.

P.H. Pearse, the Founder

The history of Saint Enda's may be traced back to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction because it would seem that Pearse's visit to Connacht in 1903 as a district inspector was attributable to that bureau.

To be sure, Pearse had taught Irish while a student at University College, but he had prepared himself to be a lawyer. Indeed, he had even had his day in Court:

At about 1903, Pearse as Junior Barrister pleaded at the Court for the right of Irish farmers to put their names in Irish on their carts. He lost his case, but was publicly complimented on his ability by Lord Justice O'Brien.5

Yet, even as he was studying his law books he was working for the publications committee of the Gaelic League. In this connection there is an interesting story told about Pearse and

1. Diarmid O Gobhthaigh, Douglas Hyde, pp. 91-96.
2. See p. 946.
3. See p. 945.
the Irish poet Colm Wallace:

This Irish writer was generally believed to be dead for many years and one can imagine the surprise of Pearse and his colleagues to find Colm Wallace actually alive -- a centenarian in Oughterard workhouse! Pearse’s committee took the poet from the workhouse and provided him with a small pension to enjoy his remaining years in peace and liberty. But shortly afterwards Wallace, at his own request, returned... and died there aged a hundred and ten.1

This love of the Irish language, it may be assumed, led Pearse to give up his ambition to be a lawyer and to accept the post of editor of An Claidheamh Soluis when the Gaelic League offered it to him in 1903. Thereafter, as already mentioned, his interest in education continued to grow until finally he decided to start a school of his own which would be thoroughly Irish:

What I mean by an Irish school is a school that takes Ireland for granted. You need not praise the Irish language -- simply speak it; you need not denounce English games -- play Irish ones; you need not ignore foreign history, foreign literatures -- deal with them from the Irish point of view. An Irish school need no more be a purely Irish-speaking school than an Irish nation need be a purely Irish-speaking nation; but an Irish school, like an Irish nation, must be permeated through and through by Irish culture, the repository of which is the Irish language.2

According to Denis Gwynn, who was a student at St. Enda’s, Patrick Pearse "had only a hundred pounds in all when he started the school." It opened on September 3, 1908 at Cullenswood House, birthplace of W. E. H. Lecky, with an enrollment of forty pupils. Irish was to be the medium of instruction. Foreign

2. See pp. 936-937.
3. See p. 957.
5. Ibid, pp. 56-66.
8. Ibid., p. 5; see pp. 185-184, 520-521.
languages were to be taught by the direct method. Considerable self-government of a student-republic character was to be encouraged. A paper, An Macacmh, was begun. The school attracted immediate attention.

Presumably, Pearse spent the summer of 1909 at Rossmuc where he had been going since 1903. At any rate, it was in the heart of the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking area) and he decided to have a summer school for Saint Enda boys there:

He built his cottage in 1908. For his mother and sisters and Willie, who was to die with him, then he decided that the lads at St. Enda's should come also to Rossmuc and learn Irish during the summer months. Mellowes formed the first branch of Fianna Eireann at Rossmuc, and it was from there that Pearse made arrangements to form the first company of Irish Volunteers.

An interesting picture of the life there may be found in Desmond Ryan's Remembering Sinn.

In 1910 the difficulties which prevented Pearse's school from being a complete success first became acute when he removed St. Enda's to the Hermitage, Rathfarnham, and converted Cullenswood House into a short-lived Girls' School, St. Ita's. The advertisement for the school which he inserted in Irish Review after St. Enda's removal to Rathfarnham, may be quoted:

SAINT ENDA'S COLLEGE
RATHFARNHAM

HEADMASTER P. H. PEARSE, B. A.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

8. Ibid., p. 75, note.
Apart from its Irish standpoint, St. Enda's is distinguished from other secondary schools for boys by the appeal which its courses make to the imagination of its pupils, by its broad literary programme, its objecting to cramming, its viva voce teaching of modern languages, and its homelike domestic arrangements which are in charge of ladies. The College stands on 50 acres of beautiful grounds. Recent successes include fifteen matriculations at N.U.I. A University Hostel is attached. Classes resume September 8th.

For Prospectus apply to the Headmaster.¹

Thus it was probably with the unexpressed intention of drawing notice to the financial plight of his own school as well as the backwardness of secondary education elsewhere in Ireland that Pearse began to write The Murder Machine in 1913. But his main grievance was that the educational system of Ireland was so constructed as to propagandize Irish children into the belief that they were English.

Pearse's trip to America in 1914 is said to have put an end to his financial worries. At any rate, St. Enda's continued after the outbreak of war; but it did not long survive Pearse's execution in 1916.

Thomas MacDonagh and the Staff

The names of five of the fourteen men who were executed in Dublin for their part in the Easter week rising may be closely associated with the staff of St. Enda's -- Patrick H. Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, Con Colbert and Sean Houston.

¹ Irish Review, August, 1913.
² P.H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, pp. 3-50.
³ See pp. 792-794.
⁴ D. Ryan, Remembering Sion, p. 142.
⁵ MacArdle, op. cit., p. 1021.
The last two named were not connected with St Enda's as long as the others. According to Desmond Ryan, Colbert's activities at Pearse's school began in 1915; and Le Roux says:

...Pearse intentionally selected his school drill instructors from Na Fianna - Con Colbert, Sean Heuston, and Liam Mellows - and many of his elder pupils who had finished their studies at St. Enda's but were boarding there, and attending University lectures, joined Fianna centres of the I.R.B.\(^2\)

William Pearse, brother of P.H. Pearse, took an interest in the literary theater movement. He appeared in An Rí when it was produced at the Abbey and The Master when it was performed at the Irish Theatre in 1915. He had inherited his father's business "as a monumental sculptor" and may have been in part responsible for advertisements for the Metropolitan School of Art and The Dublin Woodworkers which appeared in Irish Review. In spite of these varied interests he once told Desmond Ryan, when the latter was a student at St. Enda's; "Beyond this school I have no interest in life. Thomas MacDonagh merits further consideration.

Thomas MacDonagh was associated with Pearse from the opening of St. Enda's in 1908. Mary M. Colum, who taught at St. Ita's, explained the relationship in this way:

Thomas MacDonagh, who was at that time teaching French in a school in Fermoy in County Cork, came and offered his long

1. Ryan, Remembering Sim, pp. 166-167.
2. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, pp. 103-104.
9. Ibid., pp. 91-94.
experience of boarding schools to Pearse, and so he became his second master. In addition there was a large staff of men and women of well-known scholastic attainments.¹

Also it may be noted that Padraic Colum, who had first met him in Fermoy, wrote of MacDonagh’s origins:

Thomas was trained by a religious order and was indeed a religious novice in his youth. He became a teacher in a College in Kilkenny and afterwards in Fermoy. While he was in Kilkenny he took up the study of Irish and he became one of the advance guard of the Gaelic League. In the Arran Islands and in the Irish-speaking districts of Munster he made himself fluent in the language. In 1901 and 1902 he published a volume of literary verse, ‘Through the Ivory Gate’ and ‘April and May.’ He had dedicated one of the volumes to Mr. Yeats and had corresponded with him, but he was not then known in the literary groups in Dublin.²

When Yeats first met MacDonagh in 1909, it was after the Abbey had produced the latter’s play, When the Dawn Is Come. At that time, Yeats spoke of St. Enda’s as a school managed “on Irish and Gaelic League principles” but believed that MacDonagh was losing faith in the League. Later, in the same year, MacDonagh called on him and Yeats wrote:

He watches the Irish-speaking boys at his school, and when nobody is looking, or when they are alone with the Irish-speaking gardener, they are merry, clever and talkative. When they meet an English speaker or one who has learned Gaelic, they are stupid. They are in a different world. Presently he spoke of his nine years in a monastery...³

Of MacDonagh in 1910 his friend, James Stephens, wrote:

At that time he lived a kind of semi-detached life at the gate-lodge of Mr. Houston’s house in the Dublin hills. To this house all literary Dublin used to repair, and there MacDonagh was constantly to be seen. He was a quaint recluse who delighted in company, and he fled into and out of solitude with equal precipitancy.⁴

2. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. xix.
6. T. MacDonagh, Poetical Works, p. ix.
It was also in this year that his volume of verse, *Songs of Myself*, appeared. His friend, Padraic Colum, has said:

When this book was published he went to Paris for a while to do some reading. Then he took his M.A. degree in the National University. Professor Houston in the College of Science with James Stephens, MacDonagh and myself started the *Irish Review*. MacDonagh was associate editor, first with the three of us, and, after an interregnum, with his friend Joseph Plunkett. He wrote a thesis, 'Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry,' and was made assistant professor of English literature in the National University, Dublin.

It was, perhaps, in 1911 that MacDonagh came to know his future brother-in-law, Joseph Mary Plunkett. In *The Road Round Ireland*, Padraic Colum told of the meeting:

I think he had been in Dublin about three years when he became associated with Joseph Plunkett. I remember his telling me that a lady had called at the school to ask him to help her son with his Irish studies. The student whom MacDonagh then took on was Joseph Mary Plunkett. The association had an influence upon both of the men. MacDonagh brought Plunkett's poems to us on the 'Irish Review,' recommending them strongly. Plunkett became MacDonagh's admirer and friend; he also became an influence upon him.

Another reason for supposing that the friendship between Plunkett and MacDonagh may be dated from 1911 was the appearance in that year of a volume of verse by the former, *The Circle and the Sword*, dedicated to the latter.

In the fall of 1913, MacDonagh and Plunkett took over the *Irish Review*. Colum has recorded further activities of Plunkett:

Afterwards they formed a little literary theatre and produced plays written in their own circle, with some European masterpieces. Tchekoff's 'Uncle Vanya' was amongst the plays they produced. Like his friend MacDonagh he

joined the Irish Volunteers on their formation and he, too, had a command and a place on the Executive.\(^1\)

It is probably unnecessary to point out that the theater referred to is the same one in which Edward Martyn was interested.

**The Growth of Fenianism in the Gaelic League After 1907**

Although a discussion of the Gaelic League after 1907 has been indirectly involved in the foregoing remarks about Irish schools, a few words about the language revival after that date are still in order. To indicate the drift of the Gaelic League towards the physical force party, a brief examination of the connections between it and the careers of Stephen MacKenna, Sir Roger Casement, Eoin MacNeill, Eamon De Valera, Eamon Ceannt, Sean MacDiarmada and P.H. Pearse will be illuminating.

Stephen MacKenna

Stephen MacKenna has already been introduced as a resident of Paris with many Fenian friends in the Irish colony in the French Capital. In 1903, he "obtained permanent employment as a leader-writer for the *Freeman's Journal*" and settled down in Dublin "which was to be, with one interval, his home for the next sixteen years."

Although MacKenna has been described "as a speaker at Fenian gatherings," as having "joined the remnants of the old Fenian organisation...to have a part in an insurrection" and

\[1. \text{Colum and O'Brien, op. cit., pp. xxx-xxxii.} \\
2. \text{See pp. 905-907.} \\
3. \text{See pp. 932, 951 et seq.} \\
4. \text{See pp. 667-671.} \\
5. \text{E.R. Dodds, Journal and Letters of Stephen MacKenna, p. 36.} \\
6. \text{Ibid., p. 32.} \\
7. \text{Ibid., p. 10.} \\
8. \text{Ibid., p. xiv.} \]
as having attended a meeting of the Clan-na-Gael while in America, E. R. Dodds in a memoir wrote of MacKenna's conduct in 1916 as follows:

Although he was never, so far as I can ascertain, a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood or any similar organisation, he was steeped in the Fenian tradition; he had sat at the feet of O'Leary and Davitt, and he counted among his personal friends such men as Arthur Griffith, Thomas MacDonagh and Ramonn Geannt, leaders of the new Sinn Fein party (as well as pacifists like Sheehy Skeffington and moderate nationalists like Edmund Curtis). But he was not in the inner councils of the movement. On that singular Easter Monday he stood among the bewildered crowd in O'Connell Street and heard Padraic Pearse read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic to the accompaniment of 'a few thin, perfunctory cheers.' He stood there for many hours, wrestling with his thoughts.2

Austin Clarke, "the Irish poet and novelist," came upon MacKenna as he stood there and "tried to persuade him to leave:"

It was later in the week -- on the Tuesday or maybe the Wednesday -- that MacKenna, propped on a stick (for he was half crippled that day with rheumatism), returned to O'Connell Street, approached the portico of the G.P.O., where a handful of men were still facing the certainty of defeat and the all-but-certainty of death or long imprisonment, and for the second time in his life proposed himself as a volunteer in the service of an oppressed nationality. Perceiving no doubt the uselessness of the sacrifice -- for he was unarmed and untrained, even had he been physically fit to handle a weapon-- the commandant rejected his offer.3

MacKenna's association with the Gaelic League preceded his return to Ireland. Padraic Colum, who met him through Arthur Griffith "in the office of the Freeman's Journal," had described MacKenna's home in Dublin as "the headquarters of a branch of the Gaelic League, actually if not literally." More specifically,

1. Dodds, op. cit., p. xii.
2. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
3. Ibid., pp. 51-52.
4. Ibid., p. xiv.
5. Ibid., p. xi.
6. Ibid., p. xiii.
Colm said:

At MacKenna’s evenings I would meet ‘A. E.,’ occasionally Arthur Griffith, occasionally John Eglinton, occasionally Arthur Lynch, in the early days John Synge who had been a comrade of Stephen’s in Paris, Joseph Hone, Rudmose Brown, Osborn Bergin, Thomas Bodkin.¹

But MacKenna was not satisfied merely with making his home a center of attraction for those who were interested in the revival of the Irish language: "He also did administrative work for the League, as a member of the committee which organised its annual assembly, the Oireachtas; and he was full of ideas for the further development of its activities."²

If any further evidence is necessary to show the connection between MacKenna, Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance, perhaps it will be enough to record that others who "gathered round him" were ‘Padraic Colum, Thomas MacDonagh, ‘Seumas O’Sullivan,’ 'Eoin MacNeill and Eamon De Valera

Eoin MacNeill and Eamon De Valera were also Gaelic Leaguers who were to display an interest in the physical force movement, MacNeill has already been described as a founder of the Gaelic League; He was the first editor of An Claidheamh Soluis and after Pearse’s retirement from that post in 1909, MacNeill once more undertook that duty. It was in this paper during 1913 that

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2. Ibid., p. 37.
3. Ibid., p. 40.
4. See p. 573.
5. See p. 936.
MacNeill wrote a number of articles drawing attention to the popularity of Carson's volunteers and suggesting the formation of a similar group in the South of Ireland. Hence, it was as a result of his activities for the Gaelic League that MacNeill became the leader of the Irish Volunteers. It may be added that when Douglas Hyde resigned from the presidency of the Gaelic League as a result of the pressure of the physical force elements at the Ard Fheis at Dundalk in 1915 MacNeill was proposed and subsequently elected to fill the vacated position.

"Inspired by such men as Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill," Eamon De Valera "laboured regularly" to learn Irish. De Valera "was a well-known and highly respected worker and teacher in the Dublin classrooms of the Gaelic League";

He was often to be seen at some social gathering of the Ard Craobh branch of that organisation there in the several classes from 1908 onwards, much respected by his students with no more against him than some friendly passing quip on his unusual name, somewhat gaunt and dark of aspect, fierce-eyed with the wild optical glint of the period, called by the hostile the 'Gaelic League eye.'

