

NEWSLETTER

1916-2016 Lynch Commemoration Newsletter 11

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Editorial

This edition of the Newsletter is the last before the official Government commemoration of the Easter Rising in March 2016 and the penultimate edition in the current format.

At time of going to print, hopefully all family members and friends who had earlier registered an interest in attending the commemoration have received their invitations to the Easter Sunday morning GPO ceremonies on March 27th, 2016. Invitations to other events such as the Relatives Gathering & the Garden of Remembrance on Easter Saturday are to follow shortly. If you have not yet received an invite or perhaps details on your invitation are incorrect or family groups have been split into different sections, then contact the 2016 Project team: by email at: 2016projectoffice@ahg.gov.ie

A special advance welcome to relatives and friends traveling within Ireland and from further afield to commemorate the Centenary. Arriving from New York are Judge Peter Fox Cohalan & Eileen Kremers. Both are returning to Ireland for the first time in many years with Judge Cohalan representing the Cohalan family of New York & Canada. Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, the leader of Irish-America and friend of Diarmuid Lynch during pivotal times a century ago was his Grand-Uncle. Amongst family members arriving include the globe-trotting Cormac, Gay & Amy from Houston, Texas. We hear that Gay has been getting a crash course in Irish history over the last few months... *'Just think of the GPO as the Irish version of The Battle of the Alamo'*.

We're finally approaching the end of the first century since the 1916 Rising began and one can't help but notice the degree of media coverage, opinion and issues that this centenary has produced. 1916 in our modern history has taken on near mythical significance, superseding all the other major milestones in the struggle for Irish independence over the centuries. Events such as the actual Irish Declaration of Independence did not take place until January 1919. The Irish Free State was born in 1922 and an Irish Republic was only enacted in 1948.

Not many of us could easily explain the full relevance of these events but we can all give a fairly good account for ourselves of the Easter Rising. But what about the primary document of this state, The Proclamation?

The Proclamation has been described as a remarkable manifesto for change in Ireland. Equality was its touchstone. It addressed national democracy, sovereignty, economic and social justice, and the rights of all Irish citizens, regardless of religious persuasion and none. A compelling modern day interpretation of the proclamation is that it presaged the need to entrench equality in all aspects of society, including proper legislation north and south to guarantee rights and protection of LGBT citizens, ethnic minorities, women, the disabled, the old and vulnerable.

The proclamation's genius was to inspire change for the benefit of all citizens on the island, and urge us *"...to cherish all the children of the nation equally"*. That's a statement with a powerful resonance for today. It merits consideration by everyone, whatever our political affiliation or religious beliefs.

For generations, Irish society was largely mono-cultural and mono-religious. Following our Independence, and for many years afterwards, Irish society had incorporated a strictly narrow interpretation of a Gaelic, Catholic and Republican ethos which largely and detrimentally affected this Island and its citizens – and not always for the best.

This has fortunately mellowed somewhat in maturity. Combined with immigration, education and the emergence of a secular state, we've grown to a more generous, open-minded, multi-cultural state which has helped unify all traditions, heritages and expression on this island. While we're certainly some distance from the ideals of our founding fathers, have we also come a long way from 1916? Right now, we have nearly 2,000 children warehoused in our indefensible and inhuman Direct Provision system. These are children who were, many of

them, born in Ireland but who are not legally Irish, children of the nation whom we do not cherish but rather deny and whose whole lives are in limbo. Traveler children born in Ireland today have a mortality rate four times that of the rest of the population. It's worth repeating that, statistically, they would not be much worse-off in a 1940s mother and baby home. Every year in Ireland over 3,000 children report that they have suffered sexual abuse. Large numbers of these children never access therapeutic services. This is a betrayal that no republic can stand over. With 800 children homeless in Dublin tonight and with many, many more children going to bed hungry every night in Ireland, is "The Best Small Country In The World In Which To Do Business" really the best ambition Ireland can have for the centenary year of the Rising?

Is it not almost a hundred years past time that we reclaimed our Proclamation of Independence as a blueprint for the Ireland we want to be? Perhaps that is something to consider during the forthcoming Commemorations.

The most important attendees at events this Easter will be the next generation of this island including of course those born since the 1980s of the extended Lynch families.

While we're the product of our times and influences just as our revolutionary generation ancestors were of theirs, let us encourage those coming after us to fully realise the aspirations of those who went before us as set out in the Proclamation: *"...religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens... to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all of the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differenceswhich have divided a minority from the majority in the past"*

The torch of 1916 is being passed to future generations.

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New York. March 4, 1916 Founding of the Friends of Irish Freedom

A century ago this month, The Friends of Irish Freedom an Irish-American Republican organisation was founded at the third Irish Race Convention held in New York (4–5 March 1916). Supported by the United Irish League, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and other leading Irish-American organisations. Clan na Gael dominated the Executive (holding 15 of the 17 seats).

The Organisation's aims were to 'encourage and assist any movement that will tend to bring about the National Independence of Ireland'. Among the first Executive were Victor Herbert (President), Thomas Hughes Kelly (Treasurer) and John D. Moore (Secretary). An office was set up in Sweden and relations established with Imperial Germany.

The Friends of Irish Freedom supported the 1916 Rising and in the months following, raised \$350,000 through the Irish Relief Fund to assist dependents of many who fought in the Rising.

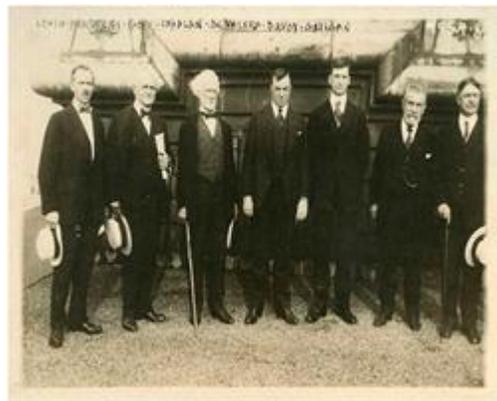
In 1917, the Executive Committee of the Friends of Irish Freedom circulated a petition calling for the Independence of Ireland throughout the US and secured several hundred thousand signatures. President Wilson in turn directed Secret Service agents to examine the membership and funding of the organisation.

In May 1918, the Friends of Irish Freedom organised the fourth Irish Race Convention during which Diarmuid Lynch became National Secretary holding the post until his return to Ireland in 1932. By 1920, there was a Regular membership of 100,000 and 484 Associate Branches with an Associate membership of 175,000.

During the Irish War of Independence, the Friends of Irish Freedom raised over \$5 million (\$74.6 million in 2016 values) in Dáil loans for the newly declared Irish Republic through the promotion of Bond Certificates. Legal advisor to the organisation for the Bond Drive was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In October 1920, a rift developed between the Irish American leaders and Éamon de Valera which resulted in a split between the Friends of Irish Freedom in the United States and the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland. Prior to his departure from the US, de Valera founded a rival organisation—the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic—to take over the activities of the Friends.

The Friends of Irish Freedom was wound up in 1932 following extensive litigation concerning the funds raised for the Irish Republic which were claimed by de Valera, most of the funds were returned to the original donors



The Friends of Irish Freedom: a case-study in Irish-American nationalism, 1916–21

By Michael Doorley



On top of Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria hotel in 1919—(left to right) Harry Boland, Liam Mellows (leader of the '1916 exiles'), De Valera, Dr Patrick McCartan (Irish envoy to Washington), Diarmuid Lynch (secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom), and, sitting, John Devoy (leader of Clan na Gael). (De Valera Papers, UCD Archives. Courtesy of the UCD-OFM Partnership)

Historically, nationalists in Ireland have looked to their cousins in the United States for both financial assistance and diplomatic support. This support has never been a foregone conclusion, but at critical moments in Irish history, usually during times of political tension, Irish-America has taken a keen interest in Irish events. During the turmoil of the Land War, with its news of evictions and the threat of renewed famine, Irish-American organisations such as the Irish National League of America garnered much support for Parnell's political campaigns in Ireland. Subsequently, the United Irish League (UIL) also provided valuable financial support for John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party, especially as prospects for Irish Home Rule brightened in the years before the First World War.

Key role played by Clan na Gael

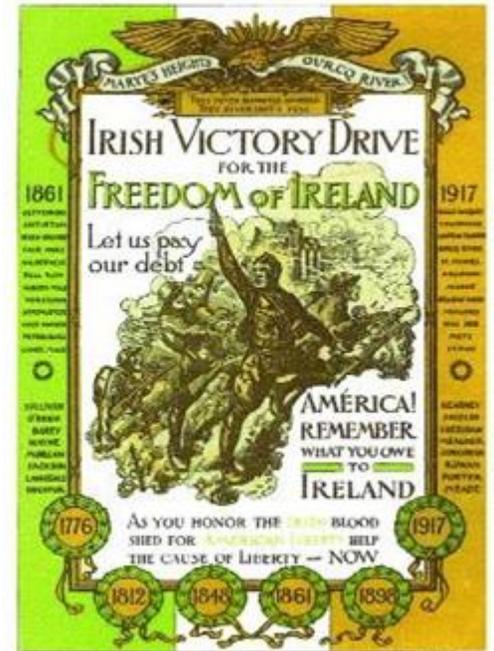
The Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) was founded a few weeks prior to the 1916 Rising ostensibly to promote the cause of Ireland in the United States. In their first constitution, they pledged themselves 'to encourage and assist any movement that will tend to bring about the national independence of Ireland'. Yet, as we shall see, there were also American factors behind their foundation. The evolving character of the Irish immigrant group as well as the American political environment heavily influenced the history of the movement, often giving rise to misunderstandings of a fundamental nature on both sides of the Atlantic.

It was another Irish-American organisation, the Clan na Gael, which played a key role in the foundation and direction of the Friends. Of the seventeen-man FOIF executive, fifteen were Clan members. Founded in 1867, the Clan was a secret revolutionary society dedicated to the cause of an Irish republic. It was involved in all kinds of activities, ranging from the rescue of Fenian prisoners in Australia to commissioning Irish engineer and ex-Christian Brother John P. Holland to build a submarine to take on the British navy. It also had well-established contacts with its counterpart in Ireland, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).

The Clan's role in the 1916 Rising has been well documented. Its leader, John Devoy, knew of the impending rising and no doubt wanted to have a propaganda organisation in place in America to exploit the expected news from Ireland.

The FOIF was founded at the First Irish Race Convention on 4 March 1916, at New York's Hotel Astor. The convention attracted 2,300 delegates, many of high social standing. As Devoy later proudly pointed out in his memoirs: 'At no previous Irish convention was there even

one [state] Supreme Court judge; there were five at this, besides several other judges of lesser rank, and a large number of lawyers'.



Friends of Irish Freedom Victory Drive leaflet (1919), depicting soldiers of the Irish-American 69th Regiment in action during the First World War. (American Irish Historical Society)

Judge Daniel Cohalan, who helped Devoy to reunite the Clan in 1900 after the factionalism of the previous decade, became the acknowledged leader of the Friends. Cohalan, whose parents came from Ireland, typified the great social strides many Irish-Americans had made by the early twentieth century. Elected to New York's Supreme Court in 1911, his voluminous papers reveal a man who exercised considerable influence in American politics, especially with members of the Republican Party and with the Irish-dominated Catholic hierarchy.



Judge Daniel F. Cohalan

As with other Irish-American organisations, both before and since, events in Ireland helped to publicise the FOIF among Irish-Americans. Irish-American opinion was outraged by the executions that followed the 1916 Rising, and the Friends capitalised on this to the utmost. The organisation did not achieve its full numerical strength until after the First World War, however. During the Anglo-Irish war, as lurid news of the Black and Tans' atrocities reached Irish-America, membership soared.

By the summer of 1920 the organisation numbered 100,000 regular members and an additional 175,000 associate members. It opened the Irish National Bureau in Washington, which distributed a Newsletter and countless pamphlets and leaflets to thousands of prominent Americans and opinion-formers. The Friends also sought to use their numbers to put the Irish case for self-determination before the US Congress and president, though with mixed success.

Irish nationalism v. Irish-American nationalism

One might have expected a close working relationship between the Friends and what became the main nationalist party in Ireland, Sinn Féin. Éamon de Valera believed that the Friends could be used to secure 'the great lever of American opinion' in support of Irish objectives in Ireland. Relations between the movements were dogged by tension and conflict, however. The Friends resented the dictation of Sinn Féin representatives in the United States and believed that the direction of the organisation should be in American hands. Matters came to such a head that Bishop Michael Gallagher, the president of the Friends, denounced de Valera as a 'foreign potentate'. Finally, in October 1920, in an atmosphere of mutual recrimination, Sinn Féin publicly severed its ties with the FOIF.

While personality differences between Cohalan and de Valera certainly contributed to this conflict, there was a deeper ideological conflict between the Irish-American nationalism represented by the Friends and the Irish nationalism of Sinn Féin. At this point the Catholic Irish in America had improved their social position compared to their degraded status during the Famine period. Yet despite these advances, Irish-Americans still felt discriminated against by what Devoy referred to as a pro-British Anglo-Saxon élite. It was felt that this élite not only denied Irish-Americans their rightful place in American society but also identified as much with the interests of Britain as they did with the United States. In response, Irish-Americans founded societies such as the American Irish Historical Society (1896), which emphasised their loyalty to the American nation. The Irish contribution to American colonial history and the heroic Irish contribution to America's wars became a characteristic feature of the society's publications. Cohalan joined the society in 1898 and served as a member of its executive council for nearly 40 years.



Dev with Judge Daniel Cohalan—their personality differences masked a deeper ideological conflict between the Irish-American nationalism represented by the Friends and the Irish nationalism of Sinn Féin. (De Valera Papers, UCD Archives. Courtesy of the UCD-OFM Partnership)

Irish ethnic opposition to the perceived pro-British element in the United States also took on a political dimension and increasingly influenced the activities of the Clan in the decades before the First World War. Devoy and Cohalan feared that any close cooperation between Britain and the United States would increase the power of the Anglo élite in American society. This cooperation would be detrimental not only to the interests of Irish-America but also to America itself. In 1897, following calls for a comprehensive arbitration treaty that would settle all outstanding disputes between the United States and Britain, Devoy's wing of the Clan dispatched resolutions to the president and both houses of Congress protesting against its ratification

The Gaelic American

In the event, the Senate failed to ratify the treaty (for reasons other than Irish-American pressure). Yet the vociferous opposition of Devoy to this measure indicates the Clan's increasing identification of the interests of Irish-America with those of the United States.

The founding of the Gaelic American in 1903 offers further evidence for this increasing American orientation to the Clan's activities. The newspaper was edited by Devoy, with Cohalan as president of its board of directors. In its first edition (19 September 1903) the paper referred to Irish-Americans as 'the sturdiest champions of American principles', but argued that 'these principles were assailed at the very fountain head by an organised movement to destroy the old American spirit and substitute for it a servile dependence on England'. The editorial warned that 'a clique of pro-British sycophants' were seeking to gain control over the direction of American foreign policy. Again in 1912, the Clan, in alliance with other Irish-American and German-American organisations, focused its energies on defeating yet another Anglo-American arbitration treaty before the Senate. A joint petition of the United German-American and United Irish-American societies of New York was despatched to the Senate, stating: 'The propaganda carried on in favour of the Treaty is essentially pro-English and offensive to citizens of other races, who now constitute a majority of the population of the United States. . . . We emphatically deny that the majority of the American people are of English race or that the portion of them who are partly of English blood are in favour of alliance with England.'

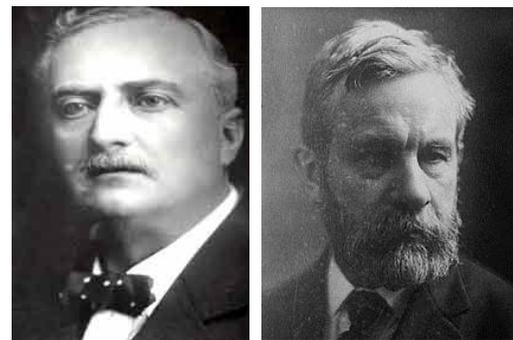
In the years before the First World War, Devoy in his correspondence with Cohalan talked about the need to found an open public organisation in order to combat what he termed the pro-British conspiracy in the United States. In a letter to Cohalan (29 November 1911), Devoy expressed anger about plans for the celebration of 'a hundred years of peace with England'. Devoy argued that leading American political figures, notably Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan, were behind plans that advocated textbooks in schools emphasising Anglo-American friendship, 'a free commemorative bridge over the Niagara river, a great free building in New York or some other city, and the purchase of the original Washington estates in England, with a number of celebrations thrown in'. Devoy argued that battling such schemes 'gives us work for the next four years. But we must do it through a public American organisation.'



Joseph McGarrity with his wife and nine children in 1919. Once the United States entered the war in April 1917, FOIF activities were drastically scaled back and many branches ceased to function for the duration of the war. A minority within the organisation, such as McGarrity, Clan na Gael leader in Philadelphia, disagreed with the lack of wartime activity. (De Valera Papers, UCD Archives. Courtesy of the UCD-OFM Partnership)

Founding of the Friends of Irish Freedom

Prior to 1914, the chances of establishing an organisation dedicated to combating British influence in America seemed remote. Irish revolutionary nationalism was at a low ebb on both sides of the Atlantic, while the apparent success of Redmond's Parliamentary Party disappointed and frustrated the Clan leadership. Events in Ireland played into the hands of the Clan, however. Redmond's declaration of support for the British war effort in 1914 alienated much of Irish-American opinion, and his popularity among Irish-Americans declined far more rapidly than it did in Ireland.



John Redmond & John Devoy

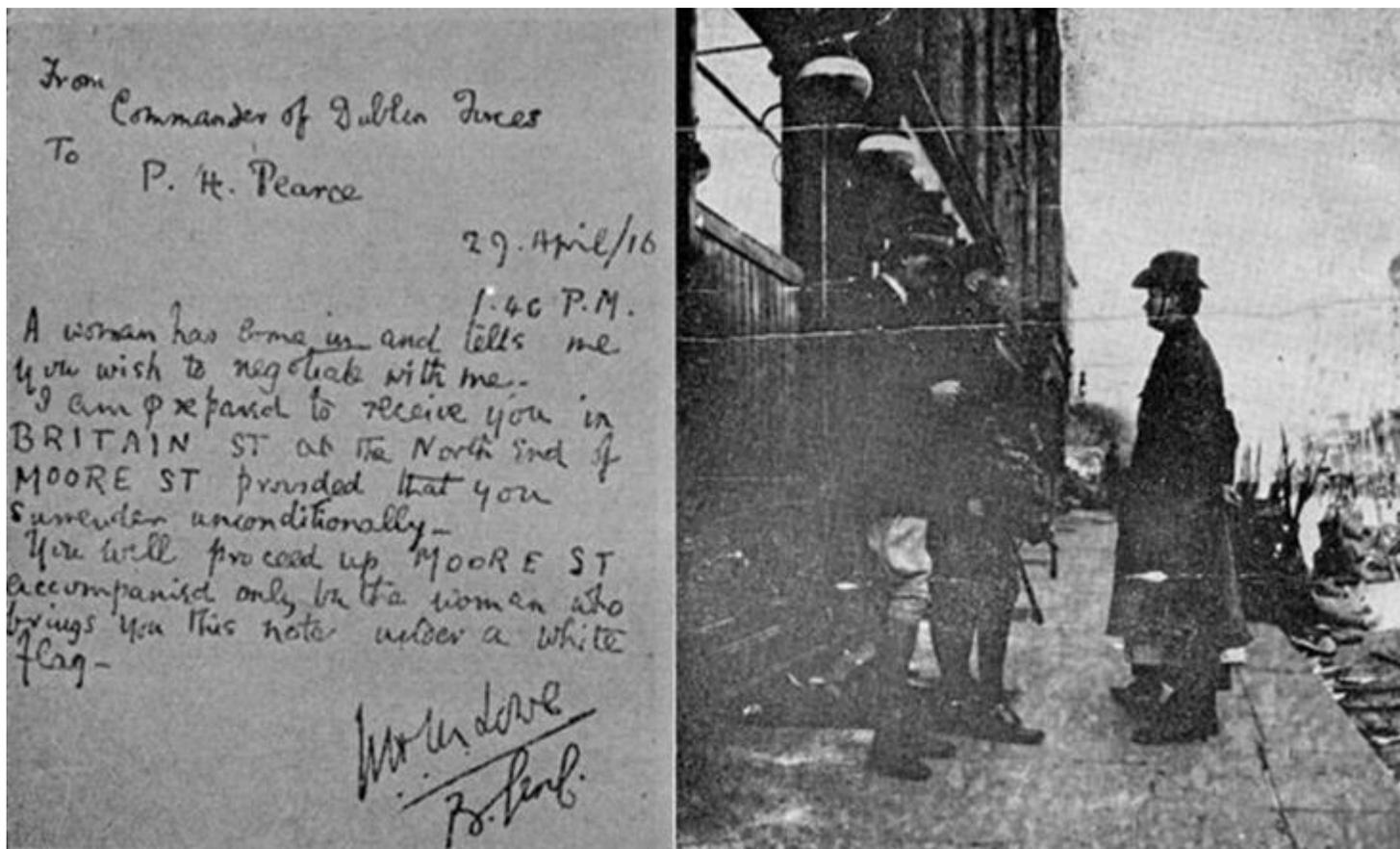
The Irish World (15 August 1915), an Irish-American newspaper that had previously supported Redmond, now argued that for Redmond to 'fritter away any part of her [Ireland's] military resources by going to England's defence would be treason of the blackest kind'. Meanwhile, the UIL, Redmond's support organisation in the United States, went into rapid decline.

In 1916 the Clan went ahead with their convention, which provided the launch pad for the FOIF, now representative of a largely united Irish-America. While speeches denouncing Redmond and advocating Irish independence were a major focus of the convention's deliberations, it is also clear from its 'declaration of principles' that the task of countering pro-British influence in the United States and ensuring continued American neutrality was a major aim of the new organisation. The declaration insisted that the United States should not enter the war as England's ally. In a pointed reference to the sinking of the Lusitania, mention was made of Britain's current attempts to 'shield her floating arsenals and munitions transports behind the skirts of American women and children'. The Gaelic American (11 March 1916) also declared after the convention that 'the pro-British movement is now confronted by an organised Irish race throughout the land'. The outbreak of the Easter Rising in Dublin, a mere six weeks after the Race Convention in New York, presented the Friends with a golden opportunity to bring their message home to thousands of their fellow Americans. Mass meetings were held in areas of Irish-American settlement, condemning British atrocities in Ireland and calling for the continuation of American neutrality. The Friends also organised speaking tours for 'exiles' from Ireland such as Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Nora Connolly and Liam Mellows.

The FOIF and the United States at war

Nevertheless, while the FOIF was able to organise mass meetings of several thousand people, membership did not grow as one might have expected. Because of government fears that the war in Europe could provoke conflict among the different national groupings in the United States, 'Americanisation drives' were directed at those foreign-born Americans who displayed any overt identification with their country of origin. Such people were branded in the press as 'hyphen Americans'. Once the United States entered the war in April 1917, suspicion of un-Americanism and 'hyphenism' intensified. Britain was now America's ally, and attacks on British policy in Ireland could be viewed as disloyalty to the United States.

The Pearse Surrender. 29 April, 1916



(left) Letter from Brigadier-General Lowe to Patrick Pearse 29 April, 1916. (right) The Surrender Photograph.

The quality of the photograph may not be the best and some of the details are hard to make out, but it is one of the most famous and widely reproduced Irish historical images. The photograph shows Patrick Pearse, Commandant-General of the rebel forces during the Easter Rising of 1916, at the moment of surrender to an officer of the British Army. Among the many surviving copies of the photograph, one is held by Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ), the national broadcaster, in its collection of images by the famous photographer, Joseph Cashman (1881-1969). According to RTÉ's documentation, the image 'is reproduced from a negative taken by an amateur photographer who was a British Army officer at the scene, and who gave the negative to Joseph Cashman'.

The Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, constituting the 'Army of the Irish Republic', had seized the General Post Office (GPO) and other buildings in Dublin on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916, and proclaimed an independent republic. The British Army inevitably counter-attacked the rebels and a week of fighting ensued, which left the city scarred and resulted in the deaths of some 450 people, most of them civilians.

Having abandoned the GPO under heavy British bombardment, Pearse and other leaders of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic made their way to 16 Moore Street, where they decided they could no longer sustain their resistance. Declaring that a 'glorious stand' had been made and 'desirous of preventing further slaughter', Pearse surrendered to British forces on 29 April.

After courts martial, Pearse, the other six signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic including Tom

Clarke and James Connolly, together with eight other rebels would be executed by the British between 3 and 12 May 1916. The officer receiving Pearse's surrender in the above photograph (centre) is Brigadier General William Lowe, at that time commander of the British forces in Ireland, accompanied by his son and ADC Lieutenant John Lowe (left).

Lieutenant Lowe may be taking notes or examining something, but he is definitely not casually smoking a cigarette as has sometimes been claimed. John Lowe later changed his name to John Loder and became a Hollywood actor, famously marrying Hedy Lamarr, 'the most beautiful woman in the world'. Lowe/Loder gave an interesting account of Pearse's surrender in his autobiography, indicating that his father directed it was to take place 'in Britain Street, at the north end of Moore Street'. Yet another military witness to the surrender was Brigadier-General Lowe's staff officer, Major Henry (Harry) de Courcy-Wheeler, who incidentally has mistakenly been identified as the officer beside Brigadier-General Lowe. There is a suggestion that De Courcy-Wheeler may have taken the surrender photograph, but if this was the case it would have been expected that a copy of such an historic image would be found among his surviving papers. Certainly De Courcy-Wheeler recorded the time and place of the surrender: 'At 2.30 pm Commandant-General Pearse surrendered to General Lowe accompanied by myself and Lieutenant Lowe at the junction of Moore Street and Great Britain Street [now Parnell Street]'

Looking more closely at the surrender photograph, it can be seen that the figure of Pearse is probably the most indistinct element. Pearse appears to be wearing

a greatcoat, and he was in fact later described as 'lying on a mattress, covered with a greatcoat' in his place of detention at Arbour Hill.

The most discussed feature of the photograph relates to the fact that a woman's feet and dress can be seen behind Pearse, the rest of her body being obscured. This is Elizabeth O'Farrell, a member of Cumann na mBan working with the rebels as a nurse (although at that stage not qualified), who performed the difficult and dangerous task of carrying communications between Pearse and Brigadier-General Lowe in the run-up to the surrender. O'Farrell left a detailed account of her experiences during the 1916 Rising, recording that after Pearse's detention, Brigadier-General Lowe kept her busy liaising with other rebel garrisons in Dublin preparatory to their surrender. She also recalled that after she had been treated rather roughly by army personnel and had some money taken, Lowe personally apologised to her and ordered the return of the cash. Among the many versions of the surrender photograph in circulation online, there is just one where Elizabeth O'Farrell's feet and dress have been removed, in what was clearly a tidy-up job for a newspaper article. However, a legend has developed to the effect that the photograph demonstrates that O'Farrell was in effect 'airbrushed' from history, a view exemplified by a play produced in 2014 entitled 'Eirebrushed'.

While women's roles may often have been neglected by historians, Nurse O'Farrell's actions in 1916 are in fact well documented and fully acknowledged. In 1956, shortly before her death, O'Farrell herself provided an explanation for her position in the surrender photograph, being quoted as recalling that 'when she saw a British soldier getting ready to take the photo, she stepped back beside Pearse so as not to give the enemy press any satisfaction', but 'ever after, she regretted her action'.

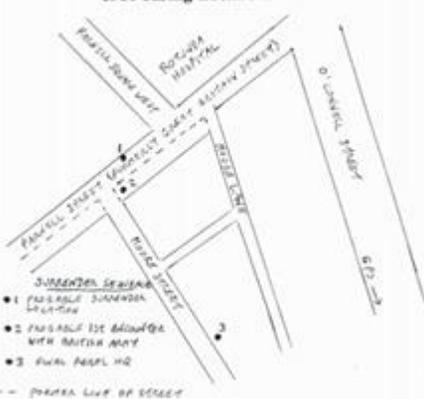
The writer's attention has also been drawn to a 2011 television documentary, which features a sepia copy of the surrender photograph in the possession of the National Museum of Ireland, colour-enhanced to present Pearse dressed in a tunic, with O'Farrell's nurse's cape shown as creating the illusion of a greatcoat.

While the light-coloured hem of O'Farrell's dress is clearly visible in most versions of the photograph, the brown coloration used to outline a cloak is interesting but possibly speculative. Yet this interpretation of the photograph must be carefully considered and it is likely that still further digital enhancements will appear during the centenary commemorations of the 1916 Rising.



As to the environs of the photograph, Great Britain Street has since been renamed Parnell Street as noted, while Moore Street has retained its name. Houses on the south side of Parnell Street have been demolished in recent times to make way for the type of road widening which has so disfigured Dublin. The above quoted accounts at first sight would indicate that the 1916 surrender took place at or near to the point where Moore Street and Parnell Street join, meaning that the location would now be traversed by traffic. However, as the writer was persuaded during a guided tour of 1916 Rising sites, close examination of the surrender photograph indicates that the probable location is in fact on the far side of Parnell Street, looking up towards the junction with Parnell Square and the Rotunda Hospital (see map).

1916 Rising Locations



There is actually a sign posted on the now closed Conway's Bar, at the junction of Moore Lane and Parnell Street up from Moore Street, to the effect that this is where the 1916 surrender took place, but there is no evidence that this is accurate. A video also exists of the late Eamonn Mac Thomáís pointing to a spot in front of the Maple Shoe Store, now demolished, at the corner where Moore Street met Parnell Street, and stating that Elizabeth O'Farrell herself told him that this was where Pearse surrendered.¹⁴ While this location does not accord with the vista in the surrender photograph, as before noted, and is on the opposite side of Parnell Street, Mac Thomáís's testimony must be taken into account and the video is of great interest in showing what the area looked like before road widening. It could reasonably be surmised that Pearse and O'Farrell first encountered the British at the corner of Moore Street and

Parnell Street, before moving across the road to the place recorded in the surrender photograph, which may indeed have been posed. As the surrender photograph is our best evidence, I would be in agreement with those who believe that the formal surrender site is most likely to be in the vicinity of the 'Kingfisher' Bed and Breakfast and the 'In Cahoots' restaurant. While for some reason numbers have often ceased to be displayed on shop fronts in Dublin city centre, these premises would appear to be 167 and 168 Parnell Street respectively.

It is understood that there are plans to erect a plaque marking the surrender site in time for the centenary of the Easter Rising in 2016, and in the writer's view the left pilaster of the 'Kingfisher' Bed and Breakfast would seem to be the best position for same. While the historic 16 Moore Street and adjoining buildings have been lying vacant, the good news is that the Irish government has purchased them in order to convert them into a 1916 Rising commemorative centre, although there is some controversy over the nature of the work and it will not be completed during 2016.¹⁵ In conclusion, the commemoration of the centenary of the Easter Rising in 2016 should be accompanied at all stages by careful and objective historical research, and the remarkable historical document that is the Pearse 1916 surrender photograph deserves as much close study and analysis as possible.

Thanks to Sean J Murphy, Centre for Irish Genealogical and Historical Studies, Bray, Co. Wicklow.

Moore Street mural 'is NOT by the artist Banksy' Graffiti artist says he did not make artwork depicting building workers at 1916 site



The mural depicts Patrick Pearse surrendering to British army officers dressed as contemporary building workers.

The internationally renowned graffiti artist Banksy has denied being responsible for a mural which appeared overnight at the site of the surrender of the leaders of the 1916 Rising on Moore Street in Dublin.

The mural, which depicts Patrick Pearse surrendering to British army officers dressed as contemporary building workers, appears to carry the artist's familiar signature. But Banksy's agent has told The Irish Times that "this work is NOT by the artist Banksy".

Banksy is an English-based graffiti artist, political activist and film director whose real identity is unknown. His street art frequently features satire on political and social subjects, and has appeared on streets and walls around

His work has often dealt with contentious subjects, such as Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Gaza.

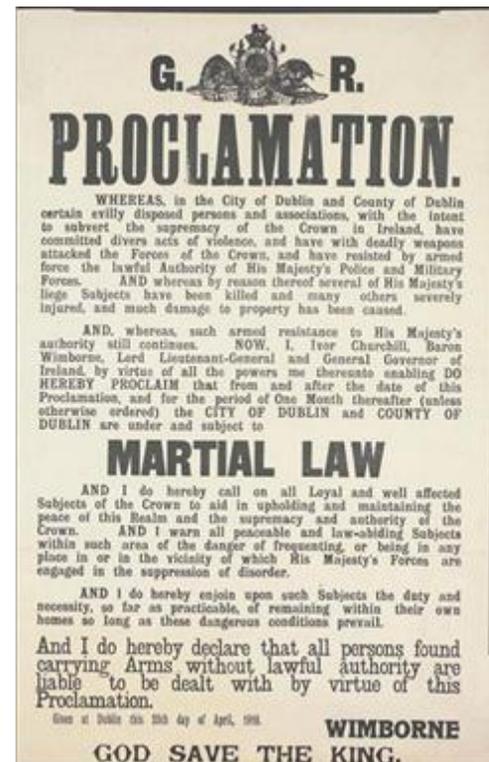
He usually uses stencils to produce his work. In his book, *Wall and Piece*, he writes that when he started making graffiti, he was always too slow and was either caught or could never finish the piece, so he devised a process of stencil making to minimise time.

The Moore St buildings were designated national monuments in 2007. As many as three hundred Irish Volunteers and members of Cumann na mBan escaped to the buildings from the GPO after it caught fire following a bombardment by British artillery during Easter Week 1916.

The properties subsequently became the subject of controversy after Development Company Chartered Land was granted permission for an 800,000sq ft development on the nearby site of the old Carlton Cinema on O'Connell St.

The building at 14-17 Moore Street have been the location of a number of protests by people concerned that number 18 will be demolished to make way for the development, and that numbers 10 and No 13 will not be protected.

The Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht has said numbers 13, 18 and 19 are not part of the national monument, and "are not historically significant."



Proclamation of Martial Law

The shock of the revolt seems to have completely disoriented the British government. The long-serving minister in charge of Irish policy, Augustine Birrell, resigned immediately, and so did the under-secretary, who had delayed the arrest of the Volunteer leaders. Into this political vacuum the government deliberately inserted the army. The lord lieutenant, Lord Wimborne, declared martial law in Dublin on Monday, but the cabinet in London could have rescinded this once it became clear that the rising had failed to take off in the rest of Ireland. Instead, they not only confirmed the declaration of martial law but extended it across the whole country, and went on to appoint a military governor. Birrell protested that this would be counterproductive, but to no effect.

The 1916 dead have left us our Fenian fools and liars by Ruth Dudley Edwards



(Ed Note: Ruth Dudley Edwards's latest article in the Sunday Independent raised quite a storm. It's reprinted without comment as it appeared on 31 January 2016)

The front page of the February issue of Sinn Féin's newspaper, An Phoblacht, has the headline "Join the RISING", under which are smiley photos of Martin McGuinness, Pearse Doherty, Mary Lou McDonald and Gerry Adams. Across the bottom of the page is the legend "REVOLUTION 1916", under which a familiar profile of Patrick Pearse dominates the foreground, with behind him small, grey images of the six other signatories of the Irish proclamation.

On the right is the image the Sinn Féin shop is flogging on a commemorative badge, starring Pearse again, this time with Constance Markievicz, whom a district nurse saw on Easter Monday 1916 running triumphantly into St Stephen's Green immediately after the murder of unarmed Constable Michael Lahiffe shouting "I got him".

I suppose this makes her a suitable role model for Sinn Féin feminists. You won't, of course, read anything so unsavoury in the books department of the Sinn Féin shop, which embraces censorship on a mighty scale. I could see nothing on offer except ill-informed hagiography or Gerry Adams's so-called autobiographies.

As always, Sinn Féin treads a delicate path between being the party of peace and the custodians of what they regard as the noble tradition of killing and dying for a hopeless cause until the Good Friday Agreement made it no longer politically acceptable.

For instance, in its "Republican Legends Series", it features the late Brian Keenan, who was in charge of the bombing campaign in England that killed many civilians, dealt with innumerable arms suppliers in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, including Muammar Gaddafi, and who was deeply admired within the IRA for such "spectaculars" as the blowing up of Canary Wharf in 1996 with a 1,000lb bomb that also killed two newsagents. But Keenan's name is never mentioned publicly by the leadership without it being added that he was a supporter of the peace process, which is expected to bring with it automatic absolution from mass murder.

Mary Lou McDonald passed successfully in 2003 one of her many loyalty tests by speaking alongside Brian Keenan at a rally in honour of Sean Russell - the Nazi collaborator who was Chief of Staff of the IRA when he died of a burst ulcer in 1940 on a U-boat taking him back home from his explosives training in Germany.

I sometimes wonder how some of the younger, educated Shinners cope when required to venerate such people. In these secular days they are still supposed to cheer the name of Limerick's Sean South, who as part of an IRA Pearse column was killed in 1957 while attacking a Fermanagh police barracks. An ultraconservative Catholic, he was an energetic member of Maria Duce - a group bent on enshrining Catholic doctrine in Irish law - which proved too extreme even for the bishops.

I've been reading a fascinating memoir by the journalist David Aaronovitch about growing up in England in an alternative universe where family, friends and almost everyone he knew outside school were devoted Communists. It would take him years to shake off the indoctrination which had made it impossible for true believers ever to question either Marxist dogma or the Soviet Union. As the Communist historian Eric Hobsbawm would eventually reluctantly admit: "When we talked about Russia, we were either fools or liars or naïve." It was "one thing to be naïve," commented Aaronovitch, "it was another to be a liar, particularly if the lie did service for a crime."

And in truth, what the Republican leadership requires of its dimmer and more gullible is to be fools or naïve. Having listened at a conference in the 1990s to a particularly pathetic defence of the IRA by a young Sinn Féin representative, Patrick McKernan, one-time head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, whispered to me:

"The dead, the dead, the dead - they have left us our Fenian fools."

But in fact, Sinn Féin's public representatives are expected to overlook criminality, distort history and smooth the path to power of people with a terrible past.

We are at a time when most of the establishment feels required to venerate the leaders of 1916 and children are being asked to consider how we might implement the aspirations of the Irish proclamation. Once again a quote from Aaronovitch: "People make their own history, Marx famously wrote, but not in circumstances of their own choosing; the traditions of dead generations weigh down on the living like nightmares."

Still, there is a very lively debate going on about the morality of 1916 and people are being frank about their backgrounds.

It was good to hear Arts Minister Heather Humphreys in Belfast talking about her grandfather signing the Ulster Covenant, and to have Michael McDowell defending his grandfather, Eoin MacNeill, who countermanded the orders for the Rising and probably thus saved many thousands of lives.

Outside Republican circles, which are still dominated by necrophiliacs ideologically frozen in 1966 - there is a welcome for the government's decision to make the commemoration as far as possible inclusive of all Irish people who died in the violence: Constable Lahiffe will be honoured at last.

It remains a problem that the political establishment still legitimises 1916 retrospectively, which in the view of the dissidents gives them carte blanche to keep merrily following the traditions of dead revolutionaries.

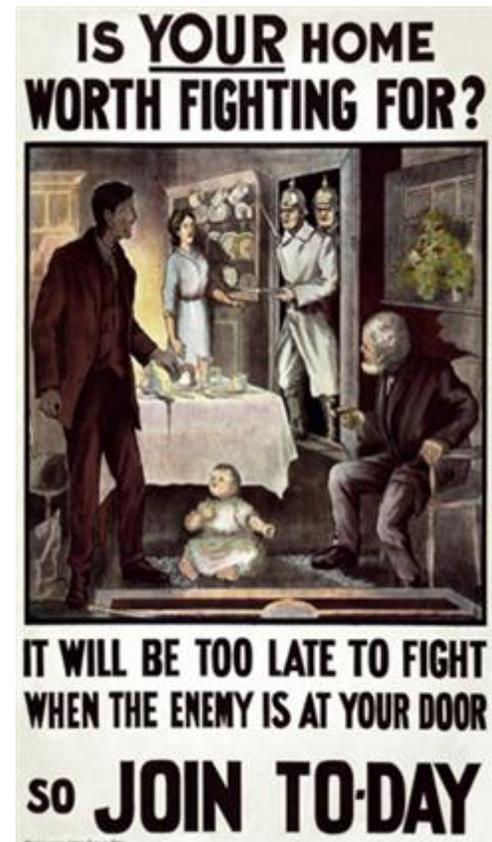
But maybe when 2016 is over, the Irish public might be ready to contemplate exorcising those ghosts once and for all and embracing in their stead inspirational heroes of our great constitutional tradition, who thought it better to live than to die for Ireland.

Ruth Dudley Edwards's 'The Seven: the Lives and Legacies of the Founding Fathers of the Irish Republic', will be published by Oneworld Publications on March 22

Sunday Independent - Published 31/01/2016



Dr Edmund J. McWeeney inspecting a copy of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic on Railings at 84 St. Stephen's Green, Easter Monday, 1916.



Is your home worth fighting for? It will be too late to fight when the enemy is at your door, so join to-day. LOC Summary: Poster showing a family at home, surprised by Imperial German soldiers bearing bayonets. LOC Notes: Title from item. Date Created/Published: S.I. : s.n., 1915. WW1 propaganda poster provided by LOC. Original medium: 1 print (poster): chromolithograph ; 76 x 50 cm.

Constance Markievicz: Aristocratic leader of men

The 1916 story sought a handy Joan of Arc figure and this daughter of the gentrified world fitted the bill, writes Conor Mulvagh

It is perhaps predictable to focus on the figure of Constance Markievicz when considering the role of women in the Irish Revolution. Markievicz was one of the most identifiable and iconic female revolutionaries of the period. To her supporters, she was selfless and principled; she had foregone a life of comfort and opulence in order to champion the causes of labour and republicanism; and she had suffered for it. To her detractors, and there have been several, she has been denigrated both for her gender and her class. She has been singled out as the aristocrat who descended from the gentrified world of her youth and hogged the limelight, posing as a diva among Dublin's poor, both during the 1913 Lockout and in the 1916 Rising. Constance Markievicz has posed a challenge both to her contemporaries and to later biographers: she is anomalistic among Ireland's leading revolutionaries both in terms of her class and her gender.

Born in London to the prominent Anglo-Irish Gore-Booth Family of Lissadell, Co Sligo, Constance was the eldest of five children. Her prowess in horsemanship is something still celebrated at Lissadell today with photographs demonstrating her equestrian ability on display. Underlining the position of the Gore-Booths in society, at 19 Constance made her debut in high society being presented to Queen Victoria. A grand tour of the continent deepened Constance's interest in art and, despite parental reluctance, at 25 she entered Art College in London. Student life exposed her to new ideas. The historian Senia Pasetta notes how, when she returned to Sligo from London, Constance founded the Sligo Women's Suffrage Society.

Art also brought new people into her life. In 1898, further study in art brought her to Paris. There she met a fellow art student, a member of the Polish nobility, recently widowed with a young son but, at 25, six years her junior. Casimir Dunin-Markievicz married Constance in 1900 and, after a difficult birth, their only daughter, Maeve, was born in 1901. Like her step-brother Stanislaus, Maeve spent much of her infant years being reared by her grandmother and a governess at Lissadell. Once Constance's political life took off in 1908, Maeve was left almost permanently in the care of Lady Gore-Booth.

Interestingly, the charge of being a 'bad mother' has been levelled at Markievicz by many of her detractors. However, it is interesting that Constance herself was raised by a governess for much of her youth and the same criticism has not been levelled at her parents. Equally, among the Easter rebels, none of the fathers who went out knowing the risks of their struggle have had the same criticism hang over them. Consider Connolly, Ceannt, Mallin, and MacDonagh. All left behind bereaved wives with young families. It speaks to the preconceptions of gender and motherhood both then and now that this criticism has stubbornly adhered to Markievicz's legacy.

A variety of explanations and turning points have been identified in Marckievicz's political awakening: the Boer War, encountering suffrage in London, the Anglo-Irish literary revival, encountering Russian oppression on two summers home with Casimir, the list goes on. Underlining her rejection of her background and her dual commitment to feminism and nationalism, around 1908 Markievicz joined Sinn Féin and Maud Gonne's Inghinidhe na hÉireann. In 1909, alongside Bulmer Hobson, she founded Fianna Éireann, a republican boy-scouts organisation. Its members, mostly boys from Dublin's most economically deprived neighbourhoods, developed a deep personal devotion to their Chief Scout, Madame Markievicz, and she actively encouraged their harassment of the rival Baden Powell Scouts and Boys' Brigade members.

Markievicz had added socialism to her expanding range of political interests when she joined the Women's Workers Union in 1911.

Arrested that year for anti-monarchist activities was followed by experience of police violence during the 1913 Lockout. Further eschewing the preconceptions of her gender, she later became one of the only women to take a full command and combat role in the Irish Citizen Army.

In 1916 itself, Markievicz has been criticised for the killing of an unarmed policeman and for taking credit for the actions of the Irish Citizen Army around St Stephen's Green when it was Michael Mallin and not her who was in command. On the latter charge, it should be borne in mind that Mallin had tried to avoid detection as garrison commander when his unit surrendered. He had four young children and his wife was pregnant with a fifth. It is a compelling theory that Marckievicz's highly theatrical surrender may have been calculated to detract attention from him. When Mallin's daughter was born four months after her father's execution, her mother christened the child Mary Constance.

It is unnecessary to go through the well-worn but nonetheless remarkable story of Markievicz from 1916 through to her election as the first female MP in British history to the crowning achievement of being granted one of eight cabinet portfolios when De Valera announced the first Republican cabinet in April 1919. As Minister for Labour, Marckievicz's ministry was no mere window dressing. With a staff largely comprised of women and an office that prided itself on never having been discovered, the Ministry of Labour proved highly successful in dealing with arbitration cases and related industrial relations issues. This was at a time when other departments of the revolutionary government were coming in for harsh criticism for inefficiency and disorganisation.

So what place does Constance Markievicz have in Irish history? All revolutions are subjected to retrospective mythologisation. Likewise, all states and nations craft their foundation narratives. Think of America's 1776, of France's 1789, of Russia's 1917, and of the cultural and civic importance of Germany's unification in 1870 and of its re-unification in 1990. Foundation narratives do not have to be triumphs, nations can be forged through adversity. Ireland's 1916 was transformed from defeat into a triumph of failure. This has created two 1916s, one historical and one which is theatrical, elegiac, mythic. The former can never fully be recovered, the latter can never fully be unravelled.

What does all this have to do with Constance Markievicz, the daughter of aristocrats who turned on her own class and died a pauper? I would argue that, in assembling Ireland's foundation narrative out of the rubble of 1916 and all that followed, Markievicz presented a unique opportunity for the myth makers. Certainly there had been women casualties of the Rising, they numbered among the wounded and the dead but, out of these, no martyr was found. Borrowing from the French national tradition, what the Easter 1916 story needed was a Joan of Arc, a **Liberty storming the barricades, ideally immortalised** in some sort of Hibernicised Delacroix painting. They found it in a rebel Countess.

Markievicz was perfect in many ways. She had been handed down a death sentence; she had been dramatic in her surrender and arrest; and she had been a leader of men. Unlike the women of Cumann na mBan who had been consigned to the roles of cooks, nurses, and messengers, she was an equal and not a subordinate. However, this was only half the reason Markievicz best fit the bill. She had also died relatively early on, in 1927, before the paint had dried on the canvass of Ireland's "four glorious years."

