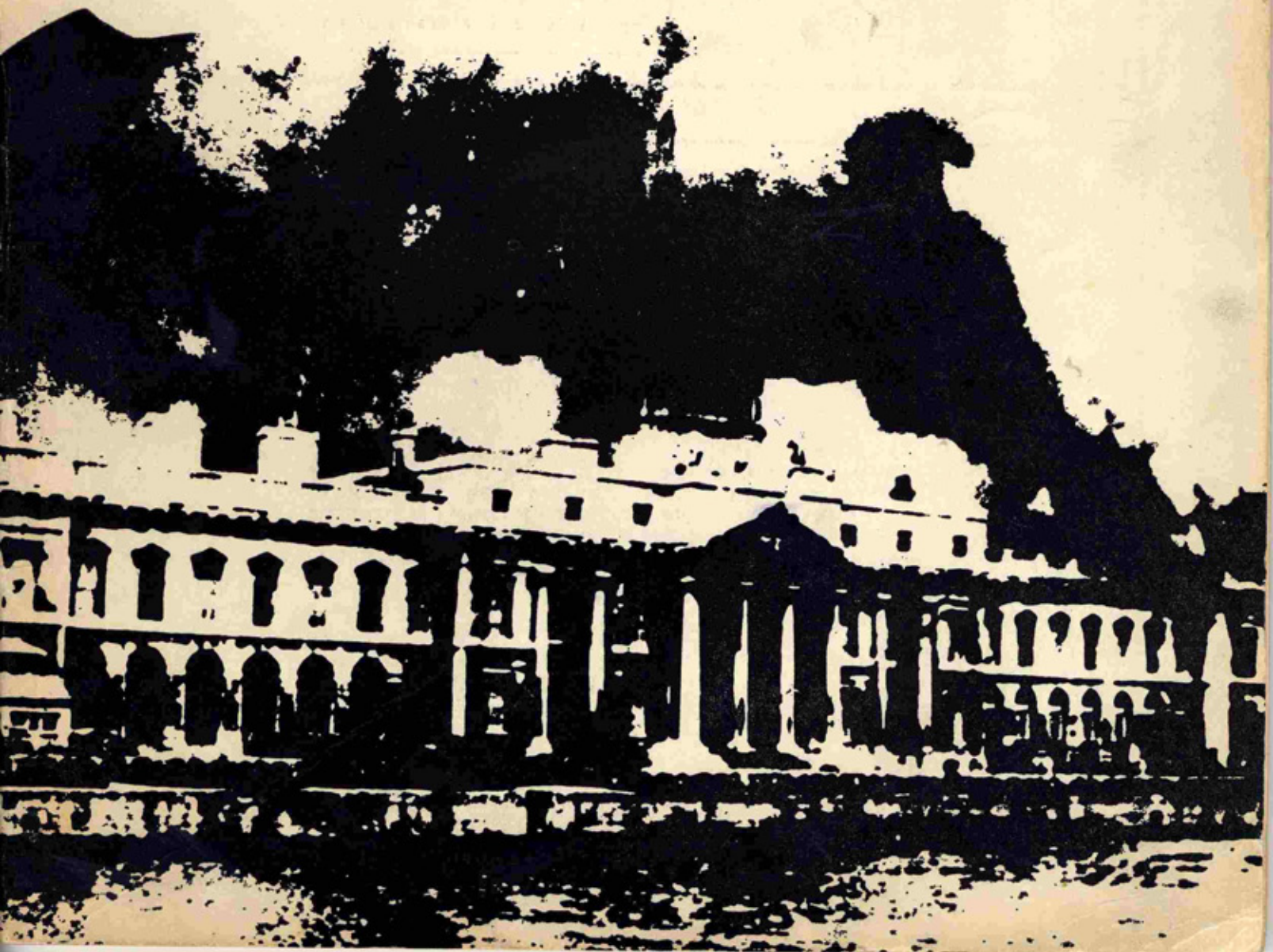


# 1916-1966

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# 1916 • 1966

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED ?

This special issue is a collection of articles which attempt to assess the progress of Ireland, starting fifty years ago, in every field. All the contributors are Irish — Journalists, University Lecturers or Professional men and women highly respected in their own fields who have been asked by us to explain what has happened to the goals of the 1916 leaders. '1916-1966' is produced by the non-profit undergraduate TCD Publishing Company; our thanks are due not only to the contributors but also to the many people who have helped in the production of this issue— all of whom receive no payment. In particular, our gratitude to Michael McInerney, Tony Lennon, Oliver Snoddy, and our photographers Sandol and Jon Harsch. Our thanks also to 'The Irish Times,' 'The Evening Press,' the National Museum, Joseph Cashman, and MacMillan and Company.

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First Published June 1916

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## WRITING FROM THE SENATE: OWEN SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON

Certainly, gaining political control over our own destinies in a 26-county Republic marked a step forward, and a necessary one, towards the achievement of the 1916 aims. But it was only an initial step; and since taking it we have mainly been marking time—in Irish-made boots.

True, the 1916 leaders had not got so very many clearly stated common aims. They wanted to free Ireland; but not all of them had thought much about what would come next. Connolly, pre-eminently, had; and Pearse drew closer to Connolly month by month. The others more or less took it for granted that to set Ireland politically free was aim enough. Moreover, not one of them asked to be considered as knowing all the answers, as constituting an authority never to be questioned. Like most great men, they were essentially humble. By and large, they accepted Pearse's Calendar of Nationalist Saints: Tone, Davis, Lalor, Mitchel, and Parnell. Not all perhaps were aware of the full implications of Connolly's prophetic picture:

"And," says the town worker, "after we have crushed the Saxon and freed Ireland, what will we do?"

"Oh, then you can go back to your slums, same as before . . ."

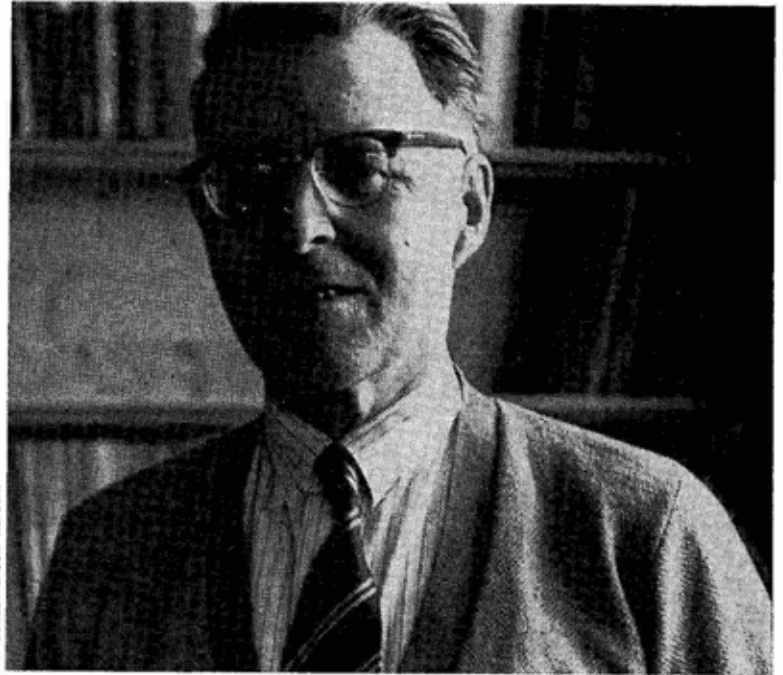
"After Ireland is free," says the patriot who will not touch Socialism, "we will protect all classes, and if you won't pay your rent, you will be evicted, same as now, but the evicting party, under the command of the sheriff, will wear green uniforms and the Harp without the Crown, and the warrant turning you out on the roadside will be stamped with the arms of the Irish Republic."

By what tests, then, are we to judge our success so far? Surely by Connolly's test of reference to the condition of the ordinary people:

" . . . the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for Ireland, and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and the suffering, the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irishmen and women—without burning to end it, is in my opinion a fraud and a liar in his heart."

How radically have we raised the living standards of our people, all our people? A little, yes; particularly, oh irony! in the case of those 850,000 we have driven to seek a living with "the Saxon."

Just after Pearl Harbour, John Morris, an Englishman living in Tokyo, asked a Japanese Foreign Office Official what were Japan's war aims. The reply was: "A continuation of the British Empire—with a change of rulers."



—Sendel & Jon Harscht.

### OWEN SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON

SON OF FAMOUS FRANCIS SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON WHO WAS MURDERED IN 1916. REBEL WRITER AND SOCIAL THINKER. GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN AND ONE OF TRINITY'S TWO SENATORS. LECTURER IN THE SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ACTIVE IN THE REPUBLICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT CONTROVERSIES, EXPELLED MEMBER OF THE LABOUR PARTY FOR HOLDING LIBERAL IDEAS.

Similarly in Ireland, we have continued the old Ascendancy system of privilege and poverty, with a change of rulers. Our New Ascendancy now flourishes, tariff-protected, in our Capitalist statelet, handsomely rewarded with privilege and power, with large American cars and ostentatious wealth, while the common Irishry meekly continue as undereducated labourers and maids for the home and export markets. Emerald-green tycoonery has, in Pearse's phrase, made its peace with the devil, "and found him a very decent sort, for he liberally rewards, with attorney-generalships, bank balances, and villa residences, the great and the little who serve him well."

Indeed, under this change of rulers, some of to-day's "men of no property" may have noticed that our New Ascendancy does not even throw up as large a proportion of public-spirited servants of the country as did its "Anglo-Irish" predecessor.

The Proclamation of the Republic guaranteed to cherish "all the children of the nation equally." Can we really claim that this has come to pass? In Ireland to-day, the class system of first place to the wealthy and end of the queue to the poor, is largely operative in the fields of health, housing, food, clothing and education. It is not



the class system that is loudly condemned from platform and pulpit, only the class war: "Touch your forelocks, you Irish coolies; respect your new masters; the natural law requires it." "Yes Sir; yes Father; yes, your Grace."

Pearse's comment on the 1913 powerful ones who deemed a pound a week ample for a man and his family, was: "It is further known that a pound a week is sufficient to sustain a Dublin family in honest hunger—at least very rich men tell us so . . . I would like to put some of our well-fed citizens in the shoes of our hungry citizens, just for an experiment . . ."

The 1913 pound would be worth five pounds to-day. What would Pearse have to say to those who ask free Irish old-age pensioners to live in honest hunger on 52/6 a week? This is the equivalent of 10/6 in 1913.

Again, have we yet come near abolishing what Pearse called "the Juggernaut car of the Intermediate"? Or have we nationalised the land, and nationally planned our agriculture, as Pearse followed Fintan Lalor in demanding, subjecting private ownership to public weal? Have we smashed the class barrier between primary and secondary schools, and made all teaching in both a "national service" as Pearse foretold? Have we brought freedom to our schools? Or could Pearse's "Murder Machine" be applied to many of our schools to-day?

"'Thou shalt not', is half the law of Ireland, and the other half is 'Thou must'. Nowhere has the law of 'Thou shalt not' and 'Thou must' been so rigorous as in the schoolroom. Surely the first essential of healthy life there was freedom. But there has been and there is no freedom in Irish education; no freedom for the child, no freedom for the teacher, no freedom for the school."—Patrick Pearse.

To-day, on the average, of every 52 Primary School leavers, 18 get no further education (and only 5 of these will have got the Primary Certificate); 12 go on to Vocational Schools (6 of these 12 will get the Group

Certificate); 22 enter Secondary Schools, and of these 16 will get the Intermediate Certificate, and 5 of these will get the Leaving Certificate. Only one will reach the university.

Can we say that we now have an Irish Republic in which Protestant and Catholic can work and learn together in every field, "holding faith," in Pearse's words, "to the memory and the inspiration of Tone," whose aim he quotes as being "to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter." As I look about me in the Ireland of 1966, I see that 1913 aim largely unachieved.

Judged, therefore, by these many tests, and upon examining what successes have been achieved in effectively bettering the lot of "the Sovereign People", I would say that we have still a long way to go.

And why have we faltered here, marked time there, slipped back elsewhere? Was it because it is easier to organise people to pull triggers than to get them to think out exactly what they hope to achieve? It is certainly true that when the military method dictates policy, clear political thinking is often postponed. My own father, Francis Sheehy Skeffington, who was executed without trial on the Wednesday of Easter Week 1916, feared that violent means would betray the aims desired. "Ireland's militarism," he had written in 1915, "can never be on so great a scale as that of Germany or England, but it may be equally fatal to the best interests of Ireland . . . I advocate no mere servile, lazy acquiescence in injustice. I am always, and always will be a fighter. But I want to see the age-long fight against injustice clothe itself in new forms, suited to a new age."

In my opinion, the snail-slow tempo of our "successes" has been due both to that—the concentration down the years on the military mind and method—and to our fear of carrying through the social and economic revolution which should have been the absolutely necessary concomitant of the winning of political freedom. What we needed was not the continuation of caste and privilege—with a change of rulers—but a radical transformation of our society, a re-planning of our economy so as to harness our full labour potential to our full national resources, genuinely vested in the nation, so as to satisfy the needs of the many and not merely the greeds of the few, so as really to set the people free. What else was freedom for? In his last essay, of March 31, 1916, Pearse wrote: "Separation from England would be valueless unless it put the people—the actual people and not merely certain rich men—of Ireland in effective ownership and possession of the soil of Ireland." As far back as 1897, Connolly had clearly stated: "If you could remove the English Army to-morrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain."

For my part, I see all about me striking evidence of how very right they were.

The most dangerous thing about stereotypes is that they are highly negotiable currency. The image of an illiterate, priest-ridden island where Protestants alone guard the reservoirs of sanity, of civilisation, and of culture is, in spite of its attractiveness, a stereotype like this. And—it must be added—in spite of the shadowy vestiges of truth which are still attached to it. For the fact is that, from the religious point of view, the Ireland of 1966 is as like the Ireland of 1916 as Mr. Paisley is like the Pope, and even these two have baptism in common.

Perhaps it is best to begin by being historical—although I would like to make it quite clear that this is less the fruit of adequate historical research than of a sort of historically conditioned intuition. In the old, predominantly Roman Catholic Irish community, the priest held a fascinatingly privileged position. This was partly due to the fact that he was the guide and mentor, in matters of faith and morals, for the majority of his flock. It was also due to the fact that he was educationally far better equipped than almost any of them. In a country which has always regarded education with such reverence—even if it has taken so long for this reverence to be translated into real terms—the conjunction of religion and education in the person of the priest was too powerful a magnet to be resisted. Nor did the people want to resist it: they welcomed it.

This sort of relationship was, I think, based on a limited view of the nature of the Church, a view which was perhaps adequate for its time but which has been rapidly outdistanced by social and theological progress. In the past the Church authorities—parish priests included—saw it as their duty to mould the consciences of the faithful by giving them a detailed set of instructions and by representing this as having the force of law. The Church thought it could best fulfil this task by laying down detailed rules of moral conduct, and this sort of idea was welcomed by the laity, who for centuries found it quite natural that, inside or outside the confessional, they should be constantly putting before the clergy every possible kind of moral problem, in the most concrete and particular detail, and they believed that they had a **right** to clear pronouncements, answers and judgments.

This was fine, as far as it went, but circumstances started to change with a speed which bewildered the clergy, the bishops, the Church as a whole, and with which the Roman Church—through the Vatican Council—has only just begun to come to terms. At the same time, through an almost imperceptible but definite shift in emphasis, some members of the clergy (and hierarchy) began to see their action in providing an answer for every question less as a service to the community than as an exercise of divine right. By this time, of course, people were becoming more and more

## RELIGION



# THAT OLD TIME

## RELIGION

**JOHN HORGAN**  
BORN IN CO. KERRY. EDUCATED AT U.C.D. AND U.C.C.,  
RETIRED SOLICITOR'S ASSISTANT. FIRST JOURNALIST JOB  
WITH THE "EVENING PRESS"; "LONDON CATHOLIC  
HERALD," "THE IRISH TIMES," LONDON. SINCE 1963 WITH  
DUBLIN "IRISH TIMES." REPORTED ON ECUMENICAL  
COUNCIL.

educated. They weren't asking questions quite so frequently. They were working out more of the answers for themselves—answers which, although they may have been in conflict with the more immediate imperatives of their parish priest, were seldom at variance with the basic moral teaching of their Church. The apparent conflict arose from a distorted view of the Church as a small group of experts and a huge mass of illiterates (a view which mirrored the mediaeval society in which it was framed) and from the mistaken idea that infallibility could and did spread, like a disease, from the Pope downwards to include everybody in orders.

As Robert Adolfs, the Dutch Augustinian theologian, has pointed out, the traditional pastoral approach of the Church in the sphere of morals is becoming increasingly irrelevant, and may in some cases even be harmful. This is not to imply that traditional Christian morality has been left standing at the post. But it does imply—and very forcibly—that what has been left at the post is the view of the nature of the Church which underlay this particular pastoral approach.