One of the most untiring enthusiasts and popular teachers in the Ard Craobh was Miss Sinead Ni Fhlannagain (a de-anglicisation of Miss Janet Flanagan), a woman of grace, wit and quiet force, to whom Mr. de Valera was married in 1910.

Throughout the trying years ahead the de Valera family circle was a united one, militantly so, for his children met the military raiding parties with angry cries: 'You can take our father but you won't make us English!' There were five sons and two daughters of the marriage.

4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. See p. 550.
But De Valera, who was one of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and took part in the gun running at Howth, did not join the I.R.B. until the eve of the rising in 1916 when he was invited to do so by Thomas MacDonagh.

Sir Roger Casement

Sir Roger Casement's acquaintance with De Valera came about through their mutual enthusiasm for the Gaelic League, and it is perhaps unnecessary to indicate that like Eamon Ceannt, Sean MacDiarmada and P.H. Pearse, he was one of those executed for his part in the Easter rising.

Sir Roger Casement's affiliation with the Gaelic League has been traced to 1904. At about the same time, he became interested in the Fenians, sharing "their hatred of Imperialism":

He approved completely of their efforts to keep young Irishmen from joining the British Army. He even assisted in writing a pamphlet against recruiting, collaborating with Mr. J. R. Green and his young friend Bulmer Hobson.

Almost a decade later, Casement wrote in his diary:

I was immersed in Irish affairs all through 1905 and right up to the very day of my departure for Santos in August, 1906. It was those nineteen months in Ireland, when seconded from the consular service, that moulded all my subsequent actions and carried me so far on the road to Mitchell's aspirations that everything I have done seems but the natural upgrowth from the seed then sown.

Although considerable evidence has been produced to show his in-

3. Ibid., p. 155.
4. See pp. 800, 947-948.
7. See pp. 598-601.
9. Ibid., p. III.
terest in the language revival, one further bit of testimony may not be amiss:

One of the happiest experiences of his life in later years was a short visit paid to Tory Island in 1912, when he organised a Ceilidh, to which everyone on the island was invited. He sat in the crowded schoolroom, watching the boys and girls dancing their reels and jigs, and listening to the Gaelic songs till far on into the night, when the Ceilidh broke up. He loved the Tory people and used to plan many times to go back to visit them.2

Sean MacDiarmada

The date of Sean MacDiarmada's entrance into the Gaelic League is not certain. In his thumbnail sketch of the manager of Irish Freedom, Sean O'Faolain does not even record that he was a member of the League. In a similar sketch, Dorothy MacArdle merely notes that he belonged to Comrades na Gaedhilge:

Sean MacDermott (Mac Diarmuida) was born in County Leitrim, spent early years in Scotland and in America, returned to Ireland and threw himself with enthusiasm into every branch of the advanced national movement, undeterred by lameness and ill health. He joined the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Sinn Fein...4

However, there can be no question that MacDiarmada had joined before July 1, 1913 because at that time he wrote to John Daly:

We will have a busy time until the Gaelic League Convention is over. You know the Oireachtas is being held in Galway this year. I'm afraid we are going to have some trouble. Dr. Hyde has threatened to resign because of some letters that have appeared in Sinn Fein. He claims they were directed at him. He did tender his resignation at the last meeting, but withdrew it again when a deputation waited on him, but now he has sent a long statement to all the Gaelic League Branches

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1. See pp. 578, 598-601, 947-948.
in Ireland, and it is clearly hitting at the men of our ideas on the Executive, so we must see what is to be done.1

According to L.N. Le Roux, MacDiarmada was supported in this effort to draw the Gaelic League closer to the I.R.B. by E.H. Pearse, Cathal Brugha, Diarmuid Lynch, Tomas Ashe, The O'Rahilly, Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and others.2

And in 1915 MacDiarmada, it would seem, was partially responsible for the resignation of Douglas Hyde as President of the Gaelic League.3

Eamonn Ceannt

Eamonn Ceannt's association with the Gaelic League can be traced back at least until 1901 when, as has already been mentioned he played the bagpipes at the presentation of Douglas Hyde's Twisting of the Rope by the Irish Literary Theatre.4 Of him, the Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook recorded:

He was born in Galway in 1862, and educated in Dublin, and occupied an important position on the clerical staff in the Treasurer's office of the Dublin Corporation. He was a foundation member of the Gaelic League, and a member of the Coisde Gnotha.5

Of Ceannt's devotion to the cause of the revival of the Irish language, there are numerous stories. For example, his widow has told of a visit which he made to Rome garbed in Celtic costume. He refused to talk English; and to those who could not speak Irish he conversed in German or French. His purpose was to attract attention to the fact that Ireland had a culture of its own and

1. L.N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 156.
4. See pp. 756-758.
5. P. 262.
should not be regarded as an outpost of England. Presumably, this was the occasion mentioned in the Christmas number of 

The Catholic Bulletin, 1916. Another story to the same ef-

fect is told by R.M. Fox:

Ceannt always would do what he thought was right. When his son was born he refused to have the birth registered in any language but Gaelic. This ren-
dered him liable to a heavy fine but he never wa-
ered. It took him three years to win his point. 3

Ceannt, according to his widow, was a link between the I.R.B. and the Gaelic League from 1908 when he joined the former:

Eamonn Ceannt was a Gaelic Leaguer, a Sinn Feiner, a linguist and a musician, but from 1908 onwards he had but one idea in his mind - to fight some day for the freedom of Ireland. This is evident from the articles which he contributed to An Barr Buadh, an all-Irish, separatist journal edited by Padraig MacFiaraí, the first number of which appeared in March, 1912. It was short-lived for lack of funds, but its doctrine was not passive resistance. Reading through the first and other numbers we find references to meetings of a new Society, and of P.H. Pearse being elected Secretary, the O'Rahilly, Treasurer, and Peadar O Maicín, Eamonn Ceannt and Brian O hUiginn members of the Committee. In April, Eamonn Ceannt proposed and Brian O hUiginn seconded: 'Go gcúitsear Cumann ar bun darab run a chongnáth do thabhairt chun scoirse Gaedheal do bhaint amach'; and only one member opposed the resolution.

This Society -Cumann na Saoirse- undoubtedly formed the nucleus of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers and made possible the success of the movement in 1913. 4

1. Interview with Aine Ceannt, Dublin, 1936.
One further example of the manner in which Ceannt was able to unite his efforts for the revival of the Irish language with his Fenianism is indicated by P. H. Pearse, who in 1913 called for an "Irish-speaking John the Baptist" to preach physical force in the west of Ireland:

I would have him speak of Tone and Mitchel and the Hawk of the Hill and of men dead or in exile for love of the Gael; all in Irish. In the meantime I welcome Eamonn Ceannt and 'Bean an Phir Ruaidh.'

P. H. Pearse

P. H. Pearse's connection with the Gaelic League has already been mentioned repeatedly. In 1907, he published "In First Century Ireland" in An Claidheamh Soluis with the following "Foreword":

The following papers are the substance of a lecture delivered in English to the students of the Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin, in April, 1906, and afterwards expanded into a series of three lectures in Irish delivered before the Ard-Craobh this year. I desire at the outset to express my obligations to Dr. P. W. Joyce, whose two noble volumes, 'A Social History of Ancient Ireland,' have been my most valuable mine of information.

In 1908, Pearse became headmaster of St. Enda's, a task which took so much of his time that he was forced to resign his post as editor of An Claidheamh Soluis in 1909. He

1. P. H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, pp. 166-167.
2. See pp. 575, 599, 733, 738, 792-794, 881-885, 936 et seq. passim.
3. P. H. Pearse, In First Century Ireland, p. 5.
maintained his interest in the Gaelic League, however. One of the texts in use at St. Enda's was reprinted from the Gaelic League organ.

At the time of, or shortly after, his resignation from the editorial post, Pearse was already beginning to find the Gaelic League not revolutionary enough. And five or six years later, he wrote:

A thing that stands demonstrable is that nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms: in one or two instances there may have been no actual bloodshed, but the arms were there and the ability to use them. Ireland unarmed will attain just as much freedom as it is convenient for England to give her; Ireland armed will attain ultimately just as much freedom as she wants. These are matters which do not concern the Gaelic League, as a body; but they concern every member of the Gaelic League, and every man and woman of Ireland. I urged much of this five or six years ago in addresses to the Ard-Caoth; but the league was too busy with resolutions to think of revolution...2

As already has been mentioned, in 1912 Pearse started an all-Irish physical force journal, An Barr Buadh, with the help of a few friends among whom were included Peadar Macken, Eamonn Ceannt, Con Colbert and The O'Raibhilly, all of whom were to take part in the Easter rising along with him. In 1913, Pearse was still seeking to impel Gaelic Leaguers toward revolution. And in conclusion it must be emphasized that he be-

3. See p. 964.
4. P. H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, pp. 95-96.
came convinced that the Gaelic League was fundamentally a revolutionary organization and when he was in America in 1914 he said so in unmistakable terms.

Cumann na nGaedheal and Sinn Fein

It is notable that although Comradh na Gaedhilge was just as frequently called the "Gaelic League," the two organizations about to be discussed were always known by their Irish names. It is unnecessary to add that Cumann na nGaedheal, the elder of the two, was formed some seven years after Comradh na Gaedhilge.

Cumann na nGaedheal

Cumann na nGaedheal was founded in November 26, 1900, at a convention dominated by those who felt that the I.R.B. was becoming too sectarian. William Rooney was in the chair and, according to Maud Gonne who was herself a dominant figure in the new group, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Arthur Griffith, P. H. Pearse and James Connolly took considerable interest in it. Cumann na nGaedheal's program has been outlined as follows:

The propaganda of this organization was very like that of the Gaelic League with the important addition that it had a political basis. It concerned itself with

1. See p. 783-794.
2. M. G. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, pp. 304-318.
the state of Irish industry, preached National self-reliance, celebrated anniversaries of the big events in Irish history and recorded its views that everyone should have arms. This latter view was purely academic though reaching back through tradition to the armed risings of the past. 1

After Rooney's death, Cumann na nGaedheal, like United Irishman, came under the control of Arthur Griffith. 2 As a result of the third annual convention, a form of moral suasion was adopted which "came to be known afterwards as the Hungarian policy" and R. M. Henry has dated Sinn Fein from that time, 1902. However, Griffith's series on The Resurrection of Hungary did not appear in United Irishman until 1904, and it was not until 1905 that the National Council of Sinn Fein was formed. 3

Sinn Fein

In the following discussion four points will be considered:

first, the Sinn Fein program together with its American and Irish origins; second, its formation and recruits; third, its quarrels with the Redmondites and Hugh Lane; and fourth, its relation with the I.R.B.

The Sinn Fein program Together with its American and Irish Origins

When Sinn Fein first appeared in 1905, it created a furor 4 which did not begin to subside until 1908. At the outset some-

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1. R. M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 68.
2. See pp. 555-557, 585.
3. See pp. 142.
7. See pp. 582-586.
thing should be said about the Sinn Fein program and its origin.

The Program

In an essay entitled *Sinn Fein*, Robert Lynd declared:

Sinn Fein in the noblest of its aspects is but a Nationalist adaptation of the saying: 'The kingdom of heaven is within you.' It is founded on a belief that each nation has a sort of 'inner light,' fidelity to which alone will save it. The Sinn Feiner is not, as some of his critics allege, opposed to the brotherhood of nations. He is opposed merely to the subjection of nations. He believes that the genius, culture and speech of every nation is worth preserving, and that to consent to servitude to a foreign kultur is a sin against the light.

To explain the meaning of the name, Lynd said:

'Sinn Fein'... does not mean 'Ourselves Alone' any more than 'God Save the King' means 'God Save the King Alone.' It means simply 'Ourselves.' The name was chosen to indicate not a policy of national selfishness, but a policy of national self-reliance in contrast to a policy of waiting for the goodwill of the British Parliament to make Ireland a nation. Even when the phrase, 'Ourselves alone' (Sinn Fein Amhain), is used, it is used in the same sense.

Sinn Fein opposed religious sectarianism; and sought compromise not only between capital and labor but also between physical force and moral suasion. It may be added that this ambiguous attitude towards physical force had a curious result when the Irish Volunteers were formed in 1913:

Arthur Griffith joined, but Sinn Fein through his paper gave the Volunteer movement a welcome qualified by dis-

2. Ibid., p. 63.
4. Ibid., p. 71.
trust of the value, in Ireland's struggle, of the methods of physical force. He commended, however, the training in discipline and self-reliance which the Volunteers would undoubtedly gain. 1

Its American and Irish Origin

If the juxtaposition of these various elements of the Sinn Fein program was something new, certainly the individual items were not. As early as May, 1875, in its Answers to Correspondents column, Irish World had said: "SINN FEIN (Properly SINN FEIN) signifies "We Ourselves." 2 And two months later, it reported the existence of "THE SHAN-FANE CLUB, association of Irish Patriots." Then in 1877, the following appeared in Ford's paper:

SHIN FANE! SHIN FANE!

(FROM ORATION OF MR. J. T. MALONE, SAN JOSE, CALIF.)

The realization of our hopes depends upon ourselves. Providence will do no more for us than shape our opportunities. If we do not avail ourselves of them, or they overtake us in readiness, woe be our lot! 'Who would be free themselves must strike the blow!' Perfect harmony and unity of purpose are alone the means that can keep us ready. 4

Furthermore, Ford's paper reported Deak's death as well as the resolutions passed by the Irish Home Rule Association 6 deploiring this event, and Thomas Mooney praised the Hungarian leader in his weekly letter to the Irish World from London. 7

3. News from All Parts of the United States, Ibid., July 31, 1875, p. 5.
4. Echoes of the Anniversary, Ibid., April 7, 1877, p. 6.
5. Personal, Irish World, February 5, 1876, p. 5.
6. Ibid., February 12, 1876, p. 5.
Mooney, of course, had advocated a policy of self-sufficiency much earlier than this. In view of the foregoing, perhaps, it is not surprising that *Gaelic American*, the organ of the Clan-na-Gael, endorsed the recently founded Sinn Fein in 1906.

The Irish origins of Sinn Fein may readily be traced back through the Fenians to O'Connell's day. For Ireland had been governed by a dual monarchy prior to the Act of Union and O'Connell's last battle had been for the repeal of the Act. Also in O'Connell's times, the suggestion that the Irish members of Parliament should not attend Westminster was first proposed. Later at least one of the Fenians, "Pagan" O'Leary, had sought to encourage Irish industry, and Irish People anticipated Sinn Fein in other ways. In 1873 *Irishman* printed a news item under the headline: "Great meeting in Limerick in favour of Home Manufacture," and in 1876, Father Lavelle, the friend of the Moore family, proposed that the Home Rule candidates remain home if elected to Parliament.

The more immediate Irish origins of Sinn Fein have been

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1. *Irish-American*, April 14, 1880, p. 3; see pp. 61-62, 63.
3. See pp. 21-23.
5. See p. 28.
7. See p. 143.
discovered in Cumanna Gaedheal, the Celtic Literary Society and the Gaelic League. Indeed, Conradh na Gaedhilge once used the slogan "Sinn Fein, Amhain." In 1904, the stage was set for the formation of the National Council by the appearance of Arthur Griffith's The Resurrection of Hungary, and a curious contretemps which was described in John Sweetman's obituary notice in the Irish Press as follows:

At a meeting in the Antient Concert Rooms, where the campaign for the proposed international exhibition was launched in 1904, Mr. John Sweetman, Edward Martyn, Ald. Cole, Tom Kelly, T.D., and Mr. MacNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League, opposed the exhibition.