Roy Foster has recently examined the lives of revolutionary women after independence. Eclipsed behind Markievicz were a host of other women activists, among them Kathleen Lynn, Margaret Skinnider, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, and Madeleine ffrench-Mullen. One who is worth examining briefly here is Jennie Wyse Power. Ten years Markievicz's senior, Wyse Power was a veteran of the Ladies' Land League, she campaigned in the first Sinn Féin by-election of 1908. Before the Rising, she ran a vegetarian restaurant on Henry Street which became a focal point for all shades of advanced politics in the city. Indicating the proximity of Jennie Wyse Power to the leadership of the IRB, it was in her restaurant that the leaders of the Rising signed the Proclamation.

After independence however, Wyse Power lived on. A leading pro-treaty Cumann na mBan member, she became a Cumann na nGaedheal senator in 1922 but broke from the party in 1925. As an independent senator, she railed against economically and gender-regressive legislation including the hotly-debated 1927 Juries Bill. She lived on until the 25th anniversary of the Rising in 1941.

Constance Markievicz became valuable to propagandists because she was dead. Unlike Lynn, Skinnider, Sheehy Skeffington, or ffrench-Mullen, she could not speak back and pose awkward questions about what the revolution had achieved in terms of gender equality. After 1927, Markievicz was exactly where those who crafted the mythologised 1916 wanted her - she could be seen but not heard.

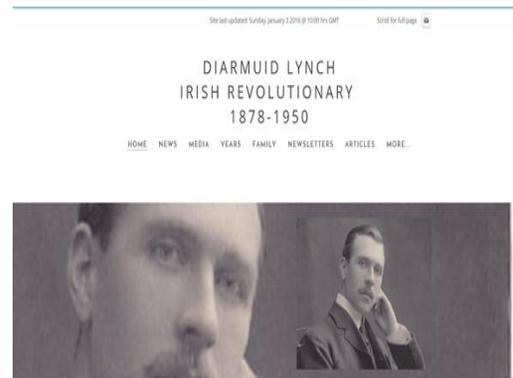
Dr Conor Mulvagh is a lecturer in Irish History at the School of History at University College Dublin (UCD) with special responsibility for the Decade of Commemorations.



"I had given allegiance to a certain ideal of freedom as personified by the Irish Republic. It had not been realised except in the mind. I had fought against the British Empire in defence of that Republic, against Irishmen in the RIC, Englishmen in the British Army, and Irishmen in the Free State Army. To me they meant the same system" — Ernie O'Malley

Have you checked out the website?

www.diarmuidlynch.weebly.com



THE CORK EXAMINER—THURSDAY MORNING, MARCH 16, 1871

PROFESSION OF A RELIGIOUS.

THE ceremony of the Profession of Miss Ellen Lynch, in religion Sister Mary Joseph, and daughter of Mr Jeremiah Lynch, Granig, parish of Tracton, took place on the 13th inst., in the Presentation Convent, Clarence-street, Cork. The Right Rev. Dr. Delany, assisted by the following clergymen officiated:—Very Rev. Canon Browne, Very Rev. Canon M'Swincey, Carrigaline; Rev. Andrew Forrest, chaplain; Rev. J. Cotter, St. Fin Barr's; Rev. D. O'Donoghue, Tracton; Rev. John Walsh, Kinsale; Rev. J. Shinkwin, Cathedral; Rev. James Riordan, do.; Rev. Wm. Lane, St. Patrick's; Rev. E. M'Swincey, Ballineellig; Rev. John O'Leary, Ballymartle; Rev. Joseph O'Keeffe, Cathedral; Rev. John Daly, Carrigaline; Rev. D. Keller, Queenstown; Rev. D. M'Carthy, chaplain; Rev. John Collins. At the conclusion of the ceremony the friends of the young lady were hospitably entertained by the good ladies of the community.

An interesting chance discovery was this Cork Examiner clipping from Thursday, March 16, 1871.

This details the profession of Ellen Lynch as a Presentation Sister, Mary Joseph in the Clarence Street* Convent.

Ellen (born October 1846) was a daughter of Jeremiah (1803-1873) and sister to Timothy Lynch (1844-1890) father of the next generation of the Granig line: Diarmuid, Mary, Tim, Dan, Denis and Michael.

*Clarence Street was renamed 'Gerald Griffin Street' on independence. The convent remains in the Presentation Order today. No information has been found to date regarding Sr. Mary Joseph's life but the following is from the 1837 Topographical Dictionary: "The North Presentation convent was founded in Chapel-street in 1799, and removed to the present house in Clarence-street in 1808. The community consists of a superioress, 14 professed nuns and two lay sisters, who devote their time to the same purpose as those in Douglas-street already described: the average attendance of children at the school is 600, one-third of whom are clothed annually by a subscription of the citizens: the buildings with the chapel form a handsome pile"

Below – another news snippet from the same edition. Note the language used to describe the individuals.

POLICE OFFICE—YESTERDAY.
(Before Messrs. TOWNSEND, LAMBKIN, MACLEOD, R.M., and DONEGAN.)
THE notorious Kit Crowley having been drunk on the public street on Tuesday, was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment, whereupon she abused the constabulary heartily.
An idle fellow named James Roche, was charged by relieving-officer Rooney with vagrancy. Mr. Rooney stated that the prisoner did not belong to the union; and although he could obtain employment he preferred to get into the workhouse if he could. The prisoner was discharged with a caution.
William M'Carthy and John Cleary, lads, were summoned at the suit of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company for having trespassed on the Company's premises. Mr. R. Wynne, solicitor, appeared on behalf of the Company, and said that if the boys promised to keep off the line in future, the case would not be pressed. They were constantly annoying Mr. Carroll, of the goods store, who was even stoned by them. Cleary was the ringleader of the gang. Cleary was fined 2s. 6d., M'Carthy being only mulcted in the costs.



William of Orange statue, College Green, Dublin.

If there was one statue that was not going to survive Irish independence this was it. William of Orange defeated James II at the battle of the Boyne in 1690 and ever since William and his victory has been twisted to suit political circumstances of the day according to one's religious or national beliefs.

His victory had been celebrated by Unionists in the provocative 12th of July Parades in Ireland through the 19th century and he became a despised figure for Irish nationalists who saw William as a symbol of their repression and discrimination. In 1929, what was inevitable happened...the statue was blown up. Needless to say it wasn't rebuilt.



Above: Women of the National Aid Association—comprised of members of Cumann na mBan, Clan na Gael and the Irish Citizen Army—in the garden of Mr and Mrs Ely O'Carroll in the summer of 1916. In contrast with other organisations, Cumann na mBan preserved its position after the Rising and it is probably because of its existence that the struggle for independence continued. (Kilmainham Gaol Archives)
Below: Recruiting poster – printed March 1916:

IS YOUR CONSCIENCE CLEAR ON THESE TWO GREAT QUESTIONS

1. Have you a real reason for not joining the Army, or is that which you put before yourself as a reason, after all only an excuse?
2. Are you only going to do your duty when the law says you must?

LORD KITCHENER in his grave and urgent appeal uses these solemn words:

"Does the call to duty find no response in you until reinforced—let us rather say superseded—by the call of compulsion? It is not for me to tell you your duty. That is a matter for your conscience."

WHY HOLD BACK from doing what thousands of your brother Irishmen have not hesitated about

An American Tale: Connections between Ireland and the US were numerous before, during and after the rebellion, which received enormous coverage stateside writes Robert Schmuhl.



One of the most engrossing witness statements in Ireland's Bureau of Military History records is Diarmuid Lynch's day-by-day account of the Easter Rising. A member of the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), Lynch was the last person to evacuate the heavily damaged, still smouldering GPO after he tried to make sure that unexploded bombs wouldn't detonate when the rebels retreated. Originally, as he phrases it, "sentenced to be shot", Lynch escaped the death penalty, receiving instead "10 years' penal servitude". He was released from prison in England a year later as part of the amnesty.

Lynch was a naturalised American citizen, where he had lived for over a decade until 1907. This biographical fact might seem a small point, but Thomas J Clarke was also a naturalised citizen of the United States, and he, too, had spent several years living and working there.

Take the two men together, and the last fighter to flee the GPO and the first signatory of the Proclamation (read by Pádraig Pearse at the beginning of the Rising) had both declared allegiance to the US before returning to Ireland and becoming involved in the republican cause. Essential decisions leading to Easter Week of 1916 took place on Irish soil, but American connections to the Rising abound in the preparation and aftermath of the insurrection.

A key figure in providing financial support to help the rebels was John Devoy. Born near Kill in Co Kildare, Devoy was an unwavering Fenian from youth through to old age, and he spent his last 57 years scheming to launch an uprising while residing in his adopted country of America. Founder and editor of weekly newspaper *The Gaelic American*, Devoy became a leader of *Clan na Gael* (the US counterpart to the IRB) and surreptitiously used couriers to send an estimated \$100,000 (about €2.3m in today's money) to Ireland for the purchase of arms and other supplies for the Rising.

Remarkably, five of the seven Proclamation signatories travelled to America for sojourns. In addition to Clarke, Pearse, James Connolly, Seán Mac Diarmada and Joseph Mary Plunkett - all of whom fought in the GPO - crossed the Atlantic in the years prior to 1916 and learned from first-hand experience what it was like to live in a republic with its freedoms.

A century ago, around one-fifth of the entire US population claimed Irish heritage, according to census records. With first-generation or more distant Irish Americans numbering about 20 million people then (compared to nearly 4.5 million in Ireland), the Rising had explosive effects in the United States.

Almost immediately, associations and groups scheduled what the press termed "monster meetings" to support the Irish in their native land and to oppose British tactics and reprisals. A shrewd observer of the US then was Sir Cecil Spring Rice, Great Britain's ambassador in Washington. After the rebels' surrender and the executions at Kilmainham Gaol, he sent a dispatch to superiors in London, which included this pointed assessment: "The attitude towards England is changed for the worse by recent events in Ireland... If we are able in some measure to settle the Home Rule question at once, the announcement will have a beneficial effect here, although I do not think that anything we could do would conciliate the Irish here. They have blood in their eyes when they look our way."

A major factor contributing to the change of attitude and producing the blood in American eyes came from the enormous attention Stateside journalism devoted to the story unfolding across the Atlantic. Throughout the 19 days encompassing the Rising and the executions, news about Ireland and the Irish-American reaction was impossible to avoid. Front-page coverage appeared in *The New York Times* on 17 days, in *The Boston Globe* for 16, in *The Washington Post* on 13, and in the *Chicago Tribune* and *The World* (of New York) for 11. Interestingly, *The New York Times*, striving at the time to become the country's newspaper of record, devoted front-page attention to news about Ireland for 14 consecutive days (April 25 through May 8). On April 29, the Saturday of the surrender, the *Times* published eight separate articles about the Rising on page one, with four of those jumping to the next page.

Eight other reports appeared on page two, and, except for three small ads, every word of news copy on that page concerned Ireland. In addition, an editorial and a column of commentary ruminated on Irish matters on the opinion page. The extensive press coverage in large-city newspapers can be explained, in part, by the concentration of Irish-Americans in US urban areas - but there was another compelling journalistic reason. Many people on the western side of the Atlantic seriously wondered whether a new front in the Great War was beginning to take shape.

Despite all the attention and interest, one significant American tried as assiduously as he could to keep from getting involved in what he considered an internal skirmish within what was then known as "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland". In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson was seeking re-election to the White House, and he didn't want any foreign controversies to complicate his campaign. Neutrality for the US regarding the war was his lodestar, and voters kept hearing the slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War".

In front of certain audiences, Wilson made a point of emphasising his Irish roots - both of his paternal grandparents came from Co Tyrone. Given the devotion of Irish America to the Democratic Party, which he led as standard-bearer, it made political sense for Wilson to appear cordial and close to this sizeable constituency.

Behind the scenes, however, Wilson did next to nothing to solve the Irish Question. In the summer of 1916, as many Irish-Americans and others pleaded with him to intervene and stop the execution of Irish nationalist Roger Casement, Wilson's private secretary Joseph Tumulty, an Irish Catholic, instructed the White House secretarial staff to send a formal reply signed by him to people who wrote supporting Casement.

"The president wishes me to acknowledge receipt [of] your telegram in the case of Sir Roger Casement and requests me to say that he will seek the earliest opportu-

nity to discuss this matter with the Secretary of State. Of course he will give the suggestion you make the consideration which its great importance merits."



President Woodrow Wilson

Though non-committal and not specific, the message reflects an open-minded willingness to deal with the case at the highest levels of the administration. It really, though, was a façade.

When Tumulty gave Wilson a letter sent from London about Casement's trial, which reported "a personal request from the president will save his life", the president in his reaction of July 20 was emphatic. The handwritten response said: "It would be inexcusable for me to touch this. It w'd [would] involve serious international embarrassment." Wilson's hands-off approach with Casement foreshadows his refusal to introduce Ireland as a subject at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Though he played his own Irish card to win votes, he avoided doing anything substantive.

Despite Wilson's decision to let Britain figure out the future of Ireland, the American people themselves took actions to assist the Irish. For instance, the Friends of Irish Freedom (FOIF) established what was called the Irish Relief Fund shortly after the last executions, collecting an estimated \$350,000 in humanitarian aid, according to one account. This was followed by the FOIF's 'Irish Victory Fund', which raised more than \$1m and involved Diarmuid Lynch, who had returned to the US and become national secretary of the FOIF.

Among other benefactions, this fund launched the American Commission on Irish Independence, which dispatched three representatives to the Paris conference in an attempt, albeit unsuccessful, to convince Wilson to place the Irish Question on the agenda there.

However, another president, serving four decades later, put the contributions of Americans in a proper perspective with authority and eloquence. In June of 1963, John F Kennedy became the first White House incumbent to visit Ireland.

After a ceremony at Arbour Hill, where executed leaders of the Rising are buried, Kennedy travelled to Leinster House and told the Oireachtas: "No people ever believed more deeply in the cause of Irish freedom than the people of the United States. And no country contributed more to building my own than your sons and daughters." Proudly American and Irish, Kennedy emphasised what the people in his republic, rather than its government, had accomplished decades earlier. Through his heritage and study of history, he understood the connections that bound the US and Ireland together during the Easter Rising and for the decades that followed.



Robert Schmuhl is professor of American Studies at the University of Notre Dame and the author of *Ireland's Exiled Children: America and the Easter Rising*, which will be published in March by Oxford University Press. This article is adapted from his book. *Irish Independent* 07.02.2016

Famous five and life in the US

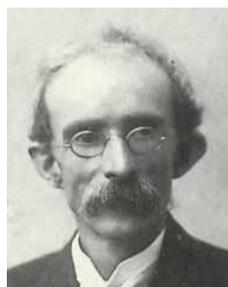
by Robert Schmuhl.

A century ago, the US press -dramatised comparisons -between the Easter Rising and the revolutionary activities against British rule that exploded in the American colonies near the end of the 18th century. Parallels to the Boston Tea Party and the Battle of Lexington appeared -frequently, and Pádraig Pearse was often -likened to George Washington.

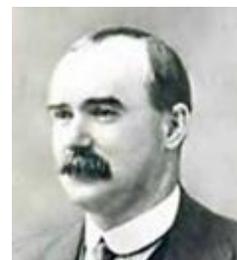
Of the seven signatories of the Proclamation announcing "The -Provisional Government of the Irish Republic" on Easter Monday 1916, five spent time in the States.



Pearse voyaged across the Atlantic on a speaking tour in 1914 to raise money for the school, St Enda's that he'd started in Dublin six years earlier. In Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure, Ruth Dudley Edwards calls Pearse's US sojourn "the most formative three months of his life", adding that he "discovered a natural aptitude for extreme rhetoric" in addressing Irish-American audiences.



Tom Clarke lived for a much longer period in America, emigrating twice: in 1880 (until early 1883) and then in 1900 (until late 1907). When Clarke returned in 1900, he worked on business affairs of the physical-force-minded US organisation Clan na Gael before becoming assistant editor of The Gaelic American, a weekly periodical based in New York City and strongly republican in its viewpoint.



James Connolly resided in the US from 1902 until 1910, dedicating most of his time to trying to develop a more powerful labour movement. A gifted speaker and writer with special appeal to Irish-American workers, Connolly travelled throughout the States on behalf of the Socialist Labor Party and later the Socialist Party of America. Though well-known and respected in labour circles, Connolly never felt at home abroad, referring at one point to the US as "this cursed country".

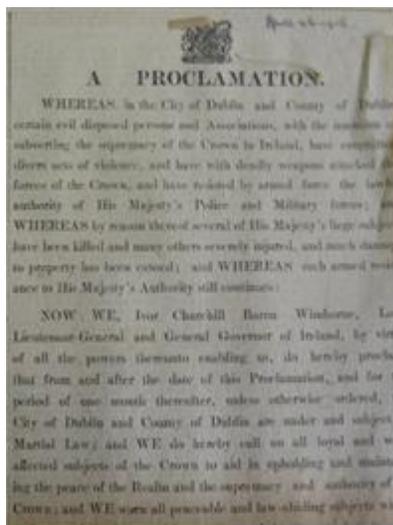


Seán Mac -Diarmada made his Atlantic crossing in 1912 to attend that year's Clan na Gael -convention, which was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey. A close -associate of Clarke in Dublin, Mac -Diarmada was the delegate of the Irish Republican -Brotherhood (IRB) and stayed several weeks on the East Coast, getting to know some of the most fervent -republican -sympathisers. Mac Diarmada travelled under the assumed name of "Burke" to maintain the secrecy that both Clan na Gael and the IRB tried to protect.



The fifth signatory, Joseph Mary Plunkett, arrived in New York during August 1915 to discuss specific Irish plans for the upcoming Rising. Plunkett, a poet who would later carry the title of director of military operations for the IRB, was suffering from tuberculosis at the time and was initially denied entry into the US at Ellis Island. Besides reporting to Clan na Gael leaders that the uprising would take place in the near future and include cooperation from Germany - Plunkett had recently been in Berlin to talk about arrangements - he had an opportunity to spend time with some American literary figures.

All five rebel leaders knew and discussed republican dreams and activities with John Devoy, who had been exiled to the US in 1871 at age 28 but always referred to Ireland as "home". Devoy is buried in the patriots' section of Glasnevin Cemetery. Under his name, there's one word, 'Fenian'. Another side of the headstone carries the description 'Rebel'. The third says simply 'Patriot'. A year before the Rising, Pearse wrote an essay that included the prediction that history would judge Devoy, a naturalised American citizen, "as the greatest of the Fenians".



An Leabhar na hAiséirghe, or Book of Resurrection, is an unfinished Celtic Revival manuscript intended to be a memorial for those who died in the Irish struggle for independence, specifically the Easter Rising of 1916.

It was the work of Irish artist Art O'Murnaghan (1875-1953). O'Murnaghan worked on the manuscript from the early 1920s until the end of his life, with some interruptions, but had only completed 26 pages before his death. They are now on display in the National Museum of Ireland's permanent exhibition on The Easter Rising: Understanding 1916.

The Leabhar na hAiséirghe was made with traditional materials and methods and utilizing the traditional Celtic stylistic vocabulary. It would not look out of place next to the Book of Kells or the Book of Durrow, yet it is a completely original, modern work of O'Murnaghan's own creation.

O'Murnaghan was the last 'Celtic' artist who actually understood his models and was able to 'think' in their vocabulary. He did not copy the ancient models, he assimilated them in a new style, without artificiality and in excellent taste.

Above: The signatories page from the 'Book of the Resurrection' featuring the names of the seven men who signed the 1916 Proclamation

Below: Kent Station, Cork. C.1910



Linenhall Barracks, Dublin

On a three-acre site, in the 1700s the Dublin Linen Hall was a market based on the Cloth Hall of Hamburg and the London market, Blackwell Hill, and had a large trading floor.

During the 1870s the Linen Hall was used as a barracks by the British Army, before it went up in flames during the Rising. On Constitution Hill and near North King Street it had been fortified by 40 unarmed men of the Army Pay Corps.

As the Rising fell, it was set on fire — on Ned Daly's orders — to prevent its reoccupation. "During Wednesday night it lighted up the streets with a murky glow," according to the Capuchin Annual of 1966. The following is an account of the burning of Linenhall Barracks during Easter Week 1916 by Fianna Eireann officer Garry Holohan:

"The following morning, Wednesday, Dinny O'Callaghan and some others made an effort to blow a breach in the wall of Linenhall Barracks but did not succeed. He afterwards took me as one of a party to take the barracks. We went up to the front gate and started to hammer at it, and in a few minutes some soldiers opened the gate. They were evidently unarmed. I think some of them were members of the Pay Staff. There were others who had taken refuge there, including a couple of members of the R.I.C. We took the lot prisoners and brought them down to the Father Mathew Hall. I happened to know the Sergeant in charge of them and he asked me to try and get his suit of civilian clothes that he had in the barracks. I went back to look for the clothes for him but I could not get them.

Dinny O'Callaghan and myself spilled the oils and paints we had brought from a druggist's shop in North King Street in a large room on the first floor, and then piled up the bed-boards. We then lit the fire. The fire spread with amazing rapidity and Dinny suggested it might be better if we opened the windows. I crossed the room to open the windows and I will never forget the heat. It took me all my time to get back, and the soles were burned off my boots in a few minutes. The fire continued throughout the day and Wednesday night."

According to archseek.com "in 1722 a centralised Linen Hall was proposed by the Linen Board and several sites around the city were considered and dismissed.

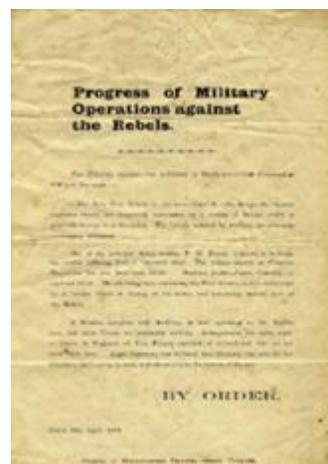
The Linen Board eventually decided in favour of a three-acre site at the top of Capel Street. Over the next six years, the Linen Hall gradually took shape and it opened for trade on November 14th, 1728.

The Linen Hall contained a large trading floor and 550 compartments or bays for the storage of linen. There was also a large boardroom for the use of the trustees and what was described as a large and elegant coffee-room for the accommodation of factors and traders who daily crowd its courts.

Originally designed by Thomas Burgh in 1722, it was enlarged by Thomas Cooley in 1784. However with the opening of the Belfast Linen Hall in 1783, the Dublin industry went into terminal decline and the Linen Board was abolished in 1828.

During the 1870s the Linen Hall was used as a temporary barracks by the British Army and it was taken over by the board of works in 1878.

It was destroyed by fire during the 1916 Rebellion.



1916 Rising - Broadside: Two original Posters printed during Easter Week 1916 by (British Army) Headquarters Printing Office, Curragh, comprising: - Important Announcement by the Lord Lieutenant, dated 26th April, concerning occupation of Liberty Hall etc. 'In other portions of the city the situation is well in hand.' - Progress of Military Operations against the Rebels, dated 30 April. 'The Sinn Fein Rebels in the area - Capel St. - Gt. Britain St. - Lr. Gardiner St., are completely surrounded by a cordon of Troops which is gradually closing on to the centre One of the principal Rebel leaders P.H. Pearse, is known to be inside the cordon suffering from a fractured thigh.... Rare documents each approx. 32cms x 20cms and printed one side only



Women of the 1916 Rising: Lucy Agnes Smyth

Lucy Agnes Smyth was born in 1882 and lived in Amiens Street, Dublin. A fluent Irish speaker, she joined Cumann na mBan at its inception in 1914. By 1921, having been a section leader, she had ascended to the position of 1st Lieutenant in the Ard Craobh, Central Branch. During Easter week Lucy mobilised as a member of the GPO garrison. In this role she hid arms, mobilised Cumann na mBan, delivered dispatches, and tended the wounded - including James Connolly - at the GPO and The Hibernian Bank. She was also part of a group of 11 Cumann na mBan nurses who escorted the wounded - under fire in the battlefield - to Jervis Street Hospital at the time of the evacuation of the burning GPO.

In 1916 Lucy was romantically linked with Volunteer and IRB member Con Colbert, who called her 'the nicest girl in Dublin'. Colbert, who had fought at Marrowbone Lane, sent her a final message via a priest on the night before he was executed, shortly after the Rising was suppressed.

In 1919 Lucy married Capt Tom Byrne (known as 'Boer Tom') who had arrived in the GPO after marching from Maynooth with 15 men overnight. Lucy had brought him a basin of water and a pair of clean socks. He gave her his watch and some money for safe-keeping. She assisted his escape in disguise to the North after the surrender. Neither were imprisoned in 1916.

At the time of the Rising, Tom Byrne had a love rival in Capt Con Colbert, one of the 15 men executed afterwards. In her witness statement to the Bureau of Military History, Con Colbert's sister Elizabeth recalled that he was in love with Lucy and would probably have married her if he had lived.

In the years following the Rising, Lucy was an integral member of the Irish National Aid Association and Volunteer Dependents' Fund. She was awarded the 1916 Easter Rising medal, the Service (1917-1921) medal, the 1916 survivor's medal and the Truce (1921) Commemoration Medal in recognition of her services to her country. She was also awarded a military pension in 1938.

In 1920, Lucy and Tom tragically lost their first-born child, Maureen, at seven weeks old as - she later stated - 'a result of a raid by Black and Tans'. Lucy was known as a very private and dignified person. In later years she did not speak of the role she played in 1916, nor did she leave a Bureau of Military History witness statement to record her significant contribution.

Lucy was present at the GPO for the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Rising. She was awarded four medals, as well as the medal given to survivors.

Smyth died at the age of 90, on November 1972. She is buried in Glasnevin cemetery. She is buried along with her husband and son, Tom Byrne died 7 September 1962 aged 85 years old. Myles Byrne died in 1968 at the age of 41.



Nelson's Pillar, Dublin 1808-1966

Habit, wrote Samuel Beckett, is a great deadener.

So too for generations of Dubliners concerning Admiral Nelson perched on his pillar in O'Connell Street. People were used to him. Trams and buses had their destination placards for the city centre stating simply 'The Pillar', generations met each other there at appointed hours and anyway as Joyce put it, the pillar had a certain grandeur as well as a Dublin landmark. Did it matter if it honoured some long ago, far away & long dead British Admiral?

Apparently it did.

Fifty years ago in the early hours of the morning of March 8, 1966, over a century and a half after its opening, a huge explosion rocked central Dublin as much of Admiral Nelson and his pillar was blown sky high.

The explosives had been planted by a group of former Irish Republican Army volunteers, including Joe Christle. Dismissed ten years earlier from the IRA for unauthorised actions, Christle was a qualified barrister and saw himself in the 60's socialist revolutionary mould. True to form, he and others opted to spectacularly mark the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising. While no person was hurt by the explosion, the closest bystander was a 19-year-old taxi driver, Steve Maughan, whose taxi was completely wrecked

Ruairi Lynch examines the tale of Nelson and Dublin over a century and a half.



The Nelson Pillar (also known as Nelson's Pillar or simply The Pillar) was a large granite pillar topped by a statue of Horatio Nelson in the middle of O'Connell Street (formerly Sackville Street) in Dublin. It was built in 1808-1809, and was among the first and grandest monuments erected in memory of Nelson in the then United Kingdom.

The pillar was a Doric column that rose 121 feet (36.9 m) from the ground and was topped by a 13 feet (4.0 m) tall statue in Portland stone by Cork sculptor Thomas Kirk, RHA (1781-1845), giving it a total height of 134 feet (40.8 m) – some 35 feet (10.7 m) shorter than Nelson's Column in London. All the outer and visible parts of the pillar were of granite from the quarry of Goldenhill, Manor Kilbride, County Wicklow and an interior of black limestone. A contemporary account of the pillar described in glowing terms: "In Sackville Street is a very noble monument to the memory of the immortal Nelson: it consists of a pedestal, column, and capital of the Tuscan order, the whole being surmounted by a well-executed statue of the hero, leaning on the capstan of his ship."

News of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar reached Dublin on 8 November 1805 and was greeted with boisterous celebrations in the streets which hardly put a dent in the mourning for the death of the hero. Dublin's commerce relied on sea trade and safe shipping that could be disrupted by the French navy or privateers, and most of the members of Dublin Corporation were businessmen. Further, Nelson's victory ended the chance of Napoleon's planned invasion of the United Kingdom, which could have included a subsidiary invasion of Ireland.

Within a month the Lord Mayor of Dublin, James Vance, had called a meeting of 'nobility, clergy, bankers, merchants and citizens' to plan a monument in Nelson's memory, to be funded by public subscription. A committee of prominent citizen was formed, bankers, Members of Parliament and merchants, including one Arthur Guinness, to carry the project forward. It invited 'the artists of the United Kingdom' to submit proposals for such a monument, and appealed for contributions from the public to pay for it. From the plans submitted, it selected the entry from a young London architect, William Wilkins—later to be responsible for such noted buildings as the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square. His plan was for a tall Doric column, crowned not with a statue, but with a Roman galley.

Construction started with the laying of the foundation stone on 15 February 1808 by the Lord Lieutenant the Duke of Richmond. For the ceremony the Duke, dressed up in a General's uniform and accompanied by the Duchess in deep mourning for the dead hero, drove in a state coach drawn by 'six of the most beautiful horses'. The procession from Dublin Castle to the site included Horse Yeomanry and Foot Yeomanry, sailors, officers of the Army and the Navy, subscribers, the committee, the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, the Lord Mayor, the Common Council, sheriffs, aldermen and peers according to their degrees.

The pillar was completed "by August 1809" and the statue of Nelson was hoisted into place.

It was opened to the public on Trafalgar Day, 21 October 1809, the fourth anniversary of the battle.

The memorial plaque was unveiled and read: "By the blessing of Almighty God To Commemorate the Transcendent Heroic Achievements of the Right Honourable Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson Duke of Bront in Sicily, Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, Who fell gloriously in the Battle of Cape Trafalgar On the 21st Day of October 1805, when he obtained for his Country a Victory over the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, Unparalleled in Naval History. This first stone of a Triumphal Pillar was laid by His Grace, Charles Duke of Richmond and Lennox"

The Pillar offered the citizens of Dublin an unprecedented perspective on their city. For the payment of ten pence (later reduced to six pence), they could climb the 168



steps of the inner stone staircase to the viewing platform and a dizzying view of the city. For the next 157 years its ascent was a must on every visitor's list.

Why a pillar in Dublin?

A national sense of obligation to Nelson for the defeat of the French navy and the re-opening of the sea-lanes to merchant shipping would have been all the greater because of their recall of French invasions, in 1796 and 1798. Many Dublin families of all classes and creeds, including the growing Catholic population, would have had strong personal reasons to rejoice at the victory of Trafalgar. It is estimated that one quarter to one third of the sailors who manned Nelson's fleet were from Ireland, including 400 from Dublin, and upper-class Irish Protestant families were well represented among the officer ranks at the battle.

Controversy surrounded the siting of the Pillar. The Wide Streets Commissioners disapproved of the Sackville Street proposal and argued that the Pillar should be located nearer the river, where it would be better seen by sailors approaching the port. Some suspected that the real issue was not one of respect for Nelson but a fear that the relative quietness of their street would be disturbed by crowds attracted to the new monument.

The Lord Lieutenant is reputed to have ended the debate in favour of the central site in Sackville Street. Armagh-born Francis Johnston was consulting architect but there is some uncertainty as to the extent to which he adhered to a preliminary design by William Wilkins of Caius College, Cambridge. At any rate, Johnston, one of the trio responsible for the Bank of Ireland in College Green as it is today, was certainly responsible for the GPO (1814-1818). So, one can say that the GPO's facade, neighbouring the Pillar, was designed by hands which were involved in both structures.

One adverse comment in the Irish Magazine of September 1809 said the completion of the pillar excited no notice and was marked with indifference on the part of the Irish public, who had little interest in the triumphs of a Nelson or a Wellesley. Referring to the recent acquisition of the old Parliament House in College Green by the Bank of Ireland, the writer concluded: 'We have changed our gentry for soldiers, and our independence has been wrested from us, not by the arms of France, but by the gold of England. The statue of Nelson records the glory of a mistress and the transformation of our senate into a discount office.'

While there was a general welcome for the pillar as an architectural adornment, some thought it too big and intrusive, and others complained that it was a serious obstacle to traffic, standing as it did where the main commercial route from the old heart of Dublin crossed

Sackville Street on its way to the docks and the new



Sackville Street and Bridge, Dublin, about year 1810.

Sackville Street on its way to the docks and the new Customs House.

One of the most savage criticisms of it came in the 1818 History of Dublin by Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh: "It is of most ponderous proportion which is not relieved by the least decoration. Its vastly unsightly pedestal is nothing better than a quarry of cut stone, and the clumsy shaft is divested of either base or what can properly be called a capital. Yet with all this baldness and deformity it might have had a good effect when viewed at a distance, or placed somewhere else; but it not only obtrudes its blemishes on every passenger, but actually spoils and blocks up our finest street, and literally darkens the other two streets opposite, which though spacious enough, look like lanes."

But others liked the pillar; a decade later William Makepeace Thackeray admired "broad and handsome Sackville Street with Nelson on his Pillar" A century later Maurice Craig, the architectural historian, thought the pillar both beautiful and well-placed.

Complaints about the pillar as an obstacle to traffic persisted throughout the 19th century and became the basis for several attempts by, among others, Dublin Corporation, to have it dismantled and moved, either further down Sackville Street, or to one of the city's several Georgian squares. The problem was that the pillar, and the small patch of ground on which it stood, were owned by the Nelson Pillar Trust, and the Trust was charged with maintaining and preserving the monument. To move it would require an act of Parliament

In 1881, Dublin's major transport and distributing companies—Pickfords, Findlaters, Thomas Street Distillery, two major railway and carter companies and the ubiquitous Arthur Guinness—sponsored a bill in Westminster to permit movement of the Pillar to where the Parnell monument stands today.

One MP, a retired admiral, offered the view that 'if the Corporation needs more space they should pull down the four corner shops'. Tim Healy MP had a different solution: all the statues, including Daniel O'Connell, John Gray, and Father Matthew should be removed—"if it is desired to commemorate the memory of the dead, the statues ought to be placed somewhere where they will not be in the way of the living". The bill passed into law as 'The Moore Street Market and Dublin City Improvement Act, 1882' This was to be done within a strict timetable laid down in the Act, which meant its re-erection had to begin within one month of its dismantling and had to be completed within two years—on pain of a hefty recurring fine. It never happened, partly because it would have cost too much, and it was not clear who should pay. So the authority to move the pillar lapsed, and it stayed where it was.

In 1891 the pillar was again before the Westminster Parliament, this time in the form of a Private Bill promoted by prominent tradesmen in Sackville Street, and entitled simply the 'Nelson's Pillar (Dublin) Bill'. Once again traffic was cited as the reason for moving the pillar, and once again it was envisaged that it would be dismantled and re-erected. The bill passed its second reading, but before

it could go to committee it was withdrawn, partly because several petitions against it had come from Dublin interests, partly because the trustees had declared themselves against it, and probably also because of the unresolved question of who was going to pay for the work.



Trafalgar Day 1904

Nelson and his pillar emerged from the Rising relatively unscathed despite the artillery shelling and chaos during Easter week.



Clean-up underway, Henry Street, May 1916

With the surge in Irish nationalist fervour after the 1916 Rising and the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1921–22, it was inevitable that demands for the removal of Nelson would increase. Many thought it ironic, to say the least, that the great British hero should continue to hold

pride of place in Ireland's capital city, and that he should do so in close proximity to the General Post Office, which had played a central role in the Rising.

pride of place in Ireland's capital city, and that he should do so in close proximity to the General Post Office, which had played a central role in the Rising.



In 1923 the Dublin's Citizens Association voted in favour of its removal. When asked for his opinion the president of the Architectural Association of Ireland saw little reason why it be moved. But, three years later, the same Association wrote to the city's authorities telling them that although the Pillar had definite architectural merits it was so wrongly placed that it should be moved to a more suitable site.

W.B. Yeats added his opinion: "I can see that it is an obstruction from a civic point of view, but I am primarily interested in the matter from an aesthetic point of view. Nelson's Pillar divides that long street into two. I think it would be much better to display the length of the street. The more sense of space we can get there the better...We should make the most of the vista....Then Nelson's Pillar dwarfs the Parnell monument, which without being very interesting, is a finer monument. But if another suitable site can be found Nelson's Pillar should not be broken up. It represents the feeling of Protestant Ireland for a man who helped to break the power of Napoleon. The life and work of the people who built it are part of our tradition. I think we should accept the whole part of this nation and not pick and choose. However it is not a beautiful object."



In 1925 the Dublin Civic Survey said the site was quite unsuitable, and there should be legislation to permit its removal. That same year the Dublin Metropolitan Police Association made representations to the Corporation to the same effect. One proposal was to move it to the Phoenix Park as a companion piece to the Wellington monument. But that idea was dismissed: the Pillar would

be dwarfed by the obelisk; 134 feet to the tip of the statue compared to 205 feet to the tip of the much bulkier obelisk.

King William's statue in College Green was blown up in 1929 but Nelson remained.

In 1931 Dublin Corporation voted in favour of its removal but as usual, was not specific about its demolition or relocation. The Irish Press reacted in an editorial (as *Gaeilge*) which decried the 'shame' of having Nelson in the middle of the capital city, while such Irishmen as Red Hugh O'Neill, Patrick Sarsfield, Brian Boru, and Wolfe Tone had no memorials. The deeds of such heroes should not be 'concealed' from the youth of Ireland!

The opposite view found equally vehement voice in a letter to the *Evening Herald* (12 December 1931): "Nelson, Queen Victoria and other British statues are ancient monuments, trophies left behind by a civilisation which has lost the eight centuries' battle. The hand that touches one of them is the hand of an Ignoramus and a vandal.." The problem remained that no one had the power to remove the pillar, and no one was offering to pay the cost.

Oliver St John Gogarty described it in 1937, very much sarcastically as "the grandest thing we have in Dublin"

Dublin's most obtrusive imperial relic'

Nelson was still standing when Queen Victoria's less pleasing statue at Leinster House (all 168 tons of her) was removed to Kilmainham in 1948, before finally finding a home in Sydney in 1986. George III had long since been removed from City Hall.

'Dublin's most obtrusive imperial relic', as Somerville-Large described Nelson's Pillar, survived them all. Maurice Craig expressed a more positive view of the Pillar—'beautiful and well placed'. His justification was that 'it helps with the GPO to redeem O'Connell Street, potentially so beautiful, from a squalid disorder almost equal to parts of London'.



Few were influenced by such finely balanced notions. In 1954, the well regarded Association of the Old IRA, in effect middle-aged veterans of the War of Independence, demanded at a large meeting in the Mansion House that government introduce legislation which would have the Pillar removed. However the 'move Nelson lobby' no longer had support from the traffic planners.

In 1954 and again in 1960 Dublin Corporation refused to recognise any good traffic reason for shifting Nelson's Pillar. The Old IRA also found itself pitted against the Arts Council which issued a statement that the Pillar 'had claims to be the finest Doric column in existence'. In one of many letters to the editor a wag taking that remark literally, asked 'How, can one argue with a lump of granite with such a conceited view of itself?'



In 1955, Dublin Corporation focused on Nelson himself, and proposed that the trustees of the Pillar be asked to agree merely to the removal of the Nelson statue. (It wanted to replace the admiral with a statue of Wolfe Tone). The trustees replied that the terms of the trusteeship meant they could not do that. A frustrated Dublin City Council concluded in March 1956 that it was an intolerable absurdity to 'have a public monument in private hands'. A resolution sought legislation to enable the Dublin City Council to take possession of Nelson Pillar with power to remove or demolish the said Pillar in part or in whole as they see fit'.

On 29 October 1955, a group of nine University College Dublin students locked themselves inside the pillar and tried to melt the statue with flame throwers. From the top they hung a poster of Kevin Barry—a Dublin Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteer who was executed by the British during the Irish War of Independence. A crowd gathered below and began to sing the well-known Irish rebel song "Kevin Barry". Gardaí forced their way inside with sledgehammers. They took the students' names and addresses and brought them downstairs. As a Garda van arrived it was attacked by the sympathetic crowd. Rather than arrest the students, the Gardaí merely confiscated their equipment and told everyone to leave quietly. None were ever charged.

Stormont took notice at what was happening in Dublin and exchanges took place in the Northern parliament (November 1955) about a possible Belfast site for the Dublin monument.

Taoiseach John A. Costello, in his second term of office (1954-1957), also noted the growing trend of hostile opinion about the Pillar. On historical and artistic grounds he thought it should be left alone. He suggested to Radio Éireann that his friend and fellow graduate of King's Inns, Dr. Thomas Bodkin, former director of the National Gallery (1927-1935), and director of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, be invited to give a talk on the Pillar (December 1955). Bodkin's notes were typed up in the Taoiseach's office. He argued the architectural merits of the Pillar and scorned Nelson's critics who 'described [him] as a one-eyed monster or a one-armed adulterer...he was a man of extraordinary gallantry'. Bodkin instanced cities that retained monuments to individuals who had fallen

that retained monuments to individuals who had fallen from favour, including a fine monument to Tsar Peter the Great in Communist Leningrad. He was scathing of the suggestion that Nelson be replaced by a statue of the Blessed Virgin: 'I can't help thinking that she would not like to take charge of a column that was subscribed for and erected to the memory of someone else'.

A Gaelic League statement (September 1956) made the point that having Nelson so prominently celebrated on the main street of the capital city was 'virtually an insult' (*geall le masla*) not merely to the Irish nation but to France'. Some felt that the new angle about French sensitivities was weakened by suggesting that Laurence O'Toole's statue replace Nelson's.



Sean Lemass became Taoiseach in 1959 and seems to have been the first to raise the Nelson issue at cabinet (12 November 1960). He suggested that Nelson be replaced by a statue of Saint Patrick in time for the Patrician Year, 1961. Two weeks later Lemass deferred discussion due to the absence of Dr Jim Ryan, Minister for Finance and on 6 December 1960 the matter was again deferred because of the absence of Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs. Ryan and Aiken one may guess would have been *ad idem* with Lemass on the question of Lord Nelson.

A point of some concern was how much the Pillar's trustees paid out to charity. One reference in the Taoiseach's file suggested that £1,200 was involved, implying perhaps 50,000 visitors paying 6d each at the Pillar's turnstiles. But it was later established that £400 per annum was the net sum which charities received. At any rate the idea died; the Attorney General was consulted about the status of the trustees, and it became apparent that a statue of Patrick was unlikely to be produced in time for the Patrician Year celebrations.

However the issue would not die down. Nelson continued to irritate people's pride both at home and abroad. Michael Quill, a native of Cork and famous New York trade unionist, offered to finance the removal of Nelson from his perch and his replacement by someone else (John F. Kennedy was mentioned).

That offer, was not taken up but the constant flow of such stories caused real worry to the monument's admirers. Lady Beatrice Glenavy RHA was moved to write an impassioned letter (11 January 1960) to the *Irish Times*: 'the destructive genius of the Irish people seems to be at work again...In the name of all that has elegance, splendour, beauty and dignity, leave the Pillar alone'.

The matter was again raised at cabinet in July 1964, this time by Dr Jim Ryan. He proposed that a monument to Patrick Pearse be substituted for the Pillar in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising. That afternoon, Lemass wrote a 'Dear Jim' letter to his Minister for Finance, mentioning (i) that legislation would be required (the

trustees could not sell the Pillar to the state even if they wanted to), (ii) the traffic argument was no longer supported by the Corporation and traders in O'Connell Street might object to a change, (iii) it would be difficult to get a monument for Pearse ready for 1966. Wasn't it taking twenty years (1945 until 1965) to get the Thomas Davis statue erected in College Green? Ending the note, from one 1916 veteran to another, was the rather sad remark: 'I agree we should look at the question, but I do not think it will be easy to reach the right answers'.

But there were also influential voices raised in support of Nelson and his pillar. John A. Costello, who had been Taoiseach in 1948 when Ireland formally became a Republic and left the British Commonwealth, said that on historical and artistic grounds the pillar should be left alone. Desmond Ryan, sometime secretary to the executed 1916 leader Patrick Pearse, argued that Nelson had acquired squatter's rights to his place in O'Connell Street, and praised his unique contribution to the symmetry of the street.



Above: June 14, 1961 and below: Completing one of the 'Must Do's' for Dublin – 1965.



One summer's day in 1965 a group of 'young men' took over the Pillar and locked out the public. Reputed to be a splinter group of the IRA; they attempted to split or damage the Nelson statue by prolonged application of what were known as 'heat throwers' or 'flame guns' but Thomas Kirk's thirteen foot high statute in Portland stone of Nelson leaning on a capstan, was too much for such trifling gadgetry.

It may have been the same group, smarting at the indignity of their earlier failure, who returned to the Pillar on the night of 2 March 1966, properly equipped this time with explosives and expertise. Like Nelson's left arm, one hundred and sixty years earlier, his statue and the top of his column were blown away.



That morning, Minister for Justice Brian Lenihan condemned the 'reckless action...an outrage which was planned and committed without any regard to the lives of the citizens'. He expressed relief that no loss of life or injuries had occurred. A dance was ending in the Metropole Ballroom, (where Penney's is today) when the explosion took place. In an editorial the same day The Irish Times deemed the Minister's statement a "tepid" reply to what it described as a 'coup in the heart of the capital city' and a direct blow to the prestige of the state and the authority of the Government.

Senator David Norris, who thought the bombing ignorant and unnecessary, told RTE: 'It provoked the only recorded instance of humour in that lugubrious figure, the late President of Ireland Eamon De Valera, who is reputed to have phoned the Irish Press to suggest a headline 'British Admiral Leaves Dublin by Air.'

There was a general feeling that Dublin had lost an essential part of its identity. Owen Sheehy-Skeffington later told the Senate that 'the man who destroyed the pillar made Dublin look more like Birmingham and less like an ancient city on the River Liffey—the pillar gave Dublin an internationally known appearance'.

On the day of the explosion the Irish Times reported the 'official view' that the explosion was carried out by a 'fringe group of republican militants...There is no evidence that the small and impermanent group intend to carry out further stunts...it is possible that the group was got together simply to demolish the Pillar'. Two days later the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau announced that 'the republican movement' was in no way involved with the explosion, and...such actions were 'contrary to the policy' of the movement. It was reported that various houses were visited and persons questioned by the Gardaí but no one was charged as a result.



The question was what to do with the seventy foot 'stump', (the truncated column and pedestal). With almost indecent haste government announced that the entire structure was to be removed. Several representations were made to the Taoiseach's office that the Pillar be rebuilt and capped with a statue of someone other than Nelson but files in the National Archives show zero support for that notion. Earlier documents reveal that Sean Lemass regarded the Pillar as an embarrassment. One can surmise that its destruction, on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising, was regarded as a bonus. His inclination was to finish the job

Thomas McGreevey, then recently retired Director of the National Gallery, was one of those who wrote to the Taoiseach about the fate of the truncated column, which he described as 'the finest Doric pillar, as far as I know, in Britain or Ireland'. A telegram from the Irish Literary Association pleaded 'for preservation of lettering on pedestal of pillar, so much loved by Joyce, Yeats and Gogarty'. Máire Bhreathnach, an assistant secretary in the Department of Finance, wrote to the Taoiseach's secretary, praising the beauty of the Pillar 'especially against a winter sky'. She would like to have Wolfe Tone on a rebuilt pillar but fearing that Tone would be 'too controversial' she suggested Robert Emmet instead. A resident of Ealing and another from Portadown suggested a monument to Michael Collins in place of the Pillar. A monument to Pearse was suggested by a writer from Thurles. Two letters from the US expressed 'delight' at the blowing up of Nelson, while a 'Presbyterian' from Derry and an émigré in London respectively expressed outrage and shame at the uncivilised act.