In the Ireland of 1916 this was hardly a problem at all. Many Irish priests, through their positions as head of the community, had also become a focal point for national resistance. In spite of the unhallowed Protestantism of patriots like Wolfe Tone, Childers, Sheehy Skeffington, Douglas Hyde and others, Roman Catholicism and protest went hand in hand. There is the famous story of a Roman Catholic priest hearing the confession of an I.R.A. man who admitted, with some diffidence, to blowing up several railway bridges. He listened in silence while the man completed his recital and then turned to him gently, saying: "Go in peace, my child. For your penance, you should 'do' the Stations . . ."

The national memory telescopes events with astonishing clarity, and the example of priests hanged, drawn and quartered by the British helped to foster a real community of interest between priest and people in Ireland. This was strengthened by the activities of priests in the Gaelic League, another potent symbol of national identity.

Then came 1916. It wasn't long before 1922 hove into sight. The Irish began to build up their own state, hardly as yet aware of the traumatic economic and cultural adventures which were lying in wait for them. Catholicism, deprived in some senses of its internal significance as a social factor in the life of the country, turned outwards: we had the Blueshirts, and the religious commitment to Franco in Spain. We had the pathetic example of Maria Duce, the Fascist-style organisation which wanted the Roman Catholic religion alone enshrined in the Irish Constitution. Above all, we had a period of tension and disenchantment during which the Church cast around for a new role, for a new statement of its relationship with the people.

Today, fifty years after the watershed of 1916, it still has not found it, and time is running out. The Republic is still a Catholic country. Some 94.6 per cent of the population is Roman Catholic, and the proportion hardly looks like decreasing in the next few years. The proportion of Protestants South of the Border has declined sharply, although the non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations still account for a steady 25 per cent of the island's total population, as they have done for the last 30 years. Their strength is being increasingly concentrated in the North and this, if anything, tends to accentuate the difficulties of this particular region.

In the South, both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is undergoing a considerable degree of change. There are fewer Protestants, it is true, but those who remain are, if anything, slightly more active from the religious point of view than their ancestors. Roman Catholicism, on the other hand, is showing signs of stress. The laity feel that they cannot communicate with their priests; many of the priests feel that they have lost contact with their bishops; while for the laity the very idea of talking to a bishop, let alone meeting him, is almost unthinkable. There has been a subtle sort of

dehumanisation in the relationship between pastors and people; all sorts of barriers—of language, of vocabulary, of material standards and even of thought—have conspired to come between them.

All this is, in a sense, inevitable. It could also be productive. It is, on one level, nothing more serious than an outward indication of the difficulties attendant on any relationship in a period of transition. It is complicated in rural areas by depopulation and by social inadequacies and, in urban areas, by administrative cares which threaten to turn priests into something little better than religious businessmen.

The important thing about it is that it is real, and that the pain of it all is felt deeply. Priests and bishops are worried by the failure to communicate, while the people are estranged by it. The silent cheers which greeted Brian Trevasakis' first remarks on the Late Late Show in some parts of the country and among certain age groups did not really take account of what he said, but of the fact that he said it. The myth that the only method of communication is by shouting is perilously close to becoming a reality. And the great virtue of shouting is that it prevents you from hearing what the other fellow is saying. We will all be hoarse before we make contact—at the present rate—and by then it may well be too late. By then the priests may have become confirmed in their harrassed suspicion that the people do not want to listen to them; by then the people may have become confirmed in their aggressive surmise that the priests do not want to talk to them.

Is there a way out? Those of us who are Christians must believe that there is, but our responsibility, in this *annus mirabilis*, does not end there, it only begins there. Perhaps the answer lies in a deeper appreciation of what Christianity means, of what it implies. Does it imply, for instance, that priest or parson should be chairman of the local G.A.A. society, of the amateur dramatic society, of the local festival committee? Not necessarily. Does it imply that the priest or parson should, by virtue of his position as the president of the worshipping community which is the parish, beggar himself spiritually and physically in an attempt to implement the Gospel, whether he does it like Fr. McDyer in Glencolumkille or like Mr. Mackey in the Churches Industrial Council in Belfast? Almost certainly yes, but with one important qualification: that this sort of activity should be a pointer, and not a substitute, for the involvement of Christians as a whole in this kind of work. This is because this particular type of commitment is essentially a lay commitment, and because appreciation of this vital fact will remove many of the squalid obstacles to a genuine dialogue between priest and people which have been raised during fifty years of economic and social progress.

Not so long ago an Irish journalist wrote an article with the provocative title: "Will the Irish Remain Christian?" Today, with the evidence of a restored Christianity in front of us, and the evidence of the society we have created since 1916 all around us—the way we treat our old people, our sick, the way we educate our children—another question rears its head, and it is this: "Will the Irish become Christian?" On much of the available testimony, very few of us are, and the significance of this lamentable fact is only in genuine Christianity will differences, confessional or otherwise, pastoral or theological, social or political, personal or institutional, ultimately be reconciled. Or nearly.



# OLD REPUBLICANS

## To: SOME OLD REPUBLICAN SOMEWHERE



From:  
**Sean O'Faolain**

Dear Comrade,

How are the grandchildren? What a lot of blood and tears have flown under the bridges since you were twenty, in 1916! There has always been just one question I wanted to ask you. Did you ever since decide why you did it? Or, better, nearer to the way these things happen, what made you do it?

I have imagined several reasons why you "fought for the Republic" but only one of them really holds water. Love-Hate. Love of Ireland, hate of England. Nobody can argue about that. But it does not satisfy my mind though it does satisfy my heart. Nothing satisfies the mind unless it lasts, and your hatred for England has not (surely?) lasted; and you must be a very special Irishman if your passion for Ireland has not over the years—as passion always does over the years—cooled a little. I want reasons that are still as valid and strong as they were then, or seemed to be. "To break the connection with England?" Do you still believe, in this tightly interlaced modern world, that any country can really break the connection with any other country?

"We fought for Freedom! We fought for the Republic! We fought to be able to run our own country in our own way!" Who do you mean by "we"? Are you forgetting that "we" fought a Civil War precisely about the meaning of that two-letter word? In other words we fought

the British and we fought the Irish to decide what "we all" ought to mean by Freedom. This is really the question I am asking you: What did you mean by Freedom in 1916?

LET ME REMIND YOU—it may help us both—what that brave, but muddled man, Patrick Pearse, thought he meant by Freedom. You will find some of his clearer thoughts in his three pamphlets on *The Separatist Idea*, and all of them based on Lalor, Mitchel, Davis and, above all, on Wolfe Tone. Writing of Tone, he finds the core of his political faith in Tone's Republicanism as expressed in the secret manifesto to the Friends of Freedom in Ireland, of June, 1791, written either by Tone or by Nelson. Looking forward to the Republican society which will arise after a successful revolution Pearse quotes eagerly from the manifesto:—

"This society is likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end. What end? *The Rights of Man in Ireland*. The greatest happiness of the greatest number in this island, the inherent and indefeasible claims of every nation to rest in this nation—the will and the power to be happy, to pursue the common weal as an individual pursues his private welfare and to stand in insulated independence, an imperial people.

The greatest happiness of the Greatest Number. On the rock of this principle let this society rest."

Now, that was not just a politician's speech. He meant it. Later he summed up Tone's position and doctrines, as a Republican Separatist, in nine propositions which you may re-read for yourself. I quote Numbers Four and Five—clear echoes of Thomas Jefferson and the American Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776:—

- "4. The right to National Freedom rests upon the right to Personal Freedom, and true National Freedom guarantees Personal Freedom.
5. The Object of Freedom is the pursuit of the happiness of the Nation and of the individuals that compose the Nation."

IT IS IN THE LIGHT of those words that we must today re-read—I underline re-read; nobody does re-read it—the Proclamation of the Republic of 1916 when it "guarantees . . . equal rights and equal opportunities for all its citizens." There, at least, is clear speech. And, I presume, equal opportunities for the children and the grandchildren of all its citizens, whether they are dockers or busmen, bank clerks, bakers or candlestickmakers? Or poor farmers' children entitled to a full education?

We must, however, as the honest historians, at least, of our own youthful dreams, take note of the major weakness in Pearse's vision of Freedom in action. He was not a practical political thinker. He never faced up, for example, to the possibility that his splendid Sovereign People (the title of one of his pamphlets) might turn out to be humanly fallible. He trusted you and me too much. However, he did at least see that "we" might have some few, trifling differences, and to meet these differences he set down certain wonderfully confusing qualifications to Personal Freedom over which we have, over the last fifty years, in turn confused ourselves at length in our search for our definition of this Freedom for which (you say) you fought. For example:—

"Every man and woman within the nation has normally equal rights, but a man and woman may forfeit his or her right by turning recreant to the nation."

(A dangerous because indefinable doctrine. He had in mind, I think, the ascendancy. You and I applied it to the majority of Irishmen during the Civil War. For all we know you might now

apply it to me? Or I might be moved to apply it to you?).

"No class in the nation is entitled to privileges beyond any other class, except with the consent of the nation."

(That's a mess, if ever there was one. No class is entitled to privileges, but if they can swing it by any means possible, then they are "entitled" to privileges!).

"Once more, no individual right is good as against the right of the whole people: but the people is bound morally to consider individual rights, to do equity between itself and each of the individuals that compose it . . ."

\* \* \*

**WE HAVE TO CONCLUDE** that poor Pearse idealised The Sovereign People, so much so that one cannot help wondering what he would have thought of us had he not been executed in 1916, but lived on like, say, President de Valera, to see its aftermath, down to this day.

And listen to this:—

"Laws made or acts done by anybody purporting to represent the people, but not really authorised by the people, either expressly or impliedly, to represent them and to act for them, do not bind the people, are in usurpation, an impertinence, a nullity. For instance, a Government of Capitalists, or a Government of Clerics, or a Government of lawyers, or a Government of tinkers, or a Government of men born on Tuesday does not represent the people and cannot bind the people . . ."

(What was he after? Vocational representation? He then goes on to further and final confusion):—

" . . . unless it is expressly or impliedly chosen and accepted by the people to represent and act for them; and in that case it becomes the lawful government of the people, and continues such until the people withdraw their mandate."

No! Not a very profound political thinker. Unless you believe that any sort of "mandate" could conceivably justify a government of tinkers, clerics or red-headed men. He dreamed of a people thinking with one united mind and speaking with one united voice, nobly. He was pre-Hitler, pre-Mussolini, pre-Franco, pre-Salazar, pre-Stalin, pre-Castro, pre-Madison Avenue—that is pre the manipulation of "Democracy."

He, therefore, trusted the majority-vote, and you and I, also therefore, can find no justification in his writings for opposing in arms the first Government, or any other Government, of the Irish-Free State-Eire-Irish Republic. But we are entitled to oppose and condemn every single Government that we want to, constitutionally, and I am about to suggest to you, old comrade, that if you still believe in the Pearse-Tone idea of republicanism this is what you and I ought to have been doing for the last fifty years.

\* \* \*

**BUT HOW COULD WE?** We are disfranchised. There are no republicans in the Irish Republic to vote for.

Let us glance at our history for a minute to see where this derepublicanisation and disfranchisement began. In

1922 no republican could enter a Dail that accepted all the conditions of the Treaty, especially that particularly hateful pre-condition that every member must first swear an oath of allegiance to the British Empire through its King. Much has been said to wave away this "empty formula." But you and I must never forget that it was not just a formality that we objected to. We felt in our bones—and how right we have been proved!—that the **entire republican image of life** was being (no doubt, unwittingly) sold down the river, along with that allegiance, in the interests solely of the material profits, not of the entire Sovereign People but of a privileged, ambitious few.

We fought. We were defeated. We agitated by constitutional means as an abstentionist party. By June, 1927, we had won 44 seats as against the Government's 46, less than one-third of the total 153 seats. In August, 1927, having taken the Oath of Allegiance, our party entered the Dail and, in the same year, won 57 seats as against the Government's 33, still only six seats over one-third of the total. Ten long and hard-fought years after 1922 the "republicans" won 72 seats out of 153. Labour at last—what a shamefully unrepublican past Labour has had!—joined in, and the "republicans" took over the Government.

Their only alternative, we must agree, to entering the Dail and taking that hateful Oath of Allegiance would have been to persist as an abstentionist party until The Sovereign People admitted that the only apparent way to have a completely representative Government would be to reject the Treaty forthwith. But, otherwise than inside the Dail, there was no machinery to do this, and there was small likelihood that the People would tolerate it, either inside or outside the Dail. The **Republican image of life**, which is now completely forgotten, had already been forgotten then.

\* \* \*

**SO, WE WHO SUPPORTED** this allegedly republican party up to 1932, did so in the wild hope and hopeless belief that, in power in the Dail, it really would forthwith not only reject the Treaty but declare and start to build up The Republican Society. When it did not do so, old Republicans like you and me had no option but to maintain that by failing to do so our party, and the whole country, had now finally abandoned Pearse and Tone, and 1916.

Nor were we persuaded to the contrary by the changes introduced into the modalities of Government, or by the new Constitution. We Republicans are not interested primarily in the modes and forms of government. They are interested, sensibly, in the form of **Life**, the kind of **Society** that we have always, without ever clearly defining it, associated with the ideas and personalities of Tone, Lalor, Mitchel, Davis, Connolly and Pearse, centred about such fairly clear principles—quite clear if you put them in their historical context—as The Rights of Man, Personal Freedom, "equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens," and a government representative of every section of the community including especially Tone's best friends, "that large and respectable class, the men of no property." We have never had any such government, not even any party, however

small, with a social policy that we could vote for in the name of that revolutionary image of life.

We were right not to believe that constitutional formalities could, of their own verbal force, achieve Tone's and Pearse's social aspirations. We had only to look about us at the Society that was spawned both by 1922 and 1932 to see on all sides the most blatant inequalities, the clear absence of equal opportunities for all, a large and flourishing privileged minority, a bourgeois class, utterly devoid of moral courage, an indescribably repressive and obscurantist Church and the most constant and shameless inroads on personal freedom of thought and expression.

\* \* \*

**WE MUST NOT BLAME** the mass of the people. As they never defined republicanism for themselves, they were equally unable to put the right word on the Society that overlaid their hopes and choked their dreams. You and I should have no hesitation in defining it.

What we have got is a modern version of the kind of society that James Joyce described so contemptuously, as he saw it, in the Dublin of 1902, a society from which this modern thing differs only in that Irish names have been plastered over English names, and that there were then at least some few men—Joyce observed them unenthusiastically—who had hopes that the Sovereign People would one day rise up against it and transform it utterly. Alas, all that has happened is that the Sovereign People live now in a state of total admiration of their own individual handiwork.

We have set up a society of urbanised peasants, whose whole mentality, whose image of life is, like that antiquated society, based on privilege; a society run by a similar minority of ambitious businessmen, "rugged individualists" looking down at, fearing, even hating "the men and women of no property," thriving on the same theory of God-made inequality, welcoming and abetting, by the same self-interested silence, the repression of every sign of individual criticism or reconsideration of the social and moral results of history. Only three things have changed. Instead of Empire we invoke the Nation—though we still invoke Unity and Solidarity, the Church and Religion, Progress and Patriotism. We have another flag under which to cover our denial of, or indifference to, the human realities of Freedom. In the third thing we are more hypocritical than Joyce's Dubliners. They did not pretend to be republicans.

\* \* \*

**SO, MY FRIEND**, for what did you fight in 1916? Was it really for this Ireland—which you have been calmly supporting ever since? If it was, then get you gone, old comrade, with my blessing on your head. Happy man! You are free. You think you exercise your vote, freely. In fact you are **conditioned** into bondage by circumstances that you have failed to define and therefore to control. I have nobody to vote for. I have no word for anybody except, in a great pity, for the Dead whom we are now about to honour fifty years after we have forgotten what they meant us to create in their names.



## PIECEMEAL PROGRESS

ANTHONY COUGHLAN

Our Irish social services are frequently compared to their disparagement with those of Great Britain. It is an inevitable comparison, serving well to highlight their defects and problems, but it is hardly a fair one.

The *per caput* national income in Ireland is half that in Great Britain. Moreover, the so-called dependency ratio is more adverse here than in Britain or the other West European countries. In Ireland every 100 persons of working age have 75 persons of dependent age—either children or old people—to support. In Britain there are only 53 dependents for every 100 workers. These facts point to the proportionately heavier burden of the social services in Ireland.

Yet the development of social services since the Irish state was founded shows the same haphazard and piecemeal character as have the British social services. The services here can seldom be interpreted as the expression of a coherent social philosophy, the result of a conscious policy by Irish Governments to deal in a tidily rational way with particular social problems. Like Topsy, our social services have “just grown”; empiricism has been their hall-mark. During the twenties and thirties probably the greatest major social service advance was in housing, during the forties in the eradication of T.B. and the extension of the health services, during the fifties in the rationalisation of our social security scheme, and perhaps in the sixties, if the current public discussion bears fruit, it may be in educational policy.