At that meeting Mr. Sweetman said he looked forward to the day when shops in Dublin and Cork would bear signs reading: 'No British Goods Sold here.'

The motion in favour of the exhibition was defeated, and the meeting was broken up by the police.

Formation and Recruits

According to Seumas MacManus, as has already been noted, the formation of the National Council which Sinn Fein proposed was accomplished by Arthur Griffith, Maud Gonne MacBride, Alderman Tom Kelly, Henry Dickson, Edward Martyn and himself. Late

1. See p. 966.
3. Lynd, op. cit., p. 84.
4. See p. 582.
5. MacArdle, op. cit., p. 66.
7. See p. 583.
in 1906, United Irishman reported that at the first meeting of
the Council the following were among those present: John Sweetman, 1
Edward Martyn, Una Ni Phaircheallaigh (Agnes O'Farrelly), P. T.
Daly, Alderman Thomas Kelly, P. H. Pearse, Arthur Griffith,
Michael Cusack, Padraic MacArtain, Peadar O'Cearnaigh, Thomas
S. Cuffe, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Seaghan Ua Geallaigh, W.
O'Leary Curtis and Michael Ua h'annrachainn. And among those who
sent their regrets at being unable to attend were Bulmer Hobson,
Tomas Ua Nuallain, 'Liam De Roiste, Seumas MacManus, P. Hardiman
and Padraic Ua Brein.

It may be pointed out that those among the above who
are most closely identified with the physical force movement 3
were P. T. Daly, Michael Cusack, Bulmer Hobson, Peadar O'Ce
Cearnaigh (who wrote The Soldier's Song which was to become the
anthem of the Irish Republicans) and two men who had already 6
contributed to Griffith's paper, P. H. Pearse and Michael Ua
h'annrachainn.

Sean MacDiarmada and Eamonn Ceannt

Although they do not seem to have attended this inaugural
meeting, the names of Sean MacDiarmada and Eamonn Ceannt should

1. A. O'Farrelly, op. cit., p. vii.
3. L. N. LeRoux, Tom Clarke, p. 77.
W. G. Fitzgerald, ed., The Voice of Ireland, pp. 151-
153.
6. P. H. Pearse, Cill Airne, United Irishman, February 8,
1902, p. 3.
7. M. O'hainraigh, The Wild Geese, United Irishman, December 13,
1902, p. 6.
be added to the above list. F. P. Jones said of the former: "Suddenly after the promulgation of the Sinn Fein policy in 1905, Sean MacDermott became associated with the movement, although he was then but a mere boy." It would seem that his activities for Sinn Fein brought him into the I.R.B.: 

Sean had just played a big part in the long-remembered County Leitrim election, which was the first Parliamentary election ever fought by Sinn Fein. Shortly after Sean had occasion to call on Tom Clarke, who made him decide to work solely for the I.R.B. Denis McCullough, newly-elected representative for Ulster on the Supreme Council, I.R.B., concurred with Tom Clarke, and Sean was duly transferred to Dublin and appointed National Organizer for the I.R.B. at the end of 1905. 2

It is, perhaps, noteworthy that Geannt followed the I.R.B. policy toward the Irish labor movement "in marked contrast to Mr. Griffith's Sinn Fein, which preached something approaching "abject surrender" on the part of the workers." Accordingly, during a strike in Wexford in 1911, which was led by P. T. Daly of the Fenian Supreme Council, Geannt used his position in the Sinn Fein movement to take Griffith to task; and in the edition of the latter's paper for September 30, 1911, he wrote:

2. L. N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 83.
4. R. M. Fox, Green Banners, p. 103.
5. L. N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 87; see p. 811.
'No one has now the hardihood to deny that the hardships and miseries of the land agitation were justified...after all... Would it not be wise to take a leaf out of Parnell's book, if you will not take it out of Larkin's book, as gravely suggested by Padraig MacPiarais to the Gaelic League on Language Sunday... Now to come to your objection to what you call Mr. Larkin's organisation. Mr. Larkin is an Irishman who has founded in Ireland an Irish union governed by Irishmen. The organizers appear to include one Englishman who went to gaol for uncomplimentary references to King George V; Mr. P. T. Daly, ex-prominent Sinn Feiner, still presumably a Nationalist; James Connolly, whom you know to be a Nationalist of long standing but who spoke at the Independence demonstration on June 22; Mr. Larkin, a newcomer, whose son learns Irish at Scoil Ite...... But practical politicians cannot afford to wait while these dreamers are awakened to their new, their startlingly new surroundings. It is the business of Sinn Fein to use the grievances of the various classes in this country as a whip with which to lash the English tyrant out of Ireland.... By the way, have you no condemnation of the Employers' Federation, or is there one law for them and another for their servants?'

The Quarrels with the Redmondites and Hugh Lane

The quarrels which Sinn Fein had with the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Abbey Theatre have already been sketched, but a few words may be added about the former and a new difference between Griffith's acquaintances and Yeats' friends may be indicated.

However, before entering into a discussion of these differences, it is necessary to indicate that Sinn Fein customarily voiced its opinions through a weekly newspaper edited by Arthur Griffith which after a few years, as a result of a subsidy from Edward Martyn and John Sweetman, was able to appear daily. The new paper, Sinn Fein, was, of course, the successor to United Irishman, which had received financial aid from the I.R.B.

1. See pp. 582-587.
2. See pp. 561-565.
4. See pp. 553, 557; cf. R.M. Fox, Green Banners, pp. 69, 77.
5. See p. 855.
Sinn Fein and the Redmondites

The differences which Edward Martyn, first head of Sinn Fein, had with the Irish Parliamentary Party, have already been touched upon as have those of his successor, John Sweetman. Being "propounders of the Sinn Fein policy" and comparatively wealthy, presumably both of these men held the Irish Party responsible for the loans to England of the Bank of Ireland during the Beer War.

This was but one of many differences between the two organizations; and yet after the set-back which the Irish Party gave Sinn Fein in 1908, the latter apparently lost courage, for in 1910 it took no part in the elections. Nevertheless, it reserved the right to criticize: "Early in 1914 Sinn Fein saw in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament indications that the Cabinet and the Opposition had arranged 'a deal' over Home Rule and foretold an attempt at compromise."

To forestall the partition of Ireland which, it anticipated, would be tolerated by the Redmondites, the National Council at its Convention later in the year even proposed to give Ulster a favored position in the proposed Irish Parliament:

These proposals, the most statesmanlike and generous proposals put forward on the Nationalist side, were, though approved of generally by the Belfast Trades Council, contemptuously ignored by the Ulster leaders.

1. See p. 586.
2. See pp. 563-586.
4. See p. 515.
5. Jones, op. cit., p. 43.
7. See p. 586.
9. Ibid., pp. 149-151.
The Irish Party and Sinn Fein continued hostile after the war had begun. In 1915 the National Council issued Griffith's pamphlet, The Home Rule Bill Examined, which had appeared in Sinn Fein and in which the author had argued against Churchill's appeal for a "loyal Ireland."

It was also after the outbreak of the war that the Irish Parliamentary leaders began to call the Fenians "Sinn Feiners." Perhaps John Redmond actually thought the two were synonymous since Sinn Fein had openly opposed his attempt to capture the Volunteers; but it would seem more probable that he thought that Sinn Fein had less prestige in United States. Thus, in an attack on the anti-conscription campaign Redmond's organ, Freeman's Journal, said:

The attempt of a little coterie in Dublin, largely composed of Sinn Feiners, to run an anti-Conscription Campaign of their own after the Irish Party had taken steps to make Conscription impossible in Ireland does not impose upon Irish Nationalists in the United States.

Sinn Fein and Hugh Lane

The new difference between Griffith's circle and Yeats' friends may be traced back to 1904 when Hugh Lane, backed by his aunt, Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, managed to have a collection of modern French paintings, which were for sale, displayed in Dublin:

A good many were bought, Lane gave others, and others again he proposed to leave in the Gallery on loan. The Corporation

2. See pp. 638-639.
agreed to strike a rate for upkeep, but no permanent building was available. A house in Harcourt Street was taken as a temporary measure, but Lane insisted that a special gallery should be built, as a condition of his completing the collection.

It may be noted that George Moore sympathised with the project to the extent of delivering a lecture on his "Reminiscences of the Impressionist Painters" which was published in Dublin in 1906 and afterwards was incorporated into Hail and Farewell.

The difference seems to have come about when Lane began his search for "a suitable site for a modern gallery." This search, presumably, began in 1906 when, according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Lane had lent his collection to Dublin with the offer to give it to the city "if a permanent gallery were provided." Richard Orpen, "then Dublin’s leading architect," became involved in the quest but, when he "was not very keen" about the proposal to situate it on a bridge across the Liffey, Lane brought in an Englishman and thereby "offended the national feeling of a large number of his supporters":

A large body of opinion resented an English architect being brought in, and felt that as Richard Orpen had done so much work in connexion with the gallery he was the man who should design it. Lane had misgivings about this himself, and did, in fact, as Orpen to act jointly with Luytens. Orpen, rightly, refused to do so.

Lane’s conduct particularly offended Arthur Griffith, who was

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2. H. Wolfe, George Moore, p. 152.
also antagonized by the former's enthusiastic defence of Synge's Playboy.

Eimar O'Duffy, Stephen MacKenna and George Russell, as well as Yeats, stood by Lane. O'Duffy expressed his sympathy indirectly in The Wasted Island:

...the Dublin Corporation...refused to build a municipal gallery for a collection of modern pictures offered by a public-spirited citizen on incredibly silly grounds, including the plea, advanced by some thoroughly comfortable oppressors of the poor, that so long as there were slums in the city it had no right to waste money on art.2

MacKenna's defence of Synge and Yeats, as well as Lane, has been described as follows:

...he was ready to leap to the defense not only of Synge, who was a personal friend, but of men like W.B. Yeats and Hugh Lane when they denounced as heretics or 'anglicisers' by clerical bigotry and the zealots of Sinn Fein. When Yeats' Collected Works appeared in the winter of 1908-1909, Brayden, the editor of the Freeman's Journal, wanted to arrange for a hostile review... MacKenna insisted on doing the review, and wrote, in defiance of his editor, a long and eloquent defense of Yeats' poetry against the then current charges that it was 'obscure', 'affected,' and 'un-Irish.' The review evoked a letter of praise from the dying Synge...3

Yeats had not much to say about Lane, although his Autobiography tells that Lady Gregory's husband was "a Trustee of the English National Gallery," but he attacked Sinn Fein savagely:

...the political class in Ireland -- the lower-middle class from whom the patriotic associations have drawn their journalists and their leaders for the last ten years -- have suffered through the cultivation of hatred as the one energy of their movement, a deprivation which is the intellectual equivalent to certain surgical operation. Hence the shrillness of their voices. They contemplate all creative power as the eunuchs contemplate Don Juan as he passes through Hell on the white horse.5

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3. Dodds, op. cit., p. 38.
5. Ibid., p. 415.
He even regretted that he had ever "felt the influence of Young Ireland" and made a modest proposal to those journalists whom he considered to be his foes:

Neither the grammars of the Gaelic League nor the industrialism of the Leader, nor the Sinn Fein attacks upon the Irish Party, give sensible images to the affections. Yet in the work of Lady Gregory, of Synge, of O'Grady, of Lionel Johnson, in my own work, a school of journalism with simple morals could find right building material to create a historical and literary nationalism as powerful as the old and nobler. That done they could bid the people love and not hate.

Decidedly, the author of Cathleen ni Houlihan was displeased with Sinn Fein!

Sinn Fein and the I.R.B.

The relation between Sinn Fein and the I.R.B. must not be passed over. In 1907, perhaps even before the death of John O'Leary, the latter began its infiltration. As a result, there were many links between the two: Tom Clarke, Michael O'Hanrahan (Michael Ua hAmrachairn), Sean MacDiarmada, Eamon Ceannt, Bulmer Hobson, P.S. O'Hegarty and, possibly, P.H. Pearse. The associations of MacDiarmada and Ceannt with Sinn Fein have already been described; and Pearse and O'Hanrahan also have been noted both as contributors to Griffith's paper and as present at the inauguration of the National Council. Hobson, probably, was responsible for the affiliation of a Belfast group in which he was interested with Sinn

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2. Ibid., p. 422.
3. See p. 967.
4. See pp. 554, 814-815.
5. S. O'Faolain, Constance Markievicz, pp. 176-181.
7. See pp. 973.
8. See pp. 972-973.
Fein in 1907, or earlier:

In Belfast, the Dungannon Club, a separatist organization which had for some time published a small and ably con-
ducted paper called the Republic, as well as a series of
pamphlets, now amalgamated with the West Belfast Branch of
the National Council. 1

There is little evidence that Pearse was active in Sinn
Fein except for his presence at the inaugural meeting and an in-
cidental reference by him to the "Editor of Sinn Fein" in 1913.
But Michael O'Hanrahan and Tom Clarke deserve further mention.

Michael O'Hanrahan's connection with the National Council
was of a literary nature. P. S. O'Hegarty in his bibliography
of the writers who were executed for their part in the Easter
rising has listed three books, two of them posthumous, by O'Han-
rahan (Miseal Ua hAnnrasaíin). And F. P. Jones has reported: "For
a time he contributed an article each week to Sinn Fein (under the
pen name of 'Martin,') in which he related the political gossip
of the week in a humorous, conversational style."

Clarke's dealings with Arthur Griffith were of a more po-
itical nature and they were somewhat complicated by the latter's
sympathy with the Irish labor movement, a sympathy which Griffith
did not share. So far as the Irish labor movement is concerned,
Clarke supported the policy of the Irish Transport and General
Workers' Union and influenced the branch of Sinn Fein of which he

1. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, pp. 77-78.
2. Henry, op. cit., p. 79.
3. F. H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, p. 187.
6. R. H. Fox, Green Banners, pp. 198-199.
7. See pp. 611, 674-675.
8. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, p. 94.
9. See pp. 608-611.
was chairman in the same direction:

On April 24, 1909, on his motion a resolution was passed by the North Dock Ward Branch of Sinn Fein "approving of the movement now on foot amongst Trade Bodies in Ireland to break all connections with the English Trade Unions, and to effect a federation of trades bodies in Ireland that will be absolutely independent of English control."

Summary

Chapter XIX has been divided into two parts. In the first part Comhradh na Gaedhilge was discussed and in the second, attention was directed toward Cumann na nGaedheal and Sinn Fein.

Comhradh na Gaedhilge, or the Gaelic League, was discussed in three sections. In the first its formation, early propaganda and recruits were noted.

The formation of the Gaelic League was traced to Scotch, Irish and American sources. John Stuart Blackie encouraged the study of Irish by his work to establish a "Celtic Chair" in a Scotch University. The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and the Gaelic Union sought to preserve the language in Ireland. And Douglas Hyde was encouraged to found the Gaelic League in the United States.

The early propaganda of the Gaelic League was spread by literature, entertainments and controversies. The literature in question consisted chiefly of periodicals: the Gaelic Journal, Féinne an Laoi and An Claidheamh Soluis. A publications committee, of which Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill and P.H. Pearse were members, arranged for the publication of songs, leaflets, pamphlets and

1. L. N. Le Roux, Tom Clarke, pp. 84-85.
books, one of the more interesting of which was involved in the collaboration of Douglas Hyde and Lady Gregory on a "volume of tales from the 'Cuchulainn Cycle.'" Michael O'Hanrahan and Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, members of the I.R.B., were also active in editorial tasks for Comhradh na Gaedhilge.