A letter in the Evening Herald declared that 'the stump stands not as a monument to Kevin Barry...it represents the bravery of pygmies who against impossible odds dared to bring to dust a formidable enemy who has been dead these many years'. A less choleric observer in the Irish Times approvingly noted 'the novelty of a cleared O'Connell Street and a newly revealed GPO'. The same paper reported that the Royal Irish Academy of Music was thinking of taking legal action to prevent the removal of the stump.



On 9 March, six days after the explosion, Colonel R.G. Mew, Army Director of Engineering, completed a report on the implications of 'felling' the stump by explosives. He recommended making 'eccentrically placed bore holes around the base forming what might be called a "wedge"'. Colonel Mew warned that there would be 'damage to adjoining property...greater than the original damage since the charges will be nearer the ground'. Sandbags could be used to mitigate the damage, but 'no matter what happens the public will make invidious comparisons [between] our work and the previous effort'.

'True for him' as the saying goes. When the army did its work on 11 March, it was accused of clumsiness in contrast to the skill shown by the original bombers. In fact, the eventual public liability claims totalling £43,000 showed only slightly more claims from the second explosion than from the first.

With the job completed and the street cleaned up, Sean Lemass wrote personal letters to Minister for Defence Michael Hilliard TD, and to Minister for Local Government Neil Blaney TD, asking them to convey his appreciation to the Army and to the Dublin Corporation staff 'who had so expeditiously completed the removal of the Pillar'. The St Patrick's Day parade and the Easter Rising jubilee celebrations took place with no Horatio Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronti, viewing them with a jaundiced eye from his column aloft.



Aftermath

The rubble from the monument was taken to the East Wall dump and the lettering from the plinth moved to the gardens of Butler House, Kilkenny.

Nelson's head, however, is an entirely different and fascinating story.



On the night of the explosion in 1966, a visiting Scottish junior doctor was assisting an emergency surgery in the nearby Rotunda Hospital. The sound of an explosion from O'Connell Street was followed seconds later with a loud crashing sound in an adjoining corridor which shook the theatre. The junior doctor was sent to investigate. Lodged in a nearby wall, he found a large, stone carved head - that of Admiral Nelson. The head was removed and eventually handed over to the Dublin Corporation. The visiting junior doctor? Dr. Allan Muir who later lived for a number of years in Diarmuid & Kit's home in Tracton.

The head was recovered from the Rotunda by Dublin Corporation and stored in a City Council storage shed in Clanbrassil Street. From there a few days later on St. Patrick's Day, Ken Dolan and six other students from the National College of Art and Design stole the statue's head as a fund-raising prank to pay off a Student Union debt. They leased the head for £200 a month to an antiques dealer in London for his shop window. It also appeared in a women's stocking commercial, shot on Killiney beach, and on the stage of the Olympia Theatre with The Dubliners. The students finally gave the head to the Lady Nelson of the day about six months after taking it, who in turn donated to Dublin Corporation where it was later housed in the Civic Museum in Dublin. It now resides in Gilbert Library in Pearse Street.



Ken Dolan and the lads with Horatio. 1966

The Nelson's Pillar Act was passed in 1969, transferring responsibility for the site of the monument from the Nelson Pillar Trustees to Dublin Corporation. The site was simply paved over by the authorities until the Anna Livia monument was installed there for the 1988 Dublin Millennium celebrations.



Dubliners quickly nicknamed her "The Floozie in the Jacuzzi" (left) and was universally reviled. The monument was removed from its site on O'Connell Street in 2001 to make room for the Spire of Dublin. The Spire was formally unveiled in 2003. (right)

Last word goes to Louis MacNeice and 'Dublin':

Grey brick upon brick,
 Declamatory bronze
 On sombre pedestals –
 O'Connell, Grattan, Moore –
 And the brewery tugs and the swans
 On the balustraded stream
 And the bare bones of a fanlight
 Over a hungry door
 And the air soft on the cheek
 And porter running from the taps
 With a head of yellow cream
 And Nelson on his pillar
 Watching his world collapse.

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1916



'My granny was one of the Rising looters - and we still have the dishes to prove it'

To have a relative who was 'out' in 1916 - that is, someone who took part in that mad assault on the British Empire - is something to be treasured. Of course, there were plenty of other people 'out' in Easter Week - all of them risking life and limb, not for Ireland, though, but for themselves and their families as they smashed in windows and took whatever plunder they could carry from city centre businesses.

There were probably more looters out and about in Dublin that week than there were rebels holed up in the GPO. My granny, Maggie, was one of them - and we still have the dishes she 'liberated' to prove it: Four soup bowls with a Milan stamp on the back . . . they are testament to another, less noble side to the Rising.

Maggie was a teenager at the time, and a tenacious one, given that dishes weren't the only things she set her sights on that fateful week.

The story goes that she was looting a butcher's shop when she spied a prize shoulder of ham. Determined to get more than that and hauling the ham along, Maggie sought out more booty from the shelves. A man nearby kindly offered to hold the ham while she went foraging. Needless to say, that was the last time she saw that lump of meat.

Maggie was just one of many who ransacked city centre premises during the Rising. The first business to fall was Noblett's sweet shop on Sackville Street, the plate glass window of which shattered as the last words of the Proclamation were fading on Pádraig Pearse's lips.

A shower of sweet stuffs, chocolate boxes and huge slabs of toffee were taken by the crowd in double-quick time, all the while ignoring pleas from Volunteers and from Fr Michael Flanagan, from the Pro-Cathedral, who had arrived on the scene.

Women and children were the first to start looting on Easter Monday. Businesses in Earl Street and Abbey Street were ransacked while Pearse and Connolly sipped tea and ate sandwiches inside the GPO. Clerys, Elverys and McDowell's jewelers all fell victim to looters, with the Illustrated Sunday Herald reporting: "McDowell's, the jewelers, was broken into and some thousands of pounds worth of jewellery taken. Taafe's, the hosiers; Lewer's, Dunn's hat shop, the Cable shoe shop, all were gutted, and their contents, when not wanted, were thrown pell-mell into the street."

One witness recalls seeing people in the Gresham Hotel with jewellery they had bought from the looters. In his memoir, *On another Man's Wound*, Ernie O'Malley recalled arriving on to Sackville Street and being pestered by looters hawking their booty: "Diamond rings and pocketfuls of gold watches were selling for sixpence and a shilling, and one was cursed if one did not buy."

Meanwhile, Volunteers with batons tried in vain to protect business, and the journalist Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, who would not survive Easter week, stood atop a tram car and pleaded with people not to steal.

One Volunteer described witnessing looters carrying a stolen piano from the direction of Mary's Lane. They ignored warnings to stop, and only did so after a volley was fired over their heads. The would-be plunderers scurried, leaving the piano in the middle of the street.

The bizarre sights didn't end there. Several Volunteers broke into the Waxworks Museum and were soon to be seen parading up and down in all manner of outlandish costumes.

The looting lasted for most of the week. Citizens had gone mad and no manner of threats or -impeachments would dissuade them from their path.

In his book, *Dear, Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899-1916*, Joseph O'Brien wrote that "according to police statistics for 1916, 425 persons were proceeded against for looting during the rebellion and 398 of these were either fined or imprisoned".

This paper reported on May 11, 1916 how a mother and daughter had been charged with being in illegal possession of "two mattresses, one pillow, eight window curtains, one lady's corset... one top coat, two ladies' coats, five ladies' hats and four chairs."

In the same news report, it was noted that two ladies from Camden Street had been prosecuted for being in possession of, among other things, "3lbs of tea, 12 boxes of sweet herbs... some lemonade and cornflower." The constable told the court that the accused told him: "We were looting, like the rest. We had a bit out of it, too!" They were sentenced to a month in prison each.

The testimony of Royal Irish Regiment Sergeant Fletcher-Desborough, found in the Bureau of Military History, states that "months after the end of the Rising, flower sellers and paper vendors round the pillar, sported fur coats and bejeweled fingers, which they could never have bought with the profits from their flower selling".

The rebellion of 1916 highlighted two sides to the Irish coin - fearless patriotism and venal greed. We celebrate the patriotism and ignore the baser motives of those who were 'out' that week one hundred years ago. In my own family's case, were it not for four soup bowls from Milan, those darker deeds may have been lost to history entirely.

David Lawlor. Published Irish Independent



Margaret Skinnider (1892-1971)

Margaret Skinnider. Revolutionary, Radical feminist, Left-wing Trade Unionist, who was involved in the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin

Born 28 May 1892 at Coatbridge, Glasgow, to Irish immigrant parents, James Skinnider from Co. Monaghan and his wife Jane Dowd from Co. Meath.

She joined the Anne Devlin Branch of Cumann na mBan in Glasgow, and joined a gun club before the start of WW1. She was fully familiar with weapons, and was reputedly a skilled bomb-maker. She trained as a teacher, specialising in Mathematics.

She carried explosives from Glasgow to Dublin for Countess Markiewicz, and was active alongside her in training members of the Irish Volunteers in County Wicklow.

At the outbreak of the Rising, she was variously at Liberty Hall, the GPO, and St. Stephen's Green. She became attached to the group at St. Stephen's Green which later withdrew to The College of Surgeons, and was involved in some of the attacks on the British Army post at The Shelbourne Hotel. This group was under the command of Commandant Michael Mallin and Constance Markiewicz.

She was also a dispatch cyclist, bringing messages between Mallin and Pearce at the G.P.O.

In an attempt to fire-bomb a house on Harcourt Street, the gun of William Partridge [a City Councillor and Trade Union activist] was accidentally discharged, giving away the attackers position. She was shot three times, and her companions brought her back to The College of Surgeons, where she lay until the surrender. She was then taken to St. Vincent's Hospital on the opposite side of The Green, where she was a patient for five weeks. There are some reports that the doctors refused to hand her over to the Army for questioning about her activities.

She returned home to Glasgow before coming back to Dublin, and later went to America. Whilst in America, she collected funds for the republican cause and lectured with other women who had fought in the Easter Rising. Skinnider also wrote and published her autobiography in New York - "Doing my Bit for Ireland".

Skinnider later returned to Ireland and took up a teaching post in Dublin in 1917. During the War of Independence she was arrested and imprisoned. In the civil war in 1921 she became Paymaster General of the Irish Republican Army until she was arrested in 1923. James Connolly's daughter Nora took over her role) which she held at North Dublin Union. There she became Director of Training for the prisoners.

She took the Anti-Treaty side in the debates which followed the settlement with the British, and became disillusioned with Nationalist/Republican politics.

Skinnider resumed her teaching career, and was deeply involved in the Irish National Teacher's Organisation, a trade union which represented primary school teachers. She was President of the organisation in the 1950's.

Her part in the Easter Rising was all the more notable because she was a woman, a sniper and the only female wounded in the action. She was mentioned three times for bravery in the dispatches sent to the Dublin GPO

She died in a public ward in a Dublin Hospital in October 1971, and buried in the Republican Plot in Glasnevin Cemetery.

The true cost of being a patriot
Freedom wasn't just paid for in blood, sweat and tears - would-be volunteers had to part with sizeable sums of hard cash in order to look the part, writes David Lawlor



Whatever one's views about those who fought in 1916 and the destruction that was brought to the capital city and elsewhere, one thing is for sure, they were a well-dressed bunch.

The men of the Irish Citizen Army cut dashing figures as they paraded around the streets of Dublin in their dark uniforms, white linen ammo bags and Boer hats. The same could be said for the Irish Volunteers and their officers. These men looked the part and tried to act it, too. A lot of time and effort went into moulding these men into paramilitaries - time, effort and money, because those uniforms didn't come cheap.

In December, 1916, at a special conference in Derry, the Irish Trade Union Congress noted that although wages had increased 10pc throughout the country, food prices had risen by a massive 80pc, so money was scarce in many quarters. By 1914, a drapers' assistant earned about £1 a week; female dressmakers 10 shillings a week. In 1919, the basic salary for a constable was £109 4s a year. A trained nurse earned between £30 and £40, while a Sister got £50. Tram conductors earned 22s/6d (22 shillings and six pence a week), so this will give some idea as to how much Volunteers and Citizen Army personnel had to sacrifice in order to dress for Ireland.

There were a couple of go-to establishments for the well-dressed revolutionary to frequent.

Thomas Fallon of Nos 8 & 53 Mary Street was one; Hearne & Co Ltd, in Co Waterford, was another. Both offered the complete rig - everything from "Splendid web bandoliers with five leather pockets" (two shillings and six pence - 2/6 - each) to Sam Brown belts, "richly mounted" (14/6). Caps - dark green - cost 1/6 and 5/6, depending on head size, presumably; while Volunteer Boer-shape hats in Hearne's were priced at 1/10 and 2/6. Fallon's was selling them for a hefty 2/3 each - mind you, they did also offer them at 22/6 per dozen.

The uniform itself was of "approved design only". Customers could write for a self-measurement form which they would then send back to the shop's tailor. Fallon's offered uniform Irish tweed suits at 24/6 each, while Irish frieze green coats cost 35s.

The Mary Street business styled itself as Tailor, Outfitter & Equipment Manufacturer - and the first maker in Ireland of Sam Brown belts for officers. They also claimed to be the "first maker in Ireland of special uniforms for Volunteer officers". For the socialists of James Connolly's Irish Citizen Army, it must have been comforting to know that "Bandoliers and belts (are) made on the premises by trade union labour".

In its advertisements, Fallon's proclaimed that "Nothing can stop the march of the Irish Volunteers", and so it seemed, if their uniforms were anything to go by. Everything a soldier could need was available, from haversacks (10d - half a penny cheaper than at Hearne's) to putties (1/- and 1/4f at Hearne's compared to the pricier Fallon's where they cost 1/6).

However, Fallon's certainly had the march on its rival. The shop sold everything a stylish officer would desire, from map cases, swagger sticks and even sword scabbards to signalling flags, leather leggings and binoculars (35/-). In fact, they supplied "everything to equip the soldier for the field".

Certain items, like uniforms, proved beyond the budget of many Volunteers, who wore civilian clothes instead. Many stuck to the bare essentials - a rifle and a bandolier for bullets. Whatever they wore, though, the rebels of 1916 risked their lives in the name of Ireland, but long before that they had to give up the contents of their wallets, too.

It all adds up: Pounds, shillings and pence. Before decimalisation in February 1971, the pound was the legal currency. There were 12 pence in a shilling and 20 shillings in a pound. For instance: 10 pence was 10d, One shilling and 10 pence was 1/10. One pound, one shilling and 10 pence £1/1/10. £1 in 1914 would be worth just over €100 in today's money, a shilling about €5 and a penny about 40 cents.

The outbreak of the Great War in 1914 saw rapid price increases in basics throughout Ireland. Sugar rose from 2½d per pound to 6d; butter from a -shilling per pound to a 1/6; flour increased by 20pc, bacon by 25pc. In general, the cost of living increased by about 50pc in the first two years alone of the Great War, and continued rising thereafter. Most beer more than doubled in price. In December 1914, Cork porter increased by 50pc, from 2d to 3d; by 1917, it was 5d. Increases were driven only partly by rising costs, but mainly excise levies, particularly on stronger beers.

Here are some of the items advertised by two stores in the run up to the Rising: **HEARNE & Co of Waterford:** Haversacks 10½d and 1/2 n Putties, grey-green - best Volunteer colour 1/- and 1/4½ n Leather bandoliers, five pocket, used before, 2/11 n New Officers belts, with sling, richly mounted 5/11 n Sam Brown new belts, richly mounted 14/6 n New bandolier, five -pocket 4/11

Thomas Fallon, 8 & 53 Mary Street, Dublin: the famous Boer hat as worn by the American Army 2/3 each, 22/6 dozen n Haversacks 10d n Water bottles 1/3 & 4/9 n Waist belts 1/- and 2/6 n Leather bandoliers 4/9 and 7/6 n Leather slings 1/6 n Grey-green putties 1/6 per pair n Grey-green uniform caps 1/6, 2/6, 3/6 n Frogs 10d and 1/9 n Signalling flags 10d 1/6 n Infantry whistles 1/- n Arm bands 5½d n Harp cap badges 6d n Shoulder decorations 6d n Harp buttons 6d per dozen small, 1/- large n Green flags four yards long 7/6. Burnishers, swagger canes, button sticks, button brushes, green sashes, officers' Sam Brown belts, officers' map cases, even sword scabbards, fittings & mountings for bandoliers and Sam Brown belts, grey-green shirts, collars and fronts; Everything to equip the soldier for the field; leather leggings. Binoculars 35/-

VOLUNTEER EQUIPMENT.
NOTHING CAN STOP THE MARCH OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

Uniforms made to measure on the Premises by Irish workers. Write for Self-Measurement Form.

THE FAMOUS BOER HAT as worn by the American Army
2/3 each. 22/6 doz.

Approved Material and Style. Write for Wholesale Price List.

THOMAS FALLON,
8 & 53 MARY ST., DUBLIN,
Tailor, Outfitter, & Equipment Manufacturer,
FIRST MAKER IN IRELAND OF SAM BROWN BELTS FOR OFFICERS.

National Volunteer Review

REGULATION EQUIPMENT.
As they can see the Official Standard Samples of Uniforms and Equipment at VOLUNTEER HEADQUARTERS, and if you have any difficulty in getting the exact Standard Equipment from any trader or dealer.

Then Enquire at... **FALLON'S,** The Home of Regulation Uniforms & Equipment.

All Well-Dressed Officers Wear Fallon's Uniforms
Regimental Cap Badges made to order.

Official Regulation Equipment, Uniforms, &c.

Thomas Fallon, a "tailor, outfitter & equipment manufacturer", operated out of Mary Street in the early twentieth century. His business could boast of being the "first maker in Ireland of Sam Brown belts for officers", and when the Irish Volunteer movement was born, Fallon was one of the men who dressed its ranks. These advertisements for his business premises, published in the *Irish Independent* a century ago, are an interesting little insight into a sometimes overlooked aspect of the period, the manufacturing of uniforms for bodies like the Irish Volunteers.



A slouch hat on display." John Kelly of the Irish Citizen Army (back centre), and what appears to be young ICA scouts at the front." (Image via the excellent: <https://fiannaireannhistory.wordpress.com/>)



Selection of early Irish photographs c.1890

Guns for hire: our sisters in arms

As the British pumped cash into making better artillery for the war effort, Irish women were cashing in with high-paid factory jobs, writes Damian Corless



The Dublin Dockland War Munitions Factory in East Wall, which employed hundreds of local women, nicknamed 'Munitionettes'.

When the government issued its first "Recall to Work" notices in the aftermath of the Rising, the workers most urgently needed were those in the "Food, Munition and Coal Trades". Just weeks earlier, scores of Irish men and women had taken the mail boat to England, lured by an advert that appeared in the Irish Independent advertising jobs "in connection with a new munition factory" across the Irish Sea. Jobseekers were enticed with the prospects of: "Good wages. Time and quarter Saturday afternoon. Time and a half Sunday. Five shilling bonus for good timekeeping."

Thousands of Irish already formed a sizeable chunk of the 80,000-strong workforce at the Royal Woolwich Arsenal in London where Edward Curran, later to become one of Ireland's biggest industrialists, was making his first fortune supplying giant furnaces to mould howitzer brass shell cases. And while the scale of the armaments business on this island in no way compared, it still formed part of a war economy here that provided much-needed job opportunities while paying far higher wages than the norm, especially for women. With men needed for the trenches, the War Ministry had slapped a low recruitment quota on men and boys.

While Ireland's biggest arm of the British war machine, the Harland and Wolff shipyard in Belfast, remained largely an all-male preserve, women were in demand to manufacture uniforms in Dublin, Limerick and Belfast, aeroplane cloth and blankets at scattered locations, and leather military bits-and-bobs in Antrim and the Mayo town of Foxford.

While industrial accidents were common enough in all of these occupations, by far the most dangerous work involved the manufacture of bullets, shells and grenades. But despite the risks, the good money made munitions jobs the most coveted.

But these high-paying jobs were not won easily outside of industrialised Belfast. One year before the Rising, the British had suffered devastating losses at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle. A post-mortem on the disaster showed that Britain's shells were damp squibs compared to those of the Germans, with as many as one-in-three so badly made they didn't even explode on impact. The British now pumped huge resources into making better artillery, but as this arms race began, Ireland - beyond industrialised Ulster - was left at the starting line. The Nationalist MP for Dublin Harbour, future Lord Mayor Alfie Byrne, lobbied hard for munitions jobs in the capital, and by the time of the Rising, the Dublin Dockland War Munitions Factory in East Wall and the National Shell Factory by the Phoenix Park had been set up, giving employment to hundreds of locals, mostly women. These women were nicknamed 'Munitionettes'.

With a whiff of rebellion in the air, securing a job giving access to high explosives usually involved providing good personal references. Many factory recruits were the wives, sisters and sweethearts of Irishmen in the trenches. By the time of the Rising, five new "national munition factories" were operational or in the set-up phase. These were in addition to the long-established Kynoch's explosive plant in Arklow and Waterford's Cartridge Factory.

Young women used to taking home as little as two shillings a week as lowly housemaids or shop assistants could now earn 10 times that sum assembling munitions. While the union movement in Ireland had taken a severe trouncing from employers during the Great Lockout of 1913, the Munitionettes were unionised by the increasingly powerful British-based National Federation of Women Workers, who forced Irish employers to honour the £1 (20 shilling) government minimum wage for the sector. With overtime and bonuses, some female workers at the Liffey Dockland Munitions Factory were said to bring home an unheard of 50 shillings per week.

Employing more than 2,000 at the time of the Rising, the country's biggest explosives factory, Kynoch's, had been rescued from the doldrums in the 1890s when an engineer suggested that it branch into producing cordite. This new explosive had been developed by Alfred Nobel, who'd invented dynamite some 20 years earlier. For centuries, gunpowder had been used as the explosive charge in bullets and shells, but cordite packed more punch, and was less vulnerable to heat or wet, making it safer for workers to handle and store.

That, at least, was the theory. In the years leading up to 1916, Kynoch's suffered many casualties - including several fatalities from explosions and acid burns, to the point where it eventually made sense to open its very own hospital next door.

But even while the casualty list grew, the spin-off in jobs and spending power made Kynoch's a key part of Arklow's economy. Most of the new workforce spilled in each day from the town's hinterland with others arriving by train. A hundred-strong garrison of soldiers stood on round-the-clock guard duty.

As the workforce at Kynoch's soared from a couple of hundred pre-war, to a couple of thousand at the time of the Rising, Arklow's traders and B&B owners prospered, while the boom in the town's pub trade became a big worry for those running the explosives plant. Concerned that the drinking habits of workers could hamper productivity or worse, management came to an arrangement with the publicans to curb weekday opening, with the pubs shutting from 2-5pm and calling last orders at 10pm.

A German U-boat attack, rather than drink or sabotage, was initially blamed for an explosion in the Arklow plant that killed 27 workers and injured six in September 1917. The blast happened at 4am, midway through the night shift. Had it occurred during the day, the death toll would have been far higher. Ruling out the submarine theory, the inquest delivered a verdict of accidental death, while one employee speculated that cloth hankies left to dry out on scorching steam pipes had caught fire, igniting the blast.

In the closing months of the war, as the British contemplated victory over the Germans and mounting unrest in Ireland, the process of dismantling our munitions factories began at a brisk pace, and by 1919 they had been consigned to the dustbin of history

Catholicism had strong hold during the Rising Irish people's everyday lives were shaped by church teachings, writes Fergus Cassidy

In 1916 over 98pc of the island's population were members of four main religious denominations. According to the 1911 census returns, the membership of those churches was accounted for as follows: Roman Catholic 73.8pc; Church of Ireland 13.1pc, Presbyterian 10pc and Methodist 1.4pc. Once baptised, which was usually within days following birth, the other major moments of a person's life -

following birth, the other major moments of a person's life - education, marriage, and death - were shaped by the laws and teachings of their church.

Covering almost three-quarters of the population, Catholic practice centred on the parish, the church and the school. In 1911 there were 15,397 priests, nuns, monks and brothers engaged in this and other work. Those numbers were a 21pc increase from the 1901 census. Nuns managed schools, hospitals, orphanages and homes for the aged. It was a devotional culture, with practices such as the Forty Hour Adoration, Blessed Sacramentals, Novena of Grace, First Fridays, May Devotions and Stations of the Cross. Particularly popular was devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and to Mary, the Mother of God. The Mass liturgy was conducted in Latin, and fasting from midnight was a requirement for receiving communion. The Knights of Columbanus, an order of Catholic laymen was founded in Belfast in 1915, and groups such as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Society had a large membership.

The Church of Ireland also campaigned on alcohol use. In 1900 the Irish Women's Temperance Union was set up expanding to 87 branches throughout the country. The following year the Church of Ireland Temperance Society was launched. The church was disestablished in 1869, ending its position as the state church, but it maintained and strengthened its numbers over the following decades. It provided Bible and Sunday School classes and set up the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and a Women's Association.

Protestant clergy numbered 2,657 in 1911. Almost two-thirds of Protestants recorded in the census lived in Ulster, with 96pc of Presbyterians lived in the Northern Province. The Jewish population grew from 1,500 in 1901 to 5,101 (0.1pc of population), based mainly in Dublin where a community grew up around Portobello and the South Circular Road. Many were immigrants from Eastern Europe. The Religious Society of Friends, known as Quakers, numbered 2,480 in 1991. Members were very involved in education and business - including biscuit makers Jacobs, and the Bewley family.

Catholic children were instructed in the articles of faith based around the question and answer format of the Catechism (see panel). Canon PA Sheehan, parish priest of Doneraile, Co Cork, wrote about confession of sin in 1899: "And so the young girls and all the men go to Father Letheby's confessional. The old women and the little children come to me. They don't mind an occasional growl, which will escape me sometimes. Indeed, they say they'd rather hear one roar from the 'ould man' than if Father Letheby, 'wid his gran' accent', was preaching forever."

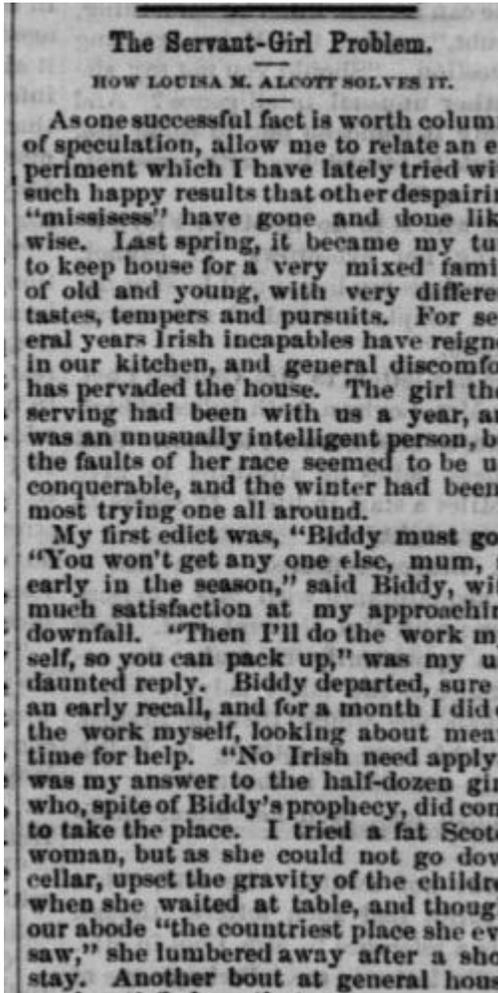
Relationships between the two main religious denominations became strained after 1908 following the worldwide decree on marriage issued by Pope Pius X. The *Ne Temere* ('not rashly') decree sought to regulate canon law on Roman Catholic marriage, which from 1785 stated that a marriage did not have to be celebrated by a Catholic priest to be recognised. *Ne Temere* reversed this and stated that "... a mixed marriage performed by anyone but a Catholic priest is invalid in the eyes of God and his Church". The priest was expected to be from the bride's parish and the marriage had to be witnessed.

In 1911 Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, responded to the changed situation: "If the decree *Ne Temere* attains one object, which is no doubt among those chiefly intended by the Holy Father, the cessation or a decrease of mixed marriages, it will confer inestimable blessing on Roman Catholics."

The burial places of the dead were also determined by religion, largely due to which church controlled a particular graveyard. As most were owned by religious organisations, preference was given first to members of that church, with many graveyards, over time, appearing to be divided in two.

Little Women author Louisa May Alcott was not a fan of 'Irish incapables'

KNOWN AS a feminist and an abolitionist, it comes as a surprise to see what author Louisa May Alcott wrote about Irish women in a 1874 column about servant girls.



Source: [Library of Congress](#)

The piece, entitled the Servant-Girl Problem, includes a number of disparaging remarks about Irish people.

Writing in the Boston Transcript, Alcott advises readers to hire American-born women as servants so that they "never again have [their] substance wasted, [their] peace destroyed and their homes invaded by foreign incapables".



Louisa May Alcott

Earlier in the article, she referred to the "Irish incapables" who were employed in her house, telling the story of Biddy who she admitted was "unusually intelligent" but that the "faults of her race seemed unconquerable".

The article emerged this week as historian Liam Hogan set about trying to document the number of 'No Irish Need Apply' adverts which appeared in US newspapers. During his research of all the main newspaper databases, he found 268 such ads.

His work came after a controversy between a historian and a High School student in the US debating whether 'No Irish Need Apply' (NINA) ads and signs ever existed. Rebecca Fried (aged 14), unearthed hundreds of examples of NINA ads and published No Irish Need Deny: Evidence for the Historicity of NINA Restrictions in Advertisements and Signs" in the summer edition of the Oxford Journal of Social History.

She claimed her work disproved that of Professor Richard Jensen who claims that the "legend" of the NINA signs and ads fed into a "myth of victimisation" by Irish Americans. On seeing Fried's research, Jensen said most of the examples could be passed off as "misinterpretations" or "not relevant to the historical debate". He also said that the phenomenon, although present in some ads, was not as "ubiquitous" as other scholars believe.

According to Hogan, "NINA adverts were very rare overall and NINA signs were so rare in the US that they are almost mythical, but as far as I can see, no other immigrant group in the US was singled out as much as the Irish in this way, for this long." The last advert he found dated from 1919.

Search Hogan's full database of all NINA ads found [here](#).

Here is the Louisa May Alcott article in full:

"As one successful fact is worth columns of speculation, allow me to relate an experiment which I have lately tried with such happy results that other despairing 'mississes', have gone and done likewise. Last spring, it became my turn to keep house for a very mixed family of old and young, with very different tastes, tempers and pursuits. For several years Irish incapables have reigned in our kitchen, and general discomfort has pervaded the house. The girl then serving had been with us a year, and was an unusually intelligent person, but the faults of her race seemed to be unconquerable, and the winter had been a most trying one all around.

My first edict was, "Bidly must go." "You won't get any one else, mum, so early in the season," said Bidly, with much satisfaction at my approaching downfall. "Then I'll do the work myself, so you can pack up," was my undaunted reply. Bidly departed, sure of an early recall, and for a month I do the work myself, looking about meantime for help.

"No Irish need apply," was my answer to the half-dozen girls who, spite of Bidly's prophecy, did come to take the place. I tried a fat Scotch woman, but as she could not go down cellar, upset the gravity of the children when she waited at table and thought our abode "the countriest place she ever saw," she lumbered away after a short stay.

Another bout at general housework satisfied me that one person could easily do it if she was also not expected to entertain much company, and run errands, write several dozen letters a week and do the family sewing. "One other woman, to see to the food departments and leave me free after my morning work is done, is what I need. "Now where shall I find her?" was my decision.

Remembering a happy experience of other years, when we answered the advertisement of a housekeeper and got an excellent woman who did all the work for three dollars a week, I turned to the column of wants in the

Transcript and found five advertisements of American women wishing places as housekeepers.

I answered several, saw one young widow with a child, also a pert spinster whose first question was, "Is your father a widower?" and several stout ladies who wished merely to order other servants about, and were altogether too elegant for our simple family. Two remained that who seemed eligible, Miss Amelia C and Miss Annie S. Miss Amelia was too much dressed, and seemed rather afraid of work; so after a look at her I gave her up and went after Miss Annie.

I found a delicate little woman of thirty, perhaps, neat, modest, cheerful and ladylike. She made no promises, but said, "I'll come and try;" so I engaged her at three dollars a week, to take charge of the kitchen department. She came, and with her coming peace fell upon our perturbed family – a peace that lasted unbroken for four months, in spite of much company, dangerous illness in the house, and many unforeseen incidents.

My little Miss S was one of the family, for in the beginning I said to her: "I want someone to work with me as my sisters used to do. There is no mistress or maid about it, and the favor is as much on your side as mine. Work is a part of my religion and there is no degradation in it, so you are as much as lady to me, cooking my dinner in the kitchen, as any friend who sits in the parlor. Eat with us, talk with us, work with us; and when the daily tasks are done, rest with us, read our books, sit in our parlor, and enjoy all we can offer you in return for your faithful and intelligent services."

She smiled, and looked as if she caught a glimpse of hope and comfort after much weary seeking for a home as well as a place. I think she found that I kept my word, and was a happy little woman all summer. I know that a great load was lifted off my shoulders, when day after day I found three nicely-cooked meals ready at the appointed hour, my kitchen always neat, with no flies in uncovered milk, no dish towels under the stove, no silver in the sink, or the table looking as if set by a hurricane.

She did the marketing also, and the monthly bills showed a surprising difference for no spoiled messes went to the pigs, timely care kept things in order, and good judgement made economy a pleasant possibility.

When illness came, I had no thought for anything beyond the sick room; all went below as regularly as if I were still there. If friends called, my neat housekeeper could receive and reply to their inquiries. If I forgot to eat, she came to me with some tempting dish and begged me take it, with a look of sympathy that made it sweet; and when I asked how the family had got on, I found that all had fared well, and no sense of neglect or waste added to my anxieties.

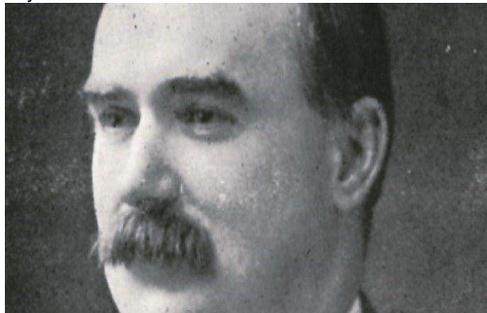
Only one failing did I discover in Miss S. (I always gave her name as she gave me mine, and returned the respect she paid me as scrupulously as I could.) She was not very strong, for much work had done for her what it does for most American women in her case, and by lessening her health had impaired her usefulness. Finding that the washing was too hard for her, I got a stout neighbour to come in and do it.

The good Irish woman sniffed at first at my "lady", as she called Miss S., but before the summer was over the kind soul gave in and said heartily: Sure Miss, dear, it's a nice little crater she is and mighty helpful to ye, lave alone her being a true lady. I'm wishing ye'll get another as good when she goes."

So did I, for alas, my little S did go, because she only came for the summer and preferred the city in winter. Her fame, however, had gone abroad and a friend, hearing her praises sung, came to secure her as a companion for her old mother. I could cordially recommend her to this easier place, for her experience as a teacher made her a good reader, her knowledge of needlework made her a good seamstress... (Continued on page 31)

1916 lives: Passionate words by James Connolly gave hope to many

James Connolly's legacy will continue to encourage until his vision of an equitable world is achieved, says **Lorcan Collins**



James Connolly was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 5 June, 1868.

His parents were Catholic Irish immigrants and, like many of their neighbours, they struggled through life in the slums of the Cowgate, known as Little Ireland. Connolly received a little education in a local school but by the age of 11 he was working as a printer's devil for the Edinburgh Evening News.

A little-known fact about him is that he joined the British Army when he was 14 by falsifying his age, and found himself stationed in Ireland. It was in Dublin that he chanced upon Lillie Reynolds, and, despite her Protestant upbringing, the two struck up a relationship and eventually married in Scotland after seven years in the British army.

Connolly's interest in socialism was stimulated by a freedom of speech campaign in Scotland which was addressed by John Leslie, with whom he struck up a lifelong friendship. He became very active with the Socialist League and a multitude of similar organisations over the years, which resulted in him being black-listed by employers.

Leslie made an appeal for work for Connolly in a socialist newspaper called Justice and it was the Dublin Socialist Club that answered the call and invited Connolly to come to Dublin as their paid organiser.

Connolly and his small family came to Dublin in May 1896, where he reformed the Dublin Socialists into the Irish Socialist Republican Party which one wry commentator in a newspaper described as having "more syllables than members". He struck up friendships with leading activists, including Maud Gonne and Alice Milligan, who published his articles in Shan Van Vocht.

In one such article, titled 'Nationalism and Socialism', published in 1897, he called for a republic that would be a "beacon-light to the oppressed of every land".

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you."

Queen Victoria's Jubilee Day, 22 June 1897, was marked by Connolly and Maud Gonne with protests on the streets of Dublin. Connolly dumped a symbolic coffin into the River Liffey and shouted "to hell with the British Empire", for which crime he spent the night in jail.

The ISRP decided to establish their own journal in 1898 called The Workers' Republic. Connolly was the writer, editor, printer, and seller, and whatever meagre income was generated by the paper it went some way to feeding his growing family.

In 1902, an invitation to undertake a lecture tour of the US on behalf of the American Socialist Labour Party, who reprinted a pamphlet of Connolly's writings, was gratefully accepted. The lecture tour lasted months and he travelled thousands of miles but when he returned to Dublin there was a terrible split in the IRSP.

It would appear that all the money Connolly had raised through selling subscriptions to The Workers' Republic had been wasted on alcohol by the members. Connolly, as a non-drinker, was understandably livid and resigned from the organisation and eventually decided to emigrate to the US.

He spent seven years in New York, where he eventually secured a decent standard of living for himself and his family. Various jobs included working in the Singer sewing factory, and, at one stage, he was an insurance agent.

In the US, he founded another journal, The Harp, and befriended the famous radical Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Connolly also became New York organiser for the Workers of the World (Wobblies), the revolutionary Union founded in Chicago in 1905. Connolly would have known such luminaries as 'Big' Bill Haywood, Mary Harris 'Mother' Jones, Eugene Debs, and Bill Trautmann.

However, much to the upset of his wife Lillie, he returned to Ireland in 1910 for a lecture tour but wrote to her from Dublin to tell her to pack up and come back home.

Connolly's Labour in Irish History was published in November 1910. Described as a "work of genius", it is perhaps one of Connolly's greatest literary contributions and is written in the style of the proletariat who knows his audience.

Jim Larkin, the ITGWU leader, eventually gave Connolly a job as an organiser in Belfast and the family set up home off the Falls Road. Connolly and Larkin were comrades but never friends.

They fought the bitter Lockout of 1913-14 and could claim equally to have been the founders of the Irish Citizen Army, but it was Connolly who turned that militia into a revolutionary army as opposed to a workers' defence force. Larkin would not have countenanced the use of the ICA as part of the Army of the Irish Republic during the Rising, but Connolly was willing to put aside any small differences of opinion and unite with the Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan in 1916.

Everyone knows that Connolly was shot in Kilmainham Gaol, too weak to stand from injuries he received during the fighting in the GPO.

His legacy lies in his writings, passionate words, words which he transformed into deeds and which gave hope to the aspirations of more than one generation and will continue to encourage until his vision of an equitable world is achieved.

Lorcan Collins is author of James Connolly in the 16 Lives series published by O'Brien Press



(above) Further to last month's cover article on the 'Irish Republic' flag, this copy photo was emailed to me & titled "The Irish Ambassador in London receiving the 'Irish Republic' flag in 1966." (Irish Press and thanks to J. O'Brien)



Frank O'Callaghan 2nd Batt Cork No. 1 Brigade Irish Revolution Army 1916-1923

(above) **Frank O'Callaghan from Minane Bridge, 2nd Battalion Cork No. 1 Brigade** shouldering a rifle, Frank was one of six brothers to take part in the War of Independence in Cork, he took part on the attack at Bandon Barracks.

Jeremiah O'Callaghan 1st Brigade and Republican Courts
 John O'Callaghan 1st Brigade
 William O'Callaghan 2nd Batt, Cork No.1 Brigade, Transport
 Luke O'Callaghan 2nd Batt, Cork No.1 Brigade, ASU
 Frank O'Callaghan 2nd Batt, Cork No.1 Brigade, local ASU
 Alex O'Callaghan 9th Batt,
 They also had two sisters who were active: Mary & Hannah O'Callaghan



Richmond Barracks finally recognised



Michael O'Hanrahan being escorted into his court-martial, Richmond Barracks, 3 May 1916. He was sentenced to death and executed next day.

It is rightly referred to as the "lost chapter" in the 1916 story.

Many people may not know of its existence, but in the narrative of the dramatic events of the Easter Rising in Dublin, Richmond Barracks, Inchicore played a significant role. Now, a century on, it is getting ready to take its place as one of the State's seven "permanent reminders" of 1916, alongside the likes of its near neighbour, Kilmainham Gaol, the GPO, and Patrick Pearse's cottage in Rosmuc, Co Galway.

Richmond Barracks is where more than 3,000 suspected rebels, including Rising leaders and 77 women, were imprisoned before they were sent for execution or to prison camps in England and Wales. The Richmond gymnasium was where Rising leaders were singled out and where the court martials were held before they were brought down the road to Kilmainham to be shot.

British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith visited Richmond Barracks in the middle of May 1916, following which there were no further executions.

The gymnasium is one of three barracks' buildings that remain and it and a former recreation room standing alongside it are being restored as part of the State's 1916 legacy project, in a partnership that also involves Dublin City Council and the local community. The third surviving building, also a former recreation room, standing on the other side of the gymnasium, is in use by the HSE.

Richmond Barracks is about more than 1916. Built in early to the mid-1800s, soldiers departed from here for conflicts including the Crimean War, the Boer War and First World War. One of its regiments was the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, a well-known member of which was the poet Francis Ledwidge, whose work includes Lament for Thomas McDonagh, in honour of his friend who was one of the executed 1916 leaders. Ledwidge's friend, mentor and fellow Meath man, Lord Dunsany was a captain in the Royal Inniskillings and it was to him that the poet gave the manuscript of Lament for Thomas McDonagh.

The barracks was converted to housing in the 1920s and renamed Keogh Square, which declined into a slum and was demolished in the 1960s to make way for St Michael's Estate, an equally notorious flats complex which was razed in recent years as part of a regeneration project, now boosted by the restoration of historic buildings. Éadaoin Ní Chléirigh, one of the tireless campaigners for its preservation, is now executive chair of the Richmond Barracks project. When the restored buildings open on May 2, the gymnasium will be home to an immersive audio-visual experience evoking the atmosphere in this space following the Rising and stories of some of those involved. Surrounded by gardens, the restored buildings will also house a tea room and archives, and classrooms from the 1929 school building will become a venue for community, educational and artistic purposes.

Mosquito Press

'The Mosquito Press' were small, limited circulation, short lived Republican journals published in Ireland in the years leading up to 1916. So called in the words of a journalist who worked on some of them, as they were "small, difficult to kill and had a sting that was remembered". (Gallagher 1927: 348). The early Republican journals were essentially political pamphlets rather than newspapers, but they provided a training ground for many journalists who were eventually to work in more mainstream publications. These journals such as 'the Eye Opener' below stirred some opposition to the war and included the *Irish Citizen*, which survived Francis Sheehy-Skeffington's death during the Rising to be edited by his widow and then Louie Bennett, and the *Workers' Republic*, which died with Connolly, there were Arthur Griffith's publications such as *Sinn Fein* and *Eire Ireland*; the IRB's *Irish Freedom*; Terence MacSwiney's *Fianna Fáil*; the Irish Volunteers' publications *Irish Volunteer* and *An t-Oglacht*; JJ O'Kelly's *Catholic Bulletin*; Michael O'Rahilly's *An Claidheamh Soluis*; Joe Stanley's *Gael* and many others. Most were closed in the press clampdown just before and after The Rising.



Still bearing the blue 'x' marks of a senior Dublin Castle official, a 'seditious' comic strip 'The Story of Faithful James' (parodying economic conscription) was marked for notice of the Chief Secretary.



This Newsletter is now going to 102 family & friends addresses monthly throughout Ireland, the UK, US & Australia.

Feel like writing an article or passing on comments?

Email: ruairi_lynch@hotmail.com



Family members & friends attending Easter 2016:

Daly, Daire
 Daly, Saoirse
 Daly, Ruairi
 Daly, Diarmuid
 Daly, Aja
 Daly, Cale
 Daly, Duibhne
 Duggan, Brid
 Lynch, Dolores
 Lynch, Mary
 Lynch, Ruairi
 Anglim, Helen
 Ryan-Lynch, Rebecca
 Ryan-Lynch, Cianna
 Ryan-Lynch, David
 Lynch, Cormac (US)
 Lynch, Gaye (US)
 Fitzgerald-Lynch, Amy (US)
 Lynch, Diarmuid
 Lynch, Christine
 Lynch, Robyn
 Lynch, Diarmuid
 Lynch, Hugh
 McGough, Eileen
 Collins, Mylie
 Murphy, Nora
 Murphy, Mark & Eilis
 Scott, Dolores, Paul & Family
 Winters Family
 Cohalan, Judge Peter Fox & Kremers,
 Eileen (US)
 O'Dwyer, Freddie & Emer

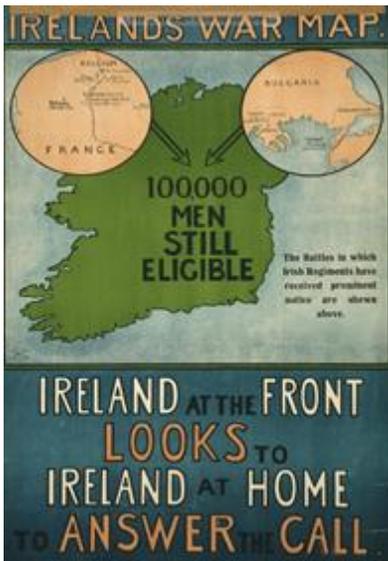
Many of us are staying at the Hilton Double Trees, Dublin 4 (former Burlington) so do come and join with family & friends.

You should all have received your invitations from the Department of An Taoiseach outlining plans for the 2016 Easter Sunday Commemoration at the GPO. For latest news and up to date information, check out the 'News' section of the website: www.diarmuidlynch.weebly.com

1916



Above: One of the many fundraising ventures commemorating Irish Revolutionaries executed in 1916. This from 1917 'The Brothers Kent Memorial Committee' based in 327 West 28th Street, New York City. Below: 1916 recruiting posters.



2016

Tuesday, March 1

Dublin Castle: Opening events of the State Commemorative program.

Thursday, March 3

National Museum, Collins Barracks Dublin: Opening of a major exhibition 'Proclaiming a Republic – The 1916 Rising'.

Tuesday, March 8

Richmond Barracks, Dublin: International Women's Day - Women in the 1916 Rising. Commemoration & Exhibition. Keynote address by President Michael D. Higgins.