During this half century of piecemeal development we have never had keen political debate in Ireland on different principles of organization of our social services—and it is doubtful if the polemics on the Mother and Child scheme constituted such a debate. The political parties have differed in emphasis on social policy, not on basic principles. Ideological conflict on how far the social services should have as their aim the relief of poverty, or the achievement of social equality, or the socialization of the national income by providing goods and services on a collectivist basis has not roused much passion here. Partly this has been because political conflict in Ireland during the period has been largely concerned with national political issues and partly because a country in the economic position of Ireland has had to be acutely conscious of priorities in deciding on social expenditure.

The Democratic Programme of the First Dail of 1919 called for the abolition of the “odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native system for the care of the nation’s aged and infirm.” But frequently this meant only a change of name, the old workhouse being rechristened the County Home, and the regimen in these institutions was to remain redolent of the Poor Law for many a long year. Even today our policy on the institutional care of the infirm aged is tied to the concept of the County Home, one large institution in each county to which the elderly who cannot maintain themselves must come, leaving their community of origin behind and with little prospect of ever returning to it.

The Health White Paper proposes to abolish both this and the dispensaries—another Poor Law vestige—and give

choice of general practitioner to the 40% or so of the population that will be entitled to entirely free services under our health scheme. Once this is done it will probably be only a matter of time before free general practitioner treatment with choice of doctor is made available to the rest of the population, thus bringing our health services here in line with those of Britain and Northern Ireland. This will be a welcome development, but one should not interpret it as creeping Socialism. In Ireland at the present time it is very much the well-to-do rather than the poor who are making the running in demanding state intervention and the extension of public provision of health services, as it is the middle classes who are particularly hard hit by the rising costs of medical care.

Anyone who would seek to make the case that the extension of the social services in Ireland is an expression of excessive tenderness on the part of the state towards the poor at the expense of the well-off would be undertaking a difficult task. One might well argue the contrary and hold that our social services—or at least some of them—reflect an excessive solicitude for the wealthy. One might point in this context not only to the repressive character of the bulk of our taxation, but also to



**ANTHONY  
COUGHLAN**

**GRADUATE OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE,  
DUBLIN. NOW LEC-  
TURER IN THE  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL  
STUDIES. IS MEMBER  
OF THE WOLFE TONE  
SOCIETY.**

certain aspects of our social service policy where differential advantages are given to middle class people in receipt of social services compared with the poor and many of the working class. For example free and subsidised education favours the middle class as against the working class parent, as the children of the former are likely to stay in school longer and benefit from the state subsidies to private secondary education which reduce the burden of their school fees. Subsidised higher education is another example. Likewise family allowances benefit the well-off most. All parents with children get the same cash allowances from the state, but the more well-to-do parent who pays income tax gets substantial tax reliefs in respect of his dependents as well, which for many are more valuable than the cash payments given out monthly at the post office.

Similarly with housing policy. The man who buys a new house for £8,000 receives benefits from public funds of £218 annually towards the cost; the man who buys an old house for £1,000 receives no benefits at all. Examples such as these of the more favourable treatment of the well-off may partly be accidental as a result of the complex character of the growth over the years of our social service and taxation arrangements. Aims of social policy have frequently conflicted with one another in different areas of our social services. But equalisation or the desire to equitably distribute burdens and benefits can hardly be said to be the predominating motive.

The Irish social security benefits are for many deplorably low. In real terms, measured by the quantity of goods and services they can purchase, the value of some of them

has not significantly increased with the years. For example the purchasing power of the non-contributory Old Age Pension of 5/- a week introduced in 1908 was not much below that of today's assistance pensions of 47/6 a week. The amount of sickness benefit paid to the average worker under the 1911 Health Insurance scheme represented a higher proportion of the average weekly wage than the amount paid to the worker out sick today, and was proportionately more generous.

It may justly be said that successive Irish Governments have been in the main conservative and unadventurous in social policy, conforming to a political ethos which saw in state action in the economic and social welfare fields a threat to individual freedom rather than a possible means of enhancing people's opportunities and achieving greater redistributive justice. Such an attitude has entailed an excessive reliance on the work of voluntary organizations, religious bodies and private philanthropy to fill the gaps in the state social services. The existence of numerous such bodies, and the great amount of praiseworthy work they do, has too often been used as an excuse by conservative-minded Irish Governments for adopting a passive, unsympathetic attitude to the extension of social service provision.

Yet things are changing. Pope John XXIII and the Vatican Council have encouraged a radical critique of aspects of the Catholic doctrine of subsidiarity—the doctrine that the state should not provide a service which voluntary bodies or the family could equally well provide—which has so often been used as an excuse by Irish Governments and leaders of opinion for “do-nothingness” in the social service field. The Irish Keynesians who have been making our economic policy for some years now have probably got in general a more positive attitude to social policy than the economic traditionalists of the previous four decades. The social services may today be regarded as good fields for investment, able to facilitate the growth of the nation's wealth, possible auxiliaries of economic progress, rather than a deadweight burden on the economy. Mr. Patrick Lynch has written of “Investment in Education”. We speak of a Manpower Policy as being essential if we are to progress industrially. Such a policy has important implications for our educational and social security services. We recognise that a planned housing policy is an essential part of any programme for the attraction and location of new industries. Developing social services must cost more of course; they entail increased taxation. The trend abroad nowadays is in the direction of high taxation, high welfare economies. We in Ireland are probably tending in the same way.

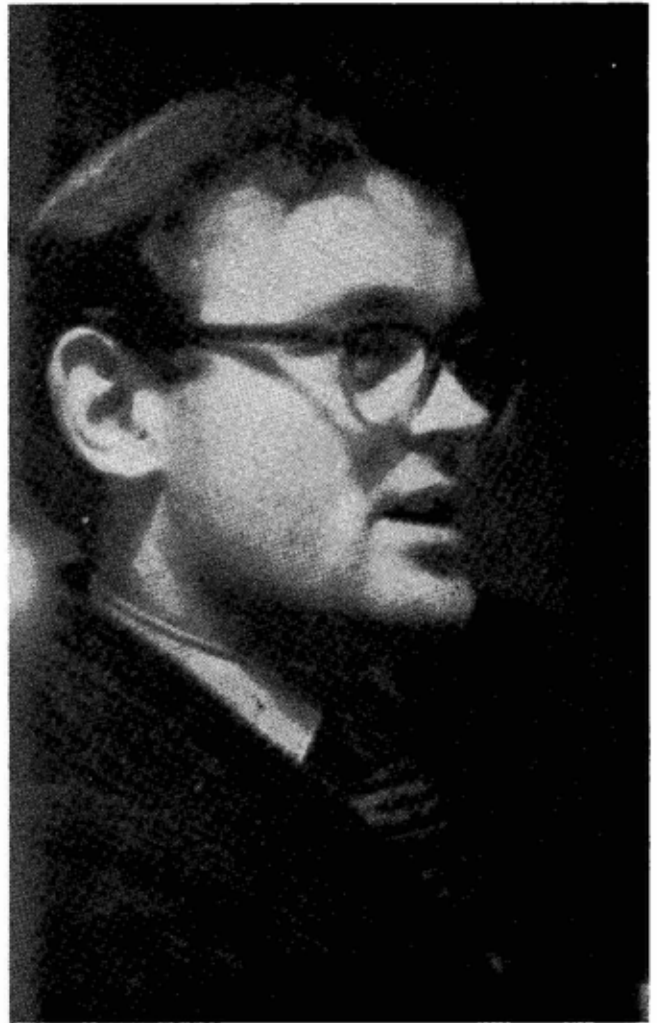
No doubt the Commission on Mental Illness when it reports will stress the need for employing social workers in mental after-care and the psychiatric care of the mentally ill in the community. Yet it is extraordinary that a country where there is so much religious and ideological emphasis on the importance of the family does not have Children's Departments or Family Welfare Departments in its local government administration. Functions in relation to the care of deprived children—7,000 or so altogether—are at present carried out by a disparate group of bodies with little co-ordination between them and no doubt with many cases falling through the interstices of such administrative provision as exists. This is an area particularly where the social worker, dealing with complex problems of maladjustment and tension in the context of the family, has much to contribute. The founders of the Republic pledged themselves to establish a state which would cherish all the children of the nation equally. Does anyone really believe that we are doing so?

# art now

*Bruce Arnold*

OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE, TRINITY GRADUATE. WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR JOURNALIST REVOLUTION ON TCD IN 1961. WENT ON TO "THE IRISH TIMES," WHERE HE HAS BEEN WORKING AS A SUB-EDITOR. JOINT OWNER OF THE NEPTUNE GALLERY IN ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN. HAS JUST FINISHED HIS FIRST PLAY, AND HAS ACTED AS THE DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT TO THE GUARDIAN.

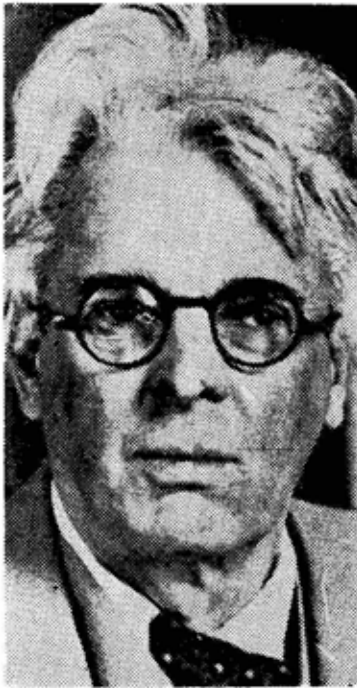
Terence de Vere White's best book, **Prenez Garde**, contains the strange juxtaposition of a small and rather lonely boy becoming aware of the significance of adult behaviour against the appalling background of the Rebellion. What is moving about the book is the development in the character of this child, lonely, precocious, a bit sly, a bit dishonest, but the most real of any of this author's creations. What seem less real are the shootings and killings by Black and Tans and Rebels. Yet this backcloth to the action is every bit as significant as the placid and rather Proustian exploration of the child's discovery of what is "going on" around him. Both are fixed in time, and in relation to each other. There could have been for this writer no other way of telling this story: but the story is of the boy, and the rest is the fortuitous but essential machinery of events set in past time. What the boy goes



—Sandol & Jon Harsch.

through is a universal process which has been widely explored in the novel since Richardson and Fielding. All that the author's sharp sense of history adds to this understanding of human behaviour is a local habitation, its great authenticity, and its fixed place in relation to himself and his generation of Irishmen. But the book gives us one thing more: the clue to what 1916 did for Irish Art: it changed the backcloth. And in a sense that is all it did for anything.

I was tempted to suggest, because this at first was what I thought, that the Rising, the Rebellion, the Civil War, acted as some sort of catharsis on the country, and that in creative terms it liberated Irish Art from the obligation to be Irish and hence was responsible for bringing about a process of maturity: that before these events Irish artists needed to assert their nationality, and that after them they could get down to the process of being just artists. But looking back in one great and comprehensive sweep over the whole field of creative activity in fifty years I see no artistic significance in



W. B. YEATS

the Troubles except a superficial one, no influence except a pernicious one. The great failure in Irish Art has been this failure to differentiate between the "Irish" and the "Art". And 1916 has given fresh impetus to the "Irish" at the expense of the "Art". Many Irish writers, painters, sculptors, even musicians, have shrunk from the challenge "Be only Artists". Many have exploited the often extreme racialism in which this small nation indulges. And 1916 has provided rich and varied material for this plethora of false and debased art. Instead of being a liberating influence it has been an inhibiting one. And one finds that to the great Irish artists these heroics are at best an embarrassment. Joyce, Beckett, Clarke, Kavanagh, even the younger writers, Kinsella, Higgins, McGahern, are too concerned with the human condition in its private comedies and tragedies to wish to celebrate anything so **accidental** as history—and that only irrevocable tragedy of any revolution, that the wrong people are invariably executed. To the giants, like Joyce, 1916 meant less than nothing. Hypocrites, like Yeats, needed it and used it selfishly to replenish their depleted stocks of subject matter and emotional ammunition. And Ireland's supreme dramatist, J. M. Synge was fortunately dead before the Rising gave Yeats the opportunity to turn him, like some faithful dog, upon

this new emblem of racial rejuvenation. It is the consciousness of a nation's history in a creative artist without a natural assimilation of that history until it is no longer visible that marks out the ephemeral from the permanent.

McGahern writes novels which are both universal and immediate, set with devastating realism in a bitter and cruelly mocking rural Ireland. The universality is a measure of his creative ability. The realism of his Ireland is the inevitable and unavoidable result of his having no other world to write about. I think if he had one he would be the first to release Ireland from his unanswerable indictment. Aidan Higgins, the antithesis of McGahern, a much-travelled cosmopolitan, writes as well about Germany and Spain as he does about this country: but again, on a wider scale, he is merely writing within certain limits. And when he writes about Ireland, as he does in his recent novel **Langrishe, Go Down**, it is the story that holds us, the passions and fears, the delights and agonies of human beings, rather than, almost in spite of, their location in Donnycomper, County Kildare. These two writers are safe, they are right, they are good, even if the range is still limited. They belong, they are part of MacNeice's "Kingdom". To balance, here are two who remain outside. Edna O'Brien cannot face up to the absolute truth of what she is (a human being) and what she has to tell us (a story). And so she stretches herself into being an "Irish" human being with an "Irish" story. Everyone is delighted. She is lionised. And we buy her books and we are disappointed with the brief chronicle of unreal events mixed together for a predictable and easily pleased public. John Broderick does this in a different way: in his novels he is more dispassionate. He takes specific "problems"—emigration, unmarried pregnancy, sexual frustration—and gives them a "dash of the green" in place of any stylistic or creative significance. And it is a dash of the green which spells out the words "for export only".

I believe that creative artists are **right** from the beginning, or not at all. It is not a question of perfection, or craftsmanship, or technical competence, but of vision. Those without it can achieve a certain measure of transitory respect. Those with it survive for all time. We like to believe that 1916 was the exclusive vision of men who, because they attempted to translate their vision into reality, were destroyed. Since then we have witnessed the vain and hollow attempts of the nation to enshrine their vision while at every turn the business and practice of politics, commerce, Church and State have been a betrayal of it. Mercifully art, the art that matters in Ireland, has kept clear. And not unnaturally it has been despised by those who need hypocritical, nationalist, "truly Irish" and patriotic artists to bolster up the worn out remnants of a great vision that had to be reduced, curtailed, censored, rewritten, and then safely "immortalised".

**POBLAcht NA 'H EIREANN.**  
**THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
**OF THE**  
**IRISH REPUBLIC**  
**TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

**IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN** In the name of God and of the dead generations from which the heroes and tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons our children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her members through her secret revolutionary organisation the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having repeatedly waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government, has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty, and times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms, standing on this fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a free, sovereign, independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is solemnly and hereby claims, the allegiance of every citizen and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue a course of complete equality of status and of opportunity, and to maintain all the rights and property of the whole nation and of all its parts, including all the resources of the nation, against the spoliation and loss of any description that may be attempted by any government, which have derived a supremacy from the unjust favour of a foreign power. National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland, and elected by the suffrages of all the Irish people, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in their own names.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whom blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no man who knows that some will be foremost in the cause of the Irish Republic, by the readiness of his shoulder to sacrifice himself for the common good, prove himself wanting in a vigorous desire to which it is called.

THOMAS J. CLARKE  
 SEAN BUR DEARBADA THOMAS WARDMORE  
 P. H. CLARKE LADONN CLARKE  
 JAM CONNOLLY JOSEPH PLUNKETT

**How it all began**

**John Kelly**

**T**HE story of the Irish Republican Army really starts with the formation of the Volunteers in 1913 by Eoin MacNeill, Professor of Early Irish History in U.C.D., to counter Carson's Ulster Volunteers who were arming to oppose the Home Rule Bill of 1912. Some members were drawn from the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a paramilitary organisation started by Stephens and Luby in 1858 with American money; some were Sinn Feiners and others were men with no political affiliations (like MacNeill himself) who simply wanted to make sure Ireland got what had been promised to her.

**I**N 1914, with the outbreak of war, the Home Rule Bill was shelved indefinitely with the full approval of Redmond, the ineffectual leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster. He further alienated national opinion by welcoming an amendment to the Bill allowing the secession of the Six Counties.