The entertainments sponsored by the Gaelic League were discussed in the preceding chapter, that is, if the controversy with Dr. Mahaffy and Dr. Atkinson of Trinity College, Dublin, is not considered as a farce. Dr. Mahaffy's contention that the Gaelic Leaguers were "rebels who are trying to foment anti-British feeling" was not altogether untrue; but his agreement with Atkinson that Celtic literature was either "silly or indecent" was refuted by eminent German, Danish, French, Welsh and Irish scholars.

Among the recruits which the Gaelic League won, in addition to those already mentioned in this summary, were: T. O'Neill Russell, Michael Cusack, James Boland, George Sigerson, George Moore, Edward Martyn, W.B. Yeats, J.M. Synge and George Clancy. Many of these men were discussed because they were Fenians, or Fenian sympathizers, and it was noted in the same connection that James Joyce, whose enthusiasm for the study of the Irish language was not very remarkable, in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, seemed to follow the precedent of Mahaffy and Atkinson in identifying the aims of Fenianism and Comhradh na Gaedhilge.

The second section of the discussion of Comhradh na Gaedhilge was devoted to the schools through which its message was to be imparted, especially to the young. At the college level there were various summer schools, financed in part by the Government, which were "not directly controlled by the Gaelic League, but intimately
connected with the Gaelic movement." Prominent exponents of physical force whose names may be associated with these schools were: Roger Casement, Alice Milligan, Eoin MacNeill, Cathal Brugha, Colm O Lochlainn, Eamonn Ceannt, Liam Mellows, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Thomas MacDonagh, P.H. Pearse and Eamonn De Valera. A similar interrelation between the I.R.B. and the Gaelic League was observed in the latter's successful struggle to make the Irish language compulsory on students at the National University.

Among the secondary schools, those maintained by the Christian Brothers were reported and P.H. Pearse's St. Enda's was described in some detail. Pearse's activities as the founder of the school were first outlined and then Thomas MacDonagh was introduced as the most renowned member of Pearse's staff. In connection with Pearse it was reported in chapter XVIII that enthusiasm for the literary theater maintained by the school was expressed by W. B. Yeats, Stephen MacKenna, Standish J. O'Grady, Douglas Hyde, Stephen Gwynn, W.P. Ryan and Eoin MacNeill. In connection with the staff it was noted that five of the fourteen men executed in Dublin for their part in the 1916 rising were closely associated with St. Enda's: P.H. Pearse, William Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, Con Colbert and Sean Heuston. MacDonagh received additional attention because through the school and his work as part editor of Irish Review, he was on friendly terms with such outstanding Irish authors as W.B. Yeats, Padraic Colum, James Stephens, Edward Martyn and Joseph Mary Plunkett.

The third section of the discussion of the Gaelic League was devoted to the growth of Fenianism in it after 1907. This growth was studied by analyzing the sympathies of certain prominent
Gaelic Leaguers.

In the second part of Chapter XIX, attention was directed to Cumann na nGaedheal and Sinn Fein. The former was briefly discussed as an organization founded by those who believed that the I.R.B. was becoming too sectarian. Otherwise, it was very much like the Gaelic League. Its leaders were William Rooney, Maud Gonne and Arthur Griffith. W.B. Yeats, George Russell, P.H. Pearse and James Connolly also took an interest in it.

Sinn Fein was born of Cumann na nGaedheal. In discussing the former its program and ancestry first received attention; next, its formation and recruits were noted; in the third place its quarrels with the Redmondites and Hugh Lane were outlined; and finally, the infiltration of the I.R.B. into it was discovered.

The Sinn Fein program of self-reliance plus passive resistance was derived from Hungary by way of American and Irish sources. Curiously enough the very name was originally used by an Irish-American organization. On the other hand, O'Connell had favored passive resistance and the first generation of Fenians had encouraged self-reliance. The immediate sources of Sinn Fein, however, were the Celtic Literary Society, the Gaelic League and Cumann na nGaedheal.

The National Council, which adopted the program of Sinn Fein, was established in 1905. Delegates to the first meeting included Arthur Griffith, P. T. Daly, P. H. Pearse, Peadar O'Cearnaigh, Oliver St. John Gogarty and Michael O'Hanrahan. Bulmer Hobson, Sean MacDiarmada and Eamonn Ceannt were soon to join the new movement and indeed it was through Sinn Fein that MacDiarmada was brought into the I.R.B. Ceannt was especially noticed as opposed
to Sinn Fein's anti-labor policy.

The quarrels of Sinn Fein with the Redmondites and Hugh Lane were outlined briefly; and it was noted that the Redmondites sought, perhaps maliciously, to identify Sinn Fein with the Fenians. The controversy with Hugh Lane was discovered to have arrayed Lady Gregory, W. B. Yeats, George Moore, Einar O'Duffy, Stephen MacKenna and George Russell against Arthur Griffith and his circle.

Yet at this time the I.R.B. was beginning to infiltrate into Sinn Fein. Tom Clarke, Michael O'Hanrahan, Sean MacDiarmada, Eamonn Ceannt, Bulmer Hobson, P. S. O'Hegarty and P. H. Pearse, although they could not control Arthur Griffith, could and did work to orient the rank and file in the direction which they desired.
CHAPTER XX
THE "WOMEN'S REBELLION" AND IRISH REVIEW

In Chapter XIX three organizations which were profoundly affected by the revival of the Irish language and which were infiltrated by the I.R.B. were analyzed. In the present chapter social phenomena of a similar character, but somewhat more radical, will be discussed: the "Women's Rebellion" and Irish Review.

The "Women's Rebellion"

The "Women's Rebellion" has already been described as a movement for the emancipation of women, more specifically, for the aims of the suffragettes. In Ireland, of course, it became inextricably involved with nationalism. To investigate this social phenomenon the subject matter will be divided along chronological lines into four parts: first, some earlier Irish women's organizations will be noted; second, Inghinidhe na hÉireann will be discussed; third, the Irish Women's Franchise League will be considered; and last, Cumann na mBan will be mentioned.

Earlier Irish Women's Organizations

John Devoy with some hyperbole has described the Fenian 1 Sisterhood, which was formed in Chicago in 1863, as "the first organization of women on a large scale for political purposes in

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the history of the world." In 1865, after the arrests of many prominent Fenians in Ireland, a "Ladies Committee" was formed which included Ellen O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa's wife, who was also "secretary of the...Relief Fund Committee" which was set up in Dublin by the First International. Thus, these earliest organizations were really Fenian auxiliaries.

In the seventies a new note was heard when Patrick Ford expressed an interest in women's suffrage. Almost a year later, Irish World reported a "meeting in promotion of the object of the Women's Suffrage Association" to have occurred in Dublin and in the same issue the following item appeared:

WOMAN'S RIGHTS AND SKIRMISHING...What the extent of women's rights is, is a debatable question, but if the 'Skirmishers' succeed in their work the Congress of the Irish Republic must allow women all possible rights in recognition of the generous support the sex have accorded the Skirmishing movement.

Still another note and another editorial might be quoted from Irish World and therefore it is not surprising that in October, 1880, Ford's sister helped Davitt and Parnell's sister and mother to form the Ladies' Land League which prepared the way for a similar organization in Ireland.

In view of these remarks about the Fenian Sisterhood and the Ladies Land League, it may be gathered that Irishwomen had a tradition paralleling that of the Fenian Brotherhood but when

1. See p. 90.
2. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 113.
6. Notes and Opinions, Irish World, April 28, 1877, p. 3.
7. Ibid., May 5, 1877, p. 5.
8. Woman's Cause, Irish World, January 19, 1878, p. 4.
10. See pp. 299-300, 304.
Inghinidhe na hÉireann was founded, the girls who founded it wished to demonstrate that Irishwomen had taken part in Irish history from its earliest days and so the members practiced a curious custom:

The women adopted certain names of ancient Irish queens and warrior-women, dropping their given ones. Constance Markievicz took Macha, Maud Gonne chose Maeve and Helena Molony Emer, under which name she is known to her friends to this day. Many of the girls and women thus organized were to play valiant roles in the Easter Week drama, not so many years later.  

**Inghinidhe na hÉireann**

The founder of Inghinidhe na hÉireann was Maud Gonne, describing it as a society "for open revolutionary work," she said:

I called a meeting of all the girls who, like myself, resented being excluded, as women, from National Organisations. Our object was to work for the complete independence of Ireland. Willie Rooney and Arthur Griffith helped us... Besides organising free classes in history, the Irish Language, music and dancing for children, we started an intense campaign against enlistment in the British Army.

Rooney was particularly concerned in the new group because his "fiancée, Maire Kileen" was "on the Committee." He wrote of the type of recruits who were wanted:

We want women with Irish hearts who will recognize the duty of sacrifice, and glory that those they love have men's courage and men's determination to do the right thing when the time comes. I think the Inghinidhe na hÉireann will go far towards creating such a generation of Irishwomen.

The anti-recruiting campaign of Inghinidhe na hÉireann has already been discussed. The rest of its program has been outlined as follows:

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2. M.C. MacBride, A Servant of the Queen, p. 293.
3. Ibid., p.290.
4. Ibid., p. 291.
5. W. Rooney, Poems and Ballads, p. xxxi.
...to re-establish the complete independence of Ireland; to encourage the study of Gaelic, of Irish literature, history, music and art, especially among the young...; to support and popularise Irish manufacture; to discourage the circulation of low English literature, the singing of English songs, the attending of vulgar English entertainments at the theatres and music halls, and to combat in every way English influence. ¹

It will be noted that women's suffrage is not mentioned in this program and that the Irish drama is passed over. So far as the women's suffrage is concerned, Helena Molony, editor of its paper, declared:

This little paper will serve, perhaps, as a rallying point for those who believe that it is well for women to take their part in civic and national duties... The women of Ireland do not ask for 'votes,' for the men of Ireland have no parliament for them to use it in. They are, therefore, not 'Suffragettes'; but they ask to have a voice and influence in matters concerning the economic welfare of their country, in the industries and the arts, the health and the wealth of Ireland; and, above all, in the education of their children. ³

To the student of Fenianism and the Celtic renaissance the three most significant activities of Inghinidhe na hÉireann were its interest in the Irish drama, its demonstrations of disaffection toward the Crown of England and its journal. Its interest in the drama has already been discussed. The other two activities deserve further attention.

Hostility to the Crown

Inghinidhe na hÉireann was founded at a time when nationalist Ireland was much distressed over a visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin. In a letter to the Irish Press, which was

² R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, pp. 119-121.
³ McCann, op. cit., p. 5.
⁴ See pp. 893-898.
⁵ See pp. 846, 847-850.
printed on July 5, 1936, Helena Molony said:

I had not the privilege of being in their ranks in that year (1900), but when Edward VII came three years later, in 1903, the same fight was waged with the same spirit, and the city was saved from the exhibition of servility which its then Corporation thought the rightful expression of 'Nationality' as they saw it.1

Edward VII and Maud Gonne

She had first been attracted to Inghinidhe na hÉireann when she "saw and heard Maud Gonne speaking by the Custom House in Dublin one August evening in 1903." She immediately sought to join it.

Helena Molony evidently was attracted to Inghinidhe na hÉireann at about the time that Maud Gonne returned to Dublin from London at the instigation of W.B. Yeats to prevent the keys of the former city from being presented to Edward VII. Upon her arrival, the founder of the women's organization learned that there was to be "a meeting of the Parliamentary Party in the Rotunda to be held the following evening." She remembered that George Moore and Edward Martyn had objected to Victoria's visit in 1900:

I stopped my cab at the Rathmines post office and sent a sheaf of telegrams to Griffith, to Edward Martyn, to Father Anderson, to Seumas MacManus, to George Moore and to Mary Quinn, secretary of Inghinidhe na hÉireann, telling them of my arrival, and asking them all to come to tea...4

All came; but when Maud Gonne suggested that they form "the Citizens' Watch Committee" and go as a delegation to the Rotunda meeting to put the question to Tim Harrington, who was the Lord

2. B.M. Fox, Rebel Irish Women, pp. 120-121.
4. Ibid., pp. 335-336.
Mayor of Dublin at that time, whether the Dublin Corporation
intended officially to welcome Edward VII as had been stated in
United Irishman, Father Anderson and George Moore "could not be
associated" with it.

When the question was brought up at the meeting, the Irish
Parliamentary chiefs sought to avoid it. Cannon Hannay in Hyacinth
has described the ensuing riot. Later, both Yeats and Maud
Gonne agreed that "the Citizens' Watch Committee" not only had
defeated the proposed welcome but also had discredited the moral
suasionists.

Inghinidhe na hEireann was not alone in its opposition to
demonstrations of loyalty toward the English monarch. In addi-
tion to his work on "the Citizens' Watch Committee," Edward Martyn
wrote to Freeman's Journal:

'I understand from your leading article in yesterday's Free-
man,' he wrote at the beginning of April, 1903, 'that the
British newspapers are already making capital out of the
forthcoming visit of the King to Ireland, whom they declare
the Irish people will receive as a welcome compensation for
their deprivation of Home Rule.'

In a second letter to the same paper, written, perhaps, after
he had joined Maud Gonne's Committee, Martyn characterized any
other than a hostile attitude toward the proposed royal visit as
a "policy of apathy or grovel." He urged "the policy of giving a
bad reception to the Sovereign," asking: "Was it not thus that
the Hungarians got their liberties?"

John Sweetman was a second who opposed demonstrations of

5. Ibid., p. 303.
loyalty. As Chairman of the Meath County Council, he returned a gift from Edward VII saying that he desired no honor from a British King. He had something which he cherished far more, a pocket-book which had belonged to Wolfe Tone and which had been stained with his life blood. Furthermore, Martyn and Sweetman at the time of the Royal visit joined a National Council, formed mainly from the ranks of Cumann na nGaedheal, which included as members Arthur Griffith, Tom Kelly and Father Anderson:

The Sinn Fein movement sprang from this National Council, with Edward Martyn as its President. John Sweetman who, with Edward Martyn, financed the movement, was one of the first Vice-Presidents. In 1903 he became President of Sinn Fein.¹

Even James Joyce got into difficulties because of certain uncomplimentary remarks about the visit of Edward VII which he made in *Dubliners.*

George V and Helena Molony

In 1911, at the time of George V's coronation, Inghinidhe na hEireann again gave evidence of disaffection toward the monarchy. In this, Countess Markiewicz was aided by John Devoy: "It was June when Devoy visited Dublin, the June of the coronation celebrations: with him she addressed a wildly disloyal meeting from the custom house steps." Later, when King George V decided to visit Ireland, Devoy had returned to America but Helena Molony ably took his place.

Maud Gonne immediately congratulated her and said that she

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². H. Gorman, *James Joyce*, pp. 204-205.
⁴. See pp. 788-789.
had kept up the reputation of Inginidhe na hÉireann. Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, who was an active member of Socialist Party of Ireland which held a big meeting to welcome her on her release, also stood by her. Later she recollected the speech which she had made on that occasion:

I had been accused of attacking the king personally. So I said that I was not concerned with the king's personal character. I was only concerned with his public character as a foreign ruler in Ireland, and, as here he stood for oppression, I regarded him in the capacity as one of the greatest scoundrels in Europe. This infuriated the police, who rushed the platform, beat Skeffington and Carpenter, and re-arrested me. Skeffington, with his usual courage and consideration, appeared on my behalf in court. I was accused of making remarks derogatory to his majesty's person, and received another month.¹

Curiously enough, even as the alleged forerunner of the Sinn Fein movement demonstrated hostility on the occasion of the visit of Edward VII in 1903, so Sinn Fein was also hostile to King George's visit in this later year.