Thursday, March 10

Glasnevin Cemetery Museum: Museum 1916 exhibition opens.

Tuesday, March 15

Proclamation Day – Flag Raising and reading of the Proclamation in all State educational establishments.

Easter Saturday, March 26

Wreath laying ceremonies at key sites to mark the Rising centenary.

Garden of Remembrance, Dublin: remembrance ceremony for all who died during 1916.

State Reception for relatives of the 1916 participants. Venue and times to be advised.

Easter Sunday, March 27

State ceremonies at the GPO, Dublin marking the centenary of the Rising.

State Reception for 3,000 guests invited by The Taoiseach.

Wreath laying ceremonies – nationwide

Easter Monday, March 28

Wreath laying ceremonies throughout the capital & state at 13:15hrs – marking the time the Rising began.

Official opening of the **Easter Rising Centenary Interpretative Visitor Centre** at the GPO.

Ireland 2016: Public Celebrations nationwide

Easter Tuesday, March 29

- **Liberty Hall Ceremony** to mark the contribution of the Irish Citizen Army and James Connolly.
- Official opening of the **Kilmainham Courthouse**
- Official opening of the **Tenement Museum, Dublin 1.**

April 2: **National Children's Day** & opening of an exhibition on children of 1916.

1916 Academic Conference – speakers from Third Level Institutions Island wide. Dublin. Venue to be advised.

April 3: **Journey of Reconciliation 1916-2016** interfaith service in Glasnevin cemetery

April 9: **Pearse Museum** – Presidential visit

Official opening of the **Military Archives**, Cathal Brugha Barracks, Rathmines, Dublin 6

April 10: **Commemoration event** Department of Foreign Affairs, Dublin. 18th Anniversary of the Belfast Agreement.

April 11: **Garda Museum** – opening of an exhibition on the DMP & the 1916 Rising.

April 12: **National Concert Hall** – opening of new facilities

April 21: **Banna Strand, Co. Kerry.** Wreath laying ceremony marking the centenary of Casement's landing.

April 24: **Arbour Hill** – Commemoration event

Fort Camden, Crosshaven. 14:00hrs: Lecture by Ruairi Lynch & Eileen McGough in Fort Camden, Crosshaven. 14:00hrs

April 26 Dublin: Opening of Military Archives including the Military services Pension Collection.

May 2: **Richmond Barracks.** Re-opening of the historic barracks on the same day as the Courts Martials began.

May 3-12 – **Stonebreakers Yard, Kilmainham Jail.** Ceremonies will take place to commemorate the 15 executions. Marked by Military Colour party, wreath laying and piper's lament.

May – **Grangegorman Military Cemetery.** Ceremony marking British soldiers killed during the Rising.

May – **Pearse Cottage, Rathfarnham.** Official re-opening of Pearse's Cottage.

August 3 – **Roger Casement Centenary** - commemorative events for Roger Casement marking the centenary of his death in Pentonville Prison, London.

December – **Conclusion of the 1916 Commemoration** year at Aras an Uachtaráin

More events are being added weekly. For full details, visit the Government 1916-2016 Commemoration website at ireland.ie



GPO Participants 1916

Based on the 1916 Honour Roll instigated by Diarmuid Lynch, this lists some 423 individuals whose claims were cross checked and referenced by multiple witnesses before being accepted as having fought in the building during the Rising.

Richards Bridie. Central Branch [Ard Craobh] Dublin IRA Brigade area, Cumann na mBan. Born in 1891 died on the 3rd of January 1970, aged about 25 years old during the Rising. Employed as a School teacher in Gardiner's Street Convent National School. Served in the Hibernian Bank, O'Connell Street and G.P.O. She joined Cumann na mBan in 1915, was mobilised on Easter Monday and instructed to go to the Priory in Dominik Street. The following day, she was sent to the Hibernian Bank before being sent to the GPO where she was mainly involved in cooking and attended the wounded. She joined Columcille Branch in 1917.

Robinson Seamus. Irish Volunteers. Part of a small garrison of 5 men who occupied the premises of Hopkins and Hopkins a silversmith on the corner of O'Connell Street and the Quays makers of the Sam Maguire Cup. Was a Senior Officer IV and IRA, Tipperary, 1917 - 1921. Joined the "Oscars" Hurling Club in Belfast in 1903, the "Oscars" was started by Bulmer Hopson in 1902. Informally joined the Irish Volunteers in Glasgow in 1913. Was a member of the Kimmage Garrison and came from Glasgow to Dublin in February 1916.

Rogers Sarah. (Sorcha Bhean Mhic Ruaidhri MacMahon). Member of the Executive, Ard-Craobh Branch, Dublin Area, Cumann na mBan. Born in 1888 aged about 28 years old during the Rising. Served in the General Post Office, Four Courts, King's Inns Quay and Father Matthew Hall, Church Street areas. She joined Cumann na mBan in 1914, was Honorary Secretary and Officer in charge, she resigned, and was a member of the Executive from 1914 to 1919. During Easter Week, she spent Monday to Thursday between the GPO, the Four Courts and the Father Matthew Hall, carrying messages. She also worked with Mrs Clarke, employed fulltime on the Volunteers Dependants' Fund. Around 1918 she was asked by Michael Collins to cut her connection with the Cumann na mBan Executive and do work for him, she continued this work until the Truce.

Rossiter Cathleen. (Cathleen Mallin). Dublin Brigade, Cumann na mBan. Born between 1889 and 1901 aged about 16 during the Rising. Prior to Easter Week 1916 she maintained an arms dump for the Irish Citizen Army and that during the week of 23 to 29 April 1916 she assisted with cooking and first aid preparations at Liberty Hall and carried despatches for her brother Michael Mallin. During the War of Independence she was a member of Cumann na mBan and stored arms for her brothers Bartle and John Mallin and gave first aid to Bartle after he was wounded during an attack on British forces at Dartry Road in June 1921. Subject took no part in the Civil War. She was refused a pension for her services.



Ryan Oliver. While studying at university in 1913 Ryan became a founder-member of the Irish Volunteers and was sworn into the Irish Republican Brotherhood the following year. During the Easter Rising in 1916 Ryan was the medical officer in the General Post Office (GPO). He was, along with James Connolly, one of the last people to leave the GPO when the evacuation took place. Following the surrender, Ryan was deported to Stafford Jail in England and subsequently at Frongoch. He was released in August 1916

Ryan Thomas. A printing compositor, employed by the Gaelic Press, who assisted in printing the Irish War News during the Rising. The Irish War News was printed at the premises of James O'Keeffe's Printing Plant in Halston Street.

Saurin Charles. "F" Company 2nd Battalion Dublin Brigade Irish Volunteers, aged 20 at the time of the Rising. Joined the Volunteers on the 30th of July 1914 aged 18. Paraded weekly in Father Matthew Park on Thursday night and Saturday afternoons in Andy Kettle's field on Puckstown Road, Donnycarney. At the time of the split the Company numbered about 140, 80 sided with the Redmondite National Volunteers.

He spent Holy Week prior to Easter Monday at 'Cluny' the home of Seamus Daly in Clontarf making hand-grenades and assembling homemade bayonets for the American Shotguns. On Easter Monday he mobilised at Father Matthew Park and while his Column made its way towards the City and the G.P.O. they encountered about 100 British Troops in the Newcomen Bridge area, shots were exchanged and his Column came under heavy machinegun fire. After this exchange of fire the Column proceeded to the G.P.O. arriving around 7pm.

On arriving at the G.P.O. the Column was immediately ordered to Richmond Road were, as part of a small party under the command of Lieutenant Joe Tallon of "C" Company he was stationed in McCabe's Public house, he remained at this position until late Tuesday night early Wednesday morning when the whole Column occupying the area were ordered to evacuate to the G.P.O. On arriving at the G.P.O. he received serious cuts to his right hand when attempting to gain entry and was also hit by a bullet in the right hand. After the surrender he was detained overnight at the Rotunda and then transferred to Richmond Barracks, he ended up in Frongoch Wales.

Scollan John Joseph Commandant Hibernian Rifles. Born in South Shields England he was 40 years old at the time of the rising and worked as a printing compositor. His mother was from County Fermanagh. He came from Derry to Dublin in 1911 after a meeting of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (A.O.H.) American Alliance in Dundalk where he was appointed National Director of the Hibernian Rifles. The Hibernian Rifles paraded as usual on Easter Sunday in North Frederick Street and although Scollan has seen the countermarching order from McNeill he felt something was up and ordered his men to parade again on Easter Monday. On Easter Monday Scollan with about 60 men paraded at the hall in Frederick Street and sometime soon after noon they received word that the Volunteers had taken the G.P.O. He addressed his men informing them that although he thought the fight was unofficial the Hibernian Rifles should play their part and join the Rising. Any man that did not wish to fight was free to go home, about 30 men remained and Scollan sent word to James Connolly at the G.P.O. that he was ready with assistance and was awaiting orders. Scollan received orders from Connolly about midnight on Easter Monday to proceed to the G.P.O.

On arriving at the G.P.O. the Hibernian Rifle men were ordered to barricade the upper windows, instructed by The O'Rahilly he did this. About 6am on the Tuesday he received orders to go to the Exchange Hotel, along with 18 of his own men and 9 Maynooth men they proceeded via the halfpenny bridge where the toll man demanded a halfpenny from each one, the toll man did not get his halfpenny. They arrived at the Exchange Hotel and occupying the roof of the fired on the British Troops occupying City Hall, these Troops had Volunteers pinned down in the offices of the Evening Mail. They came under heavy and sustained attack from units of the Irish Fusiliers and Enniskilling Fusiliers, these attacks were repelled inflicting heavy casualties on the British Troops. At 4.30pm they received orders to return to the G.P.O.

Scollan spent a relatively quiet Tuesday night in the G.P.O. On the Thursday morning he received orders from Connolly to go to Broadstone Railway Station to find out what conditions were like there. As he was going up the

steps of the station he was challenged and taken prisoner by a British Soldier, he was held overnight at Broadstone Station and the next day taken to Ship Street Barracks where he was held for 8 days, no bedding was supplied and food consisted of Bully Beef, hard biscuits and tea. He was then taken to Arbour Hill and from there to Richmond Barracks. After questioning at Richmond Barracks he was taken by Cattle Boat to England and detained in Wandsworth Prison. In July 1916 he was moved to Frongoch where he was held until the 30th of October when he was transferred to Reading Jail. He was released on Christmas Eve 1916, on release he returned to Dublin.

Scullin Francis, Injured by a bullet wound to the leg when with a group of 15 to 20 Volunteers they went to re-occupy the Hibernian Bank. Coming under heavy machine gun fire the group attempted to return to the G.P.O. during which Scullin was wounded.

Seely Patrick Joseph. (Sealy) "D" Company, 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1894-1895 died on the 27th of February 1972 aged about 21 or 22 years old during the Rising.

Sexton James, "C" Company, 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1893 died on the 5th of December 1984, aged about 23 years during the Rising. Fought in the G.P.O. and Moore Street areas. James Sexton was interned from November 1920 to December 1921 and during the Civil War acted as an IRA Company Intelligence Officer against the National Army forces in Dublin.

Sheridan James. "D" Company, 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1888 died on the 24th of June 1947, aged about 28 years old during the Rising. Fought in the Kimmage, General Post Office, O'Connell Street, and Moore Street areas. Following the Easter Rising Sheridan was interned until June 1916. He re-joined the Irish Volunteers in January 1917. During the War of Independence he was involved in a raid for arms at Mount Jerome and in January 1921 an attack on RIC at Terenure Road. During the Civil War he was involved in armed patrols, attacks on National Army forces at Terenure and at Rathfarnham Barracks. Was arrested and interned until August 1923.

Shields Arthur. Arthur Shields was part of a group of Volunteers involved with Fergus O'Kelly in setting up the Radio in the Wireless School and Reid's Shop. He was a well-known Abbey Actor, there is a plaque in the Abbey Theatre commemorating his part in the Rising.

Shortis Patrick, Kimmage Garrison., Killed in Action.

Simpson Matilda (Tilley). Fairview Branch, Cumann na mBan, Dublin. Born in 1895, aged about 21 years old during the Rising. Served in the G.P.O. and Jervis Street Hospital. During Easter Week, she was active in the 2nd Battalion area and was mainly helping by providing first aid to Volunteers. She then helped with the collecting of funds for the dependants of Volunteers and she took an active part in the anti-conscription campaign and general elections. She was active again between the 12th of July 1921 and the 30th of June 1922, at Barry's Hotel Great Denmark Street and Moran's Hotel Gardiner Street Lower.

Slater Birdie (nee Walsh), Cumann na mBan, Attached to 2nd Battalion, Attached to Dublin Brigade. Born in 1891 died on the 1st of January 1960, aged about 25 years old during the Rising. Served in Beresford Place and the G.P.O. was involved prior to the Rising in preparing first aid outfits and was mobilised on Sunday, remained in the GPO until the next Friday. She was involved with elections and anti-conscription work from 1917 to the end of March 1918 and assisted in the relief of men who were released from jail. She also kept arms and documents in her house and was engaged in intelligence work, kept dispatches and documents.

Smyth Lucy Agnes (Mrs. Tom Byrne). Section Leader, Ard Craobh Branch (Central Branch), Dublin Brigade, Cumann na mBan. Born in 1882 died on the 14 of November 1972, aged about 34 years old during the Rising. Served in the Hibernian Bank and G.P.O. She was part of the first aid detachment.

Staines Michael. Born in Newport County Mayo 1885 he was the son of an R.I.C. officer. Joined the I.R.B. in 1902 served as Quartermaster General during the Rising and interned in Frongoch after the Rising. Founder member of the New Ireland Assurance Collecting Society, in furtherance of the Sinn Féin policy of investment of national resources at home in Ireland (1918). He was also elected as a Sinn Féin MP for the Dublin St. Michan's constituency at the 1918 general election. He attended Dáil Éireann, working closely with the legal side of Government, as well as becoming a Dublin alderman. He was re-elected in 1921 and 1922 for the Dublin North-West constituency. He later served in the Free State Seanad. He was the first commissioner of the Garda Síochána, having to cope with a mutiny by recruits in May 1922. He died on the 26th of October 1955.

Stanley Joseph (Joe). A Dundalk business man he was owner of the Boyne Cinema and a newspaper called the Drogheda Argus now incorporated into Independent Newspapers. He was 26 years old when the Rising took place and was a prominent printer and publisher of newspapers and journals for the Republican cause. He arrived in the G.P.O. on Easter Monday soon after the reading of the Proclamation and met with Connolly and Pearse to discuss the best way to inform the World of the Irish Republic.

He became Press Agent for Pearse and published several War Missives. He was interned in Frongoch, he also held the sole licence for the Irish National Anthem 'Amhrán Na Bhfiann' having become a close friend of the author Peadar Kearney. He was married to Annie, (Abbey actress Eileen O'Doherty) and his 2 of his sons were named after executed 1916 leaders Colbert and Heuston Stanley and a third son was named Kevin after Kevin Barry. He died on the 2nd of June 1950 aged 60.

Steinmayer Charles Joseph. "A" Company, 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1896 died on the 14th of July 1965, aged about 20 years old during the Rising. Was employed as a Clerk at the time of the Rising. Fought in the G.P.O. and Moore Street areas. Was interned until December 1916. During the War of Independence Steinmayer was arrested and interned between November 1920 and December 1921. He joined the National Army (service number SDR3836) in September 1922 and served throughout the remainder of the Civil War. Charles Joseph Steinmayer resigned from the Defence Forces in January 1929.

Stephenson Patrick Joseph. "D" Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1895 died on the 6th of April 1960, aged about 21 years old at the time of the Rising. Fought in the Mendicity Institute, Usher's Island, General Post Office, O'Connell Street, Four Courts, King's Inns Quay, Church Street Bridge, Irish Independent Offices, Abbey Street, and Moore Street areas. Prior to the Easter Rising he was on duty to report British troop movements at the Royal Barracks. Following the Easter Rising he was interned until August 1916. In January 1917 he joined Fianna Éireann and was involved in reorganising and in June 1917 he was appointed Adjutant General, Fianna Éireann.

He was involved in clashes with RIC (Royal Irish Constabulary) and DMP (Dublin Metropolitan Police), raised for arms at Ellis Quay and carried information to Mountjoy Jail in connection with an escape in March 1919. He re-joined D Company after losing his position with Fianna Éireann. There was an unsuccessful raid for arms by British forces at his work place, Thomas Street Library in November 1920. He procured 30 revolvers from British forces. Took no further part after the Truce Period.

Stynes Mrs. Ellin nee Lambert (Nellie). First Aid Squad - Attached to GPO Garrison, Irish Citizen Army. Born in 1899 died on the 17th of November 1980, aged about 27 years old during the Rising. She served in the G.P.O., Royal College of Surgeons, Saint Stephen's Green, and Liberty Hall. She joined the ICA in 1913 as her father was also a member of the organisation. Her father, Tom Lambert fought with the Citizen Army in 1916 and died in 1919. Ellen Stynes followed her father and sister, Bridget Doran, nee Lambert, on Monday 24 April 1916 to Liberty Hall. She followed a group of ICA members to the GPO where she went back to on the Tuesday, until Friday 28 April. She carried dispatches for Pearse between the GPO and the College of Surgeons. She was also involved in cooking and attended the wounded. On Friday 28, she was arrested, taken into Broadstone station and was interrogated. She was released and given a pass. She spent the night with other girls in the Refuge on Henrietta Street. Following Easter Week events, she joined the Clan na Gael Girls Scouts in North Frederick Street and then, emigrated to Scotland. She returned to Ireland in 1919 and joined Cumann na mBan Dundrum branch and took part to routine activities until 1921.

Her house was always used as a safe place for the Volunteers to stay. Maurice Kenny a victim of an ambush at Classon's Bridge was taken to her house. During the Truce, she continued her activities in the branch and also took messages to the Volunteers at Cabinteely and Bray barracks. She was arrested in February 1923 at Brennan's home where she was delivering a message. She was interned and released from the North Dublin Union on 28 September 1923.

Supple Patrick. (Pádraig) Kimmage Garrison, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born in 1897 died on the 4th of August 1945, aged about 19 years old during the Rising. Fought in the G.P.O. On Friday the 28th of April 1916 he was wounded and brought to Jervis Street Hospital. Following the Easter Rising he was interned until December 1916. He joined the Liverpool Company in 1919 and was able to secure arms from a local priest that he transported arms to boats bound for Ireland. He took part in raids for passports, the burning of a farm at Chilwald. He was involved in the burning of the home of Kerr, a member of the British forces, in Harewood Street, Liverpool while he was garrisoned in Ireland.

In June 1921 he was appointed Battalion Quartermaster. During the Truce Period he transported arms from Glasgow to Liverpool. Took no part in the Civil War.

Tannam Liam. Captain "E" Company 3rd Battalion Dublin Brigade Irish Volunteers. Joined the Irish Volunteers in the Ancient Order of Hibernians Hall in Donnybrook Dublin in 1914 the week after the Howth gun-running. At the time he had an office in the same building as Eamon Ceannt and it was Ceannt who introduced him to the Volunteers. Eamon de Valera was Officer Commanding of the Company, at the time of the split in the Irish Volunteers the Company strength was about 130. At a meeting to determine which side members would take the split was about even. The first meeting held after the split in a field opposite Donnybrook Church only 25 mustered and this number dwindled to 7, de Valera and 7 men although de Valera continued to operate as if there was a full company ordering the 7 men to split into groups of 4. After meetings in a hall in Beaver Row and in Pearse's old school in Oakley Road the numbers had risen to 40.

Became a member on the I.R.B. Teeling Circle in July 1915 which met in the Typographical Society premises in Lower Grafton Street Dublin, sworn in by Ceannt Éamonn. During the Rising he played a very active part in the fighting, he was in charge of the section charged with defending the ground floor windows on the right as you look out of the middle door, reinforcing the window barricades and constructing a second barricade of coal along the post office counter, in charge of relief companies for those stationed at various barricades around the G.P.O. and acquiring food and bedding from the Metropole Hotel.

Thornton Francis Joseph (Frank AKA Frank Drennan). Fought in the Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, Westmoreland Street, Telephone Exchange, Crown Alley, Imperial Hotel, O'Connell Street areas. Born in 1891, aged about 25 during the Rising. Served with the Irish Volunteers, IRA and National Forces from 1 April 1916 to 30 September 1923 through the 1916 Easter Rising, War of Independence, Truce Period and Civil War. A member of the Liverpool, England, Irish Volunteers, fought during the Easter Rising under the name of Frank Drennan and under that name was sentence to 20 years penal servitude later reduced to 10 years by British Army Court Martial following the surrender. From 1917 to 1919 Thornton was mainly engaged in an organising capacity for the Irish Volunteers working throughout the country. He was arrested in Drogheda in October 1917 but released following a hunger strike, rearrested in Dundalk in February 1918 and was deported to Reading Jail in August 1918 having been arrested immediately on his release, as part of German plot arrests. He was released in early 1919. From 1919 onwards Thornton served on the IRA General Headquarters Intelligence Staff. He joined the National Army in February 1922 serving in General Headquarters Intelligence during the Civil War until appointed Command Intelligence Officer 2 Southern Division, National Army. It was while serving in this post that Thornton was seriously wounded in an ambush by IRA forces on 21 August 1922 at Meckler's Bridge outside Clonmel, County Tipperary. Frank Thornton is variously described as having resigned from the Defence Forces and as having been discharged, medically unfit on 26 and 29 March 1924.



This group of medals were awarded to Frank Thornton who served in Imperial Hotel during the Easter Rising. He also served with the IRA GHQ staff during the Irish War of Independence and served with the 26ú Cathlan during the Emergency period. The medals are mounted on a single pin bar and were privately named by Frank Thornton. The 1916 medal is engraved *Frank Thornton Cpt. Imperial Hotel Garrison*. The 1917-1921 Service Medal is engraved *Frank Thornton GHQ Staff IRA 1916-1921*

Thornton Hugh, Kimmage Garrison. Irish Volunteers, Liverpool Company, Kimmage Garrison. He was killed in action by the IRA while serving with the National Army during the Civil War on 27 August 1922 in Clonakilty, County Cork. Along with his brothers Frank and Patrick and sister Nora he travelled to Dublin from Liverpool, England to participate in the 1916 Easter Rising. Hugh Thornton resisted attempts by British Military Authorities to conscript him while he was interned at Frongoch, served as Vice Commandant of the West Cork Brigade of the Irish Volunteers in 1919 and later as Battalion Intelligence Officer, 2 Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA during the War of Independence.

Toomey Stasia (Mrs. S. Byrne). Fairview Branch Attached to 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Cumann na mBan. Born in 1891 died on the 8th of April 1966, aged about 25 years old during the Rising. After her activities during Easter Week, mostly first aid and making cartridges, she was appointed Secretary of the Fairview Branch and was also active on the working of the National Aid and Dependents Fund. She resigned from her position of Secretary in 1919 but remained involved in all Cumann na mBan activities up to the Truce. Her house, then 88 Phibsboro Road, was used to assist men on the run, to hide arms and ammunition. Dan Breen was also brought there following the Ashtown ambush. At that time she also worked for Hugh Thornton Intelligence Officer, 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, mainly carrying despatches.

Trimble Joseph. Died in 1956, imprisoned in Richmond Barracks and Lewes Prison UK after the Rising. Fought in the War of Independence and was part of the Four Courts Garrison in the Civil War.

Tully George. Irish Citizen Army. Born 1899 died on the 14th of February 1985, aged about 17 years old during the Rising. Carried despatches between Jacobs Biscuit Factory, Imperial Hotel and G.P.O. He was arrested on the Wednesday of the Rising taken to the Custom House then to Richmond Barracks then transferred to Wakefield and interned for six weeks. He re-joined the Irish Volunteers upon reorganisation and took part in an armed guard at St Enda's, Peter's Place and the Mansion House. He fired a number of shots at members of the R.I.C. during the attempted arrest of Captain O'Shea of the Irish Citizen Army. During the War of Independence he took part in raids for Belfast goods. He assisted in circulating copies of an t-Oglach and he organised a Company of the Irish Citizen Army in Gort, County Galway. During the Truce Period (12 July 1921 - 30 June 1922) he attended training camps. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was sent to Barry's Hotel and Hammam Hotel and was involved in the attempted blowing up of a bridge at Raheny.

Turner Cormac. Part of a small garrison of 5 men who occupied the premises of Hopkins and Hopkins a silversmith on the corner of O'Connell Street and the Quays makers of the Sam Maguire Cup.

Turner Francis. "G" Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born 10th of June 1898 died 23rd of March 1953, aged about 17 at the time of the Rising. Fought in the G.P.O. He sustained a head wound while in the General Post Office and was attended by a British Army medical officer who was been held prisoner. Following the Easter Rising he was interned until September or October 1916. He spent time in England seeking employment before returning to Dublin. Turner enlisted in the National Forces on 29 July 1922 and was discharged from the Defence Forces on 21 February 1924 from Beggars Bush Barracks at the rank of private. His father Joseph Turner senior also fought in the Rising.

Turner Joseph (senior). Section Commander, "G" Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born 1861 died 1st of October 1945, aged about 57 years old at the time of the Rising, joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913. Took part in the fighting in the General Post Office, O'Connell Street, Mary Street, Liffey Street, Metropole Hotel, O'Connell Street, Office of The Freeman's Journal, North Princes Street, and the Coliseum Variety Theatre, O'Connell Street. No records of involvement in the War of Independence apart from taking part in the Armagh Election Campaign in which he claims he was armed (under orders).

Twamley John Joseph. Lieutenant, "A" Company, 1st Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers. Born on the 2nd of October 1889 died on the 21st of May 1965, aged about 26 years old during the Rising. He was employed as a telephone linesman stationed at Bray County Wicklow. He was in Liberty Hall on Easter Monday

morning and was told by James Connolly to put into action plans to sever communications. After cutting overhead and underground lines he felled poles along the railway line in order to disrupt the trains. He returned to the G.P.O. where he was involved in the fighting throughout the week. On the Tuesday of the Rising he was in charge of a party of Volunteers which built barricades across the road at Wynn's Hotel and was also involved in the retreat to Moore Lane. He was interned in Stafford Jail until December 1916. He was involved in the War of Independence.

Walker Charles. Printer of Irish War News during the Rising. Under the instructions of James Connolly the premises of James O'Keeffe's Printing Plant in Halston Street was taken over. Mr. Stanley checked and read the proofs, Matthew J Walker (Charles Walker's father) Thomas Ryan and James O'Sullivan set up the type and Charles Walker did the printing. Mr. Stanley delivered the printed papers to the G.P.O. and also collected the items to be printed. All four men continued their printing duties until the surrender on the Sunday.



Walker Matthew J. Assisted his son Charles Walker in printing The Irish War News.

Walpole Robert Henry. He was 21 years old at the time of the Rising and was born in Dublin. He is recorded on the 1911 census as speaking Irish and English. On Easter Monday, soon after the G.P.O. was occupied Walpole was given the task of putting up the Irish Republic flag on the roof of the building. He was given the instruction by James Connolly who handed him the flag wrapped in a parcel. With Sean Hegarty he went to the Princes Street end of the G.P.O., they both hoisted the flag which flew all week. The flag was made of Green Poplin with *Irish Republic* in white and orange letters and had a gold border. The flag was made in Fry's Poplin Factory, Cork Street, Dublin and the words *Irish Republic* painted on to it by Theobald Fitzgerald in the home of Countess Markievicz Surrey House, Leinster Road, Rathmines. The flag was captured by the Royal Irish Regiment and hung upside down in their mess hall for many years. The flag was returned to Ireland in 1966 and is now in the National Museum.

Walsh Christopher. Private, Hibernian Rifles. Born on the 13th of June 1895 died on the 22nd of November 1947, aged 20 years old at the time of the Rising. Fought in the G.P.O., Dublin Castle and Parliament Street. He was not arrested or detained after the Rising. He remained with the Hibernian Rifles until 1918 then joined G Company, IRA serving throughout the War of Independence. He joined the National Army at Beggars Bush on the 26th of May 1922 and was discharged time expired on the 9th of October 1923 army service number 8465.

Walsh Edward, Killed in Action.

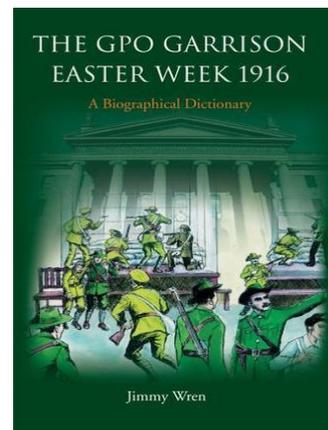
Weaver Thomas, Killed in Action.

Wisely Esther. (Mrs. O'Moore, Wiseley). Attached to 2 Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Cumann na mBan. Born in 1890 died the 26th of February 1963, aged about 26 years old during the Rising, her husband Sean O'Moore fought at the Four Courts.



Wren James. Not a member of any organization. Born in 1898 died on the 30 of December 1953, aged about 18 years old at the time of the Rising. James Wren was not a member of the any organisation prior to the Easter Rising but volunteered on Monday 24 April 1916 following the takeover of the G.P.O. However due to ill health he only served for one day. During the War of Independence he assisted in the transportation of arms.

This completes the series of articles on the GPO participants during Easter 1916. For full details of all who fought in the GPO, Jimmy Wren's book (below) is an excellent resource.



12 very Irish tweets about RTÉ TV's series Rebellion

REBELLION recently wrapped up on RTÉ



The five-part series dramatising the 1916 Rising got a mixed reaction from viewers....

Saoirse Eireann @tombarry1921
 The kids with the lego did a better job than RTÉ #Rebellion
 5:57 PM - 31 Jan 2016

Colm Tobin @colmtobin
 To think men & women gave their lives so the Irish could sit around moaning about a TV show with their imaginary friends online. #rebellion
 5:17 PM - 24 Jan 2016



Shane Hegarty @shanehegarty
 "Maybe I can shoot this bloody logo off the screen..." #Rebellion
 4:53 PM - 31 Jan 2016

Lisa Ryan @ItsRyanTime
 Lizzie is getting great wear out of that wedding dress #Rebellion
 4:44 PM - 31 Jan 2016

Aidan @aidanmadden
 #Rebellion Mother of God. Is this the Easter Rising or the Easter Riding?
 4:44 PM - 10 Jan 2016

Zod @Zoddub
 there was never this much riding pre- Gay Byrne #Rebellion
 4:40 PM - 10 Jan 2016

Amy @AmyMolloy9
 Catching up on #Rebellion and I don't understand how some characters are in the pubs or at home having dinner during said rebellion...?!
 7:28 PM - 20 Jan 2016



James Dempsey @James_Proclams
 The cast of English characters on #Rebellion are so silly evil they might as well be twisting their moustaches.
 #RTÉOneDimensional
 2:43 PM - 18 Jan 2016



TheJournal.ie @thejournal_ie
 What the f*** is up with the swearing in RTÉ's new 1916 drama?
 bit.ly/1QM0ZjH #rebellion
 4:00 AM - 4 Jan 2016

Television: Neeson's right about this high-class history lesson on 1916



Hollywood glamour: Neeson narrates the latest Rising offering on our TV screens.

It's only mid-February and already some of us are suffering from Easter Rising fatigue, though if we must have more commemorative programmes let them be in the manner of 1916 (RTÉ1) rather than that of the same channel's risible drama Rebellion.

A three-part factual series, 1916 has arrived with great fanfare, not least from its narrator Liam Neeson, who assured the Marian Finucane's radio show last weekend that it was an extraordinary achievement - indeed, one of the finest documentaries he'd ever seen and one with which he was proud to be associated. And certainly, this week's first instalment was very fine.

The brainchild of Briona Nic Dhiarmada, an Irish language and literature academic at Notre Dame university, and co-scripted by herself and director Ruan Magan, this opening episode was a high-class history lesson which set out with exemplary clarity more than 700 years of Ireland's sad story as the most distressful country the world has ever seen.

With an obvious eye to the international market (it's already been bought by PBS for screening throughout America), it presumed no foreknowledge on the viewer's part, though Neeson's voiceover left you in no doubt as to who were the perennial victims and who the aggressors - even if, against the "might of the empire", the "poorly-armed rebels" of 1916 would nonetheless "inspire freedom movements around the world".

The narrative, though, was mainly level-headed and I was reminded of Sean O Mordha's superb Seven Ages series in the deft use that was made here of various historians and of strikingly used and often unfamiliar archive footage to further the action.

The film was full of arresting observations and insights: Catriona Crowe evoking a declined late 19th century and early 20th century Dublin as the "biggest slum in Europe"; Roy Foster alluding to Russia when deeming Countess Markievicz to be among the "repentant gentry"; and Thomas Bartlett noting that "never a day passed" when John Devoy of the Irish Republican Brotherhood "wasn't contriving the destruction of the British empire".

But it was the film's command of narrative sweep that was most impressive, offering, if not quite a dummy's guide to Irish history, something that nonetheless was instantly accessible to the uninitiated.

The next two instalments, covering both the Rising itself and its aftermath, will necessarily be more detailed and specific. But if they're as good as the first episode, the Coco-produced series (backed by US funding) will indeed have been memorable.

(Continued from page 23)

and the thrifty household virtues of an intelligent New England woman made her a comfort in any home she might enter.

Before she left, however, half a dozen of my neighbors, who, by the way, had foretold the utter failure of my experiment, came to see, talk with and try to tempt Miss S to come and do for them what she had done for me. But she preferred the city and went, taking with her the respect, gratitude and regard of the whole family.

Cheered by my first success, I tried again, and found no lack of excellent American women longing for a home and eager to except the rights, not privileges, which I offered them. Every one whose advertisement I answered replied to me, and one person came to see me, so anxious was she to secure a place where she could be "treated like a lady, though she did work for her daily bread;" but a young daughter must be with her; and though I longed to take in the homeless souls, we needed but one, for I could not give up the work that is my best medicine for both mind and body.

So I took Miss J., a pretty, soft-eyed woman, whose modest dress and gentle manner won me at once. She was a farmer's daughter seeking to support herself, and had lived seven years in one place as housekeeper for a clergyman, and for two years had the entire charge of a motherless little boy.

All these experiences had given her power and skill of different sorts and the refinement of feeling which is so grateful in those we live with. She, too, had worked hard and overtaxed her strength; but was ready to do anything in return for kindness, respect and the protection of a home. We liked her even better than our S., and the prospect of a lonely winter was made endurable to me by the presence of one who could be both helper and companion. She did the cooking, washing and ironing, though I preferred to help with the latter, as it was better gymnastics for an arm, cramped with too much pen-work, than any movement cure ever invented.

As I found her stronger than Miss S and able to do much that I never felt willing to ask of the other, I gave her four dollars a week and felt that it was money well spent.

Unfortunately, a sudden change of plan made it necessary to shut up the house for the winter and disband our forces. I had feared that Miss J would find it too solitary, and was both touched and pleased when she said with real regret: Oh no, I'd give anything to stay with you till spring or longer. It is the sort of place I wanted and never hoped to find.

I made known the case to a friend and in a week five townswomen came to inquire about my housekeeper for this second success converted several of the most unbelieving matrons. A place was soon found, and when I said goodbye to my friend as well as helper she paid me the best compliment I ever received: "I thought, perhaps, you wrote one way about work and tried another; but you don't; and if ever you want me I'll come again with all my heart."

Now this experiment is worth telling, because it has been successfully tried with three different women; and there are plenty more ready to do their best in families where they can be properly treated. Some ladies may object to having a stranger at the table, yet it is better to have a lady there than an ear at the keyhole and an Irish tongue to gossip of family affairs to the neighbours' girls.

Some would thinking that this helper would be in the way if she sat in the parlor, but a well-bred woman knows by instinct when to go and when to stay. Miss S. gently vanished when visitors came in, or if some duty kept her there I introduced her, and so prevented any

sense of exclusion which is so hard to a social or sensitive woman.

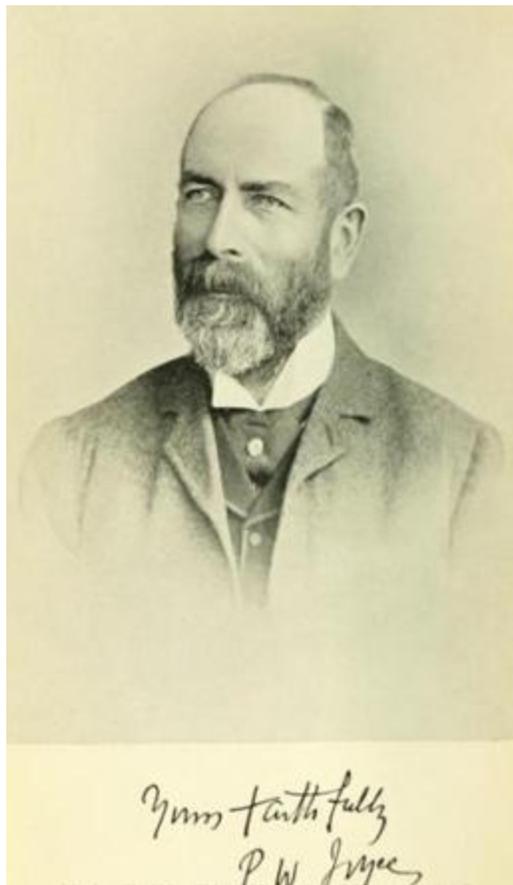
Miss J always sat in the dining room, which in the evening was lighted; the folding doors left open and the music or chat of the parlor free to her as to us. It was pleasant to me to see the neat, pretty woman sitting there, enjoying the books, brightening at a friendly word, ready to lend a hand wherever needed, and so happy in the atmosphere of freedom which made labor light and life less sad and solitary for her.

In a large and fashionable family this may not be possible, and I leave such to their own slendors and worries. But in that great class of families where small incomes make economy necessary, help of this sort is most needed and may easily be found if the heads of the family are willing to pay for it in something besides money.

These women long for homes, are well fitted for these cares, love children, are glad to help busy mothers and lighten domestic burdens, if, with their small wages, they receive respect, sympathy and the kindness that is genuine, not patronising or forced. Let them feel that they confer a favor in living with you, that you are equals, and that the fact of a few dollars a week does not build up a wall between two women who needed each other.

Dear ladies, don't say this is sentimental or impossible, but try it in all good faith, and take the word of one who has known both sides of the mistress and maid question, that if you do your part faithfully you need never again have your substance wasted, your peace destroyed and your home invaded by foreign incapables

Patrick Weston Joyce (1827 – 7 January 1914) was an Irish historian, writer and music collector, known particularly for his research in local place names of Ireland.



Joyce was born in Ballyorgan in the Ballyhoura Mountains, on the borders of counties Limerick and Cork in Ireland, and grew up in nearby Glenosheen. Joyce was a native Irish speaker who started his education at a hedge school. He then attended school in Mitchelstown, County Cork.

Joyce started work in 1845 with the Commission of National Education. He became a teacher and principal of the Model School, Clonmel. In 1856 he was one of fifteen teachers selected to re-organise the national school system in Ireland. Meanwhile he earned his B.A. in 1861 and M.A. in 1863 from Trinity College, Dublin.

He was appointed principal of the Training College, Marlborough Street, in Dublin from 1874 to 1893. As a member of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language he wrote an Irish Grammar in 1878. He was President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland from 1906 to 1908, an association of which he was a member from 1865.

Joyce was a key cultural figure of his time. His wide interests included the Irish language, Hiberno-English, music, education, Irish literature and folklore, Irish history and antiquities, place-names and much else. He produced many works on the history and culture of Ireland. His most enduring work is the pioneering *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (first edition published in 1869)

From this series, Volume 2 (of 3), the following was found that may be of interest to some members of the family:

"...Gravel. Grean [gran] is often used to signify land in general ; but it is more usually restricted to mean gravel, and occasionally the gravelly bed of a stream. This word sometimes gets confounded in anglicised names with grian, the sun, and with gran, grain ; but when the Irish pronunciation can be heard it is always sufficient to distinguish them ; for grean is sounded short [gran], and the other two long [green, graan].

From this word a considerable number of names are derived. There is a stream flowing into the Mague, near Adare in Limerick, called the Greanagh, which is the adjective form with the postfix ach (p. 3), signifying gravelly stream ; and some townlands in Galway and Derry are called Grannagh and Granagh gravelly place. With the oblique inflexion this same word gives name to Granny, which occurs in each of the three counties, Kilkenny, Derry, and Roscomon and this name is modified to Granig, near Tracton, south of Cork harbour, in accordance with the custom of pronouncing th > final g prevalent in Cork and Kerry. The diminutive Granaghan (on the adjective form greanach] is the name of many other townlands and has the same meaning as the preceding.

The English gravel is sometimes transferred into the Irish; it is spelled gairbheal pronounced gravale and has given name to Gravale, a high mountain near Sailygap in Wicklow. "

Local politics in Cork to the fore at start of 1916

by John O'Donovan

Politics at the start of 1916 in Cork City and county was overshadowed by events in Europe and the Middle East.



Though the population was going through hardship brought on by food and fuel rationing, there were still enough diversions provided by conflicting factions of Irish nationalism.

In the decade preceding 1916, Cork had been a central battleground in a struggle which had split the organisation of the predominant Irish nationalist party, the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP).

The IPP, which was made up of all Irish nationalist MPs at Westminster, had reunited in 1900 after the damaging split of 1891. John Redmond was the IPP chairman, and in June 1900 he was elected chairperson of the popular political organisation, the United Irish League (UIL), thus in effect amalgamating the two organisations.

The IPP drew on the UIL for support and organisation (and funding through annual collections); the UIL in turn selected candidates to fight elections for the IPP.

William O'Brien, the Mallow-born journalist and agitator, had founded the UIL in 1898 at Westport, Co Mayo, with the intention of subsuming the Irish nationalist factions under the UIL banner. In this he was partially successful, but his febrile imagination and temperament did not care for the strictures placed upon him by the IPP's conservative Catholic nationalist outlook.

In 1902, O'Brien took a leading role in a conference aimed at settling the land ownership question, which consisted of representatives of nationalism and unionism.

The success of this conference, embodied for the most part in the Wyndham Land Act of 1903, convinced him that other conferences on matters of common concern between nationalism and unionism would smooth a path to self-government, or Home Rule, for Ireland.

Not all shared O'Brien's vision, and when he attempted to champion the cause of so-called "conciliation" within IPP-UIL circles, he was met with strong opposition from people such as Michael Davitt and John Dillon.

O'Brien resigned from the IPP and UIL in November 1903, setting off a chain of events that led to violent scenes in the Mansion House in Dublin in February 1909, when O'Brien and his supporters (mostly from Cork) were assaulted by members of the Board of Erin faction of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a deeply Catholic tribal organisation likened by its detractors to the Orange Order.

O'Brien and his supporters founded the All-for-Ireland League (AFIL) in Cork in March 1910, and the following five years saw a battle between the AFIL and the alliance between the UIL and the AOH in Cork, which was frequently violent. The antipathy between the two factions was graphically displayed in the pages of their respective papers: O'Brien's Cork Free Press, and the Crosbies' Cork Examiner, which had had a tempestuous relationship with O'Brien for years.

By 1914, however, the UIL-AOH had gained the upper hand in local and municipal elections, and the AFIL's support base was on the wane; the invective was not, however.

Unionism within the city and county was also on the wane. Elizabeth Bowen of Bowen's Court near Kildorrery vividly portrayed the society which had regressed from political prominence in the late 19th century.

Nevertheless, the unionist community still wielded economic power through control of many of the leading companies in the city, and (in spite of the speed of land purchase) a chunk of landed estates in the county. In the turbulent atmosphere after 1910, the unionists supported O'Brien, not through any belief in the potential success of his sorties, but for the nuisance value he provided.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 provided some of the unionist community with a chance to reassert power and influence through command of local army regiments. Indeed the Irish Volunteers, founded in November 1913, had some unionist involvement at a command and training level.

Politics and culture were intertwined to a huge degree. As well as the AFIL, which ran a club on Emmet Place providing lectures and talks on a frequent basis, the Gaelic League rooms in An Dún was another focal point for language classes, dances, and assorted entertainments. For men such as Terence MacSwiney and the O'Hegarty brothers from Carrignavar, the Gaelic League provided the only outlet for the expression of their ideas about Irish nationality and culture. The League also organised trips to the Irish-speaking centres of Ballyvourney and Ballingearry, which provided opportunities for socialising as well as for debate.

Lively debate on topics concerning national identity, culture, literature, and of course the shoneen politics of the period was to be found in the pages of many small newspapers — called the "mosquito press". One such prominent publication, which carried frequent articles from the well-known Cork coroner and politician John J Horgan, was *The Leader* edited by Waterford-born DP Moran.

A branch of Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin movement also existed in Cork for a time — though this bore little or no relation to the movement which would come to prominence in the period following the Easter Rising.

Labour politics in Cork were in a state of rebuilding after the traumatic experience of the 1909 strike. Men such as coal merchant Abraham Sutton and his colleagues had succeeded in breaking the strike organised by Jim Larkin in a foreshadowing of the scenes in Dublin four years later. By 1913 and the Dublin Lockout, support for Larkin and his organisations in Cork had waned. The chief labour organisation in the city, the Cork United Trades and Labour Council (CUTLC), had split along the lines of the O'Brien-versus-the-IPP-split, thus weakening the response to the scenes in Dublin.

Nevertheless, there was a tendency among the pro-IPP newspapers in the city and county to associate all their rivals in one grouping; the Skibbereen-based *Southern Star*, for instance, derided the work of "Mr William O'Brien and his Larkinite and Sinn Féin colleagues".

Continuity rather than change, then, marked the opening of 1916 in Cork City and county. By this stage, attention was beginning to shift away from the map of Europe and back towards Ireland and how best to secure self-government in the event of the war ending quickly.

This was no different in Cork. Trust and confidence in the IPP and its organisations to deliver, while derided by a vocal minority, was still high.

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Sean Heuston: Dogged defence of the Mendicity Institution lead to execution

writes Richard McElligott



Seán Heuston led 25 men down Sackville Street on Easter Monday 1916, and then on to the Mendicity Institution on the south quays, where they held out for two days.

Seán Heuston was born in Dublin and following school, he became an office clerk with the Great Southern and Western Railway Company. At 19, he joined Na Fianna Éireann, the Republican Boy Scout movement founded by the IRB member Bulmer Hobson and Constance Markievicz. Like many, Heuston found it a radicalising experience.

After attaining the rank of vice commandant of Na Fianna's Dublin Brigade in 1913, Heuston was also appointed Director of Training on its headquarters staff. This position led to him becoming a founding member of the Irish Volunteers. Leading members of Na Fianna were soon picked to fill vital positions within the new movement. In the years before the Rising, Heuston continued to drill Fianna members, often on the grounds of Patrick Pearse's school, St Enda's. In July 1914, he commanded the Fianna contingent that unloaded the rifles during the Howth gunrunning.

By 1916 Heuston had been appointed captain in the Irish Volunteers' Dublin Brigade, taking command of D Company in Edward Daly's 1st Batt. On Easter Monday, the battalion was ordered to take up positions around the Four Courts. However Heuston's small company of 25 men did not mobilise with the rest of Daly's main force. Instead they assembled near Mountjoy Square and marched down O'Connell Street. There after a brief conference with James Connolly, the appointed commander of rebel forces, Heuston's company was ordered to cross the Liffey to take over the Mendicity Institution, a poorhouse located on Usher's Island on the south quays.