**W. B. YEATS**

**I have met them at close of day  
 Coming with vivid faces  
 From counter or desk among grey  
 Eighteen-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 though before I had gone  
 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.**

**S**INN Fein and the I.R.B. were now denounced as being pro-German and vigorously repressed. Redmond made impassioned pleas to the people of Ireland to support the British Empire in her time of need and urged young men to join the British Army. The Nationalist Volunteers, enraged by the Amendment to the Home Rule Bill (they felt that Redmond had allowed himself to be duped by the bluff that Ulster would fight, put out by Carson and Bonar Law), and worried lest Nationalist ideals and principles were being submerged by the War and British propaganda, decided to take action. In this they were joined by James Connolly, leader of the Irish Citizen Army. This organisation had been formed during the 1913 strike to oppose brutal police and military strike-breaking, and was definitely working class and anti-capitalist as well as Nationalist. During the first two years of the war Connolly taunted the Volunteers with their inactivity and they, fearing that his outspoken comments might lead to further suppressions before the time was ripe, captured him, told him their plans for the insurrection and gained his wholehearted support. Despite opposition from Eoin MacNeill, who believed only in defensive action by the Volunteers, the insurrection broke out at midday on Easter Monday, 24th April, 1916. It took the Government completely by surprise. Pearse proclaimed an Irish Republic at the G.P.O. and other strategic buildings were occupied and held against the British Army for nearly a week. With the arrival of British reinforcements, Pearse surrendered.

*Handwritten signature*



**M**OST Irish people, despite subsequent reports to the contrary, were completely opposed to the Rising. The 'Irish Times' called for the 'surgeon's knife' of the British Army to continue cutting out 'the malignant growth' of Nationalist fighters. The 'Irish Independent' on 4th May, 1916, announced that 'No terms of denunciation that pen could indite would be too strong to apply to those responsible for the insane and criminal rising of last week . . .'. But the protracted shootings of the rebels (de Valera escaped by pleading American citizenship), who were given perfunctory trials by courts martial, gained them increasing public sympathy, especially when it became clear that the stories told about their dishonourable behaviour during the fighting were complete fabrications and that, in fact, they had displayed heroic bravery in the face of overwhelming odds.

**D**URING the rest of the War support for the Nationalists increased as the people became more and more impatient with England's prevarication over Home Rule and more and more inspired by the Rising.

**A**T the General Election after the War, Sinn Fein won 73 of the 105 seats and immediately summoned the Dail Eireann. This was suppressed in September, 1919, and this was followed by raids and arrests during which the Volunteers came in for special treatment. Under Collins they began to retaliate and started by neutralizing the Royal Irish Constabulary. The Government resolved upon a policy of force and terror and, seeing that the R.I.C. were impotent against the Volunteers, recruited the Black and Tans drawn from rank and file war veterans, and the Auxiliaries, a supposedly *corps d'elite* of officers. In fact, both were composed of the worst elements in the army and given a free licence by the British Government to commit crimes of the utmost savagery and brutality. In their reign of terror they injected more poison into Anglo-Irish relations than practically any other event in the seven hundred year domination.

**We are closed in, and the key is turned  
On our uncertainty; somewhere  
A man is killed, or a house burned,  
Yet no clear fact to be discerned;  
Come build in the empty house of  
the stare.**

**T**HE war raged on for a year of murder, arson and looting until liberal opinion in England and the rest of the world forced the Government to call a truce on 11th July, 1921.

**O**N 6th December, 1921, a Free State was negotiated by plenipotentiaries of the Dail which gave Dominion status to Ireland. This was welcomed throughout an Ireland sick of war as bringing peace and freedom at last, but de Valera refused to accept it because it did not confer Republican status on Ireland. In fact, the Dail passed the Free State Act on 7th January, 1922, by 64 votes to 57, and de Valera, who had a great personal following in the country, travelled around rousing public opinion against it. Collins and Griffiths formed a government. De Valera withdrew with the Anti-Treaty members from the Dail and formed a new Republican Party with himself President and continued to allow himself to be described as 'President of the Republic.' A little later, on March 26th, 1922, the Anti-Treaty section of the Volunteers seceded from that body, repudiated the Dail Eireann and de Valera, began to call themselves the Irish Republican Army and proclaimed a military dictatorship with Rory O'Connor at its head. The latter group destroyed the machinery of 'The Freeman's Journal' and on 13th April took possession of the Four Courts and other strategic buildings in Dublin and extended these military operations to the provinces. In the General Election of June, 1922, the pro-Treaty parties won 93 seats and the Anti-Treaty party won 35 seats, but the attacks on the National Army and arms raids still went on.

**The bees build in crevices  
Of loosening masonry, and there  
The mother birds bring grubs and  
flies.  
My wall is loosening; honey-bees,  
Come build in the empty house of  
stare.  
A barricade of stone or of wood;  
Some fourteen days of civil war;  
Last night they trundled down the  
road  
That dead young soldier in his  
blood:  
Come build in the empty house of  
the stare.**



## HISTORY



Half-drunk or whole-mad soldiery  
Are murdering your tenants there.  
Men that revere your father yet  
Are shot at on the open plain.  
Where may new-married women sit  
And suckle children now? Armed  
men  
May murder them in passing by  
Nor law nor parliament take heed.

**O**N 5th July the Government troops attacked the I.R.A. in the Four Courts and drove them out. In the course of the fighting, the Records Office was burned down and many documents invaluable to the study of Irish history were destroyed. By April, 1923, the Irregulars had been beaten in the field. De Valera continued underground for three years, running an illegal paper and styling himself 'President,' but in 1926, realising that he would never get anywhere on that basis, declared that if the Oath were removed any Republican could sit in the Dail and still be a Republican. With this intention he formed Fianna Fail, took the Oath as being 'merely an empty political formula,' and entered the Dail on 11th August, 1927, thus doing in effect what Collins had asked him to do in 1922.

**S**INN FEIN and the I.R.A. were still dedicated, however, to the ideal of Irish unity and to 'maintaining the Republic.' In the thirties the I.R.A. split, one faction supporting political action on an 'All-Ireland' front and the other a more militant approach. In the forties the organisation was smashed to all intents and purposes by internment and imprisonment in the Curragh. In 1948 after some of the internees had been released it was re-organised and grew in strength during the early fifties. In 1957 a campaign was launched against the British forces in the North, and military installations and border posts were raided. Some I.R.A. men were killed and many more received stiff prison sentences. In 1962 it was seen that they could not beat the British army single-handed and they called a truce.

We had fed the heart on fantasies,  
The heart's grown brutal from the fare;  
More substance in our enmities  
Than in our love; O honey-bees,  
Come build in the empty house of  
the stare.

Was it for this the wild geese spread  
The grey wing upon every tide;  
For this that all the blood was shed,  
For this Edward Fitzgerald died,  
And Robert Emmet and Wolfe Tone  
All that delirium of the brave?

**J**ANUARY of last year saw the initiation again of violence in the Republic: the Abbeyleix affair, sparked by the visit of Princess Margaret, included the first organised physical demonstration since 1962. It was followed by small but news-making incidents, including the attempted machine-gunning of a boat of Her Majesty's Royal Navy off the coast of Ireland.

**A** STRUGGLE within the Republican ranks between the old die-hard 'unite or bust' campaigners and a new left wing (but certainly not Communist) element culminated late last year in the final victory of the new wing. But because the destruction of the Pillar bore the stamp of the die-hards, what brought Ireland such fame may have been instigated by nothing more than the determination of one faction of the Republicans to prove to the others their vitality.

**T**HE new element advocates better social services and education; there is a distinct possibility they may be persuaded to sit in the Dail—long considered an act of treason by 'Real Republicans'—but such a truly revolutionary step is unlikely to be aided by the 50 year celebrations and their accompanying confusion and doubts.



# the

## Michael McInerney

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY GRADUATE. B.A., B.COMM., D.P.A.. SHEFURIGHT'S APPRENTICE TO TRANSPORT AND TRADE UNION AND LABOUR ORGANISATIONS; FIRST EDITOR OF "IRISH FREEDOM", AND FOUNDER OF THE CONNOLLY CLUB, FREE-LANCE JOURNALIST, AND NOW PROMINENT DUBLIN JOURNALIST.

The Rising of 1916 sparked off the great national movement which in the years that followed gave political and national freedom to Ireland. It gave to the Twenty-six Counties, at first, Dominion status, and finally independence with the passing of the 1937 Constitution and the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement of 1938 between Mr. De Valera and Mr. Chamberlain, the then Prime Minister of Britain. All this followed the great national upsurge of 1932. It was the 1916 Rising which paradoxically enough gave a form of Home Rule to the Unionists of the Six Counties of Northern Ireland. Since then, however, all Irish political parties in the Twenty-six Counties have been "United against the disunity of Ireland". They were divided only in the proposed means of ending Partition. In January 1965, however, the meeting of the Taoiseach, Mr. Lemass, and the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Captain O'Neill, opened a new era of friendship and a new road to the United Ireland.

A new era of friendship between Ireland and Britain was heralded by the return of the Casement remains to Ireland and more recently by the now famous G.P.O. Flag of 1916. The Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement also has points which could mean more co-operation and friendship between the three Governments of these islands. It is known that Mr. Harold Wilson and his Ministers hold that Britain should not interfere with any agreement for Unity between North and South. Partition has become an Irish problem. In addition, closer relations will come from membership of the Common Market.

Progress has then been made nationally and politically since 1916, and the highest credit must be given to President De Valera who led the Irish people to political freedom during long bitter years of struggle. Credit also must be given to Mr. Lemass and Captain O'Neill who raised the Irish Partition problem to a completely new and much higher stage where utterly different answers must be thought out for its solution. It is sterile to think of it to-day in its old form of British and Ulster Imperialism, Now the opportunities open

for an era of real friendship and co-operation between North and South.

As we look back on the aims of 1916 it can be seen that very much was gained by the sacrifices of Pearse, Connolly and their comrades, and the others who came after them. It is undoubtedly true to say also that vast social and economic progress has been made North and South, as throughout Europe, as the British and world Labour Movements and indeed, the Irish Trade Union Movement advanced in strength.

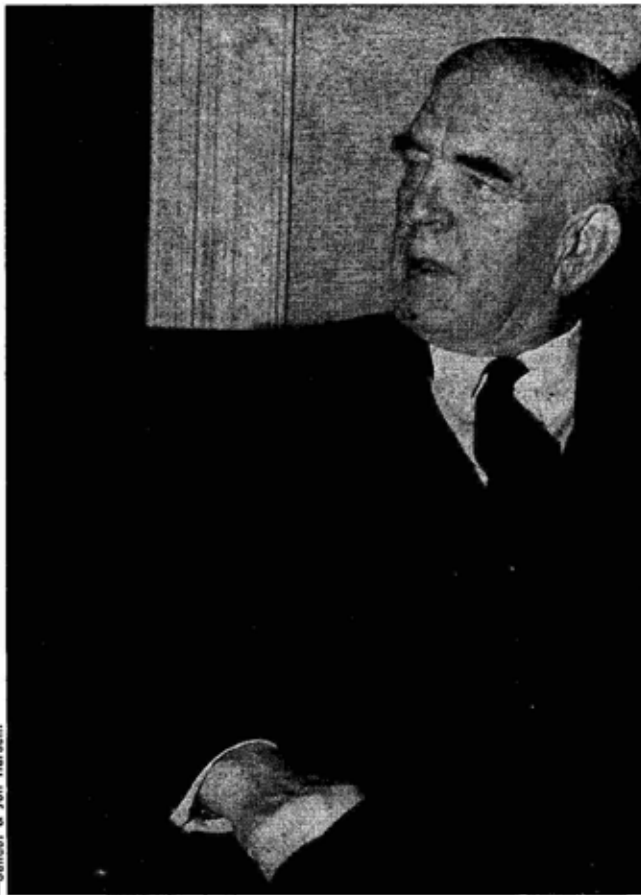
What tasks remain outstanding then since 1916? I believe there are four main tasks, and all are closely inter-related: Partition, the restoring of the Irish language, putting literature, culture and leisure past-times in their new setting of genuine international culture, and the winning of civil and religious liberty—North and South. Finally the achievement of social freedom for which Connolly and Larkin fought, and which was the second aim of the 1916 Rising and the Democratic Programme of 1919, has yet to be won.

The winning of social freedom is the task for all Irishmen and women North and South: in the winning of this, the problems of Partition, language, literature, and civil liberties will also find their solution, for all those North and South who seek social freedom will seek eagerly also to solve the other problems.

It would be churlish to deny that the standard of living has risen here during the past few years but there are still large areas of poverty and want. Our treatment of the old, the sick and the disabled is in sharp contrast to the obvious and vulgar display of wealth and private affluence of other sections. There are still nearly 60,000 unemployed while about 25,000 young men and women emigrate each year to seek work and the means of living abroad. About 500,000 rely on social welfare payments.

In this field of social advance, the obvious weaknesses are in the inequitable redistribution of the £1,000 m. which is the annual value of national production and activity and secondly the weakness in the efficient mobilisation of all the natural, material and human

# sleeping giant



—Sándor & Jon Harsch.

resources for the purpose of increasing national wealth. These two areas are the heart of the problem in this country, North and South. It is of interest also that it is in these two spheres, or areas, that Ireland shows itself to have the most Conservative Governments and social principles in Europe, apart from Spain and Portugal. This year's Budget in the Republic reveals that 70% of revenue is obtained from indirect taxation, the most unfair method and the one which falls hardest on the

lower-income and social assistance beneficiaries. It means that even the old-age pensioner has to pay tax. The single worker with a little more than £6 a week also pays income tax on top of the indirect taxes. The farm labourer pays income tax and the farmer-employer does not. The absence of a clear and comprehensive Labour and trade union policy in this field was one of the most distressing features of the political scene in recent times. The share out of the £262 m. collected in revenue was scandalous but the opposition to the Budget in the Dail was pathetic. A clear statement of Labour's taxation plans would have brought a national response.

Secondly in the sphere of the mobilisation of the nation's resources to increase the national production and the national wealth the Governments North and South show their extraordinary conservatism.

The Dublin Government in its economic programmes and public statements is utterly committed to the philosophy of private enterprise and private profit and moves only most reluctantly into the sphere of the greater use of public enterprise. In this sphere, at least, Labour in the Dail has made clear demands. It states that it is not against private enterprise but that public enterprise should be used much more strongly. It urges that the National Industrial Economic Council should be re-organised, given an increased number of full-time economists, staff and experts and given much more power in ensuring that industrial targets are reached. In spite of other pressure on these lines the Government remains adamant that there is no alternative to private enterprise.

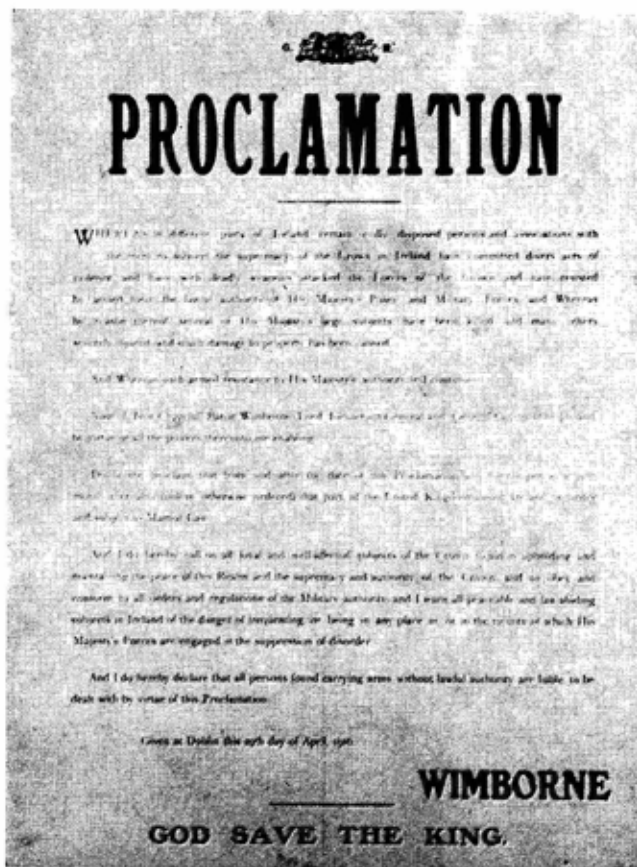
But much more could be done even within the confines of private enterprise and private profit which seems at times to verge on the acceptance of *laissez-faire*, the old law of the jungle, the system which was responsible for the Irish Famine of 1846-48 and the philosophy which is now permeating our society giving rise to the Affluent Society where the rich grow richer and the poor, poorer. The universal drive for private gain, profit and status is a result of the official endorsement of the private basis of the economy.

So far it is true to say that the Labour Movement largely boycotts or ignores politics; it abstains even in elections apart from financial contributions. Only 14 unions out of about 80 unions are affiliated to the Labour Party. Our trade unions and our Labour Movement are still at the primitive stage of politics where a party is organised inside the Dail but hardly organised at all outside except, badly, at election times. The Irish Labour Movement and price politics suffers from political coronary thrombosis, the main artery to the heart of politics—the Dail—is blocked by the trade unions and finds no expression in politics. If Connolly were to appear in Ireland today he would be disappointed not with the Commercial Republic—it was what he expected from his National political colleagues—but with the poor showing of trade unions in the political field. After all it was he, with Larkin, who brought the trade unions to form a Labour Party in 1912. He would see clearly also that the Labour Party itself is not at all convinced that the trade unions should not affiliate. So that we are left with a Movement with one arm. On the Labour Movement, therefore, lies the greatest responsibility for the fact that we have not yet won social freedom in Ireland.