Bean na hÉireann

Up to this point, the prominent part which Inginidhe na hÉireann took in demonstrations of disaffection toward the British monarch have been discussed. To conclude these remarks about Maud Gonne's organisation a few words should be said about Bean na hÉireann, the journal which it published.

This periodical was founded by Helena Molony in November, 1908 as "a woman's paper, advocating militancy, separatism and feminism." Among those who sympathized with her efforts were

3. R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 121.
Roger Casement and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington. Of those who contributed, she later said:

In spite of my inexperience -- or perhaps because of it -- some of the best writers in Ireland contributed their early and finest work to our columns. James Stephens wrote his poem, 'The Red Haired Man's Wife' -- perhaps the most complete expression of feminism in poetry, the last stanza and, in fact, nearly all of it, applying to the Nation as well:

'I am separate still,
I am I and not you,
And my mind and my will,
As in secret they grew,
Still are secret, unreached and untouched,
And not subject to you."

Apart from this, Plunkett, MacDonagh, Pearse, Connolly, and others, gave us some of their best work. She had become familiar with Connolly's work through the Harp, which he edited in America, and liked it so much that she urged him to return to Dublin. Yet another contributor, Anna Farrell, she met when the latter brought her "her History of the Ladies' Land League... to publish."

Bean na hEireann ceased to exist in 1912 but in the same year the Irish Citizen, organ of the Irish Women's Franchise League, was launched. And this serves as a convenient point at which to shift attention to the latter organization.

The Irish Women's Franchise League

Even as Irish-American interest in women's suffrage had followed the formation of the Fenian Sisterhood, so in Ireland an Irish Women's Franchise League was to follow Inghinidhe na hEireann. And in the ensuing consideration of the Irish suffra-

1. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 124.
2. Ibid., pp. 121-123.
6. See p. 1000.
gettes first Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington will be presented as their leaders; second, some of their sympathisers will be mentioned; and third, their use of the literary theatre will be noted. It will, perhaps, be surprising to learn that both James Joyce and George Bernard Shaw were on friendly terms with the Sheehy-Skeffingtons.

Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington

To introduce the Irish Women's Franchise League, something will be said about Francis Skeffington and Hanna Sheehy who, when they married, assumed the name Sheehy-Skeffington.

Francis Skeffington and James Joyce

Francis Skeffington is of particular interest to the student of Irish literature because of his long intimacy with James Joyce. Concrete evidence of this friendship may be traced back to their college days when Two Essays, a pamphlet, was published at the expense of its two young authors:

PREFACE

These two Essays were commissioned by the Editor of St. Stephen's for that paper, but were subsequently refused insertion by the Censor. The writers are now publishing them in their original form, and each writer is responsible for what appears under his own name.

F.J.S.
J.A.J.

Joyce's essay was entitled "The Day of the Rabblement." In it he condemned the Irish Literary Theatre for relaxing its "war against commercialism and vulgarity." He asserted that the artist must reject flattery as debilitating but insisted that the majority is prone to treat one with "prejudice and misinterpretation and ridicule." Thus he predicted the history

1. H. Gorman, James Joyce, pp. 58, 60, 64, 198.
2. Skeffington and Joyce, Two Essays, p. 2.
3. Ibid., p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 7.
of *Dubliners* and *Ulysses* and fortified himself against the future: "No man, said the Nolan, can be a lover of the true of the good unless he abhors the multitude; and the artist, though he may employ the crowd, is very careful to isolate himself."

In view of Joyce's considerable admiration for Ibsen, this attack of the Irish Literary Theatre is incomprehensible unless the animosity of certain of his intimate friends at University College to *The Countess Cathleen* be taken into account. Sheffington was one of these and yet he certainly was not intolerant. His contribution to *Two Essays* was "A Forgotten Aspect of the University Question," and in it he called for co-education in "a People's University of the Twentieth Century" which would be "governed by a council chosen without distinction of sex."

James Joyce's opinion of Sheffington at this time may be found in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. For the latter appears in Joyce's book as the propagandist who liked milk chocolate tablets, MacCann. Sheffington's interest in women's suffrage is described with characteristic schoolboy hyperbole: "MacCann is in tiptop form. Ready to shed the last drop. Brand new world. No stimulants and votes for the bitches." The description continued:

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5. Ibid., p. 60.  
7. Ibid., p. 5.  
MacCann began to speak with fluent energy of the Tsar's rescript, of Stead, of general disarmament, arbitration in cases of international disputes, of the signs of the times of the new humanity and the new gospel of life which would make it the business of the community to secure as cheaply as possible the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number.\(^1\)

Skeffington (MacCann) pressed Joyce (Dedalus) to sign a "petition for universal peace;" but the latter was not interested and expressed doubts as to the sincerity of the Czar of Russia who was one of the signatories. One more description of Skeffington may be transcribed:

...it made him think of McCann; and he saw him a squat figure in a shooting jacket and breeches and with a fair goatee, standing in the wind at Hopkins' corner, and heard him say:

-Dedalus, you're an anti-social being, wrapped up in yourself. I'm not. I'm a democrat; and I'll work and act for social liberty and equality among all classes and sexes in the United States of the Europe of the future.\(^4\)

Hanna Sheehy

Whatever may have been the source of Skeffington's idealism (his father had been Senior Inspector of the National Education Board), Hanna Sheehy, perhaps, inherited hers:

Her father - David Sheehy, M.P. - has a record of service for Ireland. He was returned as a member of Parnell's party when this swept the country in 1886... Before this he had been a Fenian, and was out in '67. He was in gaol several times, and had experience of hunger strikes. One of Mrs. Skeffington's earliest memories - when she was about four years old - was going to see him in Kilmainham Gaol... He was the author of Prison Papers, and, as a youthful friend of William O'Brien, he found a place in the pages of When We Were Boys... Her uncle, Fr. Eugene Sheehy, was also among those who have given national service.\(^6\)
(Evidently he was the David Sheehy who, according to Joyce’s Ulysses, defeated J. H. Parnell in the latter’s attempt to be elected to Parliament “for south Meath.”) It may be added that, like Skeffington, she was a feminist, and, presumably, the two regarded the formation of the Women’s Social and Political Union in England in 1903 with favor.

Francis Sheehy-Skeffington

Skeffington’s enthusiasm for feminism was responsible for his adoption of the name Sheehy-Skeffington:

In 1903 he married Hanna Sheehy, and -- true to their feminist principles -- they retained both names. That year he was appointed first lay registrar of University College. But the following year he resigned his post owing to differences due to his advocacy of equal rights for women students. Both Trinity and the National universities have since given women full rights, long before English universities took this step. Skeffington’s untiring and self-sacrificing work doubtless hastened this. It is not surprising that later both Mrs. Skeffington and her husband took a great part in the suffrage agitation, both going to prison for it. 3

Reference has already been made to his attempt, with the aid of Fred Ryan, to start some sort of Irish labor party headed by Michael Davitt. Davitt’s death in 1906 put an end to this. Sheehy-Skeffington thereupon set to work writing his biography of the old Land League leader and, needless to say, he stressed Davitt’s sympathy for feminism.

In telling of Davitt’s trip to Russia for the New York American in 1903 and 1904, Sheehy-Skeffington stressed Davitt’s

1. See p. 518.
3. R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, p. 158.
4. See p. 608.
interest in Zionism and hatred of anti-semitism. It may also be added that when Henry Nevinson, who, like Sheehy-Skeffington, was a suffragette, visited Russia in 1906 he discovered Mouniloff, Rector of the University, to be an authority on the Irish Land Question and found Tolstoi interested in Ireland and Davitt.

Sympathizers

The year in which the Irish Women's Franchise League was started, 1908, also witnessed an imposing demonstration in favor of equality of suffrage in Hyde Park. As a result, the Sheehy-Skeffington's organization was regarded with suspicion and Constance Markievicz even went so far as to say:

We are in a very difficult position here, as so many Unionist women would fail have us work together with them for the emancipation of their sex and votes -- obviously to send a member of Westminster. But I would ask every Nationalist woman to pause before she joined a Suffrage Society or Franchise League that did not include in their Programme the Freedom of their Nation. 'A Free Ireland with No Sex Disabilities in her Constitution' should be the motto of all Nationalist women.

Other celebrated feminists in Dublin at this time were Susan L. Mitchell, George Russell's associate in the office of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society and biographer of George Moore, Eva Gore-Booth, who became a celebrated suffragette and Mary Hayden, who wrote on Women in the Middle Ages for the Irish Review.

3. Ibid., p. 115.
4. Ibid., pp. 120-121.
5. Dangerfield, op. cit., p. 147.
6. R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, pp. 139-140.
7. C. de Markievicz, Women, Ideals and the Nation, p. 4.
12. Ibid., September, 1913, p. 358.
To judge from certain remarks in *The Years of the Shadow*, Katherine Tynan also sympathized with Sheehy-Skeffington's movement.

George Bernard Shaw

However, the most celebrated name associated with the Irish Women's Franchise League was that of George Bernard Shaw. In 1936, when Shaw and his wife applied for citizenship in Eire, *Irish Press* reported that Mrs. Shaw was a native Corkonian who often revisited Ireland. It specified her stay in Dublin in 1916 when she showed "interest and sympathy" for the defeated Republicans and a visit to Ireland in 1923 when her husband wrote *Saint Joan*. It continued:

She was a supporter of the *Irish Citizen*, being a feminist as well as an Irishwoman. When the little paper was launched by James Cousins and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington in 1912, she was one of its earliest subscribers and she has never entirely lost touch with the little group of militants who ran it.

The I.R.B.

The important aid which the I.R.B. gave the suffragettes was referred to in connection with the opposition of the English Liberals and Irish Party to extending the franchise to women. This aid may be seen in the pages of the official Fenian organ, *Irish Freedom*, and in the semi-official, *Irish Review*.

*Irish Freedom* welcomed the *Irish Citizen* when it first appeared and Sheehy-Skeffington, editor of the suffragette organ, contributed at least once to the I.R.B. paper.

Irish Review, as early as July, 1912, published an article by Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington on "The Women's Franchise Movement." After indicting Belfast for the way women were sweated in the textile industry there and attacking Redmond for his anti-suffragette attitude, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington ended her article on a gloomy note: "These scattered thoughts are penned on the eve of prison. When I come out I may have more to add."

In September, Frederick Ryan supported the suffragettes in a vigorous article.

During the fall, public opinion had been whipped up against the suffragettes to the point of direct action, and in the December Irish Review an author went out of her way to deplore the result:

A denationalised Irish mob is more brutal than even the brutal mobs of England; they will resort to methods of which even Englishmen would be ashamed; witness the scenes in Dublin not long ago when it was not safe for a woman to walk about alone.

In 1913, there were more articles of a similar nature. Ernest Boyd wrote on Feminism and Women Suffrage. Later in the year, Madeleine Reynier writing about La Mentalité Féminine Francaise, concluded that women in the British Isles were at least thirty years ahead of those in France: "Pourtant j'ai foi en la minorité qui s'en va semant les idées; elles germeront, elles parviendront vite, espérons-le à maturité, peut-être alors, la jeune fille française rattrapera le temps perdu." Finally,

in the December issue there was an advertisement for the Irish-
woman's Suffrage Federation, "President: Hon. Mrs. Spring Rice," 
which announced a "Great Suffrage Conference" to be held in Dub-
lin at the Rotunda, December 9th to 12th.

Its Use of the Literary Theatre

In view of the connection which the playwright, James H. 
2 Cousins, had with the Irish Women's Franchise League, it is not 
surprising that the society displayed an interest in the literary 
thursday. Cousins had been a friend of G.W. Russell, Frank Ry, 
3 whom he knew through writing for United Irishman, and J. M. 
4 Synge. Presumably, he agreed to the publication in the Irish 
Citizen of a propagandist play by Sheehy-Skeffington entitled 
"The Prodigal Daughter," which was produced "in the Molesworth 
Hall, Dublin, at the Irish Women's Franchise League's Daffodil 
5 Fete, April 24th and 25th, 1914."

Cumann na mBan

Cumann na mBan was closer to the I.R.B., perhaps, than any 
other women's organization. Formed as a woman's auxiliary of 
the Irish Volunteers, Mary M. Colum, wife of Padraic Colum, has 
been credited with suggesting its creation to Maud Gonne, president 
of the Inghinidhe na h-Eireann, in 1914 in the home of the folk-
lorist, Ella Young. Nora Connolly and Kay O'Brennan were

1. Irish Review, December, 1913.
2. See pp. 396-397, 911.
4. Ibid., pp. 280, 291.
members:

Mrs. Thomas Clarke, wife of the leader of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, was one of the most active workers in this body, and she was ably assisted by many other well-known women of Dublin, including Mrs. Eoin MacNeill, Helena Moloney, and the Countess Markievicz. Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. MacNeill and Mrs. Gill...were unable to resist the call of the country.¹

In Cork, Mary MacSwiney was one of the leaders in forming a branch. In Great Britain Margaret Skinnider was active in the Glasgow Cumann na mBan; and Alice Stopford Green was chairman of the London sub-committee. As most of the history of Cumann na mBan belongs to the period after 1916, it may be passed over here with the observation that it was evidence of yet another aspect of the "Women's Rebellion" in Ireland.

Irish Review

Irish Review links the "Women's Rebellion" with the I.R.B. because of its sympathy for both. To be more specific, both Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington contributed and two of its editors, Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Mary Plunkett, were to be executed as leaders of the 1916 rising.

The following description of Irish Review will be divided into four parts. First Father Brown's estimate that it was the "chief organ of the modern Irish literary renaissance" will be amplified by a few words about its creation and distinguished contributors. Next its political leanings will be investigated.

¹. Jones, op. cit., p. 176.
². R.M. Fox, Rebel Irishwomen, pp. 59-60.
⁴. J. Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel, p. 395.
Third, its literary significance will be indicated by a discussion of the poetry and prose which appeared in it. And finally, the advertising which it carried will be mentioned.

**Its Creation and Distinguished Contributors**

*Irish Review*, a monthly publication, made its first appearance in March, 1911. Padraic Colum, one of its founders, has written of the inception of the magazine in his introduction to an anthology of the poems of four of the men who were executed for their part in the rising, *Poems of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood*:

A professor in the College of Science, with MacDonagh, James Stephens and myself, started the *Irish Review*. MacDonagh was associate editor, first with the three of us, and after an interregnum, with his friend Joseph Plunkett.¹

The educator who helped to start *Irish Review* was Professor Houston of the National University and Colum, himself, seems to have been the editor during the "interregnum" to which he referred. At any rate, the following announcement appeared in the issue of *Irish Review* for July, 1913:

*Irish Review* has entered a good way into its third year of existence. After the present issue a new proprietor and a new editor will have charge. Since March, 1912, 'The Irish Review' has been conducted by Mr. Padraic Colum.²

*Irish Review* has been described as the "chief organ of the modern Irish literary renaissance" and the following names, selected from a list entitled *Some Contributors to the Irish Review* indicate why such a reputation was enjoyed by it: AE, George A.