This was a vital position for disrupting British reinforcements coming from the Royal Barracks or via Kingsbridge Station (renamed in Heuston's honour in 1966) into the city centre. The decision to station Daly's main force in the Four Courts instead of the Mendicity Institution was a major tactical blunder by the Rising's planners. For the next two days Heuston's men doggedly defended the position as hundreds of British troops encircled his increasingly-exposed outpost. Desperately short of food, rest and ammunition, hopelessly outnumbered and expecting the position to be overrun at any moment, Heuston ordered his men to surrender around noon on Wednesday. After spending the rest of the week incarcerated at Arbour Hill detention barracks, Heuston was tried by court-martial on 4 May. He was sentenced to death for falling into the second category of rebels defined by the British authorities as meriting execution: 'Those who commanded rebels actually shooting down soldiers, police and others'. Though actually only a minor officer, the trial was most likely swayed in its decision by the number of casualties his outpost had managed to inflict.

Despite this, Heuston made an audacious effort to escape this sentence by strongly challenging the inaccurate evidence put forward against him. It was to no avail.

European war's temporary freeze on trouble in Ireland

A revisionist view of the 1916 Rising in the South during the Troubles has given way to a more even tempered position, but will this remain? **Gabriel Doherty** investigates.



At its most intense, the crisis created by the introduction into the House of Commons at Westminster on 11 April 1912 of a new (the third) Home Rule Bill for Ireland was one of the most serious experienced by the British body politic for decades.

And the sense of crisis evident over the following two-and-a-half years was exacerbated by the fact that the same system was simultaneously trying to cope with the long-running - and increasingly bitter - debate over female suffrage, and the challenge presented by the growth of industrial and political labour.

Yet until the recent centenary commemoration of the confrontation over Irish home rule, it had virtually disappeared from the popular memory in both UK and Ireland - in marked contrast (in Ireland at least) to the salience that the Easter Rising has long possessed in the same popular memory.

This is unfortunate, for the points of contact between the two episodes were marked, even if it cannot be said that the divisions over home rule prefigured those engendered by the declaration of the Republic on the steps of the GPO on Easter Monday 1916.

The most obvious point of similarity was the shared contempt of Irish republicans, Ulster unionists and British Conservatives for the constitutional arrangements prevailing between 1912 and 1914, as expressed in their common, if differentiated, repudiation of the deliberations at Westminster.

This contempt had long been a defining feature of the Irish republican separatist tradition, but the actions of both the unionists and Conservatives (the two groups were effectively to fuse in 1912) were in marked contrast to their treasured self-image as the best (indeed, sole) defenders of that British constitutional tradition.

The principal rationale provided by them for such a discrepancy was that the incumbent Liberal government had itself acted unconstitutionally in various ways, most obviously by removing the veto power enjoyed by the (unionist-dominated) House of Lords in 1911.

This was, of course, not the first time that the British constitutional order faced the threat of a violent overthrow by those who presented themselves as its most sincere defenders, the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of the late 17th century being the classic example.

But the government of Herbert Asquith consistently seems to have under-estimated the danger emanating from the unionist constituency, just as its successor underestimated the seriousness of the threat coming from Irish republicans a few short years later.



July 21, 1914: Irish nationalist politician John Dillon (1851-1927) and John Edward Redmond leaving Buckingham Palace in London after the Home Rule for Ireland Conference. Picture: Topical Press Agency/Getty Images

Thus both Ulster unionists between 1912 and 1914 and Irish republicans in 1915-1916 made plans to secede (either temporarily or permanently) from the United Kingdom, and create provisional governments under their control. They drew up public statements of first principles (the Covenant in the case of the former and the Proclamation for the latter); formed militias that quickly acquired tens of thousands of members - the Ulster Volunteers and the Irish Volunteers; and sought to arm these militias by a variety of means, including gun-running expeditions from the European continent. For these latter ventures, a range of official and unofficial contacts were established by both groups with the German government, who (for their own entirely self-serving reasons) played the role of 'gallant ally' to Irish republicans and unionists alike.

If anything, at this crucial juncture (on the eve of the Great War) the authorities in Berlin, with good reason, saw greater possibilities in the potential of the unionist bloc, with its friends in the highest of places, to nurture debilitating weakness within the political and military structures of the United Kingdom. (For its part, that unionist hierarchy had historically identified with the royal houses of Hanover and Saxe-Coburg, which provided Britain with its monarchs for 200 years prior to the creation of the House of Windsor in 1917).

Further, there is compelling evidence to think that one of the factors taken into account by the German government in its decision to go to war in the Autumn of 1914 was its belief that the threat to British interests arising out of the Irish imbroglio was so great that London would not, could not, dare to move its troops (either those stationed in Ireland, or in Britain itself) to any European theatre; or at least not before the Imperial German Army had had the opportunity to put into effect its plan to knock France out of the war at its very outset with a lightning blow.

Paradoxically, it was precisely the very seriousness of the Irish situation in August 1914 that allowed it to be resolved, or rather shelved, so quickly, as all the involved parties appreciated the benefits of playing the 'patriotic' card at a time of genuine national and international crisis.

In the short run, the Irish party seemed to have gained the greater benefit from the new situation created by the outbreak of general war, by virtue of the passage onto the statute book of the Home Rule Bill in September 1914. The beneficial effects of this action were, however, immediately undermined by the Act's immediate suspension (and the accompanying declaration that further deliberations would take place on the Ulster question), and, over the longer term, by the shockingly high number of casualties - and non-existent military gains - produced by the fighting on the Western Front, and subsequently Gallipoli.

As a consequence of its active support for such operations, the Irish party experienced a rapid fall in its public support, to the point that even prior to Easter 1916, it was all but moribund, and ripe for displacement by the up-and-coming republican tide.



April 11, 1912: Irish politician, John Edward Redmond (1856 -1918), the champion of Home Rule and chairman of the Nationalist Party in 1900, speaking out for Home Rule. Picture: Topical Press Agency/Getty Images

It is interesting to ruminate on a rather overlooked controversy that took place in September-October 2012, in the context of the then-recent centenary of the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant. It was signed 100 years earlier by almost 500,000 people who vowed to defend Ulster's place in the kingdom and defeat plans for a home rule parliament in Dublin.

This centenary was enthusiastically marked by nearly all elements of the unionist bloc in Northern Ireland, but a discordant note was struck by the Belfast District Synod of the Methodist Church in Ireland, which issued a statement in relation to same.

In this, the Synod expressed respect for the good faith of the signatories of the Covenant and the associated women's Declaration, and acknowledged the historical context of the actions of their forebears. But it nevertheless voiced 'profound regret' at the Covenant's invocation of God on the side of the unionist cause, and its implied 'approval of the use of violence' in support of that cause.

This courageous statement, from 'within the tradition,' was roundly condemned by many elements within unionism, and the negative fallout from it seems to have played a part in stymying further large-scale commemorations by modern unionists of other landmark events of the home rule crisis, such as the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force, or the Larne gun-running.

Thus far, there has been nothing comparable to disrupt the broadly even-tempered build-up to the centenary of the Easter Rising, south of the border at least; the revisionist onslaught on the Rising that was evident throughout much of the northern Troubles from this perspective seems to be a spent intellectual force.

It will be interesting, to say the least, to see if this equanimous state of affairs persists through to the end of the programme in August.

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Ireland's Jewish community during the Revolutionary period (1916-23)

courtesy of D. Fallon & Come Here to Me – Dublin Life & Culture

In the early half of the twentieth century, there were roughly 3,700 Jews living in Ireland. This represented about 0.12% of the total population. Though their numbers were minuscule, members of the Jewish community were disproportionately active in the fight for Irish independence. Melisande Zlotover in his 1966 memoir 'Zlotover story: A Dublin story with a difference' assessed the overall situation by writing that Dublin's Jews "were most sympathetic [to the fight for Independence] and many helped in the cause".

These included:

Michael Noyk (1884–1966) Jewish Dublin-born republican activist and lawyer who most famously defended republican prisoners during the War of Independence and afterwards. In the 1917 Clare East by-election he was a prominent worker for Eamon de Valera and in the 1918 general election was election agent for Countess Markievicz and Seán T. O'Kelly. He was later involved in renting houses and offices for all the ministries established under the first Dáil. During the War of Independence he regularly met Michael Collins in Devlin's pub on Parnell Square and helped to run the republican courts. In 1921 he was to the fore in defending many leading members of the IRA, including Gen. Seán Mac Eoin and Capt. Patrick Moran, the latter of which was executed for complicity in the shooting of British intelligence officers.

While Arthur Griffith's early anti-Semitic comments (c.1904) are frequently recalled, it should be noted that he was an extremely close friend of Noyk's from 1910 onwards and he remained Griffith's solicitor until his death in 1922. So close did Griffith's relationship with Noyk become that his own daughter would act as a flower girl at Noyk's wedding as Manus O'Riordan reminded us in an excellent 2008 [article](#).

In later years, Noyk became a founder-member of the *Association of Old Dublin Brigade* (IRA) and a member of the *Kilmainham Jail Restoration Committee*. Keenly interested in sport, he played soccer in his youth for a team based around Adelaide Road and was for many years the solicitor to Shamrock Rovers. He died on 23 October 1966 at Lewisham Hospital in London. A huge crowd, including the then taoiseach, Seán Lemass, attended his funeral and the surviving members of the Dublin Brigade rendered full IRA military honours at his graveside. He is buried in Dolphin's Barn cemetery.



Talking at a meeting of friends and associates of Mr. Michael Noyk, in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, last night, at which his portrait, by Seán O'Sullivan, was offered to the Municipal Art Gallery. Left to right: Mr. Joseph McGrath, Mr. Michael Noyk and the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Pádraig de Bruin, president of the Arts Council.

Noyk is honoured with portrait. The Irish Times, 06 Apr 1960.

Robert Emmet Briscoe (1894–1969) was a Jewish Dublin-born republican and businessman who most famously ran guns for the IRA during the War of Independence. Named after revolutionary leader Robert Emmet, his father, a steadfast Parnellite called another son Wolfe Tone Briscoe. Politicised after the Easter Rising, Robert attended meetings of *Clan na Gael* in the United States, meeting Liam Mellows, who influenced his return to Ireland (August 1917) to join the headquarters staff of Na Fianna Éireann. The clothing factory that Robert Briscoe opened at 9

Aston Quay, and a subsequent second workshop in Coppinger's Row, both served as headquarters for clandestine Fianna and IRA activities before and during the War of Independence. Unknown to government authorities owing to his lack of prior political involvement, Briscoe engaged in arms-and-ammunition procurement and transport, and gathering of intelligence. Transferred to IRA headquarters staff (February 1920), he was dispatched by Michael Collins to Germany, where, with his knowledge of the language and country, he established and oversaw a network of arms purchase and transport. He maintained a steady flow of matériel after the July 1921 truce, and from 1922 to the anti-treaty IRA, with which he maintained links for some years after the civil war. Returning to Ireland after the 1924 general amnesty, he managed the Dublin operations of Briscoe Importing, a firm already established by two of his brothers.

During the summer of 1926 the IRA raided the offices and homes of moneylenders in both Dublin and Limerick. Manus O'Riordan [wrote](#) that: "Those who were raided were indeed predominantly Jewish, but the IRA explicitly stated that their attack was on moneylending itself, "not on Jewry".

Historian Brian Hanley summed up the situation well when he said that the IRA...were supported in their claims by the prominent Jewish politician in Ireland, Robert Briscoe of de Valera's Fianna Fáil Party. He argued that he did not see the raids as anti-Semitic, and wished it to be known that he and 'many other members of the Jewish community' abhorred moneylending and expressed his admiration for the IRA's attempts to end 'this rotten trade'.

A founding member of *Fianna Fáil* (1926), he served on its first executive committee, and worked on constructing the party's national constituency organisation, transporting party workers countrywide in his recently purchased motor car. Defeated in the June 1927 general election and in an August 1927 by-election occasioned by the death of Constance Markievicz, in the September 1927 general election he was elected to Dáil Éireann, becoming the first Jewish TD, and commencing an unbroken tenure of thirty-eight years, representing Dublin South (1927–48) and Dublin South-West (1948–65). Twice lord mayor of Dublin (1956–7, 1961–2), he made a spectacularly successful whistle-stop tour of the USA (1957) – the first of several official visits, trade missions, and speaking tours – lauded by Irish- and Jewish-Americans as Dublin's first Jewish lord mayor.



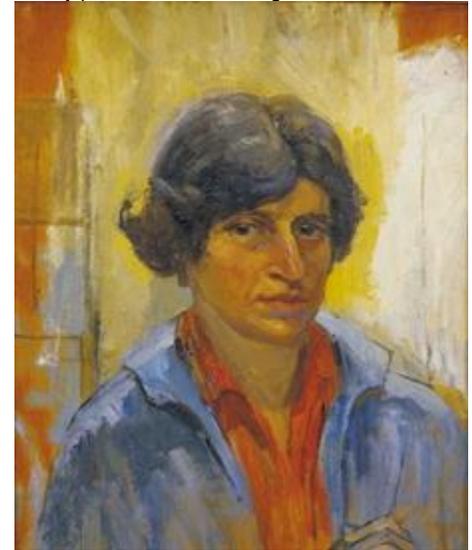
JFK meeting with IRA veteran Robert Briscoe, Lord Mayor of Dublin. 26 March 1962. Credit – jfklibrary.org.

Estella Solomons (1882–1968), who hailed from one of the longest established Jewish families in Dublin, was a celebrated artist who served in the women's republican auxiliary movement *Cumann na mBan* (Rathmines branch). One of her first jobs was distributing arms and ammunition which she kept hidden under the vegetable patch at the family home on Waterloo Road. When her sister visited from London

with her British Army husband, Estella stole his uniform and passed it onto the IRA.

Solomons sheltered IRA fugitives in her studio during the War of Independence, and concealed weapons under the pretence of gardening. Estella's IRA contact was a milk delivery man, who acted as a perfect cover for moving arms and gathering information. She persuaded him to teach her to shoot, in exchange she painted a portrait of his wife. Taking the anti-Treaty side and sheltering Republicans during the Civil War, her studio was often raided by Free State troops.

Solomons was elected an associate of the *Royal Hibernian Academy* (RHA) in July 1925, but it was not until 1966 that Solomons was elected an honorary member. Her work was included in the Academy's annual members' exhibition every year for sixty years. As her parents were opposed to her marrying outside her faith, it was not until August 1925, when she was 43 and her husband 46, that she married Seumas O'Sullivan, the editor and founder of the influential literary publication *Dublin Magazine*.



Estelle Solomons, self-portrait, 1926. Credit – mutualart.com

Gerald Yael Goldberg (1912–2003), Cork-born solicitor, politician and writer, retained vivid childhood memories of the War of Independence and Civil War period, including the burning of central Cork by crown forces (during which his family had to leave their home temporarily). He attended the lyings-in-state of Tomás MacCurtain and Terence MacSwiney both of whom he always revered. In later life he commissioned portraits of MacCurtain and MacSwiney for the City Hall while he was Lord Mayor. Goldberg also acquired a long-lasting respect for fellow Corkman Michael Collins after hearing him speak at a public meeting.

The Goldbergs moved to Cork after the anti-Semitic Limerick riots, and subsequent boycott, of 1904, in which Gerald's father Louis was assaulted. In secondary school, he and his brother got into trouble after they applied to be excused from Armistice Day (as a German pupil was excused) because the British had murdered MacCurtain and MacSwiney. In the 1930s Goldberg established a committee in Cork to help Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution; in later life he spoke bitterly of the refusal of the state to admit such refugees, and recalled how a German Jew who deserted a ship at Cobh was sent back to the concentration camps despite the Cork community's willingness to assist him. A successful solicitor, he was elected president of the Cork Hebrew Congregation in 1943, and remained the public face of Cork Jewry until his death.

Goldberg was elected to Cork corporation as an independent alderman for the north-west ward in 1967

but joined Fianna Fáil in 1970, stating that it was impossible for an isolated councillor to achieve anything on the corporation. In 1977, he was elected lord mayor of Cork, the first Jew to hold this office.

During his term he researched the history of the civic regalia, including the mayoral chain (he published a pamphlet on its connection with Terence MacSwiney) and the mace (leading him to make a public appeal for the British Museum to return to Cork several former Cork maces it had acquired over the years). In 1982 he openly considered leaving Ireland after he received death threats and after a fire-bomb attack on the Cork synagogue, which were linked to hostile relations between Irish peacekeeping forces in South Lebanon and Israeli and Israeli-backed forces.

He retired from Cork corporation in 1985. He died, at the age of 91, in Cork, on 31 December 2003, and received a civic funeral on 4 January 2004 to the Cork Jewish graveyard at Curraghkippane. Cork corporation members wore skullcaps in his honour.

Francis Rebecca 'Fanny' Goldberg (1893-?) and Molly Goldberg (1896-), sisters of Gerald, were active with *Cumann na mBan*. Dermot Keogh in his book 'Jews In Twentieth Century Ireland' (1998) mentions this fact but unfortunately no further information seems to be available about their activities.

Abraham Spiro (1880 – 1951), who moved to Dublin from Lithuania at the age of two was manager of the Pearl Printing Company in Drury Street. The IRA newspaper *An t-Olgach* was printed by Spiro during the early 1920s and he employed Oscar Traynor (Commanding Officer of the Dublin I.R.A.) as a compositor. Natalie Wynn in her essay 'Jews, Antisemitism and Irish Politics: A Tale of Two Narratives' suggests that the paper was printed by Leon Spiro (Abraham's brother?) but only after he had been "forcibly detained" in his office. This information was gleaned from an unpublished memoir written by Leon's daughter.

Cohen Brothers: George White, member of 'C' Company 3rd Battalion Dublin Brigade IRA from 1917 and later Quartermaster Active Service Unit from 1921, recalled in his Witness Statement (no. 956) that a Jewish man by the name of Max Cohen lived in a house that was being used as an arms dump at 3 Swifts Row beside Ormond Quay in Dublin city centre. Max "knew all about the dump but said nothing about it" to the authorities. His brother Abraham, who ran an antique shop at 20 Ormond Quay, told White and another IRA member that they could use his shop anytime "as a means of escape".



M. Cohen & Sons antiques shop. Perhaps the one mentioned in the Witness Statement. Photograph taken by Tom Kennedy. Scanned from 'A Sense of Ireland' programme.

Unidentified Jew who sheltered Dan Breen
In the Witness Statement (no. 723) of Dr. Alice Barry, a close friend of many IRA leaders, she mentions that Dan Breen was taken in by a Jewish person while on the run in Fernside, Drumcondra, North Dublin*. In October 1920, Breen, who had badly cut his legs while escaping from the Black and Tans, "wandered round looking for refuge" until he eventually found it in the home of a unnamed Jewish person who also "provided him with dry clothing". (Unfortunately and somewhat ironically, Breen took a very strong pro-Axis side

and had a portrait of Adolf Hitler hanging in his study until as late as 1948.)

Unidentified Jewish families who supported Sinn Fein and the IRA: Mrs. Sean Beaumont, a member of executive of *Cumann na mBan*, recalled in her Witness Statement (no. 385) that trained nurses within the organisation set up a bureau at 6 Harcourt Street in October 1918 to help the general public during the flu pandemic. Among those nursed "were many" Jewish families who showed their gratitude by providing financial support for the Republican movement and voting for Sinn Fein candidates in the years ahead.

General references

There are several other more general references to the Jewish community in the recently digitised witness statements.

After taking part in the Easter Rising, Captain Sean Kavanagh (WS 1670) mentions that the soldier who told him that were about to be deported to England was a "Dublin Jew" called Lieutenant Barron.

Thomas Pugh of the Irish Volunteers recalled in his Witness Statement (397) that after taking part in the Easter Rising, he was brought to Portobello Barracks where the person in charge of taking personal belongings from the prisoners was: "a Jew whom I knew very well. He was one of the Barrons, the furniture people. I am sure he knew me well, because I saved him once from a beating in the football grounds in Inchicore."

Further afield, a Jewish cinema owner in New York apologised to local Irish Republicans after his cinema inadvertently showed a British propaganda film called 'Whom the gods would destroy' (1916). Sidney Czira (Secretary of Cumman na mBan, New York) wrote in her Witness Statement (no. 909) that the film portrayed Irish volunteers like they were of "half-ape type". As a result, a group of Republicans visited the cinema and explained the situation to the Jewish owner. Czira wrote that he was "quite unaware of its significance ... apologised ... and withdrew it at once".

Another side note is that the badly damaged Hotel Metropole on O'Connell Street was bought after the Rising by Jewish cinema owner Maurice Elliman who turned it into the successful Metropole cinema.

In the summer of 1919, a successful raid took place on the Rotunda which was being used at the time as the temporary General Post Office. A number of IRA men were involved in the action in which "very valuable and confidential documents" destined for Dublin Castle were seized. Afterwards, a number of sympathetic postman overheard a colleague say to someone that "I know the fella in charge of this raid". He was referring to Oscar Traynor who he knew through playing football. The postman in question was described by Traynor (WS 340) as an "English Jew" who lived on the North Circular Road. This "cockney Jew" was visited by a number of IRA men and was told to keep his mouth shut or else. As a result of being threatened, he decided to move back to London.

That same year, a group of Tipperary IRA men seized a gun from a Jewish businessman who ran a skin and hide business at the back of Connolly Street in Nenagh. Volunteer Edward John Ryan (WS 1392) was approached by a comrade who was employed in the business. In the raid, both the volunteer (to make not look like an inside job) and his Jewish employer were tied up. No-one was harmed in the robbery.

In the statement of Mary Flannery Woods (no. 624) of *Cumann na mBan*, she mentions that she bought a safe house for Michael Collins on Harcourt Terrace in 1920 that was owned by a Jew called Mr. Cantor. Seamus O'Connor and not Michael Noyk was the solicitor involved. In this house, a special hidden cupboard was built for arms and ammunition.

Dr. Josephine Clarke (no. 699), member of *Cumann na mBan*, wrote that her and her husband Liam moved into an "unfurnished flat in a Jew's house in Sydenham Road" in roughly the same period.

In July 1920 the IRA shot dead Unionist landowner Frank Brooke, the Chairman of the *Dublin South Eastern Railways*, inside his office at Westland Row train station. Brooke was a secret member of the British Military Advisory Council and was signaled out specifically by Michael Collin's Squad. Laurence Nugent (Lieutenant 'K' Company, 3rd Battalion Dublin Brigade IRA) remarked in his Witness Statement (no. 907) that they had planned to shoot another director of the Railways but spared him after a Jewish woman 'Miss Zigmen' asked the IRA to spare his life. Zigmen, who lived on Upper Baggot Street, was a private cigarette manufacturer and the unnamed director was a customer of hers. (Note: 'Zigman' may have been incorrectly transcribed as 'Zigmen').

In November of that year, Lieutenant Peter Ashmun Ames and Captain George Bennett were shot dead by the IRA in their rooms at 38 Upper Mount Street. Jewish solicitor Michael Noyk (WS 707) took up the defence of two volunteers including Patrick Moran from Roscommon who were arrested in the aftermath. Moran strongly protested his innocence and had a solid alibi since he was at Mass in Blackrock at the time and was seen there by several people including a member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. Among the witnesses that Noyk called in to help Moran's case was Joseph Mirrelson, a Jewish Turf Accountant from Dun Laoghaire. He had seen Moran on a tram on the morning of the shooting. Mirrelson knew Moran well as he used to frequent a pub in Dun Laoghaire called Lynch & O'Brien's pub that Moran used to work in. Despite the evidence laid out that proved Moran and another Volunteer Thomas Whelan were not in the area of the shooting, both were hanged in Mountjoy Jail in March 1921.

Negative references

As this was a time when both ignorant and deep-rooted anti-Semitism was more prevalent, this seeps through in a couple of Witness Statements.

Seamus MacManus, one of the founders of the *National Council* (pre Sinn Fein), said that most French newspapers in 1890s "were under the thumb of the Jews financially" in his Witness Statement (no. 283).

Richard Walsh talked about a pub down by the London docks that was run by a English Jew and his Irish catholic wife. A strong Irish republican, the wife would act as a messenger for the IRA and her herself and her husband allowed the pub to be used for preparing arms packages for shipment. Walsh makes an anti-Semitic off-the-cuff mark in his Witness Statement (no. 136) describing this publican as a "Jew ... (that) like all his race was cute and well able to conceal his feelings".

Not forgetting the disgusting anti-Semitic remarks from John Devoy (called De Valera "a half-breed Jew"), J. J. O'Kelly, W. J. Brennan-Whitmore and a small number of Irish republicans in this time period.

Conclusion

In a February 1944 heated Dail debate about pensions for veterans of the Easter Rising and War of Independence, the toxic, anti-Semitic TD Oliver J. Flanagan proclaimed: "We had not got the rancher, the capitalist, the financier or the Jew in the Old I.R.A. We had the plain, poor, honest people..." Flanagan had obviously overlooked (or decided to forget) the roles that Robert Briscoe, Michael Noyk, Estella Solomon, the Goldbergs and (possibly) Abraham Spiro played in the War of Independence. It is only

coming to light now the small but important day-to-day roles that ordinary Jews played by sheltering volunteers like Dan Breen or offering their premises as a means of escape like the Cohen brothers.

Sadly the Jewish community has a whole were targeted in 1923 by two Republican veterans of the War of the Independence who launched their own personal indiscriminate anti-Semitic crusade – shooting four, killing two.

Manchester-born Jewish jeweller and father-of-four Bernard Goldberg (42) was shot dead in the early hours of October 31st 1923 outside his home at 95 St. Stephen's Green after being questioned by three men. His brother Samuel had a narrow escape. He was hit on the head but managed to run towards Cuffe Street, later discovering three bullet holes in his overcoat.

Two weeks later, a Dublin-born Jew Emmanuel 'Ernest' Kahn (24) of 36 Lennox Street who worked as a clerk at the Department of Agriculture, was gunned down on Stamer Street in Portobello on the evening of November 14th. His friend David Miller (21), who lived at 25 Victoria Street, was shot in the shoulder but survived.

Mr. Miller, in an interview yesterday, said that Mr. Kahn and he spent Wednesday evening at the Jewish Social Club, 3 Harrington street. They left the club at 11.30 p.m., in company with another young man, who parted from them at the corner of Stamer street. He and Kahn then went homeward. At the corner of Lennox street two young men ordered them to halt. They did so, and the strangers advanced and demanded their names and addresses. The men then asked about their religion, and on hearing that they were Jews said, "Run for it."

"I ran towards Florence street, which leads to my home," said Miller, "and Kahn ran back towards his home at 36 Lennox street. I had only gone a few yards when I heard shots, and was struck in the shoulder and fell to the ground. Three shots, as well as I remember, were fired at Kahn. I looked back, saw Kahn lying on the road, and heard him moaning. He was not able to speak. The two men who halted us got into a taxi cab which was waiting in Lennox place, with a driver, and drove quickly away towards Richmond street. I then hailed a taxi cab which was returning to Wayte's Garage, and with the help of the driver lifted Kahn into it, and took him to the Meath Hospital. He was dead when we got there. About ten shots were fired. Three of these struck Kahn—one in the neck and the other two in the body."

First hand account of the second murder. The Irish Times, 16 Nov 1923.

The principal instigators of these two murders were Free State Army officers – James Patrick Conroy and Fred Laffan – who held an anti-Semitic vendetta after a "lady friend" of Conroy's was allegedly assaulted by a Jewish dentist. Laffan's brother Ralph, a taxi driver, was also implicated in the murders. James 'Jimmy/Jim' Conroy had a distinguished IRA career and was a member of Michael Collins' squad. The two Laffan brothers fled to Mexico while Conroy evaded justice (I believe he emigrated to the United States but returned to Ireland in the early 1930s). During a tetchy Dáil debate in February 1934, Sean MacEntee (Fianna Fáil Minister for Finance) accused Fine Gael TDs of knowing who killed Kahn and Goldberg saying "The man who committed these crimes, as I have already stated tonight, is a member

of the Blue Shirt organisation at the present moment. He was allowed to go free even though those charged with the administration of the law at that time were well aware of the crimes he had committed".

Postscript

Other Irish Jews became active in Irish left-wing and republican politics in the 1930s most notably Maurice Levitas and Harry Kernoff.

Communist 'Morry' Levitas who was born 8 Warren Street, Portobello, Dublin fought against Mosley's Blackshirts during the Battle of Cable Street in London in 1936 and the following year joined the British battalion of the XV (International) Brigade to fight against Franco in Spain. First seeing action in the final days of the unsuccessful defence of Teruel, he was among the troops forced to retreat from Belchite on the second day of the massive fascist Aragon offensive (March 1938). After three weeks of costly engagements and repeated withdrawals, he was in a company (which also included IRA veteran Frank Ryan) that was captured by an Italian fascist unit at Calaceite (March 1938). His excellent entry in the Dictionary of Irish Biography describes his following 11 months of hell:

Imprisoned at San Pedro de Cardena, near Burgos (April 1938–January 1939), in addition to interrogations, arbitrary beatings, and mock executions, he was subjected to the indignity of pseudo-scientific measurements by visiting German Gestapo agents testing Nazi theories regarding the physiognomy of Jews and 'social deviants'. Transferred to San Sebastian prison (January–February 1939), he was among sixty-seven republicans released in a prisoner exchange sought by Mussolini. Soon after returning home to London, he visited Dublin to address a public meeting calling for the release of Ryan (27 February).

He later served in India and Burma with the Royal Army Medical Corps and then worked as a plumber, teacher and lecturer. In his later years Levitas renewed ties with his native Dublin, attending functions honouring the Irish who served in Sapin, and the unveiling of the statue of James Connolly in Beresford Place in 1996. He died 14 February 2001 in London. His brother Max Levitas, born in Dublin in 1915, was a Communist councillor in London borough of Stepney for seventeen years and continues to be engaged in anti-Fascist activity.

Harry Kernoff, born in London in 1900, moved to Dublin at the age of 14. After winning the Taylor scholarship in 1923 he became a full-time day student, encouraged by established painters such as Seán Keating and Patrick Tuohy

He showed a particular interest in drawing Dublin, and was one of the few artists at work in the city whose work demonstrated a social conscience and awareness of the plight of the unemployed, as revealed in such paintings as 'Dublin kitchen' (1923). Strongly left-wing, he was a member of the Friends of Soviet Russia and his woodcuts were often used in republican and labour newspapers in the 1930s and 1940s. He designed the masthead of the communist weekly the Irish Workers' Voice, was part of a delegation to visit Leningrad and Moscow (1930) and was involved in anti-fascist campaigns in Dublin. One of his most famous woodcuts is the (below) 1936 one of James Connolly. Thirty-four years previously Connolly had issued an election leaflet written in the Yiddish language to the Jewish voters of Dublin's 'Little Jerusalem'. Kernoff lived at 1 Stamer Street, Portobello, in the heart of this area, for the last 40 years of his life. He passed away in 1974.

References: Dictionary of Irish Biography (Noyk/Briscoe/Solomons/Levitas/Kernoff); Bureau of Military Witness Statements; Saorise Feb 2003 (Solomons); Natalie Wynn, 'Jews, Antisemitism and Irish Politics: A Tale of Two Narratives' (2012); Dermot Keogh 'Jews In Twentieth Century Ireland' (1998).



James Connolly election leaflet in Yiddish script 1902



Harry Kernoff signed woodcut of James Connolly (1936). Credit - icollector.com/ Below: Men of Connemara Rowing a Currach (1948)



1916: A Country is Born

A Cartoon History of the Easter Rising by Fergal McCarthy at The Little Museum of Dublin. January 27-April 24, 2016

The beautiful Georgian walls of The Ireland Funds Gallery in the Little Museum of Dublin are now dominated by 60 giant drawings and texts retelling the fascinating story of the Easter Rising with verve, wit and a deliberate lightness of touch, by Irish artist Fergal McCarthy.

Fizzing with energy, the drawings are also being published as a 60 page book available for sale at the Little Museum during the course of the exhibition, which runs from Wednesday January 27 until the end of April, as part of the Ireland 2016 Centenary Programme.

"After many months of research, I have distilled my knowledge of the Rising into a spirited, somewhat fun take on the seminal week that reshaped Ireland forever," said artist Fergal McCarthy.

"By streamlining the narrative and adding visual humour, I have attempted to demystify the Rising by relieving it of some of the excess baggage it has naturally acquired over the past century."

Humour is always a component of his work, and McCarthy's deliberately playful drawing style will attract all types of visitors and readers including a family audience. "As title sponsor Luas Cross City are distributing 5,000 copies of the published exhibition book to schools along the new Luas extension from St Stephen's Green in the city centre to Cabra" says Grainne Mackin, Director of Communications for Luas Cross City.

Museum website: <http://www.littlemuseum.ie/>



1916: A Country is Born A Cartoon History of the Easter Rising.



Fergal McCarthy



“An Irish Comic Strip for Irish readers”

Above: A curiosity from the Irish Press c. 1948. An Irish comic strip for Irish readers: "Eire ar Aghaidh" (Ireland moving forward) was published by the Irish Press for a number of years from 1948. Featuring the adventures of Barney, a steadfast Fianna Éireann recruit (the equivalent of the Boy Scouts) and telling the story of Irish Independence to the next generation.

This image was recently shared on an Irish History Facebook page and I had to find out a little more about it.

It's a rare example of what was the older generation's widely held anxiety over male youth in 1940s Ireland - this second generation of male adolescents following the Rising, concerns about physical 'degeneration' combined with a deep cultural suspicion of 'foreign' media influences.

Future Taoiseach, Sean Lemass, when appointed as MD of the Irish Press in 1948 instigated an immediate change. One of his first actions was to axe the popular Superman comic strip from the paper in favour of some home grown cartoon strips such as 'Eire ar aghaidh' and 'The Monster of Shandon Hill' (in which a man and his two adolescent nephews strive to avoid dinosaurs marauding inexplicably across the Irish countryside.)

Superman was never again to feature in the pages of the Irish Press or Sunday Press.

Not only had the saviour of Metropolis fallen foul of Lemass and his generation, but he had also had an enemy in the shape of the writer Patrick Kavanagh. He saw Superman as an 'egregious example of American celebrities with genitals that hardly conformed to the Greek canon and Nietzschean heroes who have a pane of glass for a diaphragm'

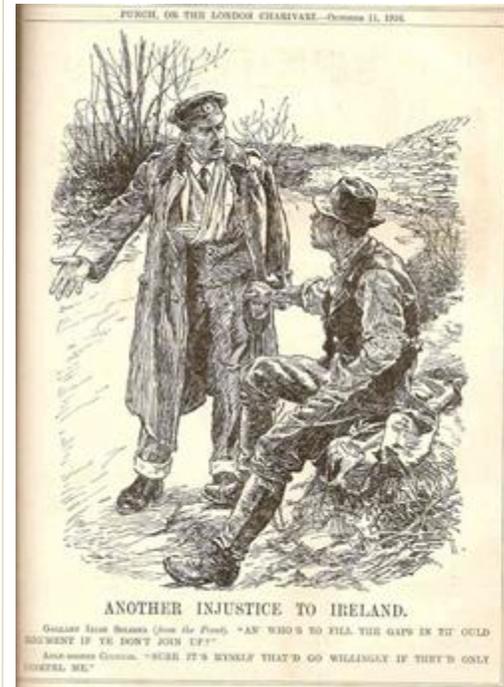
This comic strip is perhaps a graphic example of national exclusivism common at the time but also strongly connected to the cultural norms and the strict Catholic morality & Republican approbation of the era.

Lemass went on to become Taoiseach and is largely credited with beginning the movement to change Ireland from a largely agrarian society and economy.

Political Comment – Irish Free State 1924



1922/23: The newly emergent state's finances were in a perilous condition and immediate, urgent measures were required. The conservative governing party, Cumann na nGaedheal, planned to bring the country back with a regime of extreme austerity. The government believed large-scale farmers were key economic drivers and devised a plan to cut the richer farmers' tax and costs and reduce government expenditure. In 1923, wages were cut by 16% and the seven day work week was reintroduced. Finance Minister Ernest Blythe cut the old age pension by ten percent in 1924. This came back to haunt the party for a generation.



Planning the Rebellion

Just what the overall aims of the IRB's Military Council were are not clear, but their mistakes in the planning meant the 1916 Rising was unlikely to succeed, writes Dr Richard McElligott

The 1916 Rising was the most serious revolt to British rule in Ireland in over a century. It represented an unprecedented explosion of violence for a society that had been remarkably peaceful since the bloodletting of the 1798 rebellion.

Militarily, the Rising was an utter failure. Considering what transpired, the events of Easter week seemed to be the consummation of Patrick Pearse's rhetoric: an epic blood-sacrifice given on the altar of Irish nationalism which would one day inspire the next generation to wage a full blown national war of liberation. Yet this perception of 1916 is coloured by how events subsequently transpired rather than what may have initially been planned or desired.

What were the original intentions of the Rising's leaders before Eoin MacNeill's fateful intervention on the eve of the rebellion? Was 1916 meant to be a simple blood-sacrifice or a viable hammer blow to British control in Ireland? Was it orchestrated as a localised revolt or was Dublin the planned centrepiece of a national insurrection?

Like so much else about the Irish revolutionary period, the answers are never straightforward.

The genesis of the 1916 Rising can be traced to a conference organised among Irish separatists which took place on 9 September 1914 in Dublin. Thomas Clarke chaired the proceedings which decided to use the opportunity the Great War presented to mount a rebellion against British rule. When the Volunteers acrimoniously split later that month, the IRB looked to the faction that remained loyal to MacNeill to provide the army for this rebellion

However there was intense disagreement among the Irish Volunteers' leaders as to how the force should be utilised. Pearse, its Director of Military Organisation, argued that this smaller body would be much more militarily valuable than the large, unwieldy and loosely held together organisation it had split from. He believed that 150 Dublin-based companies; 'small, compact, perfectly disciplined, and determinedly separatist would be ready to act with tremendous effect if war brings us the moment' and if supplied with adequate weapons the Dublin men 'would rise tomorrow if we gave the word'.

For MacNeill and JJ O'Connell (its Chief of Inspection), the Irish Volunteers were essentially a defensive rather than a revolutionary force which should only be utilised to resist the possible introduction of conscription in Ireland by means of engaging in a guerrilla campaign against British forces there. If it then proved opportune, an independence struggle could be launched through a combined strategy of guerrilla warfare and mass public resistance. O'Connell, in particular, was a strong advocate of training the Volunteers to be an effective guerrilla army.

Yet, the Volunteers increasingly came under the influence of its more radical IRB members. Pearse's position allowed him to place trusted IRB men in key positions throughout the Volunteers leadership, bypassing MacNeill's official chain of command. Because of this, the guerrilla tactics promoted by O'Connell were increasingly spurned by the Rising's planners.

The separatist conference in September 1914 had established an advisory military committee which asked Joseph Plunkett to draft an embryonic plan for a potential insurrection in Dublin. Quite why Plunkett was given this

responsibility is hard to ascertain. He had a lifelong fascination with military tactics and history. But was this qualification enough to justify the faith placed in him? It seems to have been when one considers that the usually dispassionate James Connolly would later hail Plunkett 'a brilliant military man'.

Desperate to preserve maximum secrecy, Clarke disbanded the larger advisory committee and formed an IRB Military Council in the spring of 1915 to confine preparations to a small, trusted cohort. In September Clarke formally joined the Military Council, after which it quickly became the real power within both the IRB and the Irish Volunteers. By April 1916, the Council would consist of all seven signatories of the 1916 Proclamation. Given the clandestine nature of the Rising's final planning, the Council left no written record of their deliberations and historians have therefore been forced to conjecture the objectives of their strategy. Similarly, although we know that a small number of copies of the physical battle plan for the original Easter Sunday rebellion existed, they were subsequently lost. However we know the Military Council sought to work from Plunkett's plan. This entailed seizing a ring of fortified positions in Dublin city which could be defended against a full-force British attack.

The GPO was chosen to be the central headquarters. Physically one of the most imposing buildings in the capital, it seemed to provide the perfect theatrical stage for the bloody drama about to be unleashed. Both Plunkett and Pearse concluded that the reason so many previous Irish rebellions had failed was that their conspirators had never comprehended the vital strategic importance of the capital. As the seat of British rule in Ireland, Dublin, they maintained, had to be the epicentre for any new armed action.

In this view they were both heavily influenced by their study of Robert Emmet's failed uprising of 1803 and at odds with the successful, and largely rural, war the IRA would fight from 1919. Yet it was only natural that the leaders of 1916 looked to Dublin, given that the Volunteers there were the strongest and most organised. They drew inspiration from the trench warfare of the Western Front which continually demonstrated the superiority of holding a defensive position. Given the military inexperience of the force asked to take on the might of the British army, it also made practical sense for the Volunteers to adopt a defensive posture.

So far so apparently logical, except that this original plan for the Easter Sunday rebellion (which assumed the rebels could rely on a far larger force than those actually mobilised) was inherently flawed. We know nothing about the reasoning for selecting the positions which were to be occupied and they were far too isolated from one another to provide mutual communication and reinforcement

While the GPO was seized, other key buildings such as Trinity College and Dublin Castle, the very centre of British rule in Ireland, were seemingly omitted from the original plans. It also appears that the Military Council had chosen its positions with the extremely naive assumption that the British would not respond by using their key advantage: artillery. Most damningly of all, in the weeks before the Rising the Irish Volunteers undertook no systematic reconnaissance of the buildings they would garrison. The 1916 rebels therefore failed to grasp the one advantage available to them: local knowledge.

Given the glaring defects outlined above, many have been inclined to argue that the Rising was always intended to be what it became, a bloody protest inspired by Pearse's martyrdom complex. Yet this reading of history is based on the distortion caused by the events that ensued rather than what may originally have been intended.

Pearse and the Military Council sought desperately to secure large quantities of modern military grade weapons and explosives from Germany to give the Volunteers at least a fighting chance. The intended rebellion would also have involved at least three times as many Volunteers as those who were eventually mustered. Pearse may have

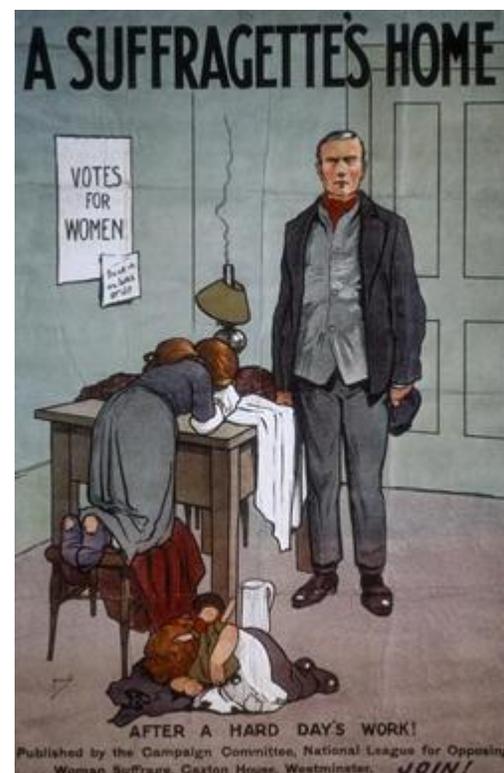
dreamt of martyrdom, but there is little evidence that the other members of the Military Council shared his enthusiasm for death. One must be careful of confusing willingness to die with self-sacrifice. Connolly held out hope that a revolt in Dublin would spark a national revolution. In 1915 he stated: 'You never know if the time for revolution is ripe until you try.'

This brings us to another vexed question about the intentions of the leaders: whether the original revolt was meant to be confined to Dublin or was to form an integral part of a national insurrection. Most of those who claim to have seen the original plan for the aborted Easter Sunday rebellion asserted that it did not extend outside the capital. The Military Council appeared to leave the provincial Volunteers to their own devices, seemingly allowing them the liberty to react, rather than asking them to work in concert with events unfolding in Dublin.

However one veteran, Liam Ó Briain, was convinced its leaders had originally planned a national rebellion. From interviews conducted with survivors, Ó Briain claimed that the Military Council had organised for the planned German arms shipment to be transported from Kerry to Athenry, which would become an 'all Ireland base' to arm the provincial Volunteers. It appeared the River Shannon was envisioned to act as a bulwark behind which Volunteers from Ulster and provincial Leinster could withdraw.

Ó Briain also claimed that the Dublin rebels were never intended to be left cooped up in the city, surrounded and overwhelmed. He asserted that if, after a couple of days the tide turned against them, the original plan was for the Dublin Volunteers to disengage from the capital and make a fighting retreat westward to link up with their comrades behind the Shannon. Yet it remains impossible to verify Ó Briain's claims. After all, the Rising launched on Easter Monday was, by necessity, a different animal from that which had originally been envisioned.

Dr Richard McElligott lectures in Modern Irish History in UCD. His study of the role of the GAA in the 1916 Rising is included in Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh (ed.), 'The GAA and Revolution in Ireland: 1913-1923' published by the Collins Press



Is It Over Yet? Hiding out for days in the Coliseum Theatre, Easter 1916.

A photograph of a dazed and dishevelled British soldier emerging from the ruins of the Coliseum Theatre on Henry Street four days after the Rising ended was taken by TW Murphy, a photographer employed by Maxwell photographic company to take shots of the devastation of Dublin after the rebellion. Two soldiers had been taken prisoner by the rebels and held in the GPO during Easter Week. After they were released, they took shelter in the ruins of the theatre and were not discovered until May 3rd. They had no idea the rebellion was over and neither man had eaten for four days. The photograph taken by Murphy shows one of the soldiers being helped through the streets by a police constable. Murphy was a regular contributor to the Irish Motor News, a small circulation periodical aimed at Ireland's tiny motoring community.

The following account and images of the ruined theatre and soldiers being escorted away from the area were published in a contemporary magazine:



RESCUE FROM THE RUINS OF THE COLISEUM THEATRE.

On Wednesday morning, 3rd May, between 10 and 11 o'clock, two soldiers named Sergeant Henry, of the School of Musketry, Dollymount Camp, and Private James Doyle, Royal Irish Regiment, Beggar's Bush Barracks, were discovered among the ruins of the Coliseum Theatre in Henry Street. It appears that these two men were among the military prisoners held in the G.P.O. When the progressing fire in that building made the place a veritable inferno, they were turned out into the bullet-swept streets. They made their way to the Theatre, and took safety in the Coliseum buildings, and being under the impression that firing was still going on, remained in the ruins until, fortunately, discovered as stated. They had no food of any sort since the previous Friday, and the wonder is that, in the precarious and dangerous position they found themselves in, they were able to retain any strength.

They were both conveyed to the Central Police Station, and were subsequently taken away in a military van. They walked from the station to the van actively, and beyond showing a dishevelled appearance were seemingly in good spirits.



Carrs Hill Famine Graveyard, Cork



Some 30,000 famine victims were buried in a field at Carr's Hill in Cork making it Cork's largest famine burial ground.

Its history makes for grim reading.

In 1846, the Guardians of the Cork Workhouse advertised for a burial ground. The pressure was mounting to find a new graveyard as the Famine death toll mounted. In the first nine months of 1847 alone, 10,000 people were buried in St Joseph's Cemetery.

George Carr tendered for a workhouse graveyard and was successful. The guardians agreed to pay an entrance fee of £150, and £2.10s, a year for each of the three acres on the site. Carr also won the contract for burying the bodies from the workhouse. He was paid 2s.6d. for each burial.