How is this to be altered? It can be altered only when the Labour Movement recognises the weakness in Irish politics—that it has no effective voice at the heart of Ireland—in the Dail where Government with power is elected. The first need is for that recognition, the second need is for the Labour Movement to formulate a social programme which would stress the need for social equity in the distribution of the national income and, above all, put forward plans for the effective organisation of the nation's resources. The third need is for the trade unions to recognise that they cannot fight for social progress for their members unless they are strongly represented in Parliament. For is it not true that although wages have increased considerably in the past few years its proportion of the national income is still the same. Prices rise, indirect taxation increases while the trade unions ignore the institution where these things are done.

The job, therefore, 50 years after 1916 is to try to build a Labour Movement in Ireland; that is the blunt truth for Labour in the Dail today is largely a Conservative Party and even at that its forces are pathetically weak. Yet it is a poor thing but our own and we must try to build it. If we do we could begin to build a Social Republic in Ireland which would be so much closer to the heart of James Connolly who founded the political wing of the Labour Movement but who did not live to see it grow and develop as he would have wished. Only with a strong Labour Movement can there be the social progress that would enrich every Irish home and every family spiritually and materially and enable Irish men and women to lead a full, exciting and satisfying life in a society where all men and women would be equal "in their natural dignity". The forces for progress today will be helped by many thousands in the Churches who were absent in the past, by many in the Republican Movement and in other parties. A social programme and an active campaign for it also would win many, many, thousands of Northern men and women. Surely we could build on the political side a similar organisation to the I.C.T.U.: an All-Ireland Labour Party.

The Labour victory in Britain should inspire us all to build a Labour Movement in Ireland.

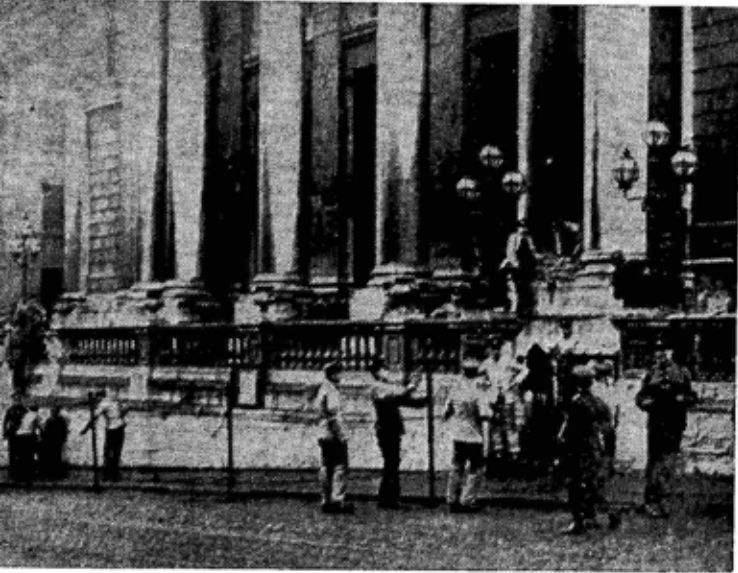


Accepting that private enterprise has contributed a great deal to Irish Industry and that industrialists at least do contribute to the community in the organisation of men, materials and machinery and in seeking markets, and provide a new dynamic for progress and achievement. It is possible to have a policy within private enterprise which would encourage such industrial development alongside public enterprise development, by a selective taxation system and by an acceptance of the important role of public enterprise. Private enterprise in industry is not the worst feature of private enterprise society. One aspect of private enterprise, however, could be examined and that is the commercial, financial, insurance and speculative sectors which create nothing tangible but whose costs add enormously to the cost of living, and to the cost of production. More control of banking and finance and commercial services generally and more selective taxation could add to the mobilisation of all resources and cut the cost of money.

But the fairest redistribution of wealth and the most effective and efficient organisation of the nation's resources can be done only by a movement which believes in production and enterprise for social gain and not in production and activity for private gain. That movement in Ireland is the Labour Movement.

The immediate task of all interested in the welfare of Ireland, therefore, North and South, is to try to work towards the building of that Labour Movement and to try to make it the basis of a new social movement that would move towards a Social Republic instead of the present Commercial Republic. But much has to be done to give Labour first the programme and then the organisation to achieve social freedom.

## EASTER SPEECH



# FROM AN EASTER SPEECH 1936

by  
**Mary MacSwiney**

For sincere and faithful Irish Republicans Easter should be a time, not of empty talk or vain regrets, but of deep thought and earnest recollection and consideration of the message given to us 29 years ago by men as great as our land has ever known. They did not lay down their lives that those who were to come after them might blaspheme the cause for which they died, by hailing as freedom for Ireland a subordinate and shameful position within the alien Empire that condemned them to death for the crime of unselfish patriotism. They planned for freedom, real freedom; they taught for freedom; they organised and trained for freedom; they fought and died for freedom; and before the final sacrifice they told the people of this country what was in their minds and hearts; revealed to them and to all the world the kind of freedom for which they had striven, and which they meant to establish had their fight been successful.

There is nothing vague or ambiguous about the message of 1916. It is brief, simple, clear and direct, and it is on record for all to read. It enshrines the aims and ideals, the plan and purpose, the national, social and economic outlook of the men who signed it with their honoured names, and sealed it with the blood of their faithful

hearts—Connolly, the champion and lover of the poor; Clarke, the veteran Fenian; MacDermott, the Fenian of our own day; Pearse, Ceannt, MacDonagh and Plunkett, the Irish Irelanders, the teachers, the poets, the mystics and the soldiers—all drawn along widely-severed ways to the road of Tone and Emmet, of Lalor and Mitchel, of Rossa and O'Mahony—the road of the Republic of Ireland.

No document in the world's history has ever been more flagrantly misread, more shamelessly misinterpreted, more brazenly repudiated, than the Proclamation of the Republic of Ireland. Through twenty years of desertion, betrayal, compromise and hypocrisy, renegades have dragged it in the mire and trampled on all its noble teaching, while pretending to be the faithful followers, and even the lawful successors of the men who gave it to Ireland as a national gospel.

One outstanding principle of the Proclamation guaranteed long-delayed, long-overdue justice to the poor of Ireland, the most neglected of all who have suffered for her through hundreds of years. Equal rights and equal opportunities were to be extended to them at long last in every walk of the national life; that principle put into practice was to be their charter of liberty, the belated reward of hundreds of years of sacrifice. I am not going to insult your intelligence by telling you what the position of the poor of Ireland is to-day, after twenty years of alleged liberty. The mines and factories and fields and armies of England and America, and the breadlines and dole-queues and fireless hearths of this country can tell of their position more eloquently than any words of yours or mine. The poorest of the poor of any country, to my mind, are the young and strong who must emigrate in search of a livelihood denied them at home; and the poorest of our poor to-day are those who find themselves being conscripted to fight for Ireland's enemy, because of a pretence and mockery of Irish freedom, because of the double-dealing, make-believe and vanity of Irish renegades.

How has the vital principles of equal rights and equal opportunities been treated by those who gained access to the material resources of the greater part of Ireland ten years ago, by pretending that their aim was the restoration of the Republic, and by putting the message of 1916 in the forefront of their programme for the deception of sincere but too trusting Republicans? Their leader and spokesman stated publicly a few years ago that the idea of equal rights and equal opportunities for all the citizens of Ireland was "an impossible idea"; that it was all right as a fine intention or ideal to put down on paper, but was something that could not possibly be put into practice. And that is the attitude of all those who have achieved power and prosperity for themselves with the lying cry on their lips that they were the faithful followers of the men of 1916. They have repudiated the Proclamation, they have betrayed and abandoned the Republic, they have imprisoned, persecuted, put to death and slandered men and women who remained faithful to it, and at the same time they have the effrontery, year after year, to pretend to salute the memory of the men they have insulted and disowned.

The cause of the Irish Republic gathered strength until, by the summer of 1921 Dail Eireann had been two and a half years in existence. It endeavoured to function as the government of the country, operating the democratic mandate of two general elections, in which it won more than 70% all-Ireland majorities, and one Local Government election. The constitutional guarantees of political and religious liberty, equal rights and opportunities, which still prevail, had then been formulated and put forward to ensure the safety and well-being of the minority. The area in which that minority was a local majority was, and still is, in about half the total area of the "Six Counties"—in which the Stormont Parliament would soon be built at the cost of the British Government. (Those were the days of Empire when strategic bridgeheads were a paramount consideration.)

By July, 1921, the Black and Tan war had been halted by a truce. Both sides rested on their arms. Curfew was lifted, and Martial Law relaxed. A time of utmost trial, agony and confusion was emerging. Everybody wanted peace but a great number became vocal who wanted it at any price.

The terrible thing about the rule of a strong country over a weak one is the effect of a Rising and a War of Independence, such as we had, on men and women of weaker mould—those who had been trained in the slave spirit, carried along by a nation-wide enthusiasm, and then suddenly faced with the prospect of attaining to more glory than ease in a fight which, if it were to be resumed, would require fighters of the same calibre as those of Easter Week.

Even more tragic is the cracking of good and brave soldiers under imprisonment, or torture, or intolerable pressure—such as was routine in the guard-room of Dublin Castle, and not only there.

A man who has been secretly broken may still have, and deserve to have, a splendid national record. Such men are dangerous and may be very cruel if they obtain military or political power. These men do not like to have women near them in public life. Each sex can read the other best. If a woman is broken in prison, or by the pressures of life, it does not matter in the same way because nobody blames her for admitting it.

Whatever the personal, or background, pressures may have been the I.R.B. decided to accept the best terms they could get for the ending of the war. This happened in or before September, 1921. The I.R.B. men in the Dail Cabinet and in the Dail did not inform their colleagues. Negotiations were taking place with the British. The delegation selected in Dail Eireann to negotiate in London included Michael Collins, head of the I.R.B., whose secret mandate was inconsistent with his public one.

The volume which purports to be the official record of the Second Dail, from August to December, suppresses the report of at least eight meetings without mentioning that suppression. It is thus impossible to obtain the terms of the question which Mary MacSwiney asked in September, before the departure of the delegation, or to know whether she obtained a satisfactory reply to the effect that the Republican position was not to be compromised.

Mrs. Tom Clarke and Mary MacSwiney met by accident on the steps of the



**MISS MAIRE COMERFORD**

**EDUCATED MOUNTJOY, KILMAINHAM, CORK JAIL AND NORTH DUBLIN UNION (ESCAPED). SECRETARY TO ALICE STOPFORD-GREEN, THE HISTORIAN. MEMBER OF CUMANN NA MBAN. SPELL FOR "EMBRACERY" INFLUENCING JURIES—9 MONTHS. CHAUFFEURED DURING THE CIVIL WAR INTO 1924. WAS IN AMERICA FOR NINE MONTHS. FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GET JOB WITH CIVIL SERVICE AFTER WAR BECAUSE COSGRAVE GOVERNMENT WAS ANTI-REPUBLICANS. IN JOURNALISM FOR THIRTY YEARS. IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.**

## THE LONG CIVIL WAR

Mansion House, Dublin, on the morning of December 7th, and discovered that they were both there with the same purpose. The terms of the Treaty signed in London were published in full that morning and they had read with amazement and horror and anger that the agreement, if accepted, would replace the Republic with a Free State inside the British Commonwealth, would give us a Governor General appointed in London, an oath to the King of England, our ports and other naval facilities to be British for a period of years, the right of self-determination in Partitioned Ireland to be submitted to a Commission under a British-appointed chairman.

When the two women got to Mr. De Valera's office he handed them a copy of the proposals known as Document Number Two which had been sanctioned by the Dail Cabinet for presentation in London. "The Treaty and Document Number Two came as a complete shock to us," Mrs. Tom Clarke told me. So it was, also right through the country. All the women members voted against the adoption of the Treaty resolution in Dail Eireann. They were on the losing side by a narrow vote of 57 to 63.

De Valera's government resigned and Arthur Griffith became President. He

gave an undertaking that the Republic would be kept in being until the people themselves disestablished it. The Treaty provided that a Provisional Government would be set up by members representing only the Twenty-six Counties. This was done and Michael Collins became President of this "Provisional Government" which was so tragically different from that proclaimed and led by Patrick Pearse in the G.P.O. barely five years previously.

A vital election was about to take place, but the law as it stood gave votes to women only at the age of 30, while men voted at 21. Mrs. Margaret O'Callaghan sponsored a bill which would put women on equal terms with men in the franchise. "The Proclamation of the Irish Republic was addressed to Irish women as well as to Irishmen and guaranteed equal rights to all its citizens," she told the Dail. But her motion was heavily defeated, by 88 to 47—no names being given in the official report.

On June 8th the Second Dail adjourned to June 30th. There the official record ends, without comment. It was never disestablished. When it met again only the

(Continued on Page 25)

1916 SCRAPBOOK

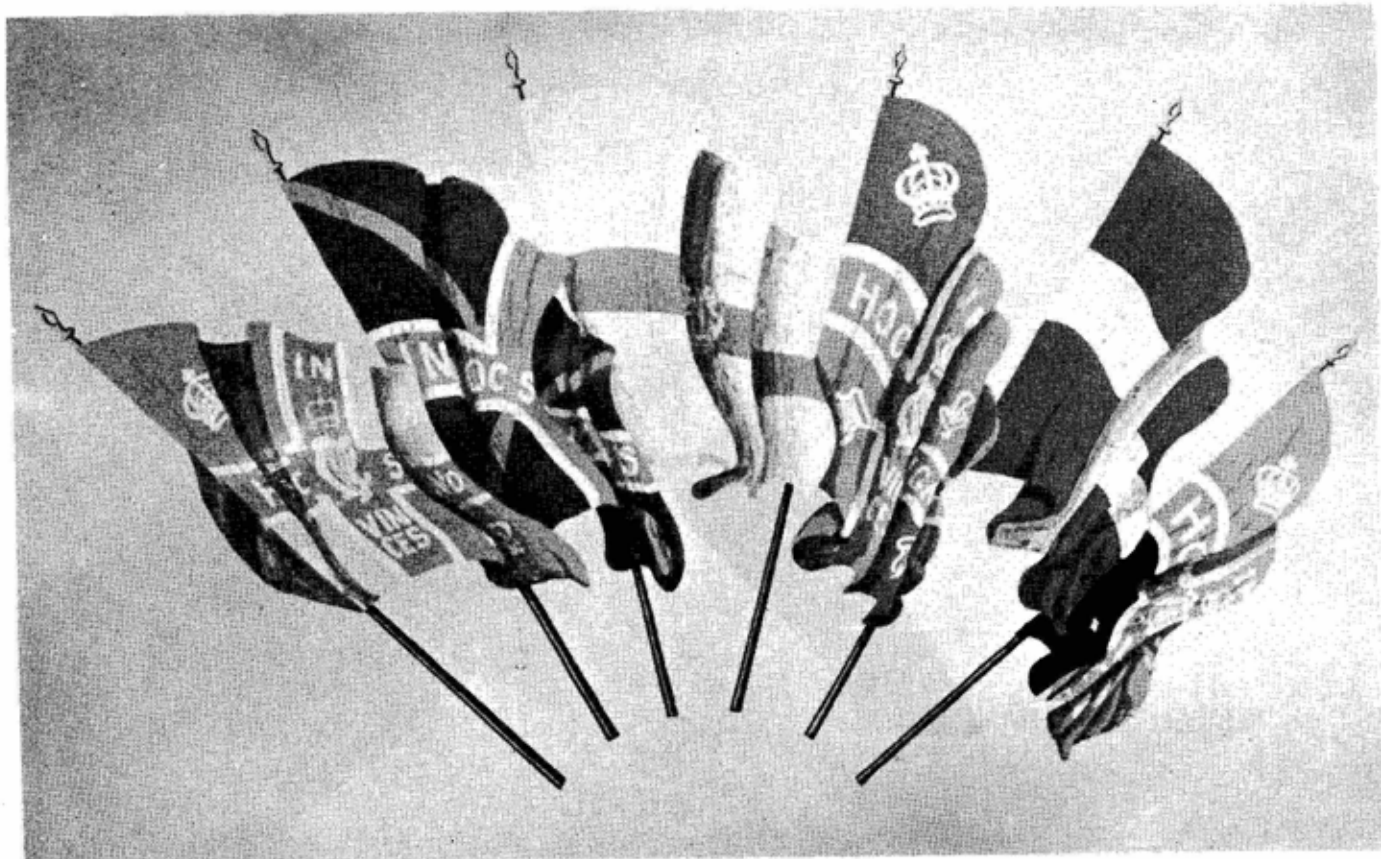


A British Raid

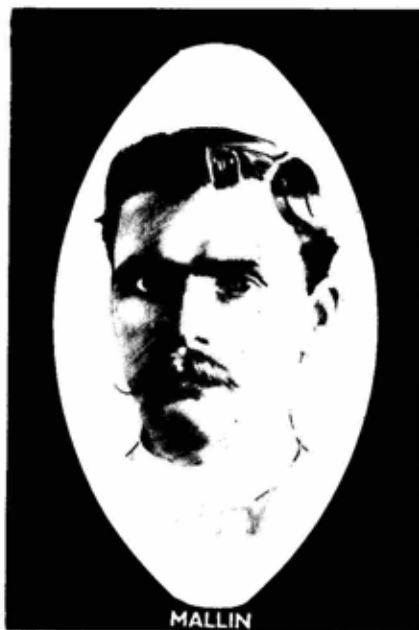


Surrender of The College of Surgeons

Flags of the Regiments



Eight  
O'Sullivan  
Portraits of  
Fenian Leaders



**POBLACHT NA H**  
**THE PROVISIONAL G**  
**OF THE**  
**IRISH REP**  
**TO THE PEOPLE O**





1916 SCRAPBOOK



COLBERT



MacBRIDE



KEANE

H EIREANN.  
GOVERNMENT  
REPUBLIC  
OF IRELAND.