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2. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. xx.

The foregoing names appeared under the caption AUTHORS; under the heading ARTISTS the following appeared: AE, Nathaniel Hone, Augustus John, Casimir Dunin Markievicz, Jack Morrow, William Orpen, Estella Solomons, Jack B. Yeats and John B. Yeats.

In view of this imposing list of contributors, a consideration of the contents of Irish Review takes on added significance. Accordingly, the politics, literature and advertising which appeared in the Dublin periodical may be summarized.

Its Politics

From a political standpoint Irish Review is of particular interest because of its gradual transition from a position sympathetic to the Home Rule movement to a pro-Republican and pro-labor attitude. Thus, when Colum was editor, the following appeared:

THE
IRISH REVIEW
THE IRISH REVIEW was founded to give expression to the intellectual movement in Ireland. It publishes Poems, Plays and Stories in English and in Irish, and deals critically with every Irish interest — Literature, Art and Science, Politics, Economics, and Sociology. In politics, THE IRISH REVIEW aims at making an adjustment by promoting free discussion. 1

1. The Irish Review, May, 1912, inside cover unpaginated.
In 1913, MacDonagh and Plunkett brought the magazine closer to the Fenians and the official Fenian point of view as expressed in Irish Freedom by announcing that it would thereafter be, in part at least, spokesman for "the Irishman of action":

'The Irish Review' will strive to speak for Ireland rather than any party or coterie in Ireland. Emancipated from the tyranny of his party and lifted above the flattery of his coterie, the Irishman of action, study or letters may utter himself here for the benefit of his people and of such others as may care to give attention. 'The Irish Review' belongs to no party. 2

This political transition can be traced in three types of contributions to Irish Review: first, those which were friendly towards the Parliamentary Party; second, those which were hostile to the Irish leaders in Parliament but, at the same time, assumed the necessity of working for the Irish cause within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and third, those which looked for foreign aid.

Articles friendly towards the Irish Parliamentary Party

Several examples of the first type may be noted. In May, 1912, Arthur Griffith's article on Home Rule and the Unionists, alluded to the separatist sympathies of George A. Birmingham (Canon Hannay) and accepted the Home Rule Bill then before Parliament, but declared: "If this be liberty, the lexicographers have deceived us." A month later a series of articles by D. J. O'Donoghue began which continued in July and August. They

5. Ibid., July, 1912, pp. 256-263.
6. Ibid., August, 1912, pp. 305-311.
attempted to demonstrate that Jonathan Swift was a Home Ruler.

In January, 1913, Captain J.R. White's "Address delivered in London at a meeting of the Irish Protestants in favour of Home Rule" was published, and in the same issue Colum reviewed a "lecture on 'Education under Home Rule' by P.H. Pearse." Subsequently, Pearse wrote on "The Education Problem in the Home Rule Parliament," asserting that Bishop O'Dwyer's fears lest religion should suffer by the reorganization of the educational system by an Irish Parliament, were groundless.

Education

This brings up a particularly interesting aspect of Irish Review which always has been associated with politics in Ireland. Thus, Michael Davitt wrote of Isaac Butt:

His Problem of Irish Education (1875) stamped him as one of the highest authorities on this thorny Irish question. He was accepted by the Catholic hierarchy as the parliamentary exponent of the Catholic demands on Irish university education.4

Like Butt, Irish Review gave evidence of an interest in education. It published a contribution on "The Montessori Method" and another, by Oliver St. John Gogarty, on "Medical Inspection of School Children." Also, like Butt, the periodical found the political implications of the educational problem important. And in addition to the articles by the editor and P. H. Pearse, which were mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a few others are note-

2. "The Editor", An Irish Educationalist -- Mr. P.H. Pearse.
6. Ibid., facing page 2.
worthy in this connection.

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington wrote approvingly of Chief Secretary Birrell's scheme for improving the position of Irish Secondary Teachers. Another contributor, E. Creagh Kittson, after telling how Fichte's work in Prussia prepared the way for Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig, continued:

Now we in Ireland do not want to win any battle of Leipzig; but there has been of late years a remarkable tendency on the part of all classes of Irishmen towards national regeneration, and it is certainly desirable that education should play its due part in this movement. There is probably no other force whatever that could do so much to create a strong, reasonable and enthusiastic national feeling.2

A third writer attributed the difficulties of educating Irish youth for citizenship to the conflict between imperialism and nationalism which resulted from Ireland's lack of statehood:

When Ireland is a State in being she will see to it that her system of education is in harmony with her own intimate life. Until that consummation is reached, the two ideals must war for the mastery, and the more potent will prevail.3

Two of these already mentioned as having contributed to Irish Review on the subject of education are of particular interest because they introduced the Celtic renaissance into their considerations. One of them, E. Creagh Kittson, wrote:

The old heroic tales of Ireland, with the high chivalry that they teach, provide such excellent reading matter for early youth that other countries are rapidly seizing them and making use of them; Ireland alone remains behind. Some years ago...when Mr. Standish O'Grady offered his delightful Finn and His Companions as a reading book to the National Board, his offer was promptly rejected.4

The other, P.H. Pearse, believed that the educator must "foster"

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his student and that to do so he must have "adequate inspiration."

*Irish Review* had what almost might be considered an ulterior motive for its interest in Irish education. For not only was it closely associated with the National University through its founders, but also, writing of five men who were familiar to readers of the periodical, Thomas MacDonagh, an instructor at the National University where, by the way, Eamonn de Valera held an Examiner's post, said:

Éoin MacNeill is professor of Early and Medieval Irish History, Osborn Bergin of Early Medieval Irish Language and Literature, Douglas Hyde of Modern Irish, and R.A.S. Macalister of Celtic Archaeology at University College, Dublin... George Sigerson, M.D., is also a professor of University College, but of a different faculty.7

Land Reform

*Irish Review* did not hold the Irish Parliamentary leaders to blame for these educational maladjustments. Similarly, in February, March, May and December, 1913, Justin Phillips wrote about land reform in a manner calculated to inspire, rather than condemn, the Home Rulers. In May, 1914, Alice Stopford Green,

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2. Ibid., p. 173.
3. *See p. 1004*.
7. MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 136, note.
Douglas Hyde and two others signed a report on "The Connemara Islands" in which the Congested Districts Board was criticized and Sir Roger Casement cited; but the Irish leaders in Parliament were not even mentioned and therefore were only rebuked indirectly, if at all. And even in the last issue there was a curious prophecy by a Frenchman which seemed to look forward with pleasure to Home Rule:

Ainsi donc le Home Rule permettre aux deux grandes nations, celles de se connaître mieux. L'Irlande aidera la France à comprendre plus aisément son antique tradition celtique. La France aidera l'Irlande à prendre sa place parmi les grandes nations, à devenir une nation européenne.2

Articles Favoring a Re-alignment in Irish Politics

The second type of contributions of a political nature which appeared in Irish Review were hostile to the Irish Parliamentary leaders but assumed the necessity of working for the Irish cause within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Of this nature were articles which favored extending the franchise to women or sympathized with the Irish labor movement. Even more dangerous to the status quo of Irish politics were the suggestions of Ernest Boyd and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington that a new Party was necessary and accordingly Irish Review allowed champions of the Irish Parliamentary Party and complete separation to reply to them.

Taking Hail and Farewell for his text, Boyd reminded his

4. See p. 1066.
readers of George Moore's "discovery that literature and dogma are incompatible." He accused the Home Rule Party of responsibility for a dogma incompatible with a "national life and praised Sinn Fein, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society and Irish Worker, organ of the Irish labor movement, because they tended to replace dogma with a new political philosophy. Accordingly, he called for a new political party based upon them.  

The defense of the Home Rule party made by one who replied to Boyd may be passed over, but his strictures on Irish literature are worth reproducing in part. Insisting "that certain great poets were also great believers in dogma, Christian or otherwise" this writer spoke of "our own Irish life today" and its "school of National Literature":

But we should like to know whether Mr. Moore or Mr. Boyd considers there is in existence a genuine school of National Literature in Ireland, or else is the literature of Mr. Yeats, AE, Seumas O'Sullivan, and many others to be regarded as blighted, or, perhaps, as not National? There is either a school of National Literature or not. If it flourished in Mr. Yeats, and others, then Mr. Moore and his friend are, to put it gently, unhistoric.  

Sheehy-Skeffington also favored the formation of a new party. An amusing illustration of his anti-capitalist leanings may be seen in a book review which appeared in January, 1913. In judgment upon a eulogistic biography of a wealthy Belfast shipbuilder the critic wrote: "Twice this book touches literature. First in the introduction, by Sir Horace Plunkett, at the beginning; again in the letter, by Sir Horace Plunkett, at the end."  

2. Ibid., p. 244.  
In contrast to this was Sheehy-Skeffington's eulogy of the Irish socialist, Frederic Ryan. Ryan had advocated women's suffrage, Irish Nationalism and an end to British imperialism:

A friend of Mr. F. J. Fay, he helped in the founding of the Irish National Theatre, and was its secretary for some years, undertaking much of the drudgery of its organisation in the years before the Abbey was, while the Fays still 'produced' in small halls in dingy Dublin back-streets. He acted himself -- I remember vividly his appearance as a monk in The King's Threshold. He wrote a play, The Laying of the Foundations, which appears to be lost.2

Towards the end of the article Sheehy-Skeffington told of Ryan's last years in England: "In London he was equally active. The last time he and I worked together was in aid of George Lansbury at the Bow and Bromley election."

Articles in Favor of Seeking Foreign Aid

The third type of contributions of a political nature which appeared in Irish Review looked for aid for Ireland outside the British Empire -- to France, Germany or the United States.

French Aid

To consider these seriatim, in connection with the French aid, La Ligue Celtique Française and Jean Malye may be noticed. In an essay entitled 'Some Aspects of the Celtic Movement,' Malye was introduced to the readers of Irish Review as the author of a recently published booklet, La Littérature Irlandaise Contemporaine; and at the same time another French publication was welcomed:

The other and more important publication is a number of a periodical in which a call to arms has been sounded not

1. See p. 607.
3. Ibid., p. 119.
only to all the scattered Celtic countries, but to the submerged Celt of Gaul and of all those countries once forming part of the great Celtic Empire. A League has been formed in Paris by various writers and poets, which has adopted the name of La Ligue Celtique Francaise, which issues this magazine, La Poétique, 39 Rue Artois, Paris, where news from Celtic countries and translations from and criticisms of Celtic poets appear.¹

According to an advertisement in Irish Review the "Ligue" had for its organ the Revue Des Nations; and Malye, who had contributed to W.P. Ryan's Peasant as early as September, 1903, wrote "an article on the poetry of W.B. Yeats" for it.²

For Irish Review Malye wrote on Maurice Barrès, Le Mouvement Philosophique en France and Home Rule. The article on Home Rule has already been quoted as not unfriendly to the Irish leaders in Parliament; but in it the Frenchman foresaw that an autonomous Ireland might be able to "entrer en relations directes avec notre pays".³

German Aid

Three contributors suggested some sort of understanding with Germany and a fourth, Sir Roger Casement, linked Germany with the United States as a source of aid for Ireland.

The first was Kuno Meyer whose likeness by Augustus John was inserted in the issue of Irish Review for November, 1912.⁴

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7. See p. 1010.
To the same issue Meyer contributed an erudite essay on "Learning in Ancient Ireland," in which he cited Alice Stopford Green, George Coffey and the German, Zimmer, as authorities. The nature of this contribution may be gathered from its opening paragraph:

The part played by Ireland in the transmission of letters during the seventh and following centuries is known to all. But neither the way in which letters first reached this country, nor the causes which led to that outburst of classical learning suddenly confronting us at the beginning of the sixth century, have as yet been definitely established.

Kuno Meyer's name appeared again in Irish Review in May, 1915. A miscellany had been assembled in his honor which contained contributions in Irish, Scots-Gaelic, Welsh, English, French, German and "the third language of Wales." An anonymous reviewer asserted: "Celtic studies which owe so much to the German professors are now under obligation to a German publisher, Herr Max Niemeyer, of Halle, a.s., and to his printers." The reviewer hailed the "variety of culture" which existed "in the British Islands" and condemned imperialism: "That the various minor cultures are being weakened in the interest of a single dominant one is a great intellectual loss."

After war had been declared in 1914, Meyer seemed to be a sinister figure to the English and even George Moore who had been "fond" of him joined in the hue and cry after the German scholar. However, Moore later regretted his impetuosity in a

2. Ibid., p. 449.
5. J. Hone, Life of George Moore, pp. 319-320.
letter to Best of the National Library in Dublin:

I have just laid down Kuno Meyer's collection of ancient Irish Poetry, and feel that I must write to you about it, for it is so marvellous. I would that this letter were going to him, for I did not appreciate him or his learning when he sent the book to me -- not enough. Learning! There was much more to him than learning, I felt there was, I suspected but did not realise his worth. We all appreciate when it is too late. How I hate the war that took him from us and I despise myself for not having understood him better.

If the two contributors just mentioned are only associated with political affairs by the subsequent career of Kuno Meyer, such is not the case with P.J. Sheridan and Sir Roger Casement. Sheridan set about to "retrace" "the career of a large measure of national self-government" which the German Reichstag had granted to Alsace-Lorraine in 1911. He concluded with an oblique attack on the reluctance of the British Parliament to grant Home Rule to Ireland:

It only remains to add...that the constitution, amended in accordance with the wishes of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, is now an accomplished fact in that country. And the German Empire consists at length of a number of States, every one of which is now self-governing.

Casement's attitude toward Germany was aptly stated by "Batha MacGrainn" in the September, 1912, issue of Irish Review. Beginning with a reference to Casement's friend, Alice Stopford Green, the article went on to show how Ireland had been a threat to England when Queen Elizabeth had feared lest the Spaniard might use it as a naval base; and that Wolfe Tone had sought to impress this strategic significance upon the French.

3. Ibid., p. 516.
4. See p. 596.
Napoleon had lacked the necessary navy to make use of Ireland but in 1912 Germany was "forging that weapon that would have enabled Napoleon to crush his greatest enemy." The article concluded that England was offering Home Rule to Ireland to balk an Irish-German understanding:

But the question arises - could we not secure better terms? Would Germany offer us better? The more we value our own worth, the more others are likely to value it. Ireland, if she only knew, holds a winning hand between England and Germany. If she - or her leaders for her - play well, they can secure a measure of freedom for the old land that Thomas Davis may have dreamed of.  

In July, 1913, Casement's article, Ireland, Germany and the Next War, appeared in Irish Review under the signature "Shan Van Voich." It took up where "Batha MacGraim" left off and subsequently became the basis of negotiations between the I.R.B. and "the pan-German group of General von Bemhardi." Casement began by denying Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's contention that Ireland's "interests are one with those of Great Britain in the eventual defeat of the latter" by Germany, and went on to demonstrate that the former country could expect a more favored position in the German Reich than it held in the British Empire. However, he predicted that a victorious Germany would be more apt to set Ireland up as a buffer state than to annex it:

An Ireland, already severed by a sea held by German warships, and temporarily occupied by a German army, might well be permanently and irrevocably severed from Great Britain,

2. Ibid., p. 345.
and with common assent erected into a neutralised, independent European state under international guarantees. An independent Ireland would, of itself, be no threat or hurt to any European interest. On the contrary, to make of Ireland an Atlantic Holland, a maritime Belgium, would be an act of restoration to Europe of this the most naturally favoured of European islands that a Peace Congress should, in the end, be glad to ratify at the instance of a victorious Germany. 1

Combined German and American Aid

In 1914, Casement's views were expounded in a series of articles signed "by an Irish American" and entitled From "Coffin Ship" to "Atlantic Greyhound." Some twenty-one years earlier the Fenian chief, C.G. Doren, had written to Irish World to request its readers to address their mail to Ireland "via Queenstown" and thus to defeat the attempt of English interests "to drop Ireland out of the principal European mail route, to the detriment of many thousands of her traders and working classes." The danger which Doren fought was averted temporarily. In 1914 this danger reappeared.