According to Cork Corporation's history of the graveyard, the guardians were relieved to have solved the problem of disposing of paupers' bodies. In the Cork Examiner of February 1st, 1847, it was reported that 102 people had died in the previous six days; 70 bodies remained unburied. The guardians attempted to use St John's Graveyard in Douglas Street, but locals stood guard for three days and nights to prevent any further burials.

However, things were not much better further up the road in the new cemetery.

In April 1847, a leading article in the Cork Constitution deplored the state of the Carr's Hill cemetery. Dogs were rooting bodies from the shallow graves. The editorial said that a dog carried human remains from the graveyard to

the house of a man named Riordan, who had it put down.

Letter writers took to the Constitution complained that starving dogs had been "disinterring and devouring bodies". On July 8th, an application was made at the petty sessions in Douglas to prevent further burials at Carr's Hill. Carr, and the paupers he employed as gravediggers, were accused of creating a public nuisance and a health hazard.

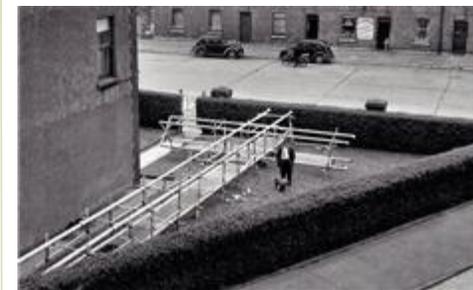
The history continues: "Several witnesses appeared for the prosecution and described the effluvia from the graveyard which polluted the nearby road. They also described scenes of half buried bodies in deep pits which were left open overnight. In his defence, Carr produced witnesses who claimed that the burials were up to standard. They denied the existence of unburied bodies or any resultant effluvia, stating that all bodies were buried at least five to six feet under ground. Some gravediggers even testified that they ate their lunch in the graveyard each day."

Carr was subsequently fined £300, but the fine would not be imposed if he put the graveyard in order - which, apparently, he did.

The Carr's Hill site, formally named 'All Saint's Cemetery' continued to be used for the next 100 years to bury paupers of the city before closing.

In 1920, it came under the control of the Cork District Board - later the Southern Health Board

In 1950, a Cork taxi driver, Olaf Sorenson, erected an illuminated cross - partly at his own expense to remember the Famine victims and the paupers buried there.



Olaf Sorensen (pictured above constructing the cross in the garden of his home on Victoria Road) was a colourful character who had lived a rich life, much of it associated with the sea, before he married and settled in the city. (Sorensen Civil Engineering, run by his grandson, also Olaf, continues the family presence in Cork to the present day.)

The cross marking the graves at Carr's Hill became a landmark overlooking the city. It was lit up at night, and Olaf Sorensen paid for the lighting. Out of his own pocket? Well, not quite. His son Frank was working in Africa as an engineer at the time and was sending home large amounts of money each month. Frank intended it to accrue and be there for him when he got back. Not so.

Olaf had plans to build the cross and he used some of what was in his son's bank account - providentially, it had been lodged to the account of the elder Sorensen. Frank arrived back in Ireland and, to his dismay, found his money had been disappearing. His affection for his father was such that he understood his foibles and admired them. "He was an unusual man but you had to love him," he says.

The cross at the paupers' grave cost money to light and the expense was borne either out of Olaf snr's own coffers or the liberal helping of funds supplied from Africa by his son. (continued to page 49)



Ruins of the Coliseum Theatre.—View from the Street.

The 1875 Liberties Whiskey Fire

By D. Fallon

One of the most destructive fires in the history of Dublin occurred on 18 June 1875, when a disastrous fire in the Liberties area of the city saw burning whiskey flow through the streets of the area like lava. A malt house and a bonded warehouse went up in flames, leaving the burning liquid to flow down Ardee Street and Mill Street. The fire began just after 8pm, and contemporary news reports give an idea of just how much burning booze was involved, with the *Illustrated London News* reporting:

The fire was at Reid's malt-house and Malone's bonded warehouse, in the Liberties. The former had above £2000 worth of malt in it, and the latter, which immediately adjoins it, had 1800 puncheons of whisky, the property of various distillers, and worth £54,000.



The *Illustrated London News* reports the blaze. (Image digitised by South Dublin County Libraries,

The lava proved devastating to all in its path, at one point seeming to endanger both the Coombe Maternity Hospital and the Carmelite convent in Ormond Street. The wind blew the flames in the opposite direction from the convent, which was hailed by some as a miracle, though the fact many tenement homes were destroyed instead leaves any 'miracle' in doubt! In their history of firefighting in Dublin, Tom Geraghty and Trevor Whitehead recounted that the fire wreaked particular havoc on Chamber Street, with a public house disappearing in flames, while at another home on the street a wake was in progress, and "the occupants were forced to flee with the corpse to mourn elsewhere, while the home of the bereaved and their belongings were totally destroyed."

A particular problem in this area of working class Dublin was the presence of quite a lot of animals. At the time animals were frequently to be found kept at the rear of tenement buildings, while horses were still utilised as a widespread form of transport in the city. The presence of confused animals running up and down the streets of the Liberties only added to the pandemonium of the situation, and when a tannery went up in flames the smoke and smell must have been overbearing. Luckily, the Watkins Brewery at Ardee Street somehow avoided both the flames and the flowing lava, though it goes without saying a brewery going up would have compounded an awful situation.

The Dublin Fire Brigade did arrive on the scene, under the stewardship of James Robert Ingram, the first Chief Officer of the brigade. Amazingly given his contribution to public service in Dublin, and the fact the Fire Brigade he established is now over 150 years old, he is buried in an unmarked grave in Mount Jerome Cemetery. Ingram was something of a maverick – a Dubliner by birth, he had learned his trade in the New York Fire Department, and modeled his fledgling Dublin fire service on that of Manhattan, initially christening it the Dublin Fire Department and decking his men out in red shirted uniforms. On one occasion he dealt with a ship drifting into Dublin Port ablaze by ordering the Royal Navy to open fire on it and sink it into the bay, so it's far to say Ingram was never bound by the restraints of conventional firefighting!

Ingram understood that pouring water on the flowing lava, as some well-meaning locals had done following the outbreak of the blaze, would have disastrous consequences. Instead, he ordered horse manure to be loaded onto the streets, a change from the Corporation's usual practice of removing it! The manure, from a nearby depot, successfully stopped the flow of the liquid, allowing the Brigade to focus on the task of burning buildings.

When it was all over, the Liberties pieced itself back-together, having survived the most costly fire of nineteenth century Dublin. There was a great response to a plea from the Lord Mayor for financial assistance for those affected by the blaze, but beyond the loss of property over a dozen lives were lost. Not a single person burnt to death in the flames, nor did they die of smoke inhalation. Those who died perished because they drank the lava that was flowing through the streets!

The *Illustrated London Times* noted that: "Crowds of people assembled, and took off their hats and boots to collect the whisky, which ran in streams along the streets. Four persons have died in the hospital from the effects of drinking the whisky, which was burning hot as it flowed. Two corn-porters, named Healy and M'Nulty, were found in a lane off Cork-street, lying insensible, with their boots off, which they had evidently used to collect the liquor. There are many other persons in the hospital who are suffering from the same cause. Two boys are reported to be dying, and it is feared that other deaths will follow..."



There is no plaque in the Liberties to commemorate this event, though funnily enough a new Irish whiskey has adopted the name 'The Flaming Pig', as a reference to that crazy night in Dublin, when pigs ran in all directions and the Liberties was saved by horse manure!



March 1916 – day by day

1

The German Military Command finally responded to their Ambassador to the United States, Von Bernstorff and John Devoy's telegram # 675 of 17th February, 1916, with telegram B #6080 encoded saying: "It is possible to send two or three small fishing steamers, with about ten machine guns, twenty thousand rifles, ammunition and explosives, to Fenit Pier in Tralee Bay. Irish pilots should wait north of Inishtooskert Island from before dawn of April 20, displaying at intervals three green lights. Disembarkation must be effected immediately. Let us know if this can be done."

John Devoy 'Recollections of an Irish Rebel' C.P.Young, New York 1929. P461

This was passed immediately to Devoy by Von Papen of the Washington Embassy. An emergency meeting of the Clann na Gael executive was immediately called where it was approved to send the information immediately by courier to Dublin. Devoy encoded it and gave it to Mimi Plunkett who caught the next Ocean Liner to Liverpool. The Clan arrangements were that 'if the Supreme Council accepted the German offer, no reply would be necessary, and only in the event of its rejection or the suggestion of any change would a cable be required. For the latter purpose, a perfectly safe and innocent looking code of a few words was adopted; the parties to send and receive it were selected, and we waited anxiously for results.'

John Devoy 'Recollections of an Irish Rebel' C.P.Young, New York 1929. P460

As for the British Room 40 of the Admiralty monitoring of wireless traffic between the Washington Embassy and Berlin:

"...it appears that Room 40 failed to intercept this message: but such was not the case with the answer, a code message sent on March 12th..."

George Dangerfield "The Damnable Question - a study in Anglo-Irish Relations" Constable London. 1977. P.160

Devoy wrote in code to McGarrity in Boston recalling: 'I have received an answer to my application for the position - it is favourable but the salary is not as big as I expected, but it is a living wage and I am certain I would get a raise soon when they see I could make good' and signed it with one of his many aliases 'James Digby' Irish Rebel - John Devoy and America's fight for Irish Freedom. Terry Golway. St Martins Press- New York. 1998. p219

Historian Aodagan O'Rahilly argued that the Imperial German telegram B#6080 may have been a deliberate dis-information play by Berlin with the comment 'possible to send two or three small fishing steamers' as they were conscious of the number of intermediaries the message would pass through. There was also the possibility that a highly placed British spy may become aware of the arms shipment. The reasoning was that while the British Navy was searching for two or three small fishing steamers, one Norwegian tramp steamer bearing the arms for the revolution might be able to slip through.

2

In a statement written by Diarmuid in 1938, which was made at 'the special request of my nephew and neices of Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow' and later given to the Bureau of Military History as a Supplementary Statement commented on some assertions made that individuals knew an insurrection was planned and that the Rising would take place on Easter Sunday:

'From early in March 1916, other and more pressing engagements kept Sean McDermott from attending to his routine duties as Business Manager of Nationality*. At his request I substituted for him in that position. When absenting himself from the office (12 Dolier Street) he invariably told me where I could find him during the day

in case I should wish to consult with him. On one occasion I went to Mrs Houlihan's, 77 Amiens Street to confer with him. This lady knew me well as a close friend of Clarke and MacDermott; she had no hesitation in directing me to the room in which Sean was. I had no doubt whatever as to the nature of the business he was engaged in. I knocked at the door and entered the room forthright. I expected to find him in conference with the original members of the Military Committee (Pearse, Plunkett and Ceannt) and Tom Clarke - all of whom were aware that I had been party to the appointment of the said committee. It had not occurred to me that Connolly might have been in session with them, but, on seeing him there recent incidents flashed to my mind and I immediately accepted his presence as a matter of course. Connolly, on the other hand did not know that I was a member of the Supreme Council nor of my connection with the appointment of the Military Committee. His look of astonishment on my entry convinced me that he had no notion that any person other than his then colleagues of the Military Council know of the existence of such a group, or that anyone other than their hostess knew of that particular meeting. McDermott was already on his way to the door in answer to my knock, he and I retiring to the landing for our talk.'

Diarmuid Lynch (1938) 'Supplementary Statement on Easter Week 1916' Submission to the Bureau of Military History. Doc W54. Copy in the National Library of Ireland - MS 11-128.

* Nationality was a Nationalist journal operating from 1915 to 1919, published by Arthur Griffith and edited in turn by himself and Seamus O'Kelly. It advocated that nationalists should have the right of Irish independence discussed at any post-war peace conference and should refuse to accept partition as a solution to the Irish Question. While strongly supported by Nationalists, it did not survive long in the turmoil of the period.

In Parliament, the Conscription issue was raised again by Sir Edward Carson and Unionist back benchers, calling for a wider interpretation of the Conscription Bill for Bachelors.

4/5

At the Hotel Astor, New York, 2,300 delegates from diverse Irish American organisations such as Clan na Gael, United Irish League, Ancient Order of Hibernians, The Knights of Columbanus and other organisations from around the United States met over two days at the First Irish Race Convention.

Chairman was Judge O'Neill of St. Louis, Temporary Chariman was the Supreme Court Justice, John W. Goff and '...that rugged old Presbyterian, Dr. William Carroll had travelled from his fireside in Philadelphia and beside him stood other Protestants...to drive home the truth that Irish Independence was a racial rather than a religious question...'

Diarmuid Lynch Papers. National Library of Ireland -Accession #2267 MS 32.597.

Chief speakers included John Devoy, Judge Cohalan, Congressman William Burke Cochrane, Judge J W Goff, composer Victor Herbert*, Colonel Conley of the 69th Regiment and other Clan na Gael members.

'In quantity and quality, the Convention was truly national. Better yet, it was truly American...all was harmony - all was union. In the light of later happenings, this fact is significant.... Judge Goff was offered the Presidency (of the Friends of Irish Freedom) but refused because of age...in the opening speech by Justice Goff, the hope was expressed that England may be defeated in this war..' the only power that can defeat England is Germany. I not alone hope that Germany may decisively defeat England on both land and sea, but I hope that Ireland will contribute a reasonable share in bringing about that result...'

Diarmuid Lynch Papers. National Library of Ireland -Accession #2267 MS 32.597. p10.

There John Devoy proposed that '... Ireland must take action as a belligerent, establish a national Government and hold military posts...' The convention supported him and the name for this new organisation was formed on a motion from Robert Ford. Editor of the Irish World and

and seconded by John Devoy. So began the organisation known as The Friends of Irish Freedom.

Clan na Gael were soon in control of the various committees. Of the 17 executive members, 15 were Clan na Gael. The organisation's first President was the composer, Victor Herbert, and Judge John D. Moore as National Secretary*, Thomas Hughes Kelly** elected as National Treasurer. The principal object of the new organisation representing Irish Americans was declared to be:

'To encourage and assist any movement that will tend to bring about the National Independence of Ireland.'

Membership categories were agreed, regular and associate and was to grow within two years to peak with regular membership of over 100,000 and 484 associate branches with over 175,000 persons.

* Judge John Moore, son of a famine refugee from Kerry. As Secretary of the Arrangements Committee, he had done most of the organising of the Convention. Moore's son later became the United States Ambassador to Ireland in 1969.

** Hughes-Kelly, the son of Eugene Kelly, the famous fund raiser for the Land League who collected more money in a few weeks than the entire American organisation had done in a number of years.

A European office of the Friends of Irish Freedom was opened in Stockholm with T. St. John Gaffney as representative. While there, he opened and maintained communications with Berlin.

The Friends of Irish Freedom launched a "formation fund" and made the following declaration, signed by 350 representatives of most of the Irish American organisations:

'It is to Ireland we turn in order to see the most finished results of English misgovernment and selfishness....we appeal to the Concert of Powers, and particularly America... to recognise that Ireland is a European and not a British Island...and we demand in the name of liberty and of small nationalities... that Ireland may be cut off from England and restored to her rightful place among the nations of the earth.'

John Devoy. Recollections of an Irish Rebel. New York 1929. p451-457

A 'Declaration of Principles of the Irish Race Convention 1916' running to over 5,000 words was printed in 'The Irish World' and the 'American Industrial Liberator' Included were resolutions:

- To see that no food is taken out of Ireland until ample provision is made for taking care of themselves.
- That Ireland is severely overtaxed by England.
- The malicious misrepresentation to the world of Ireland's position in the war.

Devoy later wrote of the Convention:

'The Convention was one of the best managed and most successful gatherings of its kind ever held in the United States...at no previous Convention was there even one Supreme Court Judge - there were five at this ... besides Judges of lesser rank and a large number of lawyers...there were prominent merchants, manufacturers and business men and women by the hundred...it surely prepared the way for a real union of the Irish Race in America, for the independence of Ireland in conjunction with the men in the old land who are silenced by English military law...'

Diarmuid Lynch Papers. National Library of Ireland -Accession #2267 MS 32.597. p.11

Devoy delivered a short speech shortly before the Convention ended 'in which I warned the delegates against imprudent speech and action which would give the English Government the pretext they wanted for drastic, repressive measures'

John Devoy 'Recollections of an Irish Rebel' C.P.Young, New York 1929. P449

Continued next page>

The Convention ended in the Cohan Theatre on the 49th anniversary of the 1867 Rising with a closing address by Judge Cohan:

'...from my early boyhood I have been taught to believe that the only country whose enmity, the only country whose hostility, the only country whose wiles America needs to fear at all was the country from whom Washington and the Revolutionary heroes delivered it...there has always been, there always will be, in this country, a group of people, who have sympathised, not with those who won in the Revolution, but with those who lost in the Revolution...if it were not for the efforts of the people of our race...which have done so much to build up this country, if it were not for them, for the stand which we take, for the positions which we assert, these men might succeed and might again to all intents and purposes make these United States a part of the British Empire...'

The Gaelic American. November 23, 1946. P.3 Lynch Family Archives.

A more detailed article on the First Irish Race Convention appears in this month's Newsletter.

7

News of the Irish American Convention in New York was suppressed in many Irish newspapers, with the exception of 6 lines in the 'Freeman's Journal'.

Munich: Monteith was recalled to Berlin where he met with Captain Nadolny and von Frey of the German General Staff. He was advised that instead of three small trawlers, a single steamer with the appropriate capacity would be sent instead with 20,000 rifles instead of the 100,000 requested. Neither would German artillery or officers be provided.

In New York, the pro-Redmond weekly publication 'Ireland' produced by Shane Leslie reported that Devoy's closing speech had stated that the English Government 'be provoked into taking the drastic action for which I said it was seeking a pretext. This kind of misrepresentation is very common in Irish controversies'

John Devoy 'Recollections of an Irish Rebel' C.P.Young. New York 1929. P449

Perhaps so, but Devoy took the opportunity to broadside Leslie in several bitter editorials in the Gaelic American: '...In dealing with the falsifications printed in 'Ireland', Devoy remarked: "The man who made that falsification for the benefit of the British Government would do anything, no matter how mean, criminal or dishonest, to serve it"

Charles Callan Tansill. "America and the fight for Irish Freedom 1866-1922" Devin-Adair Company. P221/222

9

Mexican revolutionary leader, Francisco 'Pancho' Villa, became so enraged over President Wilson's recognition of the Carranza Government in Mexico that he rode across the US border with his compadres to Columbus, New Mexico and proceeded to shoot up the town, leaving 17 Americans dead. Within days, 6,000 US troops under General Pershing were sent to pursue Pancho and capture him, dead or alive. For almost a year, the US troops were trailed around northern Mexico by Pancho Villa but never captured him. The cost of the exercise: \$130 million at 1916 values.

Germany declares war on Portugal on the latter's refusal to return seized German ships.

Munich: Monteith met with Casement and advised of the German General Staff meeting and changes to the arms landing offer. Casement concluded that 'poor, good, brave, old' John Devoy had been led to venture Ireland, in order to provide for Germany a much needed military diversion. And knowing that Devoy has a contact with von Papen, the German military Attache at Washington, Casement was inclined to think that this rising, 'foredoomed to failure' was a scheme of 'that ass, von Papen'

10

The National Organising Committee for War Savings calls for less extravagance in women's dress.

Another message came from Berlin via the German Embassy in Washington:

"Instead of three fishing vessels, we will send one mercantile steamer of 1,400 tons' and adding that lighters must be provided, but making no change in the character or size of the cargo. Notification of this was carried to Dublin by O'Connor on his next trip a few days later."

John Devoy. Recollections of an Irish Rebel. New York 1929. p462

11

Connolly returned to the attack on the numbers of English men who were moving to Ireland to avoid conscription, accusing them as 'Brit-Huns, taking Irish jobs and driving Irish workers into the army and munitions work in Britain'

A. Morgan. 'James Connolly – a political biography' Manchester University Press. 1988. P174

Tom Clarke turned 59 years of age.

12

The British Naval Intelligence in Room 40, while missing the message from Wilhelmstrasse to New York on March 1st, did decode the message sent on March 12th from the German Embassy in Washington to:

"...a 'Banker Max Moeblius in Berlin. Decoded it read " Irish agree to proposition. Necessary steps have been taken" This represented John Devoy's decision to accept German arms without German soldiers; but it forced Captain Reginald Hall to reveal, in the most cautious fashion possible, something of what he knew "He therefore issued a report to General G.M.W MacDonagh, Director of Military Intelligence..."

George Dangerfield "The Damnable Question - a study in Anglo-Irish Relations" Constable London. 1977. P.160

More detail on this message is found in the Lynch Family Archives in Cork:

'The coded message was in German sent from the German Embassy in Washington DC to Banker Max Moeblius, Oberwallstrasse, Berlin...translated into English read: 'National Germania Insurance contract certainly promised. Executor is evidently satisfied with proposition. Necessary steps have been taken. Henry Newman' Decoded it read 'Irish agree to proposition. Necessary steps have been taken.'

Lynch Family Archives

Captain Hall now advised the Director of British Military Intelligence in Whitehall of the German arms shipment and Rising dates.

15

The British Military Intelligence report on Ireland compiled by the Inspector General was read by Nathan. Included was a report that 'in the last few days information has been received from an informant in Ireland to the effect that the Irish Volunteers leaders have been warned to be in readiness for a German landing at an early date, and that in this connection general parades of Irish Volunteers on St. Patrick's Day have been ordered – probably as a test of their strenght. If the speeches of Irish Volunteers leaders and article sin Sinn Fein journals have any meaning at all it must be that the force is being organised with a view to insurrection, and in event of the enemy being able to effect a landing in Ireland, the Volunteers could no doubt delay the dispatch of troops... I submit it is now time to seriously consider whether the organisers of the Irish Volunteers can be allowed with safety to continue their mischevious work, and whether this force so hostile to British interests can be permitted to increase its strenght and remain any longer in possession of arms without grave danger to the State.'

McGoilla Choille 'Intelligence Notes – Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle 1913-16' GPSP, 1966. P278.

McGoille Choille points out that this intelligence report did not appear in the official Intelligence Notes compiled for Dublin Castle or in the Rebellion Commission Reports published late 1916 and gives further credence to the Nathan/Birrell policy of 'minimum action – maximum inaction'

The Friends of Irish Freedom Executive Committee assembled in New York's Murray Hill Hotel to issue an urgent appeal for donations to 'Ireland the help which she so badly needs in this hour of her danger and opportunity'. That afternoon, Devoy walked to the Corn Exchange Bank's offices on 42nd Street and cashed a cheque he wrote to himself for \$10,000. The money was converted into sterling and transmitted to an unknown account in Ireland under that name 'J Digby.'

Austria-Hungary at war with Portugal.

16

Berlin: Casement & Monteith were further briefed on the proposed shipment of arms and munitions by Captain Nadolny and representatives of the German General Staff. "This was the final blow" he wrote. At this stage he had realised that the Rising would not be supported by German troops and the arms & ammunition supplied were originally Russian equipment & supplies dating from 1905, manufactured in Orleans, France and captured by the German army at Tannenburg, August 1914. Accompanying the arms would be the Irish Brigade handful from Zossen.

Nadolny then unwisely attempted to persuade Casement that the German scheme was very promising. 'As the proposals developed, I saw how hopeless and inadequate they were – and I saw how false were all the professions accompanying them. Nadolny said that with this 'help' we should surely be in a position to dictate our terms to the British Government and secure 'at least autonomy'. The 'war' in Ireland would compel England to 'surrender' to us!! If sincere, and he believed what he said, he was a bigger fool than any I had yet met – and if not sincere he must have taken me for that man.

'I could not say what I thought of it all. I listened, smiled, and looked at Monteith across the table...what else could I do? The guns were out of service. If we could get them to Ireland they would be a reinforcement to the armed men there who had already, with such inadequate weapons, compelled Great Britain to exclude Ireland from the Conscription Act...20,000 more armed and 5,000,000 cartridges would be an added security to keeping Ireland out of the war – all I was hoping for. Besides, I saw it was all we were to get. If I refused this offer – and pointed out the absurdities of the plan...the Germans would throw the refusal on me. The Irish in America and Ireland would do the same. The facts, as I knew them, could never be known. All that would be said or seen would be that this Government had offered 'generous help' in response to our request and I had stood in the way and opposed.'

W. J.Maloney. "The Forged Casement Diaries." Talbot Press, Dublin 1936. p118-9

Casement was then shown a typed copy of a letter dated 16th February 1916 and signed by John Devoy as 'Secretary' which stated 'that if 100,000 rifles and artillery and German officers and artillerymen could be landed there was no doubt of our [Irish] ability to defeat the British forces.' On seeing this, he openly denounced the inadequacy of the arms shipment proposed by the German General Staff and that the project was certain to lead to the slaughter of the untrained and unarmed youth of Ireland by the British military machine. Leaving the offices, he 'quietly dispatched John McGooley to Ireland with a message stating the extent of the proposed German supplies and counselling that the rising be called off.'

W. J.Maloney. "The Forged Casement Diaries." Talbot Press, Dublin 1936. p119

McGooley left Casement on March 19, 1916 with the message but according to Maloney, McGooley was arrested on his arrival in Britain, interrogated and secretly executed at Kirkwall. However, historical research proves otherwise. (see end of article p45)

Although the German General Staff has assigned the men of the Irish Brigade to cover the landings of arms in Ireland, Casement refused to let them be sent, on the grounds that the risk for them transcended their possible value. Nadolny protested, saying 'you oppose any project – or you are hindering it. The soldiers are an essential part to its success. The naval men say so. The machine guns must be ready to come into action as soon as the steamer arrives. We have no other men to send. If they don't go, the whole thing may collapse. I shall cable Mr Devoy and say owing to your action we are compelled to withdraw from the matter at the eleventh hour, and leave your countrymen in Ireland in the lurch – and all the responsibility falls on your shoulders. He insisted that the Agreement of 23-28 December 1914 was now null and void – and he declined to recognise my right to interfere in any way in regard to the Irish soldiers at Zossen....'

Casement asked if the Agreement was now non-existent, what was the status of the soldiers at Zossen? 'Oh' he said 'Deserters! Deserters!'. I exclaimed – and who made them desert? You? I? Did the Imperial German Government actually descend to tempting men to desert?...and if they are deserters, what is Lieutenant Monteith, 'the officer in command with the sanction of your War Office'?... he blurted, looked down and stopped. 'Oh well' he said 'let us view it this way. These men are Irish patriots. They wish to fight for their country. We offer them a chance. We are sending help to Ireland and they are vitally necessary to the success of the undertaking to have the machine guns ready for instant use on landing. You are not a soldier. You oppose this vital military requirement on a theory, a doctrine. We shall appeal to the men direct over your head and ask them if they are willing to go to Ireland under these circumstances'

W. J. Maloney. "The Forged Casement Diaries." Talbot Press, Dublin 1936. p120-1

17

As a cover for the intended rising, public parades were organised in Dublin and Cork, the first being the St. Patrick's Day parade when the Dublin troops were paraded past Eoin MacNeill in College Green. "...on St Patrick's Day, Friday, 17th March...the Dublin battalions of the Irish Volunteers held a field day in the city. The different sections paraded in the morning at various city churches and later the whole force assembled in College Green, where that gave a display of military manoeuvres, concluding with a march past Mr John MacNeill, the President and the members of the Executive, who had previously inspected the men in the ranks. These operations lasted from 11 o'clock till 1 o'clock and for two hours the tram and other vehicular traffic was temporarily suspended by the Volunteers, most of whom carried rifles and bayonets and whose numbers on that occasion were estimated at 2000. While the inspection was in progress the pipe bands of the 2nd and 3rd battalions discoursed music, and among the large crowd of spectators, leaflets were distributed containing "Twenty plain facts for Irishmen".

The following are extracts from this leaflet:

* It is the natural right of the people of every nation to have free control over their own national affairs, and any body of the people is entitled to assert that right in the name of the people.

* The Irish people have not the free control of their own national affairs.

* Some of the Irish people do desire that freedom and are entitled to assert the right of the nation.

* The Irish Volunteers (under the presidency of Eoin MacNeill) are pledged to the cause of freedom of Ireland.

* In raising, training, arming and equipping the Irish Volunteers as a military body, the men of Ireland are acquiring the power to obtain the freedom of the Irish Nation.

* It is the duty of every Irishman who desires for his country her natural right of freedom and for himself the natural right of a freeman, to be an Irish Volunteer.

The Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook of 1917 commented: "This demonstration in the centre of Dublin on St. Patrick's Day was the first time the Irish Volunteers had taken aggressive action in daylight, but on several occasions previously they had conducted night manoeuvres and practised street fighting in open spaces, generally between Saturday night and Sunday morning, and one night their operations consisted of manoeuvring around the entrances to Dublin castle. The police on each occasion were eye witnesses of the operations, but did not interfere with the movement of the Volunteers."

The Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook. Irish Times, Dublin 1917. p5.

The event was described as looking like 'a scene from an impoverished opera, or the vagaries of wandering bands of revolutionaries in a pre-1914 Balkan Country' Charles Duff. 'Six days to shake an Empire'. Dent. London 1966. p89.

'The Irish Volunteers to the number of about 1,700 marched fully armed and in military array through the city of Cork'

Intelligence Notes 1913-16. Brendan MacGiolla Choille. Government Publications 1966, Dublin. p213.

Included in the 1,700 strong Cork march were 20 men from the Tracton Company under command of Michael Lynch.

The openness of the public (and by implication, treasonable) demonstration was what surprised both supporters and critics of the Irish Volunteers. Dublin Castle, however, adopted it's by now customary silence and Birrells policy of 'minimum action, maximum inaction'.

Casement began a new diary on this date with what he called 'The Last Page'

18

John Devoy's nephew, Peter, died from tuberculosis in Dublin.

19

The first branch of the Friends of Irish Freedom was founded in Boston.

Berlin: Nadolny of the German General Staff discovered that John McGooney had left Germany with a message for the Irish leadership. He said it was 'a gross breach of faith' while Casement asserted his 'absolute right to send a messenger to Ireland...their fear was that I had sent John McGooney to stop the rising. They asked again and again if I had given him instructions to that effect. I said I was not the master of the Irish Revolutionary body, and whatever I might say would only be advice or suggestion...these people wanted bloodshed in Ireland for their own ends...I had possibly spoiled their game by sending John McGooney across, and at any rate gravely imperilled the 'rising' coming off – or 'the war in Ireland' as Nadolny termed it'

W. J. Maloney. "The Forged Casement Diaries." Talbot Press, Dublin 1936. p119

20

The Irish Volunteers in Tullamore had a 'falling out' with the local branch of the G.A.A. The previous day, at a hurling match in aid of the Wolfe Tone memorial in the town, a spectator tried to take a Sinn Fein flag from another during which a revolver was drawn.

However, an event the next day was more dramatic. At the railway station, a group of Irish Volunteers objected to a display of Union Jacks carried by soldier's wives celebrating their husband's return from the Leinster Regiment at the Western Front. The official RIC report states that 'a number of Sinn Feiners began jibing and jeering at soldiers returning from the front. This conduct was resented by the soldiers wives and children who began to shout 'Down with the Kaiser', 'Down with Sinn Feiners' in front of the Sinn Fein room...some of the Sinn Feiners were escorted to their rooms by the police, but they would not remain indoors and came out again. One Sinn Fein fired a shot in the street. This enraged the crowd and they attacked the Sinn Fein room whereupon the Sinn Feiners fired from the room into the crowd and when the police entered the room to disarm them they fired on the County Inspector and Sergeant Ahern'

McGolla Choille 'Intelligence Notes – Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle 1913-16' GPO, 1966. P207

Following this 'affray', several Sinn Fein organisers were arrested on grounds of having fired at or attacked with intent to murder County Inspector Crane, District Inspector Fitzgerald, Head Constable Stuart and Sergeant Ahern (who had been seriously injured and held in Dr Steeven's Hospital, Dublin) banned under DORA and Liam Mellows was deported to England. This certainly appeased Lord Wimborne and Unionists both in the Coalition Government and in the South.

However the Irish Press, on Friday, April 6, 1934 gave a differing account of the event:

"at the holding of a tournament under the auspices of the GAA, huge crowds attended and Tricolour flags were being distributed by members of Cumman na mBan...feeling was running high in the town...myriads of Union Jacks sprung up...hopelessly outnumbering the Tricolour flags...Tricolours...were being snatched from girls tunics and trampled underfoot... (the Volunteers 'relocated' to the Sinn Fein Hall where) the infuriated mob had smashed every window...one of the Volunteer leaders who was armed, appeared at one of the shattered windows and fired over the heads of the mob...shots were exchanged, a constable fell wounded and two volunteers were on their keeping, a price on their heads.."

Diarmuid Lynch papers. 1916 Scrapbook of paper clippings. National Library of Ireland MS 31-405

Food rationing begins in Germany as food shortages become acute.

21

The import of spirits, motors and pianos banned for the duration of the war.

Captain Karl Spindler's frustration with monotonous North Sea patrol duty came to an end. Spindler was not yet 29 years old and got the assignment for a undisclosed special mission; he was to select five petty officers and 16 crew members out of the crews of six outpost boats of the Flotilla. These were not to be older than a certain age, and were to be unmarried. They learned nothing about the nature of the special assignment, but from that moment forward they were to pledge themselves to absolute secrecy.

22

British counter-intelligence moved slowly on the proposed arms landings in Kerry. Ten days after the message from the German Embassy in Washington was decoded, the Director of British Military Intelligence passed the information to General MacDonagh who, quoting 'an absolutely reliable source' advised Field Marshall Lord French, Commander in Chief of the Home Forces of the possibility of a Rising in Ireland within one month with simultaneous arms landings taking place.

Lord French, First Earl of Ypres, had been made Field Marshall in 1913, but left his appointment early in 1914 due to 'military troubles' in Ireland relating to Ulster. He was recalled to take command of the British Expeditionary Force in France later the same year and relieved of his post in December 1915. He returned to England, raised to

a peerage and became Commander in Chief of the United Kingdom. Well known as an anti-Home Ruler.

23

General McDonagh now advised General L.B.Friend, the Competent Military Authority in Ireland, of the intelligence gathered but passing on military information to the civilian administration in Dublin Castle?

...As for Lord Wimborne and Mr. Birrell, who met with French in London that day...were not told anything at all. Captain Hall was naturally anxious about preserving in the greatest secrecy the fact that his cryptographers has broken the German codes: and to him, as to General MacDonagh, politicians were as leaky as sieves...

George Dangerfield "The Damnable Question - a study in Anglo-Irish Relations" Constable London, 1977. P.160-161

24

The British Government in Ireland, under General Friend, ordered the suppression of the Irish newspaper The Gael. On a search through distribution outlets, the Dublin Metropolitan Police searched the Workers' Co-Operative Society, a small store adjoining Liberty Hall. It's owner informed Connolly, who arrived in just as soldiers were behind the counter taking old copies of the newspaper -- the newer copy had not yet been delivered. When Connolly asked if they had a warrant, the officers replied no. Connolly then produced an automatic pistol and calmly said, "Then drop those papers, or I'll drop you." The papers were duly dropped and after their commanding officer spoke with Connolly, the group left to get a warrant. Under the Defence of the Realm regulations (DORA) this was un-necessary but the bluff gave the Citizen Army time to mobilise.

By the time the DMP returned, ICA men and women guarded the store, including Countess Constance Markievicz and James Connolly, armed with automatics. The officers produced a warrant, and were told by Connolly that they could search the store up until the door where it joined with Liberty Hall. If they tried to pass that point they would be shot. An hour after the first call, 150 Irish Citizen Army volunteers now guarded the Hall, and, by the end of the day, over two-hundred of the ICA were garrisoned at Liberty Hall, with more still arriving as they heard the news. Men left their places of work in the middle of the work day, dropping whatever they were doing to help the Union. At the docks, one supervisor, having heard the Union workers called out by messengers, and believing it a strike, shut the doors at the Dublin Bay warehouse. Undaunted, a few of the workers jumped in the river and swam across to the opposite quay, and headed to Liberty Hall. The Women's Ambulance Corps and the Na Fianna Eireann also mobilised and joined those at Liberty Hall. Dubliners returning from lunch, seeing men running from work, rifle in hand, feared an uprising, and Dublin Castle was barraged with phone calls and visitors requesting news. After this incident, Liberty Hall, with Connolly in residence, was under armed guard night and day until the Rising.

"The Sussex", a French cross-channel steamer was sunk by submarine off Dieppe.

26

Casement writing to Dr.Charles Curry (an Irish-American living near Munich) expressed his disappointment at the German response to the proposed Rising:

"I can't withdraw...they want to get rid of the whole thing at the cheapest cost to themselves - a tramp steamer, 20,000 old rifles, 4,000,000 cartridges and 10 machine guns. Monteith and the Irish Brigade and I go to our dooms - and the German Government washes its hands of all responsibility."

George Dangerfield "The Damnable Question - a study in Anglo-Irish Relations" Constable London, 1977. P.166

Casement remained convinced that on arrival, the Irish Brigade would be eventually captured and shot as deserters and traitors. Casement's letter also details his reactions to accusations of receiving 'German gold'..."*So much for the charge of selling myself to the German Government and getting 'German gold'...on the contrary every penny I have spent in Germany has been 'Irish gold' - money sent me by Irishmen and a good deal has gone into German hands! Far from my getting 'German gold' it is the Germans tht have had 'Irish gold'...since I came to Germany I have spent roughly about £2000 and many Germans have done well out of me...Dr Caro, a Berlin lawyer, got 500 marks for some very paltry 'advise' in the Findlay affair. Doctors have had a big haul...I have not found any German I may say (except Mrs Gaffney's maid!) who has done anything for me for nothing - or for love. No one has refused my 'Irish gold'...these people who have all gathered round me when they thought there was something to make out of me, now when they think there is nothing to be got, slander me and even call me a traitor'*

Dr. Charles E Curry. "Diaries of Sir Roger Casement - His Mission to Germany & The Findlay Affair." Arche Publishing Co, Munich, Germany 1922. Lynch Archives - Granig. P.200-01

'MacNeill when reviewing a muster of Volunteers at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick...inadvertently got an inkling that Commandant Pearse had issued certain orders of which he had not been aware. The O/C on that occasion, in the belief that the Irish Volunteers Chief of Staff had cognisance of all orders issued, casually remarked that he as Commandant of the Limerick Brigade had received instructions to 'hold the line of the Shannon in the event of actual hostilities'. This seemed rather peculiar to MacNeill but he did not dwell on the subject and its real significance did not then occur to him.'

Diarmuid Lynch 'The Countermarching Orders of Holy Week 1916' written for 'An Cosantoir' but not published due to objections from Bulmer Hobson. Later published in 'The IRB and the 1916 Rising' 1957.

Countess Markievicz was prevented from giving a lecture in Tralee by Connolly. Some historians feel this was an attempt by Connolly to 'raise the political temperature in Co. Kerry for the Germans'

A. Morgan. 'James Connolly - a political biography' Manchester University Press. 1988. P169

Connolly also an amateur playwright produced a three act play 'Under which Flag?' about a young man in Fenain times rejecting the British army. It's premier was in Liberty Hall and while it received positive reviews in 'The Workers Republic', Sean O'Casey was less then enamoured describing that it 'had blundered a sentimental way over a stage...in a green limelight, shot with tinsel stars.'

A. Morgan. 'James Connolly - a political biography' Manchester University Press. 1988. P174

The Central Executive of the Irish Volunteers issued a strongly worded statement to the effect that Volunteers would not recognise the right of the British Government to disarm or imprison them.

28:

A munitions strike on the Clyde now involved some 3000 workers in the production of armaments and munitions. At issue is conscription and any wartime restriction on strikes and wages. 6 of the ringleaders were arrested.

The Executive of the Irish Volunteers published a warning that any attempt to deprive the Volunteers of arms would be resisted by force.

30

A protest meeting was held in the Mansion House against the order to deport some Irish Volunteers organisers, including Liam Mellows. The speakers included Eoin MacNeill and 'two Roman Catholic Clergymen' and speeches were described as being '...of a strong character, and during the proceedings a collection was made amongst the audience for the defence of the organisers. The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

'This public meeting of Dublin citizens in the Mansion House, Dublin, asks all Irish people to join in opposing the Government's attempt, unanimously condemned by national opinion last year, and now renewed, to send Irishmen into banishment from Ireland.'

After the meeting, a number of persons who had attended it marched through the streets, and revolver shots were fired in Grafton Street and opposite the Provost's House at Trinity College. One of the revolver shots pierced a pocket in the overcoat of Inspector Barrett D.M.P.'

The Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook. Irish Times, Dublin 1917. P6

A soldier in the Irish Fusiliers, home wounded from Suvla Bay wrote to the Irish Times that while driving in a cab along Grafton Street, some of the men from the Mansion House meeting 'hurled filthy epithets...and one man spat at me through the window' adding that other soldiers were jostled and insulted by the crowd.

31

Another public meeting to protest against the deportation orders was held in Beresford Place, presided by Alderman Sean T. O'Kelly and with Mr.Sheehy-Skeffington as one of the speakers. New York: John Devoy was also planning on making a visit to Ireland to join the revolution that he had worked for so many years to help bring about. For a time it appeared as if the old man, half deaf and troubled by poor vision, would get his wish as one of his friends was arranging to get the papers of a man who matched Devoy in age, size, weight and appearance.

Melancourt taken by Germans in the Battle of Verdun.

Florie O'Donoghue recalled the strenght of the Cork Irish Volunteer organisation: *there were only 46 companies, with none exceeding 120 men.'*

Michael Hopkinson 'The Irish War of Independence' Gill & MacMillan, Dublin 2002. p104

Postscript to Casement & McGoey:

March 19, 1916: Casement saw McGoey off from the stairs of his hotel in Berlin at 7.30 am. The Admiralty provided a police agent "to get McGoey over the German frontier" to Warnemunde with no papers or passport and be put into Denmark, Casement adding that he was smuggled into Denmark "without the knowledge of the General Staff.". McGoey left Casement a list of the surest men for the trip to Ireland: there are 19 men on that list, and McGoey says he had doubts about O'Toole'

Casement's diary notes say that the real purpose of McGoey going to Ireland was to get the leadership in Ireland to call off the rising and merely try to land the arms safely and distribute these. Casement told McGoey to inform Dublin that he "strongly urged no 'rising'" because of the insufficient German help. McGoey apparently agreed, telling Casement "It would be criminal, and he had long suspected the Germans of playing a double game."

Casement further explained "He would do anything I asked him. I told him it was necessary for me to keep silent as to my real opinions before the German General Staff and that when I took him to the Admiralty he must do the same." An unfinished, crumpled note to his comrades in which McGoey tried to excuse his "apparently cold and feelingless departure" was retained by Casement.

Ten days after his departure, Casement discovered that the General Staff now knew of McGoey's journey.

Keogh says that McGoey was taken off a Swedish ship by the British in Kirkwall and shot the day before Good Friday 1916 at Peterhead Prison Scotland. Peterhead was fully equipped with a scaffold. He might have been taken to the quarry and shot but it would have been a lot easier to hang him. He does not appear on a list of spies executed.

Zerhusen believes McGoey was a British Agent. But equally well he could have been a German agent. Probably McGoey was not an agent at all, but was picked up by the British as suspicious, and interrogated.

Casement later told his solicitor that McGoey, "formerly of Glasgow", had been "taken off ship at Kirkwall." He provided no source for that story. Casement then risked sending out a written message through Gertrude, written on the back of Cathal O'Byrne's letter of 22 June 1916: "I want Joe McGarrity told about him as it was Joe sent him over to me...I fear they have him in their clutches." This is while Casement was in prison awaiting trial in London, and implies that Casement thought that McGoey was alive at that date.

1919 McGoey was mentioned by Frank Hall of MI5 who examined the letters that Casement left with the Blüchers, and noted "With regard to John McGoey who is referred to further on in the same letter as 'the Volunteer who had come over from America in November (1915)' and whom Casement refers to further down on the same page as having been 'dispatched on Sunday 19th March (1916), to Denmark with instructions to reach Dublin without delay'; I have failed entirely to trace this man or to connect him in any way with our records. The name is no doubt an assumed one but we have no record of any person who would appear to have come from America at the time stated or to have come to this country from Denmark."

So it would appear that McGoey disappeared off the face of the earth when he left Berlin, and there is no record of his death or of any other sighting. He could have been a double agent for either the British or the Germans. The real McGoey might have been killed before he arrived in Zossen, by either the British or the Germans. The Irish army, in 1924, tried to find where he might have come from in Ireland, and failed (BMH in Dublin).

However, the website www.irishbrigade.eu has established a paper trail for McGoey tracing him to London in late 1916 and then to the United States where he lived in relative obscurity before dying in 1924 following a building accident in Chicago.

Of course it's difficult if not impossible to establish if he was a double agent or maybe he simply had enough of revolutionary activities and dropped out. Either way, the postcard and message was never passed on.



Above: John McGoey (1883-1924) or the person claiming to be John McGoey. Below: Part of his Seaman's Identification Card.



The Forgotten Ten: 95th Anniversary



March 1921: 95 years ago this month, seven Irish Volunteers were hanged in Mountjoy Prison. Whelan, Moran, Flood, Doyle, Ryan & Bryan were executed together on 14 March 1921, Traynor on 25 March and Foley & Maher on June 7

The Forgotten Ten (Irish: An Deichniúr Dearthadta) is the term applied to ten members of the Irish Republican Army who were executed in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin by British forces following courts martial from 1920–21 during the Irish War of Independence.

Based upon military law at the time, they were buried within the prison precincts, their graves unmarked in the unconsecrated ground. The names of the Forgotten Ten are Kevin Barry, Patrick Moran, Frank Flood, Thomas Whelan, Thomas Traynor, Patrick Doyle, Edmond Foley, Thomas Bryan, Bernard Ryan, and Patrick Maher. The executioner was John Ellis, one of the United Kingdom's hangmen at that time

Background

The War of Independence years 1919-1921 were turbulent, violent times. Martial Law extended over most of the country, there were regular general strikes against British military policy, the majority of the people supported the establishment of an independent and sovereign parliament, and the IRA was waging a campaign of guerrilla war against British occupation.

Between November 1920 and June 1921 the British executed 26 men by firing squad or by hanging. In the same period, it is estimated that more than 130 republicans were killed, untried, while in custody. This policy of state executions was matched by a policy of unofficial and official state reprisals, carried out by the many military arms of the British Empire in Ireland.

Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson pointed out that "these reprisals [unofficial] were being carried out without anybody being responsible... I said that it was the business of government to govern. If these men ought to be murdered, then the government ought to murder them". Wilson was, at this time, effectively the government of Ireland, the chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Thomas Whelan



Executed 14 March 1921 (aged 22)

Thomas Whelan, originally from Connemara. He left home at 18 to work at Broadstone train depot in Dublin and while there joined A Company, 3rd Battalion, Dublin Brigade. He was arrested on 23 November 1920 and, on 1 February 1921, was charged with the death by shooting of Captain GT Baggallay, an army prosecutor who had been a member of courts that sentenced Volunteers to death under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Regulations on Bloody Sunday (1920).

Whelan was defended at his court martial by Michael

Noyk, through whom he protested his innocence of the charges. The high-profile nationalist and later final Governor General of the Free State, Tim Healy, refused to defend him and others charged.