**G.P.O. Aerial View**



**Street Barricade**



**Central Dublin**

Republican party attended and Mr. De Valera was elected President.

Meanwhile the Provisional Government set up under the Treaty decided to drive the I.R.A. under Rory O'Connor out of the Four Courts, which they had occupied. This opened the second stage of the War of Independence, which is often called "The Civil War", though it had been instigated by Britain.

The I.R.A. was split about equally in numbers; but the divisions in Cork, Kerry, and Tipperary, which were Republican, had won the greater honours in battle against the English. The small arms they carried were not inconsiderable and these had been captured by their own efforts in war. They were an unpaid army of volunteers; but they had no heart for civil war and were destined to suffer far more casualties than they inflicted. They were confronted now with a paid, professional army, largely of untrained recruits, led and organised by veteran officers, mainly I.R.B. men, who had followed the lead of Michael Collins and now were armed, ad lib, from England.

The third Dail, elected on June 16th, 1922, had 58 Fine Gael (Treaty Party), 35 Republicans, 17 Labour, 7 Farmers, and 11 Independents. Before the election a Pact had been agreed between De Valera and Michael Collins under which a joint panel would be put forward and the Treaty would not be an issue in the election. To ensure that the Third Dail would not be representative of the Twenty-six Counties only Collins and De Valera agreed that Sean O'Mahony, T.D. for Fermanagh, would be a member without having to undergo re-election in the area, now for the time being partitioned. One thing certain after the election was that nobody had an overall majority mandated to undertake civil war.

The war was undertaken by Collins, Griffith and Mulcahy on the authority of the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State whose members, before they changed allegiance, had been sworn to the Republic at the opening of the Second Dail. The "Third Dail" was not called for 85 days after its election. If the war party in it ever had an over-all majority that was due to the Treaty Oath, which debarred the Republican deputies from accepting its jurisdiction or taking their places in it.

If the stubbornly defiant Republican forces had not been as strong and as faithful as they were, though by the spring of 1923 they were hungry, badly clothed, and often sick, it is hardly probable that the Free State Government from November would have executed—in all—77 prisoners captured in arms. General Liam Lynch, famous and valiant leader against the British, was killed in action in the Waterford mountains on April 10th, 1923.

On April 27th, De Valera signed a proclamation headed: "Dail Éireann (Government of the Republic of Ireland)" which intimated his readiness to negotiate an immediate suspension of hostilities on the basis: (1) That the sovereign rights of the nation are indefeasible and inalienable. (2) That all legitimate government authority in Ireland, legislative, executive and judicial, is derived exclusively from the people of Ireland.

Frank Aiken, Chief of Staff in succession to Liam Lynch, issued an Army Proclamation of the same date which

gave effect to the decision of the Republican Government. Arms were not surrendered. They were dumped. Executions of prisoners by the Free State continued into May. There were no negotiations. Many jobless men went to the U.S. from which they continued to support their old cause.

Meanwhile the jails and internment camps were full of men and women internees. Hundreds of prisoners went on hunger strike in October, in which two died after fasting forty days.

Mary MacSwiney, released from prison after an earlier hunger strike, was invited by the Second Dail to prepare a draft constitution. It was hoped, vainly, that the counter-revolution might be overturned and the Republic vindicated, with the help of Labour, following a firm restatement of intention to implement the Democratic Programme of the First Dail.

As things turned out Mr. De Valera was by 1926 willing to enter Leinster House, if that could be done without taking the Treaty Oath. He saw this as necessary in order to combat Partition; to break a tyranny under coercive legislation which had become intolerable; to win power in the name of the Republic; and to empty the jails of political

prisoners. His proposal was defeated in the Second Dail, by 18 to 19 votes. He and his new party, Fianna Fail, entered Leinster house, August 11th, 1927. Of the women, Mrs. Pearse went with him because she believed in him as the interpreter of what Patrick and Willie Pearse would have wished.

Constance Markievicz went in because she wanted to get something done about the Dublin slums. She did not live long enough to see the Corporation building developments, or to fight, as she would have done—the Offences Against The State Act.

Mary MacSwiney's constitution was given a first reading by the Second Dail—meeting in the Rotunda, January 1929, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of Dail Éireann. The "Irish Times" gave nearly two columns to what it called "Miss MacSwiney's Dail", and it summarised her Constitution. But people were not then in the mood to diagnose the nation's ills, except by attributing them to "The Extremists".

These then, are the beginnings from which Sinn Fein and the I.R.A. have persevered over the years, always resenting the presence of the Union Jack in our "North-East Corner", always hoping, by some means, to dislodge it.

# THE CIVIL WAR



an important turning-point, for they demonstrated the impossibility of ever achieving anything remotely approaching complete self-sufficiency.

The post-war period charts the gradual movement away from this war-time zenith. By the 1950's it was clear that, because of the fall in agricultural employment, any long-term development demanded an expansion of industry. Already, however, any industries which could operate on the basis of the Irish market alone had been established, hence any further expansion called for export markets. This in its turn requires good trading relationships with the U.K. which was (and is) the major market for Irish products. One result of this trend has been the recent Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which will lead to almost complete free-trade between the two areas by 1975.

On the face of it this must appear to be the wheel turning full circle—from a state of involuntary economic union with Britain fifty years ago, it would seem that a brief flirtation with economic freedom is to be replaced by voluntary economic union with the former oppressor! However, the paradox is more apparent than real and denotes no real betrayal of 1916 idea and ideals. There was never any real possibility of economic self-sufficiency, even fifty years ago. Today there is even less chance. The technological changes which have taken place since then have meant continual increases in the economic scale of operation, so that today there are many industries which are beyond the scope of small countries such as Ireland. Obvious examples are aircraft, motor vehicles and heavy chemicals. Not surprisingly there is a universal tendency for international agreements and co-operation in order to produce large enough markets and producers for various products. It is not surprising for Ireland to be in this stream of development. What would be surprising, would be for Ireland to move against this tendency.

A second, and more complex form in which interdependence with Britain can be significant is through personal comparisons of living standards. The ease of movement between the two countries means that many Irish workers will emigrate rather than tolerate too large a gap between wage rates at home and those which they could obtain in Britain. These comparisons extend to groups who are themselves unlikely to emigrate. Thus dissatisfaction with the level of social welfare payments—such as old-age pensions—can arise because of developments in the comparable U.K. services. The consequence of these comparisons in living standards is that income per head in Ireland must rise at something like the U.K. rate. If it does not, emigration rises, and since this mainly affects people of working age, the result is a rise in the proportion of dependants in the total population. This in turn makes it more difficult to raise living standards at the U.K. rate and hence perpetuates a cycle of low income and heavy emigration. The need to break out of this pattern has been long recognised, but it is only in the past decade that there has been a sustained period of faster income growth in the Republic. If this can continue then this form of "personal" interdependence with the U.K. should ultimately vanish.

One sector in which this factor of relative living standards has played a significant part is agriculture. There has been a continuous fall in the numbers living on the land. The most obvious group to be affected are agricultural workers, but it also extends to the small land-owners. One reflection of this latter phenomenon is the

**A PROCLAMATION**

**Regulations to be observed under  
MARTIAL LAW**

I, Major-General, the Right Hon. L. B. Friend, C.B., Commanding the  
Troops in Ireland hereby Command that

(1) All persons in Dublin City and County shall keep within their houses between the hours of 10 p.m. in the evening and 6 a.m. in the next morning on all days till further notice, unless provided with the written permission of the Military Authorities, or unless in the case of fully qualified medical practitioners or medical nurses in uniform in the discharge of urgent duties.

(2) All persons other than members of His Majesty's Forces or Police or acting in aid of said forces, who are seen carrying arms, are liable to be fired upon by the military without warning.

(3) All persons shall give all information in their possession as to stores of arms, ammunition, or explosives, or the equipment of hostile bodies to the nearest military authority, or to the nearest police barracks.

(4) All well disposed persons are hereby warned and advised to keep away from the vicinity of all places where military operations are in progress or where hostile bodies are moving, and persons that enter such areas do so at their own risk.

Dated at Headquarters, Irish Command,  
Park Gate, Dublin, 26th April, 1916.  
**L. B. FRIEND,**  
Major-General, Commanding Troops, Ireland.

increase from 30 to 45 acres in the official concept of the viable family farm. Hence while the ideal of a land-owning farming community has been realised, it would appear be contended that there is no inevitability about this trend, and that higher agricultural incomes could come by way of increasing output from a given farm size rather than from enlarging farms. However, given the contemporary trend in agricultural production with its emphasis on livestock and the relative decline in tillage, it would seem that the movement to larger size farms will continue. The corollary is that agriculture must continue to decline in relative importance.

If there is to be analysis of what fate the economic ideas of the 1916 leaders have met, the conclusion must be that their ideas have been overtaken and outmoded by events. But even their ideas were never expressed in a strong doctrinaire manner; it is probable that the leaders of 1916 would have modified their policies in the face of events—in much the same fashion as their colleagues, who have formed the successive governments, have done.

The crucial issue fifty years ago was one of political freedom: economics was a secondary consideration. It was only Connolly who appears to have questioned whether political freedom could be meaningful without economic freedom. It is that question which has since confronted a growing number of smaller nations, and that question which has led an originally economic alliance—the common market—into the field of a political union. But there is still uncertainty about the ultimate answer to Connolly's question.



MARTIN DONOHUE, LECTURER  
IN TRINITY COLLEGE: ONE OF  
THE AUTHORS OF "INVESTMENT  
IN EDUCATION" REPORT.

# THE FULL CYCLE:

THE ECONOMY — 50 YEARS LATER

by

MARTIN DONOHUE

The leaders of 1916 possessed little by way of a comprehensive economic policy, hence there are no very definite yardsticks by which the performance of the economy since then can be assessed. Connolly alone of the leaders was conscious of, and possessed, a systematic economic programme, but the socialism which he advocated did not figure in the later history of the state, apart from the one or two abortive experiments in the period around 1920.

There were of course some economic planks in the revolutionary platform. From the Sinn Fein side there was the notion of national self-sufficiency, which would reduce economic dependence on Britain. From the agrarian problems of the 19th century there was the notion of an agricultural sector based on family-owned and family-operated farms. Since the leaders also had an awareness of contemporary social problems, there would probably also have been a more indeterminate, but nonetheless positive, commitment to improvements in the embryonic social services of the time.

Certainly, the actual basis from which the new economy was launched was not the most encouraging. The economy was predominantly agricultural in character; an agriculture which a number of contemporary inquiries had described as being inefficient and under-capitalised—hardly surprising given the 19th century conditions which had preceded and produced this 20th century situation. Outside of the North-East industry was on a very small scale, there being no activities of importance outside of food and drink. Consequently it was an economy which relied on agricultural exports to provide for its imports of industrial goods. In combination agriculture and industry could not provide sufficient employment, so that the safety valve of emigration, which had first appeared on a significant scale during the famine years of the 1840's, had become an established feature of the 20th century economy.

By contrast the 1966 economy shows an impressive degree of change and development. Structurally there has been a dramatic change in the amount and composition of industrial activity, so that today it employs about five times as many people as compared with a half-century ago. Even this rate of expansion has not been sufficient to offset the equally dramatic decline in the number working in agriculture, hence the overall result is that the number of people at work in the economy has declined over the past half-century. A persistent flow of emigrants has been the inevitable consequence of this situation.

For those who remain there has been a considerable rise in living standards as an accompaniment to these changes—it is probable that real living standards have doubled over the period, and this improvement is reflected in the better fed, better clothed, better housed, better educated, healthier population of today.

Clearly then there has been change and improvement in the economic sphere. While the end result would doubtless meet with the approval of the revolutionaries there is room for doubt as to their reactions to the means by which this improvement has been achieved. It might seem that in travelling the road of economic progress, the ideas of 1916 have been overtaken by events.

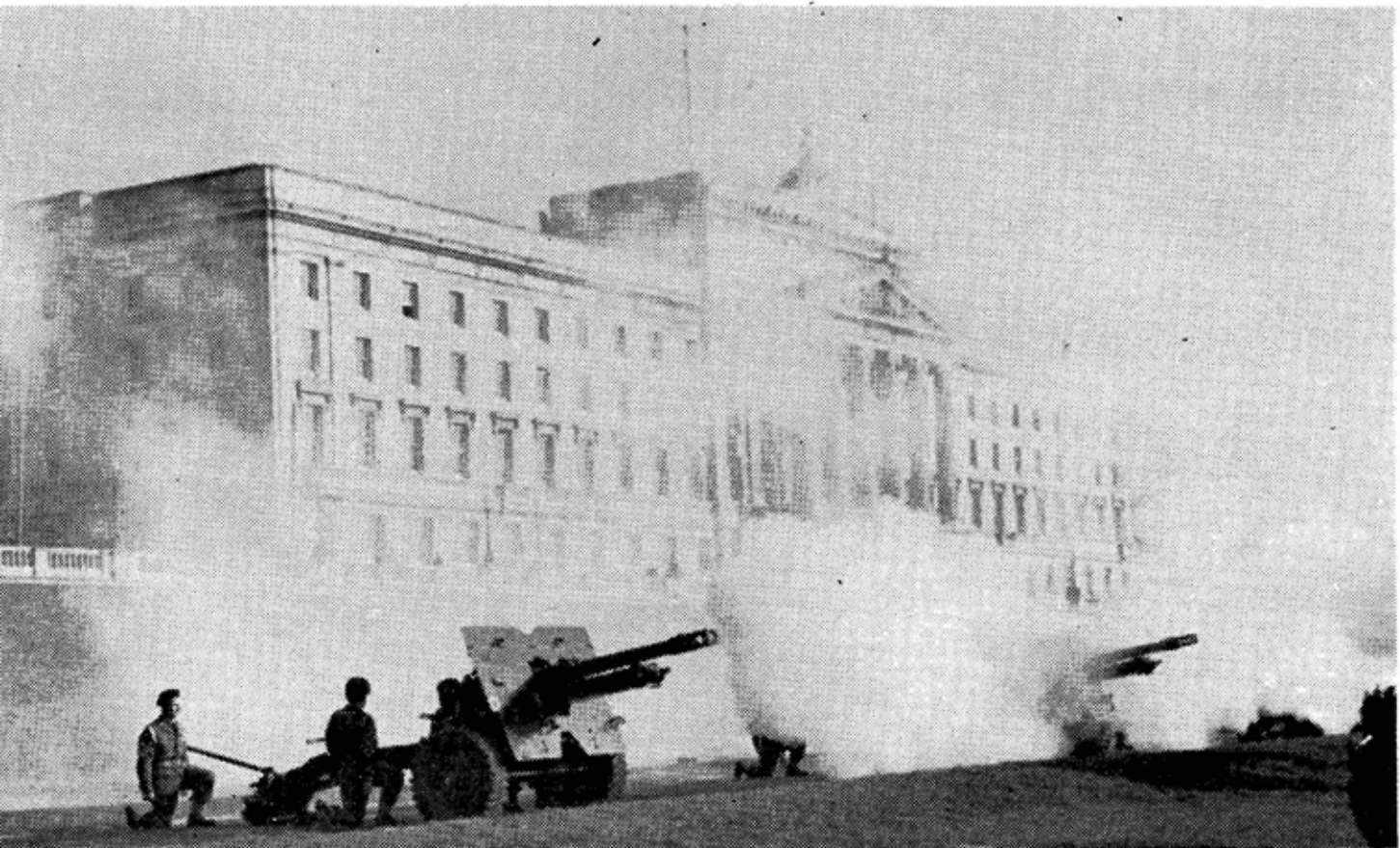
The major victim of later developments would appear to be the concept of "self-sufficiency". In the early years of the state this got off to a somewhat shaky start with some limited experiments in industrial protection. The 1930's saw a much more vigorous pursuit of this policy mainly because of the "economic war" with Britain, but partly also as a result of the abnormal conditions in the world as a whole which led to many countries adopting protective economic policies. This phase culminated in the Second World War which forced an even more drastic policy of "self-sufficiency" on the economy. The experiences of the war years may in retrospect have been

# ULSTER: CONSTITUTION GONE WRONG

G. C. DUGGAN

How far has the Constitution of Northern Ireland, as now operated, departed from the intentions of its founder fathers at Westminster? Of course the Ulster Unionist party takes no responsibility for the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Its then leader, Sir Edward Carson, claimed at the time that the party's policy was to be left as an integral part of the United Kingdom. They were not interested in a federal system or in the devolution of substantial powers to a Six-County Parliament. They only agreed to work the new Constitution—incidentally throwing over their Protestant friends in the other three Counties of Ulster—as an alternative to being linked up in any form with Southern Ireland.