The first article which "Irish American" wrote outlined how English shipping, particularly the Cunard Company, had waxed wealthy by transporting Irish emigrants to America. The second article indicated some of the specious reasons why the Cunard and White Star Lines had decided no longer to stop in Queenstown and yet, at the same time, were able to "prevent the Hamburg-Amerika

3. C.G. Doren, Correspondence, Irish World, April 8, 1893, p. 5.
Line from getting near the shores of Ireland." This particularly annoyed "Irish American" because the "mail contract with the Cunard Company...required their vessels to call at Queens-town for the embarkation of mails to America." 2

In the concluding article England was accused of having committed a "double breach of faith" in allowing the steamship company to violate its "domestic pledges." For not only had the Postal Convention of 1903, "which involved the mails between Ireland and Great Britain and the United States," been violated but also England had broken her international obligations to the United States under the terms of the "Treaty of Ghent of 1814".

Accordingly, "Irish American" implored the United States not to enter any alliance with Great Britain:

An alliance between Great Britain and the United States means the owning of the seas by one flag. No joint sovereignty is possible where the Union Jack flies. Equality is, to imperial Britain, an offence. It is the crime her statesmanship will never tolerate. Just as 'the Union' between Great Britain and Ireland meant 'the union of the shark with its prey,' as Byron predicted, so the Union of the United States with Great Britain means the vesting of the ownership of the seas in one people. It means this and more. It means the absorption of a republic of free men in a body of bought men, and of republican ideals in the dreadful conception of a common exploitation of all weaker peoples. A syndicate of soulless imperialists will sweep the seas and own the earth. 5

And in conclusion, an unspecified foreign power was invoked to destroy the hypocritical British Empire:

Just as the Athenian Empire, in the name of a democracy, sought to impose servitude on the Greek world, so the

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2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
4. Ibid., pp. 57-58.
5. Ibid., April, 1914, pp. 60-65.
British Empire, in the name of democracy, seeks to en-compass mankind within the long walls of London.

And just as Greece was forced to accept the Athenian challenge, so Europe, led and shaped thereto by some modern Sparta, must lay low those barriers to equal freedom.¹

Thus, it is evident that the articles of a political na-ture which appeared in Irish Review gradually became decidedly separatist in sympathy. Furthermore, five of the sixteen men executed in 1916 for their Republican activities had contributed to it; and four of the five were among the seven signatories of the proclamation of the provisional government of the Irish Re-public of Easter Week. The names of these four appeared, strik-ingly, on the cover of the issue for October, 1913: James Con-nolly, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett and P. H. Pearse. Con-nolly’s essay on Labour in Dublin will subsequently be described. MacDonagh, Plunkett and Pearse contributed poems. The fifth, Sir Roger Casement, contributed poetry to at least three separate issues.

Its Literary Significance

Perhaps these associations with 1916 enhance the signifi-cance of the literature which appeared in Irish Review. At any rate, it can be divided into poetry and prose.

Poetry

The Dublin monthly published verse in Irish and English.

4. See p. 1066.
In the former category were contributions by Sean mac Giolla an Ata, Seagan o Murtuile, Osborn Bergin and P.H. Pearse. Of the poets who used English as their medium, the following may be mentioned: AE, Casement, Darrell Figgis, Douglas Hyde, Joseph Cambell, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Plunkett, James Stephens, W.B. Yeats, Katharine Tynan, Seumas O'Sullivan and W.M. Letts.

Of peculiar interest are the poems by Yeats and Hyde because they reflect Yeats' waning popularity in Ireland. In December, 1912, Yeats appealed to Hyde (Croíbhin Aoiibhin) in a sonnet "imitated from Ronsard" to explain the hostility of the Dublin public to the Abbey Theatre:

Dear Croíbhin Aoiibhin, look into our case.
When we are high and airy, hundreds say
That if we hold that flight they'll leave the place,
While those same hundreds mock another day
Because we have made our art of common things,
So bitterly, you'd dream they longed to look
All their lives through into some drift of wings.
You've dandled them and fed them from the book
And known them to the bone; impart to us -
We'll keep the secret - a new trick to please.
Is there a bridle for this Proteus
That turns and changes like his draughty seas?
Or is there none, most popular of men,
But, when they mock us that we mock again?7

2. DÁN AR BAS SÉARLAIS MÍ O DONNAIL CILLÉ nEOIN, Irish Review, October, 1912, pp. 414-416.
7. W.B. Yeats, At the Abbey Theatre, Irish Review, December, 1912, p. 505.
In January, 1913, "An Craobhain Aoibhinn" replied in a sonnet which contrasted Yeats' present lack of patriotism to his earlier zeal:

Good friend, and old companion man-at-arms,
Who struck shrewd blows beside me long ago,
The Protean crowd perplexing you, I know
Shares common hopes with me, common alarms.
Therefore we fare together, and Circe's charms
On us are plied in vain. 'Make friends not foes'
Is still our password, yet we too aim blows
When blows at us are aimed, and quick blood warms.

A narrower cult but broader art is mine,
Your wizard fingers strike a hundred strings
Bewildering with multitudinous things,
Whilst all our offerings are at one shrine.
Therefore we step together. Small the art
To keep one pace where men are one at heart.¹

Prose

Just as Irish Review published poetry in Irish and English,² so it published prose in both languages and in French to boot.³ Irish prose writings by Padraic Ó Conaire, "Albarach," and Padraic mac Piarais (P.H. Pearse) may be cited as examples of the use of that medium; but the bulk of the contributions were in English and ranged in subject matter from an essay upon re-­⁶ afforestation by John Eglinton to "Little Abram," translated from the Yiddish of "Shalom Aleichem" by Hannah Berman.⁷ For the sake of convenience, these contributions will be grouped around the theater, non-dramatic criticism and in a miscellaneous

². See pp.1012-1013.
³. Le Grad Da Mnaold, Irish Review, March, 1913, pp. 26-28; April, 1912, pp. 81-86; May, 1912, pp. 135-139.
The Theater

Irish Review displayed considerable interest in the theater. Not only did it publish plays by Susan L. Mitchell, Joseph Campbell, Norreys Connell, Walter Mennloch and Eimar O'Duffy, but also considerable dramatic criticism. It criticized various aspects of the theater and specific plays.

Thus, in October, 1912, there was a review of The Art of the Theatre by Edward Gordon Craig, the stage designer, who had been associated with the Abbey Theatre at an earlier date and of whom an American literary critic reported:

A few of the designs that Gordon Craig produced for the Abbey have been published in the beautiful volumes of 'Plays for an Irish Theater' issued by Mr. Bulles...in 1911, and among them is the finely conceived set employed in the production of 'The Hour Glass.' The designs for the greater number of Yeats' plays have, however, been the work of Robert Gregory, Lady Gregory's son, a subscriber to the theories of Yeats and Craig.

Criticism of other aspects of the theater has already been mentioned. Irish Review's articles on the composition and production of specific plays remain to be discussed.

Under the caption Plays of the Month, Edward Martyn revealed a continued interest in Ibsen and praised "the excellent

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8. See p. 922.
stage management and hard effective work of Count Markievicz;" and still later, he wrote on "The Recent Performance of Ibsen's Rosmersholm." The production of Strindberg's There Are Crimes and Crimes at the Abbey resulted in appreciations by Mary Maguire Colum and Bryan Cooper. In September, 1912, Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington reviewed Three New "Abbey" Plays published by Mannsel and Company: Patriots by Lennox Robinson, Maurice Harte, by T.C. Murray and Judgment by Joseph Campbell. Finally, Padraic Colum reviewed five plays by Lord Dunsany with the comment that two of them, *King Argimedes and the Unknown Warrior* and *The Gods of the Mountain*, had originally appeared in the pages of *Irish Review*.

**Non-Dramatic Criticism:**

*Reviews of Periodicals and Books, Critical Essays*

Literary criticism of a non-dramatic nature, that is to say, criticism which had no connection with the theater, was the most constant feature of *Irish Review*. This criticism was both specific and general in nature. Of the former type was its reviews of periodicals and books.

Examples of its criticism of periodicals are numerous. Thus, *Caedelica*, published by the Association of Modern-Irish Studies and edited by T.F. O'Rahilly, was favorably observed; and Osborn Bergin, Tadhg O Donnchadha and Seamus O Caiside were listed as contributors to its first issue. Again, *A Broadside*

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7. Unsigned, Reviews, *Irish Review*, May, 1912, p. 188.
"conducted by Jack B. Yeats" was described in glowing terms. In the same issue, the Chicago magazine edited by Harriet Monroe, was noticed. It had already been cordially received:

'Poetry' is one of the most interesting publications we know. Its editor has been wise enough not to commit herself to bulkiness. There is generally an outstanding piece of verse in its pages, and the comments upon poetry are always worth reading.

Blackwood's Magazine for January, 1913, printed an article on The Wrongs of Ulster which reduced the rest of Ireland with "the blackest of lies" and drew from a contributor to Irish Review a reply so long that two issues were required to print all of it. Of the author of The Wrongs of Ulster, the outraged reviewer said:

He describes the Irish as inherently cowardly, treacherous, bloodthirsty and disloyal... With unlimited wealth of authorities at his disposal, he quotes - Froude and Macaulay, admittedly two of the most bitter, prejudiced and bigotted Hiberniophobes who ever set pen to paper...

'As a nation the Irish have done nothing that posterity is not anxious to forget.'

That charge - which, by the way, Ireland has every reason to bless, since it moved Lecky to write his great refutation - is the keynote of the whole article.

Likewise, new Irish books were regularly reviewed. In June, 1912, under the caption, New Irish Poetry, M. C. Maguire welcomed books of verse by James Stephens and Seumas O'Sullivan.

In the same issue, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, with a rare compli-

2. Ibid., pp. 271-272.
5. Ibid., March, 1913, pp. 42-51.
ment to his "antient enemy, the editor of the 'Leader'" (D. P. Moran), reviewed the Pope's Green Island expressing his regret that the author, W. P. Ryan, was "too gentle, too tolerant":

How is a reviewer to deal with a book in which he finds himself described as a 'leal and chivalrous knight'?... For in spite of the sugariness of which this phrase may well stand as a fearful example, 'The Pope's Green Island' is a valuable and remarkable book. Those who were regular and faithful readers of the 'Peasant' (one never really got used to the new name it adopted towards the close of its career) will find in it nothing new, except perhaps the revelation, which I do not think has been made before, that the late George Tyrrell was among its anonymous contributors.2

And in December, 1912, James Stephens' "latest book," The Crook of Gold was correctly hailed as "one of the most remarkable novels that has appeared in recent days."

In February, 1913, two books illustrated by Jack B. Yeats and a volume of verse by Eva-Gore Booth were praised. The second volume illustrated by Jack Yeats was Rambles in Ireland. After regretting that its author, Robert Lynd, had taken a title so much like that of Bulfin's Rambles in Erin, the reviewers continued:

Bulfin was an enthusiast worked up to a lyric - sometimes almost an epic - pitch by years of exile on the Pampas. Robert Lynd's observation is perhaps less idealistic. Though confessedly a Gael - and a Gaelic Leaguer - though an avowed Protestant of Protestants, his confession of faith in Irish Ireland is tempered by a realistic note.4

In April, 1913, Rabindranath Tagore's Gitanjala, which had an introduction by W. B. Yeats, was admired. Two months later,

2. Ibid., p. 222.
5. G. Neill, Reviews, Irish Review, April, 1913, p. 107
appreciations of new editions of Yeats’ poems and Barry O’Brien’s 1
The Autobiography of Wolfe Tone were chronicled. And in August,
Padraic Colum’s anthology of the writings of Oliver Goldsmith was
well received with emphasis on the anthologist’s attempt to
bring out Goldsmith’s links with Ireland.

In February, 1914, Joseph Plunkett commended the Collected
Poems of AE, and Lyrical Poems by Thomas MacDonagh but accused
both poets of intentional obscurity. A month later, Thomas Mac-
Donagh praised The Saga of King Lir by George Sigerson, concluding:

Doctor Sigerson has laboured all his day for this country.
He has written only of Ireland, for Ireland. This poem is
a portion of his reward. The old spirit of the Irish sage
has breathed on him. He has worthily received the inspiration.
His utterance has the dignity of high literature. His
poem is a classic henceforth of our Irish literature in the
English tongue. 4

In the same issue Francis Ledwidge, the new Irish poet sponsored
by Lord Dunsany, received favorable attention. In May, Thomas
MacDonagh praised Pearse’s Sumtraidhe Agus Goldtraidhe (Songs
of Sleep and Sorrow, Lullabys and Keens); and it may be added
that Padraic Colum agreed with MacDonagh’s estimate to the ex-
tent of quoting it in The Road Round Ireland. In the same issue
two volumes of poetry by Susan L. Mitchell also received a favor-
able notice.

Two unfriendly criticisms may also be described. Of

3. J.M. Plunkett, Obscurity in Poetry, Irish Review, February,
1914, pp. 626-633.
7. Fp. 164-156.
Constantia Maxwell's *A Short History of Ireland*, the reviewer said that she had seen "Ireland entirely from the standpoint of an English settler and a recent one at that." Furthermore, her ignorance was "so deep that probably even she could not plumb its depths."

The book is obviously intended for a text book, but we hope it will never be used as such, for it could inspire no Irishman with pride in his country. It is little better than a Unionist's justification, a history of Ireland with all that is glorious cut out, a history written not in blood but in serum.¹

Then, in its last issue, Thomas MacDonagh reviewed Padraic Gregory's *Modern Anglo-Irish Verse*. After concluding a harsh review, MacDonagh added an interesting note in parenthesis:

(A personal note: It may seem ungenerous in me to blame Mr. Gregory's book, as more honour is done to me in it than to any other author, but this makes it all the more my duty to give my true opinion. The choice of my poems seemed to me so good that the book has been a shocking disappointment to me. I thought that Mr. Gregory would have done as well by all the others. Personally I have nothing to complain of but that I should be so courteously thanked 'for kindly interest in the work and generous help.' I willingly gave permission for the use of my work, when I thought Mr. Gregory was making a good anthology. Before that I had written bluntly to him as I have written here of him and his work, I am sorry it is not good.)²

Of a more general nature than these reviews of specific books were the critical essays which appeared in *Irish Review*. In this field the contributions of "Sechillienne" and Thomas MacDonagh may be noted. "Sechillienne" accepted nationalism for paradoxical reasons:

Just as only a man who is passionately and deeply himself can be of real and ultimate value to his fellows, so, if and only we are intensely interested ourselves shall we give our best to the general European culture of which we form a unit.³

Subsequently, a "recent controversy in The Irish Homestead" led Sechilienne" to elaborate this theme and to declare disagreement with those who charged that Yeats could not "be a good Irishman or a great poet because he does not write political ditties" about the imminent Irish revolution against the Crown.