As in the case of Patrick Moran, there was eyewitness evidence that Whelan had been at Mass at the time the shooting took place. The prosecution cast doubt on the reliability of the eyewitnesses, arguing that as Catholics they were not neutral. The defence complained that it was unfair to suggest the witnesses "were prepared to come up and perjure themselves on behalf of the prisoner" because "they belonged to a certain class and might hold certain political opinions". The court did, however, trust the evidence of an army officer who lived in the same house as Baggallay and who had identified Whelan as the man covering him with a revolver during the raid. There was also testimony by a soldier who had passed by the house when he heard shots fired. This witness said he saw Whelan outside, attempting to start his motorcycle. Whelan was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death.

In Mountjoy Gaol, he was imprisoned with the writer and activist Ernie O'Malley, who described him: "... smooth-faced, quiet and brown eyed with wavy hair; he smiled quietly and steadily. His voice was soft and when he laughed with the others one knew that the fibre was not as hard and that there was a shade of wistfulness about him."

An application to the Lord Lieutenant for a reprieve was turned down on 2 March while another Volunteer, Edward Potter, was granted a reprieve. In a message to his friends he said: "Give the boys my love. Tell them to follow on and never surrender. Tell them to pray for me, especially 'Dev's Own', and I will pray for them. Tell them I am proud to die for Ireland."

He was hanged at 6.00 am along with Patrick Moran, the first of six men to be executed that day – the six were executed in twos. A crowd estimated at 40,000 gathered outside the prison to pray as the executions took place. His mother, Bridget, saw him before his execution, and waited outside with the praying crowd holding candles. She told a reporter that she had left her son "so happy and cheerful you would almost imagine he was going to see a football match".

Patrick Moran



Executed 14 March 1921 (aged 33)

Moran was born in Crossna, County Roscommon. He was the third of eleven children of Bartholemew and Brigid Moran and attended primary school in Crossna before going to work as a grocer's assistant in Boyle. In 1911 he settled in Dublin. He was an active member of the G.A.A.. He was involved in the 1913 Dublin Lock-out. He was a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers. As Adjutant of D Company, 2nd Battalion of the Dublin section of the Volunteers he fought in the Jacob's Factory Garrison during the Easter Rising of 1916 under Thomas MacDonagh. In the aftermath of the Rising he was imprisoned at Knutsford Prison and later at Frongoch. He was tried in Wormwood Scrubs and released in July 1916.

In 1917, he was a founder of the Irish National Union of Vintners, Grocers and Allied Trades (now Mandate). He went on to serve as the organisation's president and chairman of its Kingstown branch.

Continued>

After his release from internment he became a captain in 'D' Company of the 2nd Battalion, Dublin Brigade, IRA. He was arrested on one occasion in 1920 during a strike for better conditions for members of his union and was imprisoned in Mountjoy for two weeks when he refused to take bail as he said he had done no wrong. He was arrested at his place of work on the Friday after Bloody Sunday (1920) and taken to the Bridewell Station. He was transferred two weeks later to Arbour Hill.

While in detention at Arbour Hill Prison, he was subjected to a number of identity parades and was falsely identified as being the man who had held up a motor cyclist outside 38 Mount Street, Dublin where Lieutenant Ames, a suspected intelligence officer was killed. He strongly protested his innocence of involvement in that incident on Bloody Sunday. He claimed he was at Mass in Blackrock (over four miles from the scene of the shooting) at the time. Several witnesses supported this alibi evidence but it was false. However witnesses including the rector of a church attested that the claim by soldier witnesses to have known the time by the chiming of the church bell revealed that the bell had not chimed for years.

He was transferred from Arbour Hill to Kilmainham Jail and incarcerated in what was known as the "Murderers' Gallery", two cells away from Ernie O'Malley, with whom he became good friends. On 14 February 1921, Moran, O'Malley and Frank Teeling broke through the padlock of an outer gate of the prison. However Moran refused to take the opportunity to escape as he reportedly felt the authorities would interpret it as an admission of guilt, telling O'Malley "I don't want to let down the witnesses who gave evidence for me."

Moran started a concert to distract the guards while the men escaped, with Simon Donnelly taking Moran's place. The event is related in detail in O'Malley's memoir *On Another Man's Wound*. He was tried the day following the break out in City Hall, Dame Street, Dublin. Moran was convicted of murder three days later and sentenced to be hanged on 14 March 1921. Moran and Thomas Whelan were tried for murder; Francis Flood, Thomas Bryan, Patrick Doyle and Bernard Ryan for high treason. They were all found guilty and sentenced to death. The Archbishop of Dublin spoke out against the sentence. The Irish National Union of Vintners' Grocers' & Allied Trades' Assistants, of which Moran had been an active member, called a half-day general strike on the morning of the executions and over 40,000 people gathered outside Mountjoy to pray for the six men who were hanged between 6am and 8am. The townships of Bray, Dún Laoghaire, and Blackrock closed down, with the municipal flags flying at half-mast, on the day of his hanging, with masses said in all churches every hour from 6am to noon. All branches of the post office throughout Ireland stopped work.

Frank Flood



Executed 14 March 1921 (aged 19)

Francis Xavier Flood (June 1901 – 14 March 1921) Flood was the son of a policeman and the 1911 census lists the family living at 15 Emmet Street. He was one of eight brothers, most of whom were heavily involved in the Independence movement.

He attended secondary school in O'Connell Schools, Dublin and won a scholarship to study engineering at University College Dublin where he was an active member of UCD's famous debating forum, the Literary and Historical Society. He passed his first and second year engineering exams with distinction. At the time of his arrest he was living with his family at 30 Summerhill Parade, Dublin.

He was captured, together with Thomas Bryan, Patrick Doyle, Bernard Ryan and Dermot O'Sullivan while attacking a lorry-load of Dublin Metropolitan Police at Drumcondra on 21 January 1921. All of the men were found in possession of arms and a grenade was discovered in Flood's pocket. On 24 February 1921 Flood was charged by Court-martial, with high treason/levying war against the King and sentenced to death.

Prior to his execution, Frank wrote to his brother Alfie: "there must be no weeping for me. I am going where I might never have reached if I had lived my ordinary life". When his father said that efforts for a reprieve were being made, Frank said: "we ask not for a reprieve, but for justice".

He was one of six men executed by hanging on 14 March 1921 in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. At nineteen years of age, he was the youngest of the six. Flood was a close personal friend of Kevin Barry, and asked that he be buried as close as possible to him. He had taken part in the September 1920 ambush during which Barry had been arrested and had been involved in the planning of several aborted attempts to rescue him. Flood would remain buried at Mountjoy Prison, together with nine other executed members of the Irish Republican Army known as The Forgotten Ten, until he was given a state funeral and reburied at Glasnevin Cemetery on 14 October 2001.

Patrick Doyle



Executed 14 March 1921 (aged 29)

Patrick Doyle was a carpenter, married with four children, from Dublin. He was one of the six men hanged following the attempted ambush at Drumcondra. His brother Sean was fatally wounded at the Custom House six weeks later.

Patrick was an experienced Volunteer and was involved in the spectacular arms raid on Collinstown Aerodrome in 1919. Along with Frank Flood, he was on standby to take part in escape plans for Kevin Barry. The first plan to rescue Kevin involved the seizure of an armoured car during the Court Martial in Marlborough Barracks. Volunteer Willie O'Connell was killed in the operation, which was carried out under the command of Dick McKee.

The second attempt was planned for the Saturday before the execution. The attempt was aborted when a priest got the visit ahead of Kathy Barry who was to inform Kevin of the attempt. By the time his sister was admitted it was too late and the operation was called off.

The next day many of the same Volunteers were on standby to cover Dick McKee and Oscar Traynor in their audacious plan to visit Barry dressed as priests. This was aborted due to time constraints. A further plan involved

breaching the prison wall with a landmine on the eve of the execution while Frank Flood's H Coy opened fire at the front gates.

The landmine was prepared by Jack Plunkett but just before they left, news arrived that Kevin's guard had received orders to shoot him if any disturbance took place and that the British military in the area had been intensified.

Bernard Ryan



Executed 14 March 1921

Bernard Ryan, an apprentice tailor from Dublin, also participated in the abortive 'Drumcondra Ambush'.

He was one of the IRA men who had claimed the bodies of McKee and Cluny from a Dublin Hospital after the two Volunteers had been assassinated by the Black and Tans in reprisal for the killing of 14 British Intelligence officers on Bloody Sunday.

Formerly a member of Dublin Brigade's First Battalion, Bernard was a member of the ASU.

To his mother he wrote the following:

"Dear Mother, I received the first news this evening and you will have to bear it as bravely as possible. The job comes off on Monday, but before that I hope to be able to see you and in the meantime keep your heart. Remember me to all my friends and Sarah, Katie, Paddy and Agnes. Your fond son, Bertie."

Thomas Bryan



Executed 14 March 1921

Thomas Bryan was an electrician and lived in Dublin. He married just four months before his arrest. A member of the ASU, he too was arrested after the abortive 'Drumcondra Ambush'.

Thomas had previously been imprisoned for republican activities and had been transferred from Mountjoy to Dundalk following Thomas Ashe's death in 1917.

The POWs went on hunger strike and were later released in November 1917.

Thomas Traynor



Executed 25 April 1921 (aged 39)

Thomas Traynor was 39 years old and a father of ten. He moved to Dublin from Carlow in 1916 and had a small shoemaker's shop.

He was stationed in Boland's Mill during Easter week and was later interned in Wakefield jail, where he shared a cell with Sean Mac Eoin, and then Frongoch.

Traynor was captured during an ambush on Auxiliaries in Brunswick Street, Dublin, on 14 March 1921, and tried on 5 April at City Hall.

He was part of a party of IRA men keeping watch outside a meeting at 144 Brunswick Street that included Seán MacBride. During the fight Volunteer Leo Fitzgerald was killed, as were Constable James O'Farrell and Cadet Bernard Beard of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. He was badly beaten by the Igoe Gang before execution. Dublin Castle seemed to consider the execution of Traynor mainly in terms of the impact it would have on Irish public opinion.

From his diary extract, it would appear that Mark Sturgis a senior Civil Servant of the Castle administration, seemed unaware that a hostage was being held in the event of Traynor being killed.

"...(Monday 25 April) Traynor, captured red handed with an attacking party when Auxiliaries were killed in Brunswick Street, was executed this morning. I don't think they will make much fuss as there is no sort of 'alibi' business this time - nor is he the usual 'youth', dear to 'The Freeman', as he is over 40 and has a pack of children, the poor deluded idiot..."

On the day following his death, Gilbert Potter, a Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) District Inspector based in Cahir, County Tipperary, and being held for Traynor's safe treatment was executed in reprisal by members of the Third Tipperary Brigade. Another IRA member, Jack Donnelly, captured with Thomas was also sentenced to death but reprieved by the declaration of the truce in June 1921.

Edmond Foley



Executed 7 June 1921 (aged 23)

Edmond Foley, from Limerick. He took part in the audacious Knocklong rescue of Sean Hogan after he had been captured in Thurles. Sean Hogan had taken part in

the ambush at Soloheadbeg, County Tipperary.

Foley along with colleagues from the Galtee Battalion: Ned O'Brien, James Scanlon, John Joe O'Brien, and Sean Lynch, had taken part in the rescue of IRA member Seán Hogan from a train at Knocklong Railway Station on 13 May 1919, along with Hogan's comrades from the 3rd Tipperary Brigade: Sean Treacy, Séamus Robinson and Dan Breen. Seán Hogan was handcuffed and seated between four armed members of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). Two members of the RIC were killed in the fight and several members of the rescuing party injured, while Hogan was successfully rescued. Hogan had been captured a day earlier following the Soloheadbeg ambush. The beginning of the Irish War of Independence is generally traced to the events at Soloheadbeg.

After going on the run for a number of months, Foley was arrested and charged with two counts of murder for the two men killed at Knocklong. Foley and another volunteer, Patrick Maher, were tried three times for these murders with juries failing to reach verdicts on two occasions. Their third trial was by court martial on the 15 March 1921 in Dublin and both were convicted of murder. Among the many who appealed for clemency was the father of one of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) men killed at Knocklong, Sergeant Peter Wallace. Nonetheless, both Foley and Maher were hanged on 7 June 1921.

Foley and Maher made a joint, final statement just hours before their deaths: "Fight on, struggle on, for the honour, glory and freedom of dear old Ireland. Our hearts go out to all our dear old friends. Our souls go to God at seven o'clock in the morning and our bodies, when Ireland is free, shall go to Galbally. Our blood shall not be shed in vain for Ireland and we have a strong presentiment, going to our God, that Ireland will soon be free.

Ten of his relatives were arrested in the Four Courts Hotel the evening before the execution. Edmond was hanged with Patrick Maher.

Patrick Maher



Executed 7 June 1921 (aged 32)

Patrick Maher from Limerick. He too was hanged for his alleged involvement in the rescue of Sean Hogan, despite not being involved.

In a final message, Patrick and Edmond said: "*Fight on, struggle on, for the honour, glory and freedom of dear old Ireland. Our hearts go out to all our dear old friends. Our souls go to God at 7 o'clock in the morning and our bodies, when Ireland is free, shall go to Galbally. Our blood shall not be shed in vain for Ireland, and we have a strong presentiment, going to our God, that Ireland will soon be free and we gladly give our lives that a smile may brighten the face of 'Dear Dark Rosaleen'. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!*"

His mother and sister joined Edmond's family and thousands of others outside Mountjoy Jail at the appointed hour.

Campaign for re-burial

Following the Irish War of Independence, Mountjoy Prison was transferred to the control of the Irish Free State, which became the State of Ireland in 1937. In the 1920s, the families of the dead men requested their remains be returned to them for proper burial. This effort was joined in the later 1920s by the National Graves Association. Through the efforts of the Association, the graves of the men were identified in 1934, and in 1996 a Celtic Cross was erected in Glasnevin Cemetery to commemorate them

The campaign to rebury the men dragged on for 80 years from their deaths. Following an intense period of negotiations, the Irish government relented. Plans to exhume the bodies of the 10 men were announced on 1 November 2000, the 80th anniversary of the execution of Kevin Barry. On 14 October 2001, the Forgotten Ten were afforded full state honours, with a private service at Mountjoy Prison for the families of the dead, a requiem mass at St Mary's Pro-Cathedral and burial in Glasnevin Cemetery.

According to The Guardian, some criticised the event as glorifying militant Irish republicanism. It coincided with the Fianna Fáil party conference.

The progress of the cortège through the centre of Dublin was witnessed by crowds estimated as being in the tens of thousands who broke into spontaneous applause as the coffins passed. On O'Connell Street, a lone piper played a lament as the cortege paused outside the General Post Office, the focal point of the 1916 Easter Rising. In his homily during the requiem mass, Cardinal Cahal Daly, a long-time critic of the IRA campaign in Northern Ireland, insisted that there was a clear distinction between the conflict of 1916-22 and the paramilitary-led violence of the previous 30 years: "The true inheritors today of the ideals of the men and women of 1916 to 1922 are those who are explicitly and visibly committed to leaving the physical force tradition behind... Surely this state funeral can be an occasion for examination of conscience about the ideals of the men who died, and about our responsibility for translating those ideals into today's realities."

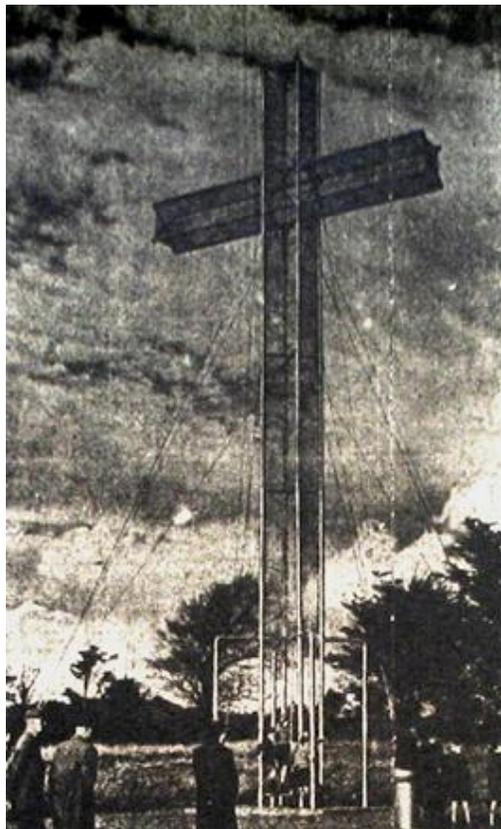
In his graveside oration the Taoiseach Bertie Ahern echoed these sentiments and also paid tribute to the Ten: "...These 10 young men were executed during the War of Independence. The country was under tremendous pressure at the time. There was a united effort. Meanwhile, elected by the people, Dáil Éireann was developing, in spite of a war going on. Democracy was being put to work. Independent civic institutions, including the Dáil courts, were beginning to function. Before their deaths, the ten had seen the light of freedom. They understood that Ireland would be free and independent..."

The state funeral, broadcast live on national television and radio, was only the 13th since independence. Patrick Maher would not be reburied with his comrades. In accordance with his wishes, and those of his family, he was reinterred in Ballylanders, County Limerick.



Carrs Hill Famine Graveyard continued..

Olaf Sorensen Snr. died in 1979 and in the early eighties, the cross lights went out and remained dark for twenty years. Funding was one problem. Also, Cork Airport had misgivings about the fact that the lighted cross was too close to the airport's runways.



(Above – 1958: The Memorial opens)

The 80ft cross, built and paid for one way or another by Mr Sorensen, was a symbol in Cork and has become a memorial to him. In the late nineties, it illuminated the night sky again due to the efforts of ESB staff, who have repaired the faulty wiring and maintained it.

The airport issue was also solved as a different form of lighting approved by the Irish Aviation Authority was installed.

On the 150th anniversary of the famine in 1997, a memorial stone was unveiled by US Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith,

Today

Today, the graveyard is protected under National Monuments legislation.

While the site is owned by the HSE, both Cork County Council and the HSE, as well as the Cork Famine Group, have been working closely together in efforts to preserve and promote the site. While at present there is no informational signage available at the site, the main obstacle for public visits of the cemetery is the busy and dangerous N28 main road - one of Ireland's busiest commuter routes linking the city with Carrigaline, Ringaskiddy, Crosshaven, Minane Bridge and Tracton.

The lights however, have since fallen into disrepair again and been subject to vandalism. The memorial to the famine Victims and paupers of Cork remains dark.

Show trial shambles

British authorities court-martialled 171 of the 3,226 they arrested during the Rising. Some were convicted in just minutes without any defence, writes Patrick Geoghegan

A few days after sentencing Patrick Pearse to death by firing squad, Brigadier-General Charles Blackadder admitted that it had been one of the hardest tasks of his life. "I have condemned to death one of the finest characters I have ever come across," he told a friend. Reflecting on recent events, he added: "There must be something very wrong in the state of things that makes a man like him a rebel."

Pearse was one of 90 rebels sentenced to death after the rising. Fifteen would have their sentences executed, and were shot between May 3 and 12 1916. In the aftermath of the rising, the British authorities decided to court-martial 171 of the 3,226 rebels arrested. All were men, except for Constance Markievicz.

The legal framework for the prosecutions was ambiguous. The Defence of the Realm Acts had been in place since the outbreak of World War I, but complicating matters was the declaration of martial law when the rebellion started. Interpreting these measures in a way that was most favourable to get the results he wanted, General Maxwell decided to try the prisoners in secret by field general court martial, without any defence lawyers, rather than open it out to a public jury trial. Field general court martials were designed to try soldiers fighting on the front, not civilians, and had as its primary objective maintaining army discipline. Adopting this in Ireland made it considerably easier to get convictions, but it also raised doubts about the legality of what took place. In a recent scholarly article, Judge Adrian Hardiman has forensically analysed the legal framework used and eviscerated it.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the court martials was their rapidity, and the speed took even the British government by surprise. There was no time to prepare a defence, and most of the trials lasted only a matter of minutes. Some, like WT Cosgrave and Willie Pearse, were found guilty after 15 minutes. Between May 2 and 17, 160 court martials took place and 149 resulted in convictions. Some of the accused called witnesses, but there was almost no time or opportunity to prepare a defence. Even within the court-martial framework, certain rights were ignored.

William Wylie, a lieutenant in the Officer Training Corps and a young king's counsel in Dublin, acted as the lead prosecutor in a number of cases. He was uncomfortable with the 'drum head' nature of the process, the absence of defence lawyers, and the speed and secrecy. He visited the Attorney General, James Campbell, and pleaded with him to allow legal representation for the prisoners. Campbell refused, saying he would give the rebels "no public advertising", and would not be satisfied "unless 40 of them were shot". The draconian approach only contributed to the feeling afterwards that the prisoners had been shot in cold blood.

Three officers formed a panel of judges, and a death sentence required a unanimous guilty verdict, which then went to General Maxwell for confirmation. Almost all of the cases were held in Dublin, and Richmond Barracks was scene of most of the high-profile ones. The accused were charged with taking part in an armed rebellion, waging war against the king, hurting the defence of the realm, and assisting the enemy. All pleaded not guilty, except for Willie Pearse who seemed determined to join his brother in martyrdom.

Major John McBride, who joined the rebellion on Easter Monday in a fit of patriotism, embraced death, and allowed evidence to be discovered on his person that would assist conviction (having first removed the names of other rebels to avoid incriminating them). Creating his own legend, he cheerfully accepted his fate. At his court martial, he called his landlady to give evidence, even

though she had nothing of value to offer. It seems he was romantically involved with her and engineered this purely so that he could see her one last time.

From the private memoir of Wylie, we get an incredible insight into the behaviour of the leading rebels, and this is supplemented by the official court records that Séan Enright has analysed brilliantly in his recent book *Easter Rising 1916: The Trials*.

Some of the leaders made no attempt to defend themselves. Thomas MacDonagh, described by Wylie as "a poet, a dreamer, and an idealist", was the only prisoner who said absolutely nothing throughout, while Thomas Clarke treated the court with icy contempt.

Some went to great lengths to try and evade conviction. Michael Mallin, in charge of the fighting at St Stephen's Green, lied throughout his testimony and tried to pass himself off as a simple foot soldier, ordered by Markievicz to take command of the men. He was found guilty and sentenced to death.

Only one of the men who had served in the GPO was acquitted. John Reynolds was found not guilty while pretending he had been taken prisoner in the GPO while attempting to buy stamps with his daughter. In reality, he and his daughter were active rebels.

James Connolly was tried at the Red Cross Hospital in Dublin Castle, propped up in his bed. Two of the military officers who had been prisoners in the GPO testified to Connolly's role in the rebellion, and this was supplemented by some written despatches from him. In a handwritten statement, Connolly denied the charges of wanton cruelty to prisoners, and asserted that he had wanted to establish an Irish Republic, "a holier cause" than fighting in World War I.

Pearse wore his green Volunteer uniform to his court martial at Richmond Barracks. The evidence against him was damning, in particular a letter to his mother where he had made reference to "a German expedition". He almost certainly knew this letter would be intercepted by the authorities, and that it would provide all the evidence they needed to pass a death sentence. Speaking in his defence, Pearse declared that he had made a vow to God as a child that he would "work all his life to gain the freedom of Ireland". And he was defiant that he was prepared to accept the consequences of his actions, admitting having organised men to fight against Britain and allying with Germany. Wylie later described Pearse's speech as "a Robert Emmet type". It had a powerful effect. Blackadder was strangely moved, and admitted that he could understand why Pearse's "pupils adored him".

The court martial of Markievicz on May 4 has proven the most controversial for historians. In some accounts, Markievicz hurled defiance at her accusers; in others she crumpled completely. According to Wylie, she "curled up" and began crying "I am only a woman, and you cannot shoot a woman, you must not shoot a woman". Wylie had been expecting a performance and was "slightly disgusted", writing that, by the end, "she was literally crawling. I won't say anymore; it disgusts me still". The official transcript is perhaps more reliable. Markievicz declared that she "went out to fight for Ireland's freedom" and asserted that "it doesn't matter what happens to me". The barrister who recorded the summary of evidence stated that she answered the charge by asserting that "we dreamed on an Irish republic and thought we had a fighting chance", before breaking down in tears.

Under considerable pressure, the British Prime Minister, Asquith, promised to publish the court martial proceedings in June 1916. He repeated this promise on two other occasions, but never honoured it, and the proceedings were suppressed for over 90 years. The reason was obvious. They were too damaging, and even their own legal experts did not believe all of the verdicts would withstand scrutiny. The government also did not want to open up investigation of how field general court martials had been used to convict their own soldiers at the front and enable swift executions. (continued next page)

Excluding the public and the press seems to have been particularly problematic, and had no legal basis except for Maxwell's insistence. Opposing the calls for publication, Sir Reginald Brady, the secretary to the British Army Council, conceded that there were "one or two cases in which the evidence is extremely thin".

Another key figure, General Nevil Macready, admitted that the inevitable results of publication would be a general belief that the authorities intended to execute certain people "whether there was evidence or not".

The feeling that the convictions had been secured unjustly, followed by the rapid executions, helped create a wave of support for the rebels. In a stunning denunciation, the bishop of Limerick, Dr O'Dwyer, called Maxwell a "military dictator" who had "shot the poor fellows who surrendered in cold blood, outraging the conscience of the country". The legal framework used to prosecute the rebels may not have made much difference in some cases: Pearse, for example, was happy to avow his role. But others would have been more difficult to convict. The biggest problem was that by allowing a shadow to be cast over the rule of law in the country, the British authorities had invalidated themselves.

By using martial law to bypass legal process, the government ensured that justice in Ireland was, in the words of a distinguished British judge from an earlier period, "a mockery, a snare, and a delusion". A show trial may be the best way of securing the desired result, but it is not justice. Perhaps the last word can be left to the Duke of Wellington, the winner at Waterloo, who defined martial law as "the will of the general who commands the army. In fact, martial law means no law at all".

Patrick Geoghegan is professor of history at Trinity College Dublin and presents the award-winning Talking History on Newstalk radio. He was historical adviser for Trial of the Century - a forthcoming dramatisation on TV3 of the trial Pearse never had

Fire sales, more executions and a wedding

by Damien Corless



Ruins of Clery's stores and the Imperial Hotel, Dublin, destroyed in the Easter Rising. Photo: Getty Images

Almost two weeks after the collapse of the Rising, it seemed that all Dublin was having a fire sale. Stores that had escaped destruction were selling goods bought at knock-down prices from those less fortunate. An upbeat advert for a "great sale of accumulated stocks after the disturbances" gushed that there would be "hundreds of bargains at every counter. A sale of a lifetime. It would be impossible to give here a list of the bargains".

A glaring casualty of the revolt was Clerys, Dublin's flagship store. Witnesses had gasped as the building was engulfed in flames, which were intensified by vats of turpentine exploding in the hardware store next door. One said: "I had the extraordinary experience of seeing the huge plate-glass windows run molten into the channel from the terrific heat." Clerys placed an optimistic advert

saying their "business will be held up for a short time". The rebuilding would take years.

Meanwhile, Dockrell's was responding to the massive destruction of windows by announcing: "We hold large stocks of polished, rolled and rough cast plate." Alongside the tales of destruction, the Social & Personal column noted: "The Earl of Rosebury was 69 on Saturday" and that two brothers had "returned to 11 Clare Street".

Relocated to a new premises, Easons pledged to resume normal newspaper deliveries, while Andrews & Co had restarted deliveries as far out as the suburbs, but rural customers would have to wait "until the railways resume". In Tipperary, all GAA games had been cancelled.

The 8.30pm curfew remained, but the surviving cinemas had reopened. While the Pillar House was showing The Derby Winner, the Rotunda vaguely promised "best pictures". Putting the Great War back in the frame, the Theatre Royal announced "four special days" screening a "continuous programme" of Irish troops at the front where they were gaining "immortal fame".

The Irish Independent launched a startling broadside at The Freeman's Journal, accusing its rival of going soft on militant nationalism "which encouraged the criminally insane determination to rise against the power of England". Reminding readers that the Journal had sided with the "syndicalist strikes" during the 1913 Lockout, it branded it "a gutter sheet".

The slow drip of executions continued, and four more rebels had been executed that morning, among them Éamonn Ceannt, referred to as Edmund Kent. His death notice stated Ceannt was "an accountant with a salary of £300 a year" and that he was "a man of intellectual attainment and passed a brilliant Intermediate course".

Another Rising leader, Joseph Plunkett, had married Grace Gifford hours before his execution and the paper carried "pathetic particulars" of the wedding. Grace's mother had been set against the match. She said: "I did not even know definitely that they had been engaged. I did not ask Grace and she did not tell me because she knew I disapproved. I had put it to her that she would be doing a very foolish thing. She was always a very headstrong and self-willed girl."

Ireland's forgotten famine of 1925: The newly independent government covered up calamity

Recently discovered state files revealed that in 1925, the government of the newly independent Irish state attempted to cover up severe levels of famine among substantial numbers of the population, denying that 750,000 people were facing starvation.

In an eye-opening report Fin Dwyer of the excellent Irish History Podcast explains that at the time the country was still trying to recover from the war for independence, a civil war and an economic depression. Unemployment was widespread, reaching nearly 100,000 across sectors.

The conservative governing party, Cumann na nGaedheal, planned to bring the country back with a regime of extreme austerity. The government believed large-scale farmers were key economic drivers and devised a plan to cut the richer farmers' tax and costs and reduce government expenditure. In 1923, wages were cut by 16% and the seven day work week was reintroduced. Finance Minister Ernest Blythe cut the old age pension by ten percent in 1924

A crop failure was the last thing the government needed in this time of austerity, but come it did. The crop harvests of 1923 and 1924 were very poor due to exceptionally rainy weather, even for Ireland. Potato crops rotted in the fields, and animal stocks died from lack of fodder. Turf—the main fuel source for the rural poor—proved impossible to dry out. The west of Ireland, particularly the Atlantic

Islands, were hit the hardest.

The Freeman's Journal described the severity of the crisis while reporting from Connemara, one of the worst hit regions:

"75% of the people had now no potatoes, their chief diet for the last 2 months, and the harvest prospects were never worse in living memory. There is no employment."

On August 10, 1924, the Meath Chronicle wrote that "a famine condition is imminent as bad as 1847."

The government approved £500,000 in aid, but the crisis continued to worsen.

In January and February 1925, newspapers in Clare and Galway reported the deaths of over 10 people, mostly children, from starvation or disease related to starvation.

Initially, the crisis was recognized. President W.T. Cosgrave described the country's dilemma as The *"considerably greater than normal, but comparison with 1847 is, I am glad to say not justified. There is no question of famine in that sense."*

The government sent aid and shipping coal supplies to the west of Ireland.

But, once the starvation attracted international attention in early 1925, their approach changed, with many officials publicly denying there was a problem. It is believed, as Dwyer notes, that a government cover up was triggered by a telegram from the United States.

On February 11, the cabinet received a telegram from the editor of the Boston Globe, with a cover note from Seanad member and prominent businessman James Douglas.

The telegram sought official clarification on whether there was a famine in Ireland.

In his letter, Douglas said his opinion was that:

"the present propaganda in the United States, alleging that there is a famine, will do great harm to our credit in every way unless it is countered."

After only three years of independent rule, the government was sensitive about the country's image and feared international rebuke. It was either a choice of downplaying the crisis or risking their international reputation.

Further denials followed.

On February 13, the Minister for Agriculture P.J. Hogan, while speaking in the Dáil, claimed:

"There is no abnormal distress in the West this year. I say that definitely and deliberately. There is always distress in the West, but the distress this year is not...particularly unique.... There is never real famine in the West unless there is a failure of potatoes, and there was no failure of potatoes this year."

His statements went unchallenged.

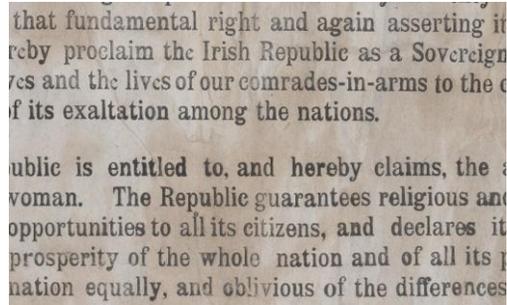
The government's decision to deny the crisis had serious consequences.

The crisis continued without solution and private relief funds struggled to raise money while the government denied there was a problem.

Ireland was ultimately saved from a full blown famine in late 1925 and 1926 by an improved harvest.

<http://irishhistorypodcast.ie/1925-irelands-forgotten-famine/>

Torn from a wall at the GPO, a copy of the 1916 Proclamation reveals some hidden extras.



Probably the most iconic example of Irish printing, 'The provisional government of the Irish Republic to the people of Ireland' was read aloud by Patrick Pearse outside Dublin's General Post Office (GPO) at the beginning of the 1916 Easter Rising.

The history of the Proclamation has been well documented. Drafted by Pearse with contributions from James Connolly and Thomas MacDonagh, it was printed in Liberty Hall in Dublin on 23 April 1916 by Christopher Brady and his two compositors Michael Molloy and Liam O'Briain. Using a decrepit Wharfedale Double-Crown press, the men attempted to initially set the work up as one complete piece, but on discovering the scarcity of suitable type, the job was divided in two sections – the cut coming after the text 'among the nations'. The plan to print 2,500 copies and distribute them around the country was ambitious. It is thought that completed copies numbered little over 1,000 – of which fewer than 50 copies are still in existence.

The Library of Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin is fortunate to hold a copy and one with a very interesting history.

The Welsh 3/1st Montgomeryshire Yeomanry was sent to Dublin to train with the 6th Reserve Cavalry Regiment which was stationed at Marlborough Barracks (renamed McKee Barracks in 1926).

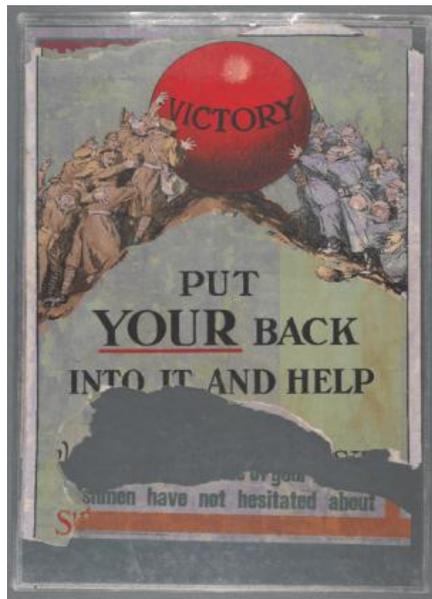
When the conflict began on Easter Monday 1916 the regiment was the largest based in Dublin, numbering 886 personnel. After receiving the alert from the Metropolitan Police of the outbreak, the troops were ordered to Dublin Castle – the administrative base of British rule in Ireland.



Recruiting posters on the walls of the Four Courts (MS 5870/25)

During the Rising, squadrons of soldiers from the 6th Reserve were sent out to capture rebels and ammunition in the city and county of Dublin and surrounding counties. Major Louis Tamworth (1864-1942) was in command of Montgomeryshire Yeomanry and secured a copy of the Proclamation which was reportedly torn off the walls of the GPO by a member of the Yeomanry. On his return home to Devonshire he had it framed and mounted for many years. The Library purchased the copy from the Tamworth family in 1970.

Working on the document in the late 1970s, the Library's Preservation and Conservation Department made an exciting discovery. Backing the Proclamation was a series of 11 World War I recruiting posters in various states of repair. Separating the posters involved immersing the singed fused text block into an amylase enzyme bath at a specific pH value and at a constant temperature of 35°C. Fortunately, the high temperatures in the GPO mitigated against any lithographic ink bleeding as the posters were literally fused or cooked together. Further immersion treatments (water and alcohol based) were required to cleanse the collection and to eradicate the enzyme residue before they were air-dried and (individually) encapsulated. Chief Technical Officer Matthew Hatton recalls the incredible excitement amongst the team of conservators as the history preceding the Proclamation rolled back layer by layer in front of their eyes.



Evidently the Library's copy of the Proclamation was pasted up not only to pronounce a new republic but to also defiantly denounce the recruitment of Irishmen into British Army.

The establishment of the Central Council for the Organisation of Recruiting in Ireland (CCORI) in early 1915 saw the introduction of posters aimed directly at the Irish recruit with the use of Irish motifs such as shamrocks, Irish wolfhounds, St. Patrick and the Irish harp. One such poster 'Up, the Dublins!' makes reference to the 1st Dublin Fusiliers landing at Cape Helles on 25 April 1915 as part of the Gallipoli campaign.

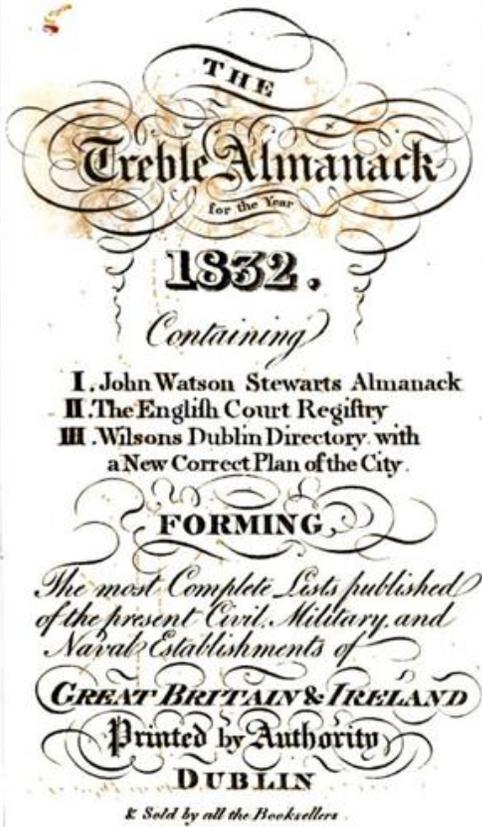
The language and imagery used by CCORI made a strong impact with the number of Irishmen involved in the War estimated at c.200,000.

Courtesy of Shane Mawe
Department of Early Printed Books and Special Collections
Trinity College, Dublin.



Trinity is also exhibiting the casing of an Irish rebel bullet that struck the university library as insurgent snipers fired at the OTC and British troops. The remains are mounted on a mini plinth with the words "Sinn Féin bullet" engraved on it.

Estelle Gittins, assistant librarian for manuscripts and archives at Trinity, describes the artefact as a tiny monument to the college's role in the rising. "It's incredible to think this was a bullet fired into the place where we now work, and a reminder about how extremely violent and dangerous it was in this college 100 years ago."



The Treble Almanack 1832

Almanac, book or table containing a calendar of the days, weeks, and months of the year; a record of various astronomical phenomena, often with climate information and seasonal suggestions for farmers; and miscellaneous other data. An almanac provides data on the rising and setting times of the Sun and Moon, the phases of the Moon, the positions of the planets, schedules of high and low tides, and a register of ecclesiastical festivals and saints' days. The term almanac is of uncertain medieval Arabic origin; in modern Arabic, al-manākh is the word for climate.

The first printed almanac appeared in Europe in 1457, but almanacs have existed in some form since the beginnings of astronomy. Ancient Egyptian and Greek calendars showed festival dates and days thought to be lucky or unlucky, while the Roman fasti, which named days upon which business could or could not be conducted, were later elaborated into lists resembling modern almanacs. Medieval psalters and missals usually contained calendars listing the various holy days, and 12th-century manuscripts containing tables on the movements of the heavenly bodies are still extant.

Almanacs began to gain real prominence only after the development of printing. The German astronomer Regiomontanus (Johann Müller) published one of the most important early almanacs in 1473 under the title Ephemerides ab anno. Most early printed almanacs in England were published by the Stationer's Company; the most famous of them is the Vox Stellarum of Francis Moore, which was first published in 1700. These early printed almanacs devoted as much space to astrology and prophecies and predictions of the future as they did to basic calendrical and astronomical data. With the development of Western science in the 17th and 18th centuries, the more sensational elements gradually disappeared from their pages, and scientific almanacs developed into the modern ephemeris, containing rigorously exact tables of astronomical data.

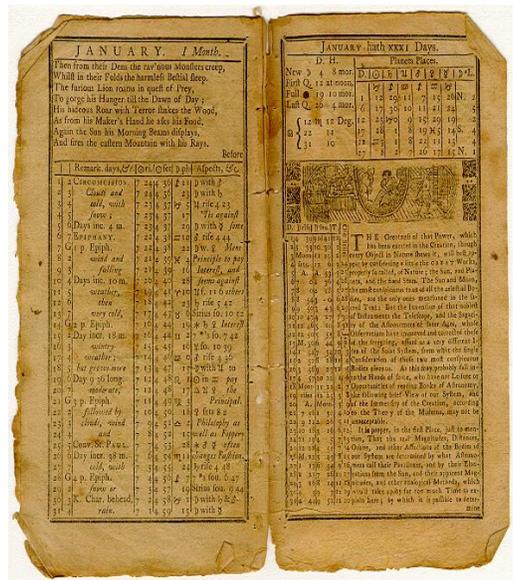
Meanwhile, in both Europe and the New World, the popular almanac was developing into a genuine form of folk literature containing, in addition to calendars and weather predictions, interesting statistics and facts, moral precepts and proverbs, medical advice and remedies, jokes, and even verse and fiction. Guided by the almanac, the farmer was able to tell the time of day and to estimate the proper time to begin seasonal farm work. The almanac also furnished much incidental information that was instructive and entertaining and greatly appreciated where reading matter was scarce.

The first almanac printed in colonial North America was An Almanac for New England for the Year 1639, compiled by William Pierce and printed in Cambridge, Mass., under the supervision of Harvard College. This was followed by many other American almanacs, one of the best of which, the Astronomical Diary and Almanack, was begun by Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, Mass., in 1725 and published until 1775. Benjamin Franklin's brother James printed The Rhode Island Almanac in 1728, and Benjamin Franklin (under the nom de plume of Richard Saunders) began his Poor Richard's almanacs, the most famous of American almanacs, in Philadelphia in 1732. Poor Richard's, enlivened by Franklin's shrewd wit and straightforward prose style, remained a best-seller in the American colonies until sold by him in 1758.

Modern-day almanacs are of several types. The traditional type survives in the Old Farmer's Almanac, which has been continuously published in the United States since 1792. But the best-known type of almanac is now a handy and dependable collection of a vast array of statistical, historical, and other information. Notable English-language examples of this type include The World Almanac and Book of Facts, which was first published in 1868, the Information Please Almanac (from 1947), and the Reader's Digest Almanac (from 1965).

Mail and Stage Coaches. 235
Cork Mail Coach (by Cahel), from Mail Coach Office, 12, Dawson-street, at a quarter before 12 o'clock every morning, arrives in Cork at 9 o'clock the following morning;—leaves Cork every afternoon, at half-past 4 o'clock, and arrives in Dublin at half-past 9 the following afternoon, performing the journey in 22 hours.
Cork Day Coach, from the Mail Coach Office, 12, Dawson-street, every morning at 7 o'clock, (sleeps in Kilkenny), and arrives in Cork the following evening;—leaves Cork every morning at 8 o'clock, and arrives in Dublin at 4 the following evening.
Cork Mail Coach, (by Clonmel), from Mail Coach Office, 12, Dawson-street, at a quarter before 6 o'clock every evening, arrives in Cork at 4 o'clock the next evening;—returns from Cork every morning at 9 o'clock, and arrives in Dublin at 7 the following morning.

From the same publication, Tracton is listed as having a Fair Day on August 6th, 1832.



Irish agog at moving pictures: First films shown less than year after cinematograph invention writes Fergus Cassidy

In the early 1900s one newspaper referred to the cinematograph as an invention that "is beyond all doubt one of the most marvelous of the century".

Whatever about the rest of the 20th century, the years between 1896 and 1916 saw the new media of silent film projection firmly established in Ireland. It was no passing fad, and it experienced growth and popularity that continued to the present. Moving pictures and film-making initially availed of the plentiful theatres throughout the country, before the emergence of dedicated cinemas. The success also brought regulation, firstly on safety grounds, then classification, followed by censorship.

Ireland didn't lag behind international trends as less than a year after Auguste and Louis Lumière displayed their cinematograph invention in Paris in 1895, the first films were shown in Dan Lowrey's Star of Erin Theatre of Varieties (now the Olympia) in Dame Street, Dublin. These were very short films made by the Lumière brothers themselves. The following year the brothers sent camera crews to film on the streets of Belfast and Dublin, the latter footage lasting less than 30 seconds.

In 1908, a dedicated picture house opened at St George's Hall, High Street, Belfast, and was followed by the Star Picture Palace in that city. The Evening Mail pointed out that: "In England there is a growing demand for cinematograph entertainments. Every important town has its permanent 'picture show', and the Colonial Picture Combine see no reason why Ireland should not be adequately represented in this respect." The comment marked the opening of the People's Popular Picture Palace at the former Queen's Theatre in Dublin's Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street) with over 1,000 seats.

Another dedicated cinema opened to the public on 21 December 1909 in 45 Mary Street, Dublin, called the Volta Electric Theatre. It was set up and managed by the writer James Joyce. There was room for 420 people who paid from 3d to 6d (1.5 to 3cent). The opening night featured La Pourponnière, The First Paris Orphanage, and Beatrice Cenci. The Grafton cinema opened its doors in Grafton Street, Dublin in 1911.

In March 1912 Rotunda Pictures, Dublin, showed Objections Overruled, a wild west comedy, a drama Princess of the Hills, and Easter Celebrations in Malta. Music was provided by the Irish Ladies' String Quartet. Films were initially accompanied by a pianist, but many cinemas hired up to ten musicians per show. Local soloists were put on contracts, providing openings for professional players. The Irish Examiner carried a tongue-in-cheek article under the heading "A New Profession", declaring: "Among the new callings which the cinematograph has brought into being is that of 'film reviewer'." The trade journal, The Irish Builder, reported in 1914 that there were "26 buildings for cinematograph display in Dublin alone". The total for Britain was 5,000 in that same year.

Following several serious fires, caused by flammable nitrate film stock, the Cinematograph Act came into operation in January 1910. This placed responsibility on local authorities to license cinemas. While limited to the safety aspects of buildings, there were calls to go further and regulate the content of films. Two years later the British Board of Film Censors was established. It offered two certificates, U (suitable for all) and A (adults only).

The Irish Vigilance Association campaigned to stop the spread of "bad and unsavoury literature". This was extended to cinemas where films were occasionally disrupted by the group.

While films about Ireland were made, they were produced by companies such as the US-based Kalem and aimed at Irish-American audiences. The first film, The Lad from Old Ireland (1910), was shot in Kerry and New York and ran for 12 minutes. The company also made Colleen Bawn (1911). The Film Company of Ireland produced the drama Fun Fair at Finglas in 1915. It featured the adventures of two escaped prisoners and was shot in Finglas, Westland Row railway station and Blanchardstown.

The film was never released as the footage was destroyed during the Rising.