His followers to-day are getting back to the pre-1920 position while still leaving the 1920 Act unamended. It is doubtful whether the Party in power for forty-five years at Stormont fully realise the drift, and certainly



the legislature at Westminster must be completely in the dark though individual ministers and the Civil Service staff appreciate the trend. Administrative agreements paved the way and even though some of these have now been confirmed by mutual legislation it has never been brought to light that they involve breaches of, or, if the word is preferred, amendments of the 1920 Act. This is due to the fear of the Northern Ireland Unionists that such amendments must at all costs be avoided at Westminster as liable to bring under discussion the whole principle of the Act.

If one talks to any Northern Ireland Unionist about the surrender of powers that has gradually taken place, the answer that is given is that the step by step, or parity policy, is their due as part of the United Kingdom, and if this results in the British taxpayer unwittingly paying over handsome financial dividends—avoiding the word

“subsidies”—this is wholly defensible. Their “Rebellion” of 1912/14 has in fact been successful without bloodshed or even the imposition of sanctions.

In April, 1950, in a series of articles under the title “Northern Ireland—Success or Failure?” contributed by me to the “Irish Times” after my retirement from the Ulster Civil Service, I took as my main theme the undermining effect that this policy engendered. This created something like a nine days wonder in political circles in Belfast, but it was not till four years later that a serious reply was produced by Mr. John Sayers of the Belfast “Evening Telegraph” in a contribution made by him to Prof. Wilson’s “Ulster under Home Rule” written by various hands. He pointed out the dilemma faced by the Ulster Unionists in Northern Ireland remaining solvent, while claiming all the benefits of the Welfare State which in fact is enshrined as policy in a British Act of 1949

putting the pre-war parity Social Service agreement on a statutory footing and requiring as a condition that they will also follow Britain in Health and Hospital Services as well as in Social Insurance. The only exception that I take to Mr. Sayers article is that he describes me as a Senior Civil Servant "of Conservative hue". Seeing that the present Grand Master of the Orange Order, Sir George Clark, then a member of Parliament, referred to me in the House in 1950 as a viper they had nursed in their bosom, I cannot see him welcoming me under his banner.

The fact in broad terms is that the Northern Unionists would be getting to-day financially all that they claim if the government of Ireland Act were whittled down to the transfer to Stormont of the functions of a Home Office—including the Police—the control of Local Government and Education below University standard. But the Act if touched would disintegrate and no one wants to touch it. The present make believe gives Stormont all it wants. The British Government has had enough of Ireland in the past much as the Labour Party would like to see the rights of the Ulster Unionists at Westminster brought into more logical compass. The latter have all the balancing powers that the old Nationalist party possessed, but without having a policy of their own.

Administration in Northern Ireland has far greater powers than legislation. If one looks back at the pre-1920 opposition in Ireland one finds something analogous in those services which came under the control of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to what might well be a pattern for to-day. The Northern Ireland Civil Service unquestionably has a lot to do: a glance at the Estimates for £150,000,000 shows the amount of detailed work to occupy their time, and much of it requires constant consultation with Treasury and other British Departments, since for all practical purposes the Northern Ireland budget has to be approved by the Treasury in advance.

But are the members at Stormont equally busy? Pick up a volume of the Northern Ireland Statutes and one would say they must be almost overworked. But it is the draftsman of Bills who has taken much of the burden in advance, rushing the proclamation of Bills affecting social and agricultural services through in almost identical terms with those going through the British House, so that there may be no lag in the distribution of largesse. Before 1920 they would be just Westminster Bills with a few special clauses to suit Irish conditions. The step by step policy forbids any amendments by Stormont M.Ps.

And what of Northern Ireland finances? From the onset the retention of Income Tax and Customs Duties legislation by Britain meant that in the disposal of Northern Ireland's share, the Treasury had the first say including the retention of the "Imperial Contribution". So complex was this that, in the first decade of the Northern Ireland Government's existence, a Committee

under the chairmanship of Lord Colwyn was set up to devise a formula. It produced something which statisticians and economists might revel in, but to most—except like-minded Civil Servants—was a sealed book. I assume that even to-day Treasury and Ministry of Finance Officials do the necessary, though now meaningless, exercises.

The results look all right in the Finance Accounts. The Imperial Contribution, which had sunk to next to nothing by 1935, was saved from extinction by the "parity" subsidies under the social service agreement. To-day the latter total over £8,000,000 a year, five million pounds greater than the again rapidly diminishing Imperial



**DR. G. C. DUGGAN**

**WAS IN THE CASTLE UP TO 1921. REMOVED TO ULSTER WITH THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY AS ADVISER TO THE CIVIL SERVICE. STAYED WITH THE ULSTER C.S. AND BECAME A SENIOR OFFICIAL. RETIRED IN 1951 AND WROTE A SERIES OF ARTICLES FOR THE "IRISH TIMES" UNDER THE TITLE "NORTHERN IRELAND, SUCCESS OR FAILURE?"**

Contribution. But to this subsidy must be added the assistance given by Britain to agriculture. Even economists find it a task beyond their powers to extract from the financial papers what this amounts to, but they hazard a figure of not less than thirty million pounds.

I sometimes wonder what kind of world the Scottish and Welsh National Parties who seek Home Rule expect to find themselves in. Is it the make-believe world that has come to fruition in Northern Ireland or do they intend to carve out special policies of their own and damn the financial consequences?

Much has been written and spoken about the founding of the Irish Volunteers and the part played by the I.R.B. It is, however, important to note that for the majority of those who were in both these organisations the objective was simply 'Independence'. To be sure a republic was aimed at but few looked any further ahead. The Citizen Army spoke of a Workers' Republic but all that meant for the majority was a republic in which the workers would have power. What the republic would do and upon what principles it would operate were seldom thought of or discussed. The majority of the I.R.B. felt only that an armed rising was essential in order to achieve independence. In short the ideal fought for was the ideal of a free and independent Ireland.

After 1916 and the Republican Proclamation the principles came in for more discussion. Many of us felt that this was a very conservative country and that in early years of independence this conservatism would hold sway. Some hoped for a more progressive move, but it was a hope rather than an expectation. Hopes were felt that emigration would be stopped, while some optimistically spoke of Irish-Americans returning to help the 'old country'—a hope that has never been realised. It was generally believed that Pearse's views on education would have great influence on a republican government. We remembered that he had spoken from a Home Rule

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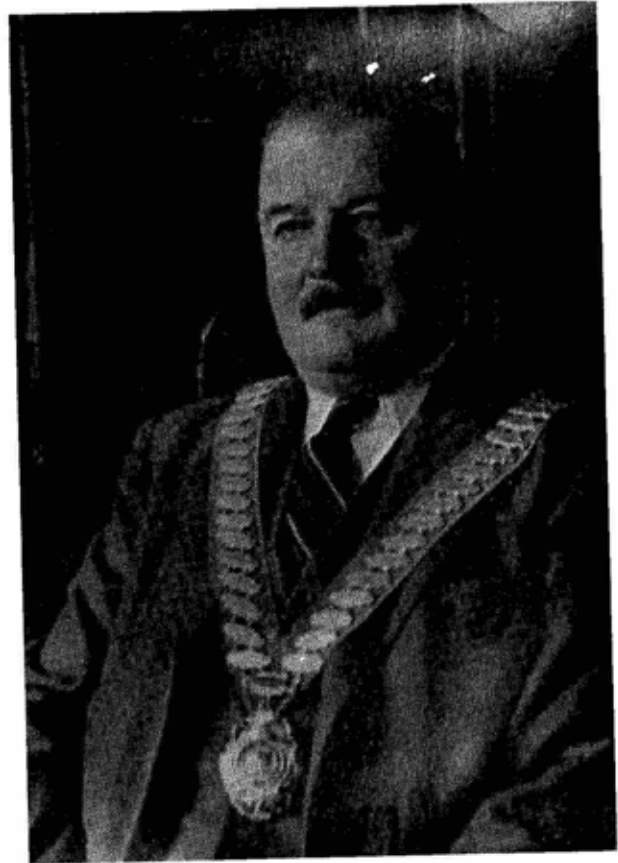
# 50 years

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platform in 1912 holding the opinion that the Home Rule Act would give us control of education and should, for that reason, be supported. Pearse was severely criticised by many for appearing on such a platform but his strong views on the importance of a sound system of education justify his action.

After the Treaty came the Civil War. Now that the bitterness has practically died down is no time to discuss the responsibility or the blame. We must, however, admit some of its results. In the first few years the Free State government was engaged in fighting for its existence and had little time for thinking of anything else. The British parliamentary system and their legal system were adopted almost without question.

In the early years of the state we had the enactment of compulsory Irish so that nearly all the Deputies and Senators to-day may be presumed to have been taught Irish at school. We have yet to find any session of the Dail or Senate in which the proceedings have been carried out entirely in Irish. One seldom hears it spoken in the streets. It is apparent that the compulsory written Irish in the schools has not produced the results hoped for. After all many of us have had to learn a language



HARRY NICHOLLS

THE ONLY TRINITY GRADUATE TO FIGHT FOR THE REPUBLICANS, DURING THE 1916 RISING. FOUGHT IN THE FOUR COURTS AND WAS LATER IN PRISON FOR FOUR MONTHS. WENT BACK TO HIS JOB WITH THE DUBLIN CORPORATION AND FINISHED HIS CAREER WITH THEM. NOW RETIRED.

## A RICH INHERITANCE

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by Harry Nicholls

at school and have left without being able to speak it. Surely what was wanted was to have Irish conversation taught in all schools and do away with the compulsory written examination in favour of an oral test. With that we might have some hope of becoming, if not an Irish-speaking people, at least a bi-lingual one. That would be more in fulfillment of the hopes of most of those who fought in 1916. But one cannot say that anything has been done to carry out Pearse's ideals in education. Primary education has stood still; the possession of money is still necessary in order to obtain a secondary and a university education and the opportunity for the child of a poor family is no better than it was in 1916. The leaving age has not been raised and it is only in very recent years that the provision of decent school buildings has been tackled. Granted that good progress is now being made with this the all-important point of providing equal opportunity in education remains as it was.



## THE I.R.B.'s COST

Another disappointment has been the status of women and the small part played by them in the running of the country. One of the early acts of the Free State was to bar women from taking part in jury service, and they are still, to all intents and purposes, barred. Equal pay for equal work remains a headline not to be put into force. We must, however, acknowledge that the women themselves have done nothing to right these matters and the small number of women on local bodies and in the Dail speak for themselves.

The censorship of books which was established in the early days has brought no credit to Irish letters. It has, however, been ably criticised by many writers and there is no point in saying any more here.

Now after forty years some stocktaking is desirable to see what has been done in fulfilment of our hopes and how far have our fears been justified.

Instead of a stable population or even a rising one, emigration has continued. A steady stream continue to leave the country—the majority being those for whom there was no work at home. Even with our falling population the number of unemployed remains very high. No doubt the living conditions have greatly improved for a large number but the number at or below a bare subsistence allowance is alarmingly high. Old Age pensions are kept at too low a figure and money is spent in operating a means test in order to lower the rate in many cases.

At a time when rulers and administrative staffs have had their remuneration raised substantially we find a vigorous attempt being made to enforce a wages freeze but no check has been proposed on profits or dividends. A rise in wages of £1 a week is not to be tolerated but a 10% or more of a rise in profits is something to be proud of.

This may appear as a very gloomy picture and there are certainly no grounds for self-congratulations or complacency in respect of the economic state of the country. We must, however, recognise our own responsibility and not be content with merely lamenting the existing state of affairs. We have all a part to play in the rebuilding of the country—economically and educationally. We older people cannot play as great a part as we would wish but the younger generations must take a greater part than they have done up to the present in working for the ideals of the Republican Proclamation. The ending of partition is an ideal for which we must strive but it must be realised that there is no hope of attaining it until the gun and the explosive have been abandoned in favour of peaceful persuasion.

In one of his historical essays Professor D. W. Brogan remarks that the expression 'Happy the Country that has no history' is more than a sardonic view of the old Chinese curse 'May you live in interesting times' and goes on to say 'For the country that has a history, dramatic, moving, tragic, has to live with it—with the problems it raised but did not solve—with the emotions that it leaves as a damaging legacy, with the defective vision that preoccupation with the heroic, with the disastrous, with the expensive past, fosters. But there is more to be said than this; the inheritance of a past rich in suffering, in vicissitudes, in heroism adds something to the national assets even though the price is always high and often grossly excessive.'

Surely these words apply to Ireland and should help us not to be too pessimistic about the future.



COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ, 1907, BEFORE SHE WAS IMMERSSED IN THE CITIZEN ARMY.

FACTORY RANSACKED DURING THE CIVIL WAR.



Frank Aiken is the nearest the Irish Government at present gets to a statesman. The rest are exclusively political animals. This is not to say that they are less effective, or that Aiken is a bright star within the Government. As politicians Lemass, Haughey, O'Malley, Colley, possibly even the egocentric Neil Blaney, are as good a hard core as any Irish Government could wish for. This, of course, is part of their trouble. They are working on a narrow margin and with tight odds, and they don't set their standards very high. Aiken is something more. Quite what it is cannot be easily identified. But to a greater extent than any other figure in the country, including de Valera himself, Frank Aiken epitomises in his career, his political development, his shortcomings and his achievements, the development of Ireland during the period 1916-1966. It is a development which has included compromise, the learning of hard lessons, much achievement, and many shortcomings; but in essence Aiken is the manifestation of Ireland's self discovery as a nation.

Frank Aiken is aloof and uncompromising. Like Ireland he has been overshadowed by de Valera. And like Ireland he has only recently emerged from that shadow, not altogether unscathed. He is often unsubtle and he has none of the deviousness and political craft of Sean Lemass. He has never lost the simple, sometimes devastating, sometimes stupid, approach of the soldier to problems in politics. His excellence at obeying orders, and his remarkably long and enduring respect for de Valera are all circumstances which preclude him from party leadership but eventually confirmed him in the ministerial position best suited to his particular qualities. I predict that they will place him in the Park in due course. Yet it was only with the rise of the new generation within Fianna Fail and the relinquishing of control by de Valera that these qualities had any real scope. For de Valera was in many ways reactionary in many of the attitudes which mattered most for Ireland's future, and his long reign delayed many things, including the essential re-alignment with Britain, the breaching of the Border, the positive commitment of Ireland abroad with an objective foreign policy, and the hedging in of gaelicisation. And because much of this has happened during only the last ten years it is difficult to see any pattern of achievement. Only later generations will see the sharp successes and the fumbling mistakes in their true light. What we can do is trace historic and political development up to this time by the study of key figures. In this respect I regard Aiken as a pivotal figure in measuring the nation's achievements and sad limitations.

Let us go back to his early career. He was from Armagh. He was a soldier. He was Captain of the Cam-lough company of the I.R.A. in 1916. During the 1918 election he worked on behalf of Sinn Fein in the North Louth-South Armagh constituency. He was promoted to Vice-Brigadier of the Newry Brigade, then 4th Northern Divisional Commander, and finally, during the Civil War, to Chief of Staff on the Republican side. As commander of the 4th Division Aiken was outside the immediate outbreak of hostilities over the Treaty and leading into the Civil War, and because of this one sees more clearly something of the frustrated search for a political ideology: he wavered until he was forced into opposition. Throughout his negotiations with Mulcahy in July, 1922, there is clearly apparent the individual search for compromise out of a situation he regarded as disastrous but not doomed until almost the end of July, and then only through the refusal of the Government to meet him. As a soldier he told Mulcahy that he would not fight on either side. That wasn't the sort of soldier Mulcahy wanted. In fact, under the circumstances, Aiken's attitude

# AS OTHERS SEE US

by

FRANCIS GROSE,

Political Correspondent  
of Hibernia magazine

was not tenable for any prolonged period of time. But it was the Provisional Government which pushed him, unwillingly, into politics. Throughout that month he had acted almost entirely on his own initiative. It was to be some time before he would do so again.