MacDonagh was more significant, perhaps, than "Sechilienne"; and Ernest Boyd, at least, had a very high opinion of the former's critical ability. Three of MacDonagh's critical articles which appeared in Irish Review were republished in his posthumous Literature in Ireland, which, incidentally, was greatly admired by Padraic Colum. Two of the essays were reprinted almost verbatim, "Criticism and Irish Poetry," and "Language and Literature in Ireland," and the third was somewhat rearranged.

The second, "Language and Literature in Ireland," is of peculiar interest for two reasons. First, in a headnote he prepared the way for the posthumous Literature in England:

In my article Criticism and Irish Poetry, published in the last number of The Irish Review, I spoke of "the two fresh languages of this country - Irish (modern Irish, newly schooled by Europe) and Anglo-Irish, English as we speak it in Ireland." I hope soon to publish in these pages a series of studies of contemporary Irish poets. It may be well to clear the way for some points in my criticism by a consideration of this Anglo-Irish language used by some of the most important of them. In this chapter I survey one region of the province.

And second, he differed with W.B. Yeats, who found Carleton's

2. Ibid., June, 1913, pp. 187-190.
"the most Celtic eyes that ever gazed from under the brows of a story-teller." MacDonagh, who regretted Yeats’ ignorance "of the pronunciation of Irish words," said of Carleton:

William Carleton made the mistake, during one part of his career at least, of writing about Ireland for a foreign audience. He hoped, as he says in a letter from London to his daughter, to reach a popularity equal to that of Dickens or Thackeray, 'and consequently to have the English publishers at my feet and willing to come to my own terms.' Carleton knew Irish, and might possibly have been the Celtic Mistral - if he had been a patriot. As it was he fell between two stools. The Irish people proper were deaf to his word: the English people listened while moved by the horrors of the Famine of 1847, and then turned a deaf ear too.3

Other Prose Contributions

In addition to those contributions which have been grouped around the theater and non-dramatic criticism, material which may be lumped together in a miscellaneous category appeared in Irish Review.

The editor of the second volume of Irish Review classified as Fiction a serial by Lord Dunsay, (Beyond the Fields We Know) and short stories by James Stephens (How the Husband of the Thin Woman Lost His Brother) and Daniel Corkery (Alibi or Home?). Under the caption Art were listed articles on modern French pictures and The Hibernian Academy, 1912. Edmond Curtis' serial, The Wars of Turlough, was classified as History; and Standish O'Grady's Paganism: Greek and Irish, was listed both as History and Religion. Then, an essay on The Bagpipe by James Cassidy foreshadowed Edward Martyn’s article on Wagner’s Parsifal, or the Cult of Liturgical Aesthetics.

1. W.B. Yeats, Stories from Carleton, p. xvi.
2. T. MacDonagh, Literature in Ireland, p. 50.
A similar range was displayed in Volume III, which may be
passed over with the mention merely of an article entitled A Note
on the Royal Hibernian Academy. Bodkin regretted that there was
nothing in the Academy's eighty-fourth exhibition of pictures
which could compare with "the great portrait of Dr. Kuno Mayer,
by Mr. Augustus John, which made last year's exhibit so memorable"
and dismissed Lavery's picture of George Sigerson as follows:

He has failed conspicuously with Dr. Sigerson. The doctor's
turbulent white locks are trimmed: he stands prim and rigid,
unemotional and uninteresting, no single spark of the old
Viking spirit stirring within him. The colour is utterly
dull; the figure looks as if it had lain for a long while
in a mud-bath. The curious scheme of lighting used by the
artist gives it a one-eyed appearance which might easily
have been obviated by a little reflected light on the right
side of the face.¹

Advertisements

Having sketched those articles of a political and literary
nature which seemed to be of particular interest, a few words may
be said about the advertisements which appeared in Irish Review.
Many of them also had a literary or political significance.

Of Literary Interest

Throughout Volume II, The Irish Homestead, "Organ of the
Irish-Co-operative Movement," was regularly announced inside the
back cover; but in Volume III, this place was occupied by an Eng-
lish quarterly, Poetry and Drama. From August, 1912 to August,
1913, a broadside was regularly advertised on the jacket:

With Ballads by Ballad Singers, living and dead; and
with drawings by Jack B. Yeats. (Hand-coloured).

¹ T. Bodkin, Irish Review, April, 1913, pp. 84-87.
² See p. 1005.
Published monthly; first number published in June, 1908. Subscription twelve shilling a year post free. A few complete sets from the commencement still for sale. Single copies thirteen pence.

GUALA PRESS, DUNDUM, COUNTY DUBLIN, IRELAND.

Other periodicals which were advertised in Irish Review were


Book advertisements appeared in every issue and in this wise the names of the following occur: Lord Dunsany, George Russell, James Stephens, Seumas O'Sullivan, James Connolly, Lady Gregory, Lennox Robinson, Joseph Campbell, St. John G. Ervine, Alice Stopford Green and Eleanor Hill. Notifications of books by MacDonagh, Plunkett and Pearse were also a regular feature of these columns.

The announcements of the Abbey Theatre and the DUN EMER GUILD also have a literary interest, and, perhaps those announcements which may be associated with the National University can be considered in the same category. A member of the faculty of the College of Science had been one of the founders of Irish Review and this may account for the advertisements of

Edward Ponsonby, "Agent in Ireland for the sale of the Publications of the Agricultural and Technical Department"; the Royal College of Science for Ireland; and Walter Conan, "ONLY OFFICIAL ROBEMAKER TO THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND." Also of literary interest were the advertisements of St. Enda's which have already been mentioned; and the announcement of the Metropolitan School of Art which may also be associated with P.H. Pearse.

Of Political Significance

If the foregoing advertisements may be considered of a literary nature, announcements about the GREAT SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE, which was to be held in Dublin under the auspices of the Irish-women's Suffrage Federation, and the Irish Volunteers may be cited for their political significance. The former has already been mentioned.

Attention to the Volunteers was drawn not only in the advertising supplements but also in the contents of Irish Review. Immediately after the inaugural meeting in November, 1913, Irish Review published the Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers which had then been promulgated. Thereafter, The Irish Volunteer, periodical of the new organization, was advertised; and an appeal for con-

1. Irish Review, August, 1913, following p. 328.
2. Ibid., August, 1913, preceding p. 273.
3. Ibid., preceding p. 273.
4. See p.332.
8. See p.1002.
10. See p.1001.
Contributions to The Volunteer Fund, signed "on behalf of the Provisional Committee" by John Core, Ua Rathghaille, Eoin MacNeill and Laurence J. Kettle, appeared regularly.

In addition to these advertisements, propaganda for the Volunteers appeared in the contents of Irish Review. MacDonagh, Plunkett and Pearse, of course, were members of the Provisional Committee. And MacDonagh wrote the article which exulted in the gunrunning at Howth in July, 1914.

Other members of the Provisional Committee who contributed to Irish Review were Eoin MacNeill and Colonel Maurice Moore. MacNeill wrote on The Rediscovery of the Celts, attributing this achievement to the sixteenth century Scotch Latinist, George Buchanan, whose "interest in linguistic matters, fortified by an early knowledge of Gaelic" led him to the discovery "that the Irish, the Scots and the Britains were nations of Celtic origin." Colonel Maurice Moore, in March and April, 1914, wrote about his father, George Henry Moore, who had attempted to create a Volunteer force in Ireland in the sixties.

In June, Irish Review published another Manifesto of the Irish Volunteers. It demanded "the immediate withdrawal of the Proclamation prohibiting the import of arms into Ireland." It expressed hope for a union with those in Ulster who were "still apparently separated from us in affection" but it welcomed the

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1. Irish Review, February, 1914, following p. 664.  
4. Ibid., December, 1913, pp. 522-532.  
5. Ibid., March, 1914, pp. 54-55; April, 1914, pp. 93-103.
Redmondites into the Volunteers. It was signed by L. J. Kettle and Eoin MacNeill. No word of disagreement appeared in Irish Review, but the indignation of the I.R.B. has already been told. and undoubtedly MacDonagh and Plunkett shared it, as they shared the opinion of P.H. Pearse who said of Home Rule: "And so this settlement is to be a final settlement. Would Wolfe Tone have accepted it as a final settlement? Would Robert Emmet have accepted it as a final settlement? Either we are heirs to their principles or we are not. If we are, we can accept no settlement as final which does not "break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils."

2. See p. 617.
3. P.H. Pearse, Political Writings and Speeches, pp. 76-79.
Summary

Chapter XX has been divided into two parts which were linked together by the I.R.B. In the first part the "Women's Rebellion" was discussed with particular emphasis on two organizations, Inghinidhe na h-Eireann and the Irish Women's Franchise League.

The discussion of Inghinidhe na h-Eireann was prefaced by a few remarks about earlier Irish women's organizations: the Fenian Sisterhood, the Fenian's "Ladies Committee" and the Ladies Land League. It was discovered that these groups were mostly of Irish-American origin and that Patrick Ford had been an early advocate of female suffrage.

In the discussion of Inghinidhe na h-Eireann, its connections with the literary theater movement as outlined in Chapter XVIII were recalled, its hostility to the Crown was recorded and its paper, Bean na h-Eireann, was mentioned.

The hostility of Inghinidhe na h-Eireann to the Crown was a peculiarly striking manifestation of its typically Fenian program. In 1900 it staged a memorable demonstration of antipathy to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her visit to Dublin at the time of the Boer War. In 1903 "the same fight was waged with the same spirit" when Edward VII visited the Irish capital. Among those who were mentioned in connection with the hostile demonstrations were: Dudley Digges, Maud Gonne, Helena Molony, W. B. Yeats, Edward Martyn and Arthur Griffith. Cumann na mGaedheal also protested; and even James Joyce got into difficulties because of certain uncomplimentary references to the King in Dubliners. George Moore, however, in spite of his hostility to the Crown in 1900, refused to be associated with the demonstrations.
In 1911 and 1912 Inghinidhe na h-Eireann again evidenced its disrespect for the Crown. Constance Markievicz, John Devoy, Helena Molony, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and certain Fenians who were described as "Sinn Feiners" took part in these demonstrations against George V.

Bean Na h-Eireann was Inghinidhe na h-Eireann's paper. Edited by Helena Molony, it attracted such famous Irish writers and revolutionists as James Stephens, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Thomas MacDonagh, P.H. Pearse, James Connolly, Sir Roger Casement, Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Eva Gore-Booth, Katharine Tynan, Padraic Colum, Seumas O'Sullivan and Constance Markievicz. When it suspended publication in 1912 its place was taken by Irish Citizen, organ of the Irish Women's Franchise League.

Inghinidhe na h-Eireann was not primarily interested in votes for women. The Irish Women's Franchise League was. Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, its sympathisers and connection with the Irish literary theater movement were discussed.

Francis Skeffington was a life-long friend of James Joyce. They had published a pamphlet, Two Essays, while in College and Joyce described his friend with considerable artistry in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. Skeffington's liberalism was well brought out by his section of Two Essays but Joyce's essay was rather confused. Hanna Sheehy was also friendly with Joyce. She was the daughter of David Sheehy, a member of Parliament who had been a Fenian. When she married Skeffington they had combined their names into Sheehy-Skeffington.

Between 1903 and 1908 Francis Sheehy-Skeffington was an active journalist and wrote a biography of Michael Davitt. In
the later year he helped form the Irish Women's Franchise League which was at first regarded with some suspicion in Nationalist circles. Undoubtedly the most famous name associated with the League was that of George Bernard Shaw whose wife was to be one of the earliest subscribers to Irish Citizen.

The important help which the I.R.B. gave to the suffrage movement, after the initial hostility referred to, may be seen in the pages of its official organ, Irish Freedom, and in the semi-official Irish Review. Indeed, five separate articles which expressed sympathy for votes for women were noticed in the latter periodical.

To conclude the remarks about the "Women's Rebellion" there was a brief mention of the use to which the Irish Women's Franchise League put the Irish literary theater movement. And the formation of Cumann na mBan, woman's auxiliary of the Irish Volunteers, was reported.

The second part of chapter twenty was devoted to Irish Review which linked the "Women's Rebellion" with the I.R.B. For Francis and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington contributed to it and Thomas MacDonagh and Joseph Mary Plunkett, who were among the executed leagers of the 1916 rising, were editors of it. The description of Irish Review entailed a discussion of its creation and distinguished contributors, its political sympathies, its literary significance and its advertisements.

Irish Review was founded by Padraic Colum, Thomas MacDonagh, James Stephens and Professor Houston of the National University. Joseph Mary Plunkett later became an editor. Among the contributors, in addition to the editors, perhaps the best known were:
George Russell, Standish J. O'Grady, Ernest Boyd, Lord Dunsay, Douglas Hyde, Edward Martyn, George Moore and W.B. Yeats. Accordingly, it has been called the "chief organ of the modern Irish literary renaissance."

The periodical was separatist in its politics. This separatism ranged from articles friendly to the Home Rule party to those which advocated an alliance with England's foes in the event of the United Kingdom becoming involved in a war. Education was treated as ultimately a political consideration; and the role of Irish Review as a sort of unofficial organ of the National University was noted. Likewise land reform and the formation of a new Irish party to replace the Redmondites were discussed. In connection with the latter articles by Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and Ernest Boyd were quoted in which Sinn Fein, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society and the Irish labor movement were suggested as possible supporters of this new departure.

Probably the I.R.B. rejoiced most in those articles in Irish Review which encouraged an alliance with France, Germany or the United States against England. Most significant were those by, or inspired by, Sir Roger Casement which urged that in the event of war between the United Kingdom and Germany, Ireland would profit more from a German victory. A curious proposal to invoke both Germany and American aid was also recorded. In connection with this revolutionary aspect of Irish Review it was noted that five of the sixteen leaders executed after Easter week had contributed to the periodical: James Connolly, Thomas MacDonagh, Joseph Mary Plunkett, P.H. Pearse and Sir Roger Casement.

An indication of the literary significance of Irish Review
was given by considering the poetry and prose which appeared in it. In addition to the poets already referred to, Darrell Figgis, Joseph Campbell, Katharine Tynan, Seumas O'Sullivan and W.M. Letts were also set down as contributors.

The prose was mostly critical and consisted of articles in Irish, English and French. It published plays by Susan L. Mitchel, Joseph Campbell,Norreys Connell and Eimar O'Duffy as well as criticism of the drama. Among those who reviewed plays for *Irish Review* were: Edward Martyn, Mary Colum, Bryan Cooper and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington. Periodicals and books were also reviewed regularly; and although the reviewers were usually lenient they could on occasion say biting things.

Among the critical essays of a more general nature those by Thomas MacDonagh stand out. And it was noted that this semi-official I.R.B. organ did not duplicate the hostile attitude of Sinn Fein and Griffith towards Yeats and his circle. In addition to these critical essays, fiction, art appreciation and essays on religious, historical and musical topics were recorded as of interest in the material published by *Irish Review*.

The advertising which appeared in the periodical was discovered, like the rest of the contents, to be of a literary and political nature. For the *Irish Homestead*, Jack Yeats' *Broadside* and the Abbey Theatre used *Irish Review* to call themselves to the attention of the public. And the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation and the Irish Volunteers used it for the same purpose. In connection with the latter it was observed that after the formation of the Volunteers such leaders as Eoin MacNeill and Colonel Maurice Moore became contributors.