Some magnificent poetry has emerged from the Easter Rising, from participants, onlookers and others writing over the century since 1916 (with assessments by Dr. Lucy Collins, UCD)

Easter, 1916 by W.B. Yeats

*I have met them at close of day
Coming with vivid faces
From counter or desk among grey
Eighteenth-century houses.
I have passed with a nod of the head
Or polite meaningless words,
Or have lingered awhile and said
Polite meaningless words,
And thought before I had done
Of a mocking tale or a gibe
To please a companion
Around the fire at the club,
Being certain that they and I
But lived where motley is worn:
All changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.*

*That woman's days were spent
In ignorant good-will,
Her nights in argument
Until her voice grew shrill.
What voice more sweet than hers
When, young and beautiful,
She rode to harriers?
This man had kept a school
And rode our wingèd horse;
This other his helper and friend
Was coming into his force;
He might have won fame in the end,
So sensitive his nature seemed,
So daring and sweet his thought.
This other man I had dreamed
A drunken, vainglorious lout.
He had done most bitter wrong
To some who are near my heart,
Yet I number him in the song;
He, too, has resigned his part
In the casual comedy;
He, too, has been changed in his turn,
Transformed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.*

*Hearts with one purpose alone
Through summer and winter seem
Enchanted to a stone
To trouble the living stream.
The horse that comes from the road,
The rider, the birds that range
From cloud to tumbling cloud,
Minute by minute they change;
A shadow of cloud on the stream
Changes minute by minute;
A horse-hoof slides on the brim,
And a horse plashes within it;
The long-legged moor-hens dive,
And hens to moor-cocks call;
Minute by minute they live;
The stone's in the midst of all*

*Too long a sacrifice
Can make a stone of the heart.
O when may it suffice?
That is Heaven's part, our part
To murmur name upon name,
As a mother names her child
When sleep at last has come
On limbs that had run wild.
What is it but nightfall?
No, no, not night but death;
Was it needless death after all?
For England may keep faith
For all that is done and said.
We know their dream; enough
To know they dreamed and are dead;
And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?
I write it out in a verse —
MacDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse
Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.*

Assessment

YEATS was absent from Dublin for the Rising but his response to it was intense: "I had no idea that any public event could so deeply move me," he wrote to Lady Gregory, "and I am very despondent about the future". This iconic poem, which disappointed Maud Gonne when she read it, is a formal masterpiece, as well as a work that charts Yeats's uncertain feelings towards the events of 1916.

It begins with an image of the revolutionaries going about their everyday lives; only their "vivid faces" indicate the power of their inner feeling and their potential for heroic action.

Yeats's disengagement from these men is highlighted by the repetition of the phrase "polite meaningless words" and by the fact that his most vigorous response in language is to make fun of them to his friends.

His contemplation of these figures as individuals begins with Constance Markievicz, whom Yeats had known for more than 20 years. His view of her is nostalgic; he contrasts her youthful beauty and gentleness to her 'shrill' revolutionary persona.

Of the men, first Patrick Pearse and then Thomas MacDonagh, Yeats is more tolerant: as poets, educators and leaders, their potential for greatness is acknowledged. Even Gonne's husband, John MacBride, immortalised here as a "drunken vainglorious lout", deserves a measure of praise. Sweetness is set against bitterness in this poem, as pure idealism is contrasted with violence and political struggle.

Yet the transformation that the rebels — and ultimately Ireland — will undergo is seen as both redemptive and destructive.

Here are the seeds of the "terrible beauty" that has remained so resonant for modern readers. Tragedy and comedy are interwoven in the poem. Twice — in the reference to motley and to the "casual comedy" — Yeats allows the ideals of the rebels to be viewed lightly, before their full implications may be recognised.

Likewise, the flux of the world is set against the determination of the revolutionaries, their steadfast commitment to independence: these "hearts with one purpose alone" defy the endless fluctuations of the natural world, where animal life pursues its own unthinking goals.

Yeats distinguishes between the larger philosophical questions that are raised by the actions of the rebels and our need to honour their idealism. This focus on the good faith of these men and women ensures their immortality, both in Yeats's own poem and in Irish cultural and political history.

The Wayfarer by Patrick Pearse

*The beauty of the world hath made me sad,
This beauty that will pass;
Sometimes my heart hath shaken with great joy
To see a leaping squirrel in a tree,
Or a red lady-bird upon a stalk,
Or little rabbits in a field at evening,
Lit by a slanting sun,
Or some green hill where shadows drifted by
Some quiet hill where mountainy man hath sown
And soon would reap; near to the gate of Heaven;
Or children with bare feet upon the sands
Of some ebbèd sea, or playing on the streets
Of little towns in Connacht,
Things young and happy.
And then my heart hath told me:
These will pass,
Will pass and change, will die and be no more,
Things bright and green, things young and happy;
And I have gone upon my way
Sorrowful.*

Assessment

'The Wayfarer' reflects on the fleeting beauty of life's journey at a moment of decisive personal and political change. Alternating rhythms capture its shifting moods of sorrow and joy.

Yet, as its style and language suggest, this is a nostalgic work - here, a timeless ideal is a greater source of imaginative power than the immediacy of lived experience. The 'green' and 'quiet' hill evokes perfect peace, but also reveals the passage of time through seasonal patterns of planting and harvesting.

The biblical resonance of the scene is reinforced by the image of the gates of heaven, which open the poem to a space of redemption often invoked by the poets of 1916.

This poem's air of melancholy does not derive directly from political events, however, but from the life that is slipping from the speaker's grasp.

Written shortly before Pearse's execution, it shows the poet seeking to come to terms with his impending death.

The Foggy Dew by Canon Charles O'Neill

*As down the glen one Easter morn to a
city fair rode I
There armed lines of marching men in
squadrons passed me by
No fife did hum nor battle drum did
sound its dread tattoo
But the Angelus bell o'er the Liffey swell
rang out through the foggy dew*

*Right proudly high over Dublin town
they hung out the flag of war
'Twas better to die 'neath an Irish sky
than at Suvla or Sedd El Bahr
And from the plains of Royal Meath
strong men came hurrying through
While Britannia's Huns, with their
long-range guns sailed in through the
foggy dew*

*'Twas Britannia bade our Wild Geese go
that small nations might be free
But their lonely graves are by Suvla's
waves or the shore of the Great North Sea
Oh, had they died by Pearse's side or
fought with Cathal Brugha
Their names we will keep where the
Fenians sleep 'neath the shroud of the
foggy dew*

*But the bravest fell, and the requiem bell
rang mournfully and clear
For those who died that Eastertide in
the springing of the year
And the world did gaze, in deep amaze,
at those fearless men, but few
Who bore the fight that freedom's light
might shine through the foggy dew*

*Ah, back through the glen I rode again
and my heart with grief was sore
For I parted then with valiant men
whom I never shall see more
But to and fro in my dreams I go and
I'd kneel and pray for you,
For slavery fled, O glorious dead,
When you fell in the foggy dew*

Assessment

The power of song to capture, as well as to instil, political conviction is clear in 'The Foggy Dew'. Set to the tune of an existing lament, this text expresses personal grief for the dead revolutionaries of 1916 by situating them in a long verse tradition of devotion to beloved and country.

The 'strong men' of Meath are pitted here against the British long-range guns, showing mechanised warfare to be morally defeated by the integrity of individual action. Written just three years after the Rising, the song articulates a vision for the rebels' lasting renown, in keeping with the deification of key revolutionary figures by this time.

Easter imagery combines religious and natural force in support of the song's argument: that the heroes of 1916 will live again through the sacrificial power of their actions, while those who fought in the Great War will remain buried in foreign fields, forever lost in the anonymity of false allegiance.

I See His Blood Upon The Rose by Joseph Plunkett

*I see his blood upon the rose
And in the stars the glory of his eyes,
His body gleams amid eternal snows,
His tears fall from the skies.*

*I see his face in every flower;
The thunder and the singing of the birds
Are but his voice-and carven by his power
Rocks are his written words.*

*All pathways by his feet are worn,
His strong heart stirs the ever-beating sea,
His crown of thorns is twined with every thorn,
His cross is every tree.*

Assessment

'I See His Blood Upon the Rose' is a poem in the mystical

tradition, expressing the intensity of Plunkett's Christian faith. These simple verses testify to the presence of the divine in the world, reading in nature the iconography of the crucifixion. At the centre of the poem lies the conviction that Christ's suffering will never be forgotten, as long as God's word remains the bedrock of existence. Here the deeply personal becomes universal through an unworldly directness of address.

Plunkett's commitment to the revolutionary process suggests how shared intentions may find expression in individual action, and indicates the redemptive power of personal sacrifice. Yet this is also a poem about what it is to see - about the significance of the act of writing as a form of revelation. It reflects our need to move beyond the narrow confines of the self in the search for human meaning.

The Mother by Patrick Pearse

*I do not grudge them: Lord, I do not grudge
My two strong sons that I have seen go out
To break their strength and die, they and a few,
In bloody protest for a glorious thing,
They shall be spoken of among their people,
The generations shall remember them,
And call them blessed;
But I will speak their names to my own heart
In the long nights;
The little names that were familiar once
Round my dead hearth.
Lord, thou art hard on mothers:
We suffer in their coming and their going;
And tho' I grudge them not, I weary, weary
Of the long sorrow - And yet I have my joy:
My sons were faithful, and they fought.*

Assessment

The voice in this poem is both personal and universal - it is the voice of Pearse's own mother yet it speaks too for all those torn between grief and exultation. The poem interweaves opposites: strength and brokenness; failure and triumph; sorrow and joy. In simple language it indicates the complex emotions aroused by the Rising and evokes the shared experiences that bind nation and family together.

The lasting significance of the rebellion is claimed in religious terms, reflecting Pearse's vision of blood sacrifice as essential to renewal. Yet the feelings expressed here are also private ones: recollecting the men in childhood, the speaker hints at their purity and idealism.

Like the actions of the revolutionaries themselves, the poem links the new and the ancient. It speaks of the immediate impact of the rebels' actions, yet it also expresses the suffering that is at the heart of the human condition.

Connolly by Liam McGabhann

*The man was all shot through that came today
Into the barrack square;
A soldier I - I am not proud to say
We killed him there;
They brought him from the prison hospital;
To see him in that chair
I thought his smile would far more quickly call
A man to prayer.
Maybe we cannot understand this thing
That makes these rebels die;
And yet all things love freedom - and the Spring
Clear in the sky;
I think I would not do this deed again
For all that I hold by;
Gaze down my rifle at his breast - but then
A soldier I.
They say that he was kindly - different too,
Apart from all the rest;*

*A lover of the poor; and all shot through,
His wounds ill drest,
He came before us, faced us like a man,
He knew a deeper pain
Than blows or bullets - ere the world began;
Died he in vain?
Ready - present; And he just smiling - God!
I felt my rifle shake
His wounds were opened out and round that chair
Was one red lake;
I swear his lips said 'Fire!' when all was still
Before my rifle spat
That cursed lead - and I was picked to kill
A man like that!*

Assessment

The idealism of James Connolly's life, and the stark facts of his death, are the twin concerns of this poem. It offers a striking perspective on the subject; its speaker is a British soldier who remembers his role in Connolly's execution at Kilmainham Gaol.

The stumbling rhythm expresses the soldier's regret and uncertainty - 'Maybe we cannot understand this thing / That makes these rebels die'. His thoughts are disjointed but he recognises the human need that shaped the rebellion, the universal desire for freedom and justice. Connolly's capacity to inspire loyalty among his followers is given an almost religious significance here, and its powerful effect is clearly felt by the speaker himself.

Yet though he reflects on the moral force of the rebels' actions, he registers his own responsibility as a soldier too. The poem meditates on the obligation of the individual to the group. Connolly is set apart from the rest of the rebels in his commitment to improving the lives of the poor, and his suffering expresses the collective distress of all marginalised people.

Spring, 1916 by Maeve Cavanagh

*Quiet the prelude to the storm,
Deep, ominous around me reigns,
In skies behind me cruciform,
My Past's dread shadow slowly wanes.
The sword once more is in my hand,
An army moves at my command.
And War's shrill bugle soon shall drown
The miserere of the past,
When forth from valley, field and town,*

*My soldiers gather at its blast,
The living heroes of my dream
Steeled for the sacrifice supreme.
Amongst my hills each mountain stream
Still speaks with Winter's noisy voice,
Yet I can see the crocus gleam,
Can hear spring birds in woods rejoice ;
Oh, would I knew what flower shall reign,
When I my throne and crown regain.*

First published in The Workers' Republic.
Dublin 19/2/16.



In January, 2016 An Post introduced 1916-2016, the Eighth Definitive Stamps Series based on the Centenary of the Easter Rising. This set of stamps will commemorate a hugely significant event in the history of our country which ultimately led to the founding of the modern Irish Republic. The set of sixteen stamps is available for one year only and issues on the Stamps on a Roll (SOAR) format. New National (GPO stamp) and International Booklets (Roger Casement stamp), and a coil of 100 self-adhesive stamps featuring images of an extract from The Proclamation, and the Irish Republic flag, are also available.

These stamps have been grouped into four categories: Leaders and Icons; Participants; Easter Week; and The Aftermath. Although each image represents an individual subject, the themes also reflect a chronological progression from the lead-up to the Rising through to its aftermath. The stamps have been devised as a coherent collection rather than sixteen individual images.

Leaders and Icons features seven leaders. Thomas J. Clarke, Seán Mac Diarmada, Thomas MacDonagh, P.H. Pearse, Éamonn Ceannt, James Connolly and Joseph Plunkett signed the Proclamation of Independence for the Irish Republic, which was read in front of the GPO on Easter Monday, 1916. The Irish Republic flag completes this set of four stamps. (NOTE In relation to the Leaders, they have been grouped according to the three organisations identified in the Proclamation as organising the Rising – The Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers.)



Thomas J. Clarke, Seán Mac Diarmada & Éamonn Ceannt



P.H. Pearse, Joseph Plunkett & Thomas MacDonagh



James Connolly



The Irish Republic Flag

Participants, highlights the breadth of forces involved in the fighting. Dublin Metropolitan Police Constable James O'Brien and rebel Sean Connolly became the Rising's first two fatalities. The image of the Malone brothers demonstrates the complexity of Irish identities and responses to the war and the Rising. Lieutenant Michael Malone fought with the Irish Volunteers and was killed during the battle of Mount Street Bridge. His brother, Sergeant William Malone, of the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, was killed in the battle of Ypres, in May 1915. Dr Kathleen Lynn and Elizabeth O'Farrell represent the role played by female combatants. Dr Lynn was a medical campaigner and suffragist, and an officer with the Irish Citizen Army. Cumann na mBan member, Elizabeth O'Farrell, played a prominent role in the general surrender. Emphasising the role of the rank-and-file, the image featuring Jack Doyle and Tom McGrath is one of only two surviving photographs of the rebels taken inside the General Post Office during Easter Week.



The first person killed in the 1916 Rising was an unarmed policeman on duty at the Cork Hill entrance to the upper yard of Dublin Castle. Constable James O'Brien, born in Kilfergus, Co Limerick, in 1868, had 21 years' service at the time. He was killed by a public servant, Abbey actor and member of the Irish Citizen Army, Seán Connolly, who was himself shot about an hour later by a British army sniper. Connolly is believed to be the first of the rebels to have died. According to police records cited by Jim Herlihy in his 2001 book, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police, A Short History*, O'Brien was shot between 11am and midday on Easter Monday, April 24th, by a volunteer who rode up to the castle gate on a bicycle. Connolly was heading a group of Irish Citizen Army men and women who had come from Liberty Hall to seize Dublin Castle. It seems that when O'Brien tried to prevent them getting into the castle, Connolly shot him in the head. O'Brien was temporarily buried along with 13 others in the castle gardens. On Friday, April 28th, 1916, his body was exhumed and removed to Mount Argus Church. The next day, after Requiem Mass, his remains were removed by train to Foyines, Co Limerick, and transferred from there by hearse with a large contingent of DMP men for burial in Kilfergus. His gravestone refers to his "sorrowing brothers and sisters". There is no mention of family. Connolly, who was 32 when he died, left behind a wife and three young children. A native of Straffan, Co Kildare, he was living on Phillipsburgh Avenue, Marino, in 1916. He was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery



The image of the Malone brothers demonstrates the complexity of Irish identities and responses to the war and the Rising. Lieutenant Michael Malone fought with the Irish Volunteers and was killed during the battle of Mount Street Bridge. His brother, Sergeant William Malone, of the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, was killed in the battle of Ypres, in May 1915



Dr Kathleen Lynn and Elizabeth O'Farrell represent the role played by female combatants. Dr Lynn was a medical campaigner and suffragist, and an officer with the Irish Citizen Army. Cumann na mBan member, Elizabeth O'Farrell, played a prominent role in the general surrender.



Emphasising the role of the rank-and-file, the image featuring Jack Doyle and Tom McGrath is one of only two surviving photographs of the rebels taken inside the General Post Office during Easter Week.

Easter Week includes stamps featuring an extract from The Proclamation, and incorporates the wider civilian experiences. John F (Seán) Foster, was among the youngest of the forty children killed during Easter Week. Louisa Nolan risked her life tending to the wounded at the battle of Mount Street Bridge. Sir Francis Fletcher-Vane and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington relates to one of the most infamous incidents of the rebellion, the killing of several civilians, including Sheehy-Skeffington, on the orders of Captain J. C. Bowen-Colthurst.



John F (Seán) Foster, was among the youngest of the forty children killed during Easter Week.



Louisa Nolan risked her life tending to the wounded at the battle of Mount Street Bridge



Sir Francis Fletcher-Vane and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington relates to one of the most infamous incidents of the rebellion, the killing of several civilians, including Sheehy-Skeffington, on the orders of Captain J. C. Bowen-Colthurst

The Aftermath, focuses on the consequences of the Rising. The GPO Sackville Street features the most iconic location of the Easter Rising. Children gathering timber for firewood demonstrates how ordinary people were caught up in the events of Easter Week and also illustrates the poverty of the era. The image of two unidentified Prisoners highlights the role of rebels from ordinary backgrounds. Sixteen of the most prominent rebels were singled out for execution in the aftermath of the rebellion, including former member of the British consular service, Roger Casement, who had previously won international recognition as a result of his humanitarian work in the Belgian Congo and South America.





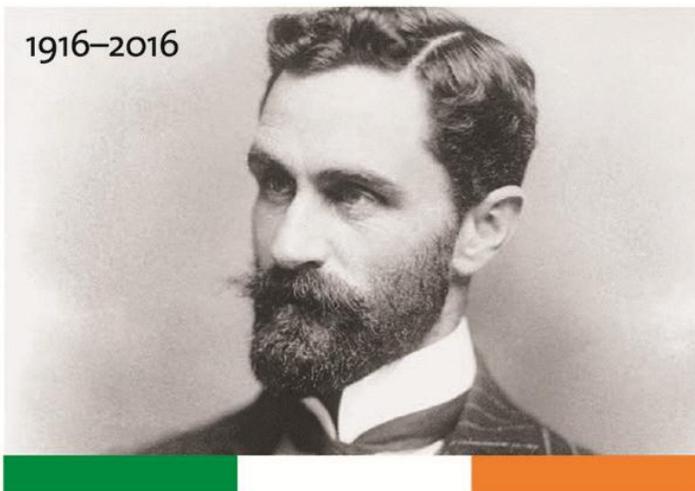
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Friends of Irish Freedom – from page 5

As a result of this oppressive wartime atmosphere, FOIF activities were drastically scaled back and many branches ceased to function for the duration of the war. By the end of 1917 membership had fallen to just over a thousand members.

A minority within the FOIF, such as Joe McGarrity, the Clan leader in Philadelphia, disagreed with the lack of wartime activity. Cohalan, under pressure from these dissident elements, reluctantly agreed to hold a Second Race Convention in January 1918. This was a very timid affair, however, that pledged Irish-American loyalty to the war effort. Sinn Féin representatives in the United States complained bitterly about the reluctance of the Friends to speak out on Ireland's behalf. Liam Mellows told shocked delegates: 'The state of affairs at home is so desperate that you people in this country are acting like a lot of curs if you do not speak now'. Meanwhile, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in a letter to Peter Golden in early 1918 also noted the reluctance of Irish-Americans to become involved in any activities that might be construed as unpatriotic:

'The Irish (mainly comfortable, elderly gentlemen) come and talk about old times and the days of the Kerry dances and so forth, but the moment I talk about 1918 and what could be done now they close up!'



FOIF membership card, signed by secretary Diarmuid Lynch, for 1921. Membership by then was already in steep decline (see right).

Such Irish-American reticence can also be explained by reference to traditional Irish-American support for the United States in time of war. On the eve of American entry into the war, the Clan issued a circular that read: 'We will remain loyal and will yield to none in the devotion to the flag, whether the United States goes to war or remains at peace'. The mainly Irish-American 69th regiment under 'Wild Bill' Donovan was one of the first American units to go to the European front, and indeed featured in FOIF publicity material for an 'Irish Victory Fund' after the war.

Opposing Dev, the 'foreign potentate', 1919–20

The FOIF expanded dramatically once the shadow of war had passed. A Third Race Convention was held in Philadelphia in February 1919 with over 5,000 delegates. Diarmuid Lynch, national secretary of the Friends, estimated that over 30 Catholic bishops attended, including the influential Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. The tumultuous events in Ireland were also exploited to the full to expand membership.

The Friends welcomed the triumph of Sinn Féin at the 1918 election in Ireland and the defeat of the despised Home Rule party of John Redmond. Indeed, Éamon de Valera, who had been born in New York, was publicly welcomed as an American hero during his visit in 1919. Yet, behind the scenes, numerous disagreements surfaced between the Friends and Sinn Féin.

As early as April 1919, Devoy pointed out in a letter to Harry Boland: 'Every man who comes here from Ireland

not alone misunderstands America, but is filled with preconceived notions that are wholly without foundation, as well as a belief that he knows America better than those who have spent most of their lives in the country or were born in it.'

The Friends wanted to link Irish national demands to President Wilson's peace plan for national self-determination for the oppressed peoples of Europe. Sinn Féin representatives believed, however, that such calls could be construed in Ireland as something less than the Irish Republic that the men of 1916 had died for.

In June 1920 Cohalan, drawing on his influential political contacts, had persuaded the Republican Party at its Chicago convention to include Irish self-determination in their election platform. Much to the consternation of the Friends, however, de Valera's insistence on a resolution calling for the recognition of the Irish Republic led to the abandonment of Cohalan's proposal. In a pointed reference to de Valera's appearance at the Chicago convention, complete with marching bands and torchlight parades, the FOIF Newsletter (19 June 1920) condemned the 'brass band' dictatorial methods of those who refused to be guided, advised or led by 'American brains'.

The Friends' use of the Irish Victory Fund in their vociferous campaign against the League of Nations also became a major source of contention. Sinn Féin had not yet formulated a policy on the League, and felt in any case that the money collected should be sent to Ireland. The FOIF's opposition to the League, however, was consistent with the Clan's pre-war campaign to prevent an English alliance with the United States. Both Cohalan and Devoy saw Wilson's idea of a League of Nations as a deadly threat to American sovereignty and yet another attempt to entangle the United States in an alliance for the protection of the British Empire. This campaign was perfectly compatible with the goal of combating the pro-British element in the United States and would also help Ireland, since Devoy believed that the League would safeguard the integrity of the United Kingdom and prevent the emergence of an independent Ireland. As Devoy pointed out to a bemused Patrick McCartan (14 April 1919), Sinn Féin's representative in the United States: 'Cohalan is making a superb fight against it, you ignore it and want the fight against it dropped. Judged by this acid test, which of you is the better friend of the Irish Republic?'

By September 1920, after de Valera's proposals to reform the FOIF had been roundly defeated, an open split had become inevitable. The majority of senior officers remained with Cohalan, though this was not true of rank-and-file members. By 1921 the FOIF had fallen to 20,000 members. Nevertheless, the movement still functioned. Interestingly, the Friends took the side of the Free State during the Civil War, blaming de Valera for the conflict. A prominent member of the Friends, Bishop William Turner of Buffalo, described de Valera as the 'Pancho Villa of Ireland', a reference to the Mexican revolutionary who had raided the United States in 1916. Meanwhile, Devoy in the Gaelic American (2 September 1922) described de Valera as 'a monster who must be punished for his crimes. Eliminate him and the trouble will soon end.'

The FOIF and the Free State

The Friends welcomed the triumph of the pro-Treaty side in the Irish Civil War. In 1923 Cohalan, accompanied by Diarmuid Lynch, national secretary of the FOIF, visited Ireland and was warmly welcomed by Free State leaders. John Devoy was also awarded an official welcome on his visit to Ireland in 1924. The Friends were still incensed, however, at the Free State's application for League of Nations membership.

In May 1923, the FOIF reprinted and distributed an article from the Gaelic American (28 April 1923) entitled 'The Free State makes bad blunder in applying for League membership'. The article claimed that Ireland would achieve nothing by being in the League and would only

serve as 'bait' to draw the United States in. The Friends went on to argue that such a move would 'deprive it of the sympathy and support of millions of Americans of Irish blood'. The credibility of the Friends as the voice of Irish-America would soon be open to question, however. The ending of the Anglo-Irish War and Irish-American horror at the civil war that followed had a devastating impact on the movement, as it did on other Irish-American organisations. As Irish-Americans lost interest in Ireland, support dwindled. By 1928 membership had fallen to only 654. In 1935 the FOIF was finally wound up, and its records were transferred to the American Irish Historical Society.

Epilogue

The development of the FOIF illustrates the impact of the changing character of the Irish immigrant group in America and the American political situation on Irish-American nationalism. Irish-Americans took pride in their American identity and their contribution to the American nation, and this sense of American identity also coloured the Irish-American nationalism of the FOIF. Given the increasing tensions between Sinn Féin and the FOIF, especially over the dispersal of the Victory Fund, a public rupture between both bodies was inevitable. Predictably, when this open breach did take place in November 1920, each side blamed the other for the split. Yet in reality neither side was to blame. The nationalist ideology of each movement was shaped by the social and political milieu in which it operated. Each felt fully justified in its actions and neither side quite understood the other.

Michael Doorley is an Associate Lecturer in History and Politics in the Open University in Ireland and in the American College, Dublin.

Further reading:

F. M. Carroll, *American opinion and the Irish question* (Dublin, 1978).

M. Doorley, *Irish-American diaspora nationalism: The Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916–1935* (Dublin, 2005).

K. Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (Harlow, 2000).

T.J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America* (Notre Dame, 2001)

Michael Doorley is currently finalising a biography of Judge Daniel F. Cohalan. His 2005 work on the Friends of Irish Freedom is available from O'Brien Press.



Irish-American
Diaspora Nationalism

*The Friends of Irish Freedom
1916-1935*

MICHAEL DOORLEY

Irish-American diaspora nationalism: The Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916-35

ISBN: 1-85182-830-3
Four Courts Press, 7 Malpas Street, Dublin 8, Ireland

DIARMUID LYNCH - ÓGLACH DEARMADTA
DIARMUID LYNCH -THE FORGOTTEN VOLUNTEER
TG4 - Easter Monday 28th March 7.30pm 2016



On the Saturday before Easter 1916, a tense meeting took place in Dublin.

At stake was nothing less than whether the Rising should go ahead.

There were five decision makers at that meeting, four of them very well know to us - Pearse, MacDonagh, Plunkett and MacDiarmada - but the fifth was Corkman Diarmuid Lynch.

At this vital meeting, the decision was made to go ahead with the Rising two days later - a decision that affected the course of Irish history.

Four of the five men present at that meeting were subsequently executed. One month later, only one survived - Diarmuid Lynch.

So who was this mysterious man from Cork, at the centre of power behind the Rising but with no monuments to his name - no roads, schools or public buildings named after him? How did he survive the Rising and why doesn't history remember his name?

Lynch was one of the key decision makers, the last man out of the GPO who narrowly avoided execution but whom history subsequently forgot.

Diarmuid Lynch – Óglach Dearmadta (The Forgotten Volunteer) is a half hour documentary telling Lynch's story including his deportation to America for rustling a herd of pigs, his jail wedding and his longstanding feud with DeValera. It also explains just why he was forgotten and restores him to his rightful place in history.

Diarmuid Lynch- Óglach Dearmadta airs on TG4 on Easter Monday March 28th at 7.30pm 2016 – celebrating one hundred years since the Rising.

CONTACT

Ciara Hyland | ForeFront Productions | info@forefront.ie | + 353 (0)87 791 1316



Diarmuid Lynch – Óglach Dearmadta (The Forgotten Volunteer) a documentary produced by Ciara Hyland of Forefront Productions.

Delighted to announce that Ciara's Documentary is to broadcast on Easter Monday, 28 March at 19:30hrs on TG4. Below are photos from the shoot – a recreation of the Easter Saturday meeting, cast, a shot of Diarmuid & Kit's Jail wedding and none other than Eileen McGough 'ag caint as Gaeilge'.

To the left is the ForeFront synopsis of the Documentary and one of the cell galleries in Kilmainham Jail.



1916 Web Site Links

A selection of websites that may be of interest
(click on the picture to access)



Decade of Centenaries



Ireland 2016



BMH & Military Pensions



Heritage Ireland



Glasnevin Cemetery



National Archives - Census



National Library 1916



National Museum



DMP Extremists Reports



Punch Magazine



Wikipedia Ireland History



Irish Volunteers

Irish jewellery brand Terrible Beauty was launched in 2016 at Showcase Ireland. The 1916 jewellery collection is brought to you by award winning Irish jewellery designer Maria Parsons. The 1916 jewellery collection is inspired by the people and events of The 1916 Rising, a key event that changed the course of Ireland's History. There are three series to the 1916 collection, each inspired by key women of the 1916 Rising; Maud, Constance and Grace. The 1916 Collection includes men's 1916 jewellery along with women's jewellery. Rings, necklaces, pendants, cufflinks, brooches, charms, bangles, bracelets and earrings are imbued with a sensitivity to The Rising. The 1916 jewellery collection is available in a variety of materials and finishes, all information about the jewellery pieces are available within the product pages of the SHOP. We hope you enjoy the collection and that you wear it with pride. Wear Your History



Ed's Comment: Another in the series of products produced and/or inspired by the Easter Rising. Previously we featured the blatant 'cashing in' with a football jersey and 'the Choclamation' chocolate bar. Perhaps the Jury is still out on jewellery inspired by the revolution? Art or simple commercialism? You decide.



The April 2016 Newsletter will be the final edition in this format and will be available from early April.

After twelve issues, its original purpose to keep relatives and friends informed of events and commemoration plans for the 2016 Easter Centenary has now been fulfilled. Along the way we've also discovered a great deal of family history and renewed many old family links.



This last edition will be a Centenary special featuring photographs of family, friends and events from the forthcoming March Commemoration along with events and articles marking the actual centenary of the 1916 Rising.

However, it's not the end of the Newsletter.

From May 2016, this will hopefully continue in a blog format on the website and will feature the usual selection of family & local history articles, some unusual historical snippets marking events and a few new items of interest.

Click on the web address today and add it to your favourites:

www.diamuidlynch.weebly.com

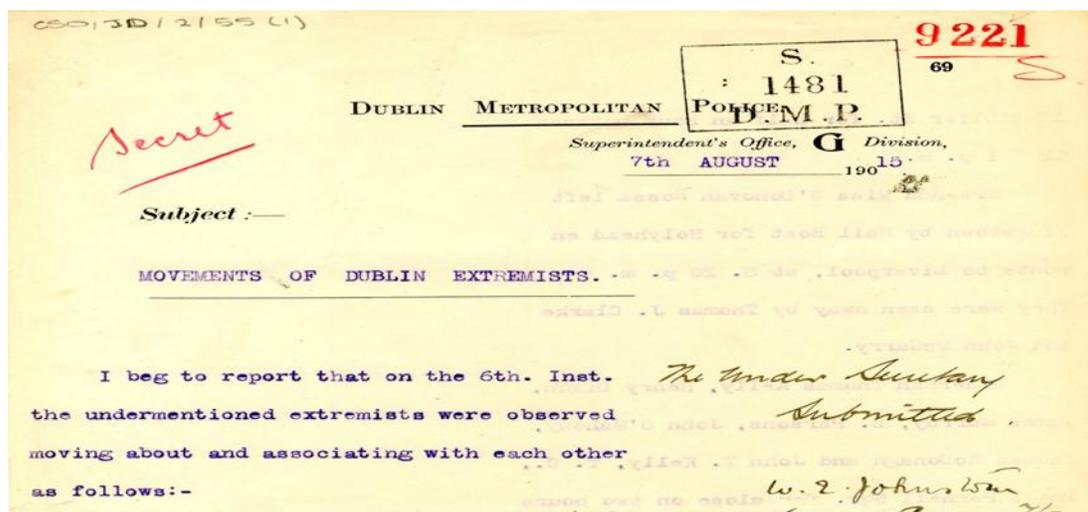




Dublin Metropolitan Police - Movements of Dublin Extremists

Reports on Diarmuid Lynch

February 1915



The Chief Secretary's Office, Crime Branch: Movement of Extremists collection was a series of daily reports by the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) Detective Department on the movements and associations of pro-independence suspects.

These reports were compiled by Superintendent Owen Brien and submitted to the Under Secretary for Ireland, Sir Matthew Nathan, at Dublin Castle, annotated and then read by the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Sir Augustine Birrell.

These reports describe Republican activity in Dublin during the 11 months preceding the Easter Rising and detail intelligence gathered at a number of key city centre locations, most notably the shop of Thomas J Clarke at 75 Parnell Street, the Irish Volunteers Office at 2 Dawson Street, the Irish National Foresters Hall at 41 Parnell Street and the Gaelic League Offices in 25 Parnell Street. Major events which took place in 1915 and 1916 are recorded in the reports, including the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and the Annual Convention of Irish Volunteers.

The reports also include details of anti-recruitment and conscription rallies, meetings of the Irish Women's Franchise League, and protests against the imprisonment of revolutionaries under the Defence of the Realm Act and the movement of suspects to locations and major events outside of Dublin.

There are over 230 individuals referred to in the reports, principally members of the Irish Volunteers, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Sinn Féin. The primary person of interest is Thomas J Clarke, who is mentioned in almost every report, while the other most frequently mentioned individuals include Pierce Beasley, Thomas Byrne, Con Colbert, Bulmer Hobson, Seán T Ó Ceallaigh, Seán Mac Diarmada, John McGarry, Diarmuid Lynch, Joseph McGuinness, Herbert Mellows, Michael O'Hanrahan, William O'Leary Curtis, Michael Joseph O'Rahilly and James Joseph Walsh.

In total there were approximately 260 files comprising 700 documents which were conserved, listed and scanned.

To view these and other reports in full, visit the [National Archives of Ireland](http://www.nationalarchives.ie) website.

The reports included with the Newsletter relate to Diarmuid Lynch and also include details of historic and unusual events. Side notes provide contextual historical information on events and personalities (Click on items [hyperlinked](#) for further info)

19
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Monday, January 31 1916

CSO/30/2/199(1)

(1858.) Wt. 5335—66.4000.12/14. A. T. & Co., Ltd.
(6559.) Wt. 3103—96.20,000.8/15.

Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 22.

10572

S.
2370
D.M.P.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:

Detective Department,

Crime Special

Dublin, 1st. February, 1916

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 31st. ult., *The Under Secretary*,
the undermentioned extremists were observed *Submitted.*
moving about and associating with each other
as follows:- *W. J. Whelan*

With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St.,
John McGarry for a quarter of an hour from
6-15 p. m. Pierce Beasley for ten minutes
from 8 p. m. D. Lynch and John McDermott
for half an hour between 8 & 9 p. m.

Submitted 2/1/16
Under Secretary
Submitted
10572
1/2
True



Tuesday, February 1 1916

With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St.,

C. Colbert from 12-50 to 1 p. m. Joseph
 McGuinness for a quarter of an hour between
 1 & 2 p. m. John T. Kelly, T.C., and M.
 Foley for twenty minutes between 2 & 3 p. m.

D. Lynch, Charles S. Power, W. Sheehan, J.R.
 Reynolds and E. Duggan together for half an
 hour from 8 p. m. E. Daly and Wm. O'Brien
 (Trades Council), for a few minutes at 8-40
 p. m. John McGarry and Wm. O'Leary Curtis

Comm 2/2/16
Under Secretary
Submitted
WML
2/2

Th.
2/2

Cheylom

Wednesday, February 2 1916

10590 201 JDI 2/201 (1)

(1898.) Wt. 5335—66,400.12/14. A. T. & Co., Ltd.
(1909.) Wt. 3105—96,20,000.8/15.

Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 22.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

S.
2390
D.M.P.

Detective Department

Dublin, 3rd. February, 191 6

Crime Special

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 2nd. Inst., the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows:-

The Under Secretary submitted.

Thomas J. Clarke was not seen in his shop, 75, Parnell Street yesterday, but it has been ascertained that he is not out of the City.

Wm. Whelan -
C. Connors
Under Secretary
Submitted
W.M.

Those observed to visit the place during the day were John McGarry, and James Whelan at 12-40 p. m. William Mellows who arrived at Broadstone from Athenry at 2-30 p. m. proceeded to Clarke's where he had a short conversation with E. Daly, D. Lynch, Joseph McGuinness and John T. Kelly, T.C. at

Ch. Sec.
(on whom) 3/2
W.M.
3/2
Seen by the Ch. Sec.
W.M.
9/2
Ch. Sec.
W.M.
10/2

The Chief Commissioner.

Thursday, February 3 1916

10593

S.
2395
D.M.P.

(1888.) W.L. 5133—66,000.12/14. A.T.&Co., Ltd.
(1888.) W.L. 3103—96,20,000.8/15.
Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 22.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:
Detective Department.

Dublin, 4th. February, 1916

Crime Special

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 3rd. Inst., *The Under Secretary*
the undermentioned extremists were observed *Submitted.*
moving about and associating with each other
as follows:-

Thomas J. Clarke was again absent from
his shop yesterday. He is said to be unwell,
but inquiry is being made as to this. Those
however who visited 75, Parnell St. during
the day were John McDermott, William Mellows,
J. R. Reynolds, E. Daly, Joseph McGuinness,
Thomas Byrne, Pierce Beasley, C. J. Kickham, X
D. Lynch, Henry Dixon, William O'Leary Curtis
and William Sheehan.

Herbert Mellows, M. J. O'Rahilly, and
L. Raul in 2, Dawson Street between 12 & 1 p.m.

About 60 members of the Irish Volunteers
were drilled in the hall, 41, Parnell Square
from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m.; F. Fahy, D. Lynch
and C. J. Kickham being there at the time.

W. Minister
Comm 4/2/16
Under Secretary
Submitted
W.M.
4/2
Chaplin
W.M.
5/2

Wednesday, 9 February, 1916

P. H. Pearse, John Fitzgibbon, John McDermott, M. J. O'Rahilly, D. Lynch, Laurence Raul, M. O'Hanrahan, Joseph McGuinness, E. Kent, E. Duggan and Thomas Hunter in 2, Dawson Street together from 7-30 to 9-30 p.m.

John Milroy at 28, North Frederick St. between 9 & 10 p. m.

Thursday, 10 February, 1916

P. H. Pearse left Kingsbridge by 3 p.m. train for Waterford. R. I. C. informed.

About 45 members of the Sinn Fein Volunteers were drilled without rifles at rear of the hall, 41, Rutland Square between 8 p. m. and 10 p. m. Those present at the time were D. Lynch, F. Fahy, Joseph McGuinness, Bulmer Hobson, and Michael McNamara. The latter is an Assistant in Mooney's publichouse, Parnell Street.

Monday, 14 February, 1916

Thomas J. Clarke did not visit his shop,
 75, Parnell St. on 14th. inst. Those seen
 to call there during the day included Michael
 McGinn, John McGarry, Pierce Beasley, John
 McDermott, E. Daly, Joseph McGuinness, E. J.
 Duggan and James Stritch.

M. J. O'Rahilly, D. Lynch, Jas. Whelan,
 L. Raul, Michael O'Hanrahan and E. Daly in
 2, Dawson Street at 12 noon.

John McDermott, and John T. Kelly ar-
 rived at Amiens Street from Belfast at 1 p.m.

Comm 15/2/16
Under Secretary
Submitted
WML
15/2
WML
16

Tuesday, 15 February, 1916

Bulmer Hobson, H. Mellows, M.J. O'Rahil-
 ly, L. Raul, and M. O'Hanrahan in 2, Dawson
 Street at 11-30 a. m.

D. Lynch and John McDermott in 12,
 D'Olier Street at 12-30 p. m.

L. J. Fawsitt arrived at Kingsbridge
 from Cork at 12-30 p. m.

2
Chiefton
WML
16/2
17/2
WML
16
 RETURNED

Wednesday, 16 February, 1916

Bulmer Hobson, E. Kent, P. H. Pearse,
 E. De Valera, J. O'Connor, M. J. O'Rahilly,
 John Fitzgibbon, D. Lynch, L. Raul, John
 McDermott and John E. Lyons in 2, Dawson
 Street from 7-30 p. m. to 9 p. m. Lyons is
 a Printer who resides at 14, Portland Place,
 N. C. Road.

Saturday, 19 February, 1916

10722

S.
2497
D.M.P.

(1858.) Wt. 5333—66.4000.12/14. A.T. & Co., Ltd.
 (6559.) Wt. 3103—96.20,000.8/15.
 Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
 Telephone No. 22.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:
 Detective Department,

Dublin, 21st. February, 1916

SECRET.

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 19th. and 20th. Inst., the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows:-

Thomas J. Clarke called to his shop, 75, Parnell St., mid-day, on Saturday but only remained a few minutes. Those seen to visit the place during the day included T. McDonagh, James O'Sullivan, E. Daly, C. Colbert, Joseph Murray, D. Lynch, John McDermott, F. J. McCabe and James Leddan. Limerick.

The Under Secretary
Submitted
W. H. ...
Clamm 2/2
Under Secretary
G. H.

Sunday, 20 February, 1916

John McNeill, Thomas McDonagh, John
McDermott, Edmund Kent, John Fitzgibbon, P.
H. Pearse, M.J. O'Rahilly, D. Lynch, J. J.
O'Connell, Thomas Hunter, J. O'Connor, F.
Fahy, Bulmer Hobson, M. O'Hanrahan, William
Mellows, F. J. McCabe, Pierce McCann, Cashel,
T. J. McSweeney, Cork, Thomas Curtin, Cork,
James Leddan, Limerick, P. Hughes, Dundalk,
John Neeson, Drogheda, and Herbert Mellows
were present at a meeting of the Irish Vol-
unteer Executive at 2, Dawson Street from 12
noon to 3 p. m. 20th. Inst.

Monday, 21 February, 1916

(1856.) Wt. 5333—66.4000.12/14. A.T.&Co., Ltd.
(6559.) Wt. 3103—96.20,000.8/15.

Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 22.

10726

S.
2505
D.M.P.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE:

Detective Department,

Dublin, 22nd. February, 1916

SECRET.

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 21st. Inst., *The Under Secretary*
the undermentioned extremists were observed *Submitted.*
moving about and associating with each other *W. Johnston.*
as follows:- *C.C. 22/2*

Thomas J. Clarke was not seen to visit
his shop, 75, Parnell Street yesterday. Those
who called there during the day included John
McDermott, C. Colbert, F. Fahy, C.J. Kickham, *X*
John McGarry and D. Lynch. *Under Secretary*
EDP
22/2/16

Friday, 25 February, 1916

11712/2/1301250

(1850.) Wt. 5333—66.4000.12/14. A. T. & Co., Ltd.
(6550.) Wt. 3103—66.20,000.1/15.

Telegrams: "DAMP, DUBLIN."
Telephone No. 12.

10763

S.
2531
D.M.P.

DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Detective Department,

Dublin, 26th. February, 1916

SECRET.

Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN EXTREMISTS.

I beg to report that on the 25th. Inst., the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows:-

Thomas J. Clarke, John McDermott, and D. Lynch in 12, D'Olier Street for over an hour from 12 noon. Clarke afterwards went to Kingsbridge, where he left by 3 p. m. train en route to Limerick. R. I. C. informed.

Those observed in 75, Parnell St. during the day included C. Colbert, John McGarry, E. Daly, C. Collins, and D. Lynch.

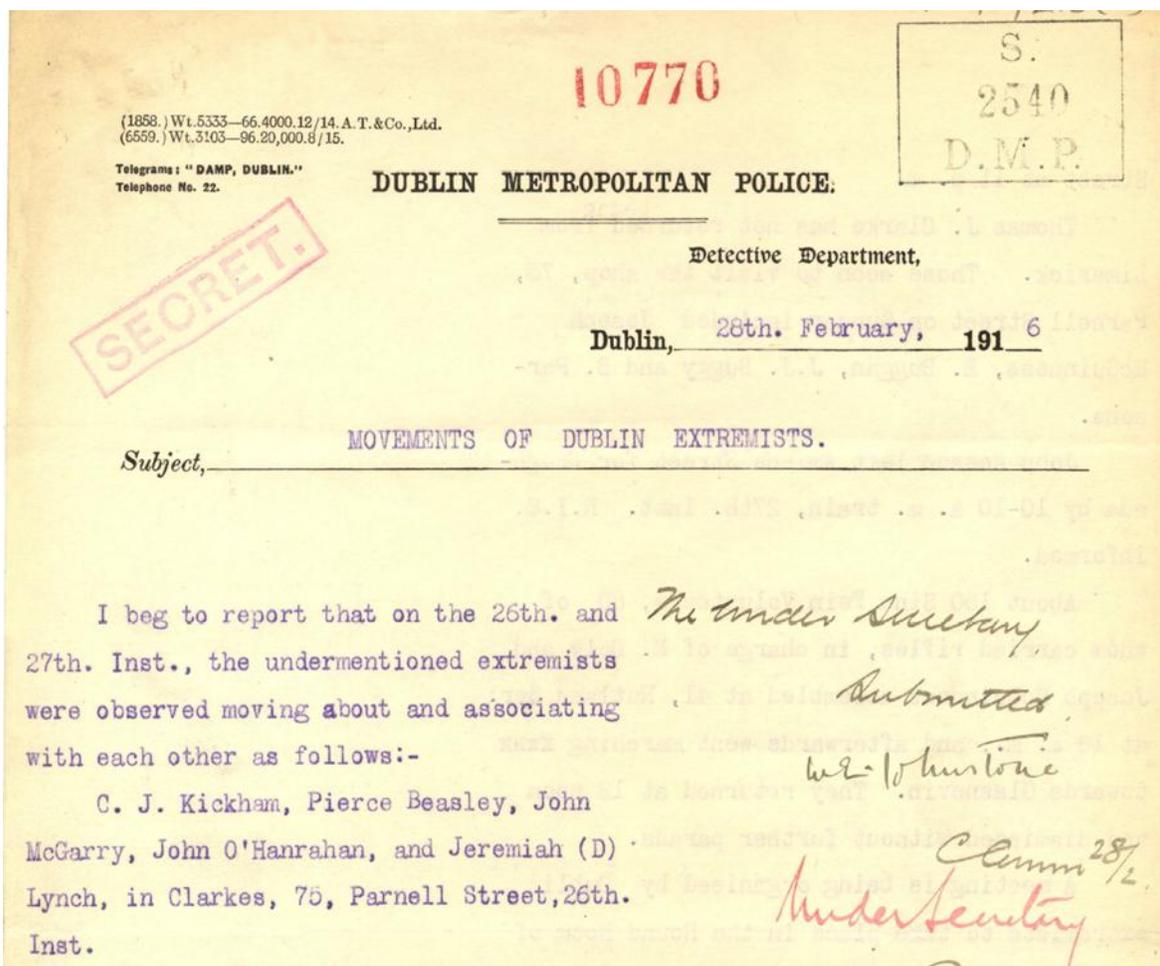
Bulmer Hobson, M. O'Hanrahan, C. Colbert, and Mrs Sheehy-Skeffington in 2, Dawson St. between 1 & 2 p. m.

The Under Secretary
Submitted.
W. W. Keene
Comm 26/2

Under Secretary
EJG
26.2.16.

Ch. Sec.
To see papers.
T.M.
26/2

Saturday, 26 February, 1916



Further items from the Dublin Metropolitan Police files continues in the April 2016 edition of the Newsletter. From May 2016, these reports will appear in an online file at www.diarmuidlynch.weebly.com