After 1932, with de Valera's return to power, his political progress was smooth and undistinguished. He was Minister for Defence until the War, when the ministry changed to one "for the co-ordination of Defensive Measures." He was not popular within the Army, which was largely a pro-Treaty organisation. Indeed, though his duties at that time are often regarded as outside the main stream of political controversy, one of them was the "prudent balancing" of the political affiliations of Irish Army officers. As Minister in charge of censorship during the war he wielded a ruthless, dull and unenlightened blue pencil. He was not greatly interested in his job, and, unlike the majority of his colleagues, didn't conceal it with much skill.

Three years after the war his party was out of power, and, shadowing his master, he left Ireland for the de Valera world tour.

It is at this stage that the pattern in Irish politics begins to assume the proportions of maturity. The long pro-Treaty Government followed by the much longer sixteen years of Republican rule had shown the pendulum swinging to its limits, and moving very slowly. There now comes a period of more rapid change, with three-year terms of alternating rule, terminated by the ten-year long-haul of stable, if dull and, latterly, rather thin Fianna Fail administration. It is during this period, with power passing (relatively speaking) to the younger men, that Aiken emerges once more with a consistent and developing set of principles and the Government post which best fitted them. Admittedly he was Minister for External Affairs in the 1951-54 F.F. administration; but the period was notable for Ireland's sustained insularity. By the time he came back to the Ministry in 1957 world politics had changed somewhat: there had been Suez and the Hungarian rising; the situation in Europe had clarified after German sovereignty: all eyes were turning on Africa

## INTERNATIONAL

where they were going to be preoccupied for the next fifteen years. the *detente* between the West and Russia and the West and China was widening: and out of all this the significance of the United Nations for Ireland was initiating in Aiken's mind what may be described as a brave and largely personal plan of action. It is from this point, in a period of less than ten years, that one sees develop a process in political thinking that has stretched Ireland's potential as a nation to a peak from which subsequently we have been forced to withdraw: I refer to our at times naive and at times frustrated peace initiatives in the U.N. It would be wrong to underestimate the achievement of Irish foreign policy in the light of subsequent retractions. When, for example, Aiken spoke about Ireland's withdrawal from the Cyprus peace-keeping force in the Dail on Wednesday, March 23rd, of this year, his speech had all the genuine regret of the disillusioned statesman who has been obliged to apply the conditions of political finance to his ambitions and ideals:

"I think if we are accused of anything it is that we have tried to do too much for international peace. If we are to take account of our national income and the incomes of other parties in the U.N. we did far and away beyond anybody else. It cannot be left to one or two small nations or one or two big nations to guarantee the security of peace. I think we have as a nation done our share."

I don't think we have. And I don't think Aiken thinks so either, in spite of what he said on this occasion. It was the voice of political expediency speaking, Sean Lemass's voice, weighing the Cyprus deficit of more than £1 million against our financial embarrassments. Aiken, I feel sure, has learned the lesson during the past ten years that in working for world peace there is no question of fair shares: yet politics prevents him from carrying this through to its logical conclusions. And did it prevent him from China? And Rhodesia? And Algeria? And Vietnam? It is at this point that one sees both the man and the nation emerging into a world of compromise and half-measure, and yet emerging nonetheless. Conor Cruise O'Brien's accusations that Ireland has tarnished her image with the Afro-Asian world by her pro-Western alignment, her Common Market axis, her shifting attitudes on China and Southern Rhodesia, is justified. Yet he speaks from the front line of liberal, multi-racial world thinking. His words reflect against a background in Ireland of apathy, ignorance and fear of affairs anywhere outside these islands. The link between the two is tenuous and weak. For Aiken, whose political education took place against the background of Churchill's imperial anti-Republic blather in the British House of Commons, against the background of the ruthless court-martials and executions of 1916, it is some measure of the way he has come that he has been able to do so much to strengthen that tenuous link.

Aiken's, and Ireland's, commitment has been a general one—to world peace. He has taken all peoples, or attempted to take them, at face value, and pleaded for the inclusion of all nations and political creeds within the U.N. He has shown greater altruism in his attitude to the U.N. than almost any other national representative there. It is easy to say that a small nation has nothing to lose by being altruistic; but it has little to gain either. There has been something non-political in his approach. One might suggest that the basis for it is Terence Mac-Sweeney's dictum, which Aiken has himself used in another context: "our enemies are our brothers from whom we are estranged". It is not an approach that could be



FRANK  
AIKEN

easily adopted by America and Russia, but it does indicate the line along which Ireland's achievement lies—that of balancing the big opposed forces in the world. One of the saddest lessons about the U.N. which Aiken has learned is that this world parliament is really a Western world parliament to which the Other Half is invited to send delegates. When it is truly democratic and universal it will either collapse or become truly effective. The former is at present more likely. And the fault for this rests with the big nations. If there should be a reversal then great credit would reflect on many of the smaller nations, and among them Ireland would stand. In the general sense this is the extent of Aiken's achievement. It summarises Ireland thus: she is a nation, with her own voice and her own part to play in the world; but she is a very small nation with limitations upon her resources, upon the ability and stamina and courage of her leaders, upon the willingness of her people to be committed in matters where there can be little or no gain. If the U.N. has taught the world anything it is that everyone matters equally. And by being there the U.N. has given us a platform from which we can speak out this lesson again and again. We haven't done it again and again, but we have done it on occasions. Those occasions were national ones to which all too little attention was paid. They were achievements, and the silences or retractions were failures to live up to the oft-quoted ideals of 1916. As in so many things brought to mind at this time a political restraint has been applied to a national aspiration—or at least what we hope is a national aspiration—and the result has been compromise. In political terms a compromise is usually regarded as a successful solution to a problem; but in national terms . . . ?



*THE*  
*Church*  
*AND THE*  
*State*  
*by Dr. Skeffington*



If one could draw a graph of the influence of the Church of Rome on Irish politics, the curve would rise fairly steadily from Penal Days, with a slight fall around 1798—when the revolutionaries were condemned as French radicals, and Wolfe Tone was dubbed “Cut-throat Tone”—a distinct rise after Catholic Emancipation, minor troughs in famine days when the higher clergy told the Irish to pay their rents even if their families went short of food, in the Fenian 1860’s—a Bishop criticised the Almighty’s penal arrangements: “Hell is not hot enough nor Eternity long enough to punish the Fenians”—and in post-Parnell days, a sharp rise with the Irish Party up to 1914, a distinct drop during the War of Independence and the Civil War, and then a surprisingly steady climb until the 1950’s and the aftermath of the Noel Browne affair, since when it has never been quite the same.

Of course, to talk of the influence of “the Church” or even of “the Clergy” in Ireland is always ambiguous, because it has often happened that the Bishops have struck attitudes which Rome itself found hard to understand. When Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, who had been cold-shouldered by the Irish Bishops for his Irish Republicanism, was asked by the Pope how were his Irish Bishops, he is said to have replied: “There are no Bishops in Ireland, Holy Father—but there are a number of popes”. It has always been the case, too, that the minor clergy, the Curates and the rural Parish Priests have been politically much closer to the political aspirations of the people than have the Bishops. That is one reason why they stayed minor.

In general, once Catholic Emancipation had been won, and even before it, in the days of ’98, the political injunction of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy had been for the Irish people to obey the “legally constituted” British

Government. This was doctrinally correct enough, and was strengthened by considerations of expediency: the aim was to win concessions from the British Government which would give effective power not to the Irish people but to the Hierarchy. The managerial system in our primary schools sprang from just such a “deal”. Another such was the British Government grant of financial aid to Maynooth in return for which the Bishops agreed that all Catholic ordinands would thenceforth swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown. This “bargain” was faithfully honoured up to within living memory, and it did not make for a politically or nationally progressive priesthood. In the nineteenth century, many a “rebel” Irish clerical student chose the Irish Colleges of Paris, Salamanca or Rome in order to avoid taking this oath, which was in their opinion nationally dishonourable. Such priests rarely became Bishops. Their political influence was not small because they were close to the people, but it was “rebel” influence not “authoritative” influence, and they often tended to clash with their Bishops.

At the Parnellite split, the Hierarchy was virtually unanimous in condemning Parnell’s followers, and only a few of the lesser priests ventured to take the more radical Parnellite line.

In the early 1900’s the Irish Bishops filled their pastoral letters with diatribes about the dangers of following the terrifying example of pagan France, which was busy separating Church and State, and secularising the schools. Irish poverty, Dublin slums, the “murder machine” of Irish education, and British maladministration in Ireland received little notice in episcopal pronouncements. Men like Larkin and Connolly were fiercely attacked. During the 1913 lock-out, attempts to ease the strain on Irish workers by having their children



cared for by British workers were roundly condemned by the Bishops as detrimental to the children's Catholic faith. It was morally preferable for Irish workers to watch their families slowly starve. It also better suited the policy of the Irish bosses.

In the period of 1916 to 1921, if one is to judge by the majority of the Lenten Pastorals, the Church was more worried about the dangers of the hobble skirt and mixed bathing than about Black-and-Tan atrocities. One result of this selective unconcern was a strong spirit of anti-clericalism among Catholic Sinn Féiners. This was further provoked by the threat of excommunication for De Valera Republicans during the Civil War in 1922-1925. This is not entirely forgotten among old Republicans to-day, and constitutes the main reason why Fianna Fáil is fractionally less supine than Fine Gael when a Bishop says "boo".

By 1926, the Catholic Church leaders were, nevertheless, talking as if they had always supported the national movement. The Maynooth oath of allegiance to the Crown had gone. The band-wagon of Irish political freedom had numerous new high-ranking clerical passengers, many of them soon claiming the right to call the tune the national band would play. The drive to segregate Catholic from Protestant was vigorously

prosecuted after the decisions of the 1926 Maynooth Synod. Catholics attending Protestant or non-denominational schools or universities felt the turn of the screw. U.C.D. itself was condemned as not offering sufficient safeguards to Catholics. New restrictive legislation on birth control, divorce, and censorship was pressed upon Ireland's new "free" legislators. Few had the courage to support the protests of W. B. Yeats in the Senate: "... you are to legislate on purely theological grounds and you are to force your theology upon persons who are not of your religion". Year by year, all societies and organisations which encouraged Catholic-Protestant co-operative work for the common good were frowned on, and where possible, crushed—the Mercier Society, the war-time Rathmines meal-centre, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, etc. The Legal Adoption Act was delayed for years by clerical stonewalling. Dr. Noel Browne's "Mother and Child Scheme" was clerically shot down in 1951. This was, however, a turning-point. For the first time all the secret correspondence between Hierarchy and Cabinet was printed, and though the Coalition Government quailed and fell flat, and the Fianna Fáil T.D.s said **not one word** in the two-day Dail debate on the subject, yet it became slowly apparent that the Church leaders were attempting to dictate in political and economic fields, as well as on matters of faith and morals, and it was secretly felt that they had over-reached themselves. When Cardinal D'Alton tried to put pressure on the Fianna Fáil Government to alter **their** somewhat diluted Health Scheme in the early 1950's Mr. De Valera and his party showed fight, and the Cardinal withdrew a condemnatory statement he had sent for publication to the press.

With the advent of Pope John and the Vatican Councils, many Irish Catholics discovered that they had long since been secretly ahead of their Bishops on such questions as attendance at Protestant funeral services, the rights and wrongs of birth control, censorship, Catholic-Protestant co-operation and mutual respect. Bigoted segregation had never come easily to ordinary Irish Catholics, and they were in this matter much quicker to give favourable attention to the new Vatican lead than were their episcopal mentors. Furthermore, the fact that at the Vatican Councils it was seen that Bishops and Cardinals could actually argue about and have different opinions on points of Catholic teaching had a highly stimulating effect upon the Irish Catholic laity. Many began to see sense in the 1912 contention of Pat Kenny of Mayo that it is the duty of the Catholic laity to see to it that their Bishops remain good Catholics!

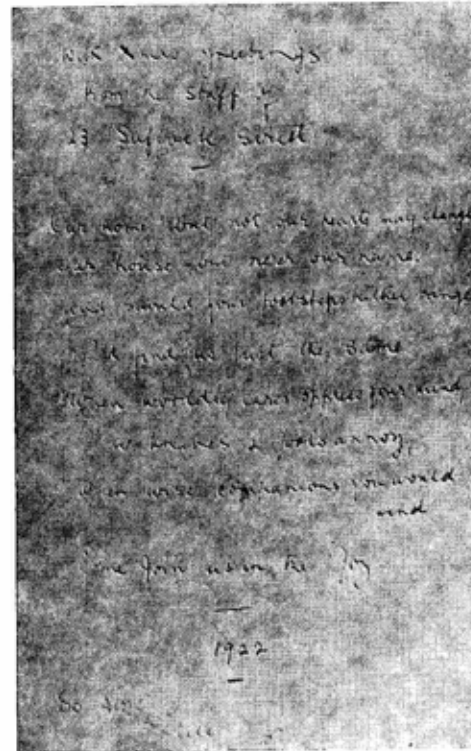
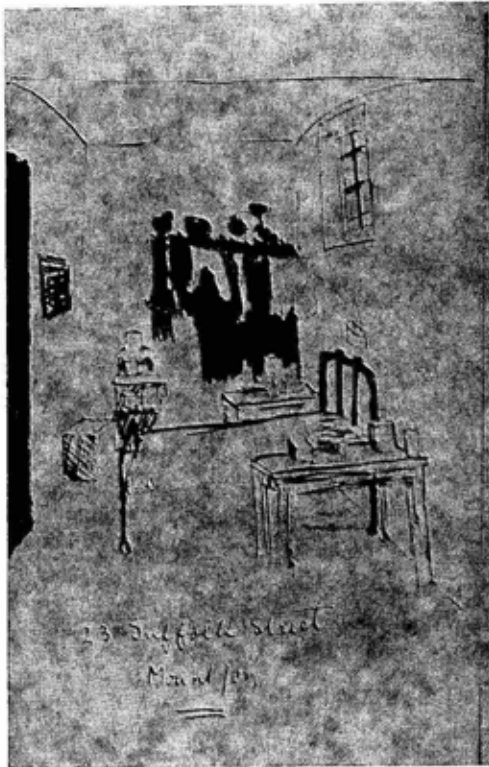
The effects of all this are far from having gone the whole way yet; but it is already obvious that the Catholic laity in Ireland is unlikely ever again to be quite as subservient to, and uncritical of, episcopal authority in matters political and economic as it had become during the first 29-30 years of Irish political independence.

Over a 100 years ago, Thomas Davis said: "To mingle politics and religion in such a country is to blind men to their common secular interests, to render political

union impossible, and national independence hopeless".

Increasingly to-day the importance of these "common secular interests" is being realised, and the common Irish tendency to accept episcopal pronouncements with unquestioning submission is happily on the wane.

Yeats boasted in the Senate that the Church into which he had been born had early learnt to keep the Bishops in their places. Among Irish Catholics to-day, particularly among the younger generation, his words would now evoke a sympathetic echo.



*With Xmas Greetings from the staff of 23 Suffolk Street.*

*Our home but not our hearts may change, Our house but ne'er our name. And should your footsteps hither range, You'll find us just the same. When worldly cares oppress your mind, When knaves and fools annoy, When wise companions you would find Come join us in the 'Joy. 1922. Do Aine ó Lili.*

Estella Solomon's "PORTRAITS OF PATRIOTS" with a biographical sketch of the artist by Hilary Pyle. 12/6.

"THE 1916 POETS," Padraic Pearse, Joseph Plunkett and Thomas McDonagh, edited with introduction by Desmond Ryan. 10/6, from . . .

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WHY NOT TRY A COPY ?

**I**T is not claimed that this brief article does more than attempt to pay tribute to the efforts of many of Irish birth with whom I have been associated during the past quarter-century in which the history of our island has undergone such considerable change for the better.

Certainly in the sphere of industry one can clearly see the improvement which has similarly benefited social and cultural circles. The tale is absorbing and remarkably significant as a chronicle of progress. In the two decades that lie behind us we have seen the dawn on both sides of the Border of what can be termed a consolidation era, now reaching a stage of fresh activity pointing to further success.

Business, operating between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom—of which Ulster is an important part—has emerged steadily, if gradually, and everywhere industry is assuming the role and attributes of a profession. Agriculture appears to be in the midst of a veritable revolution, comparable in speed and intensity almost to what ruled in the industrial revolution.

The picture on all sides is much the same. The introduction and acceptance of labour-saving methods, the expansion of the fundamental nature of advertising, the genesis of quantity production, the growth of installment selling, all these are fitting into Ireland's picture and story on both sides of the Border. Logical influences which decide destinies in this vivid business drama.

Here is a story that can mean much to Irish men and women—particularly to the younger generation sensibly prepared to devote brains and energy to the challenge of achieving full maturity in thought and action. While I firmly believe that it is in the world of industry integration of activities, increased faith in each other, North and South, it would be wrong to ignore other aspects of national life. Re-adjustments in attitudes can be a slow business. Progress comes quietly as a rule out of the minds and hearts and experiences of the people. It grows gradually out of new attitudes as one man and then

## CROSS-BORDER

another proves it out in a practical way so that often no one realises what is happening or that anything is happening.

Unquestionably the clash between ancient faith and new needs and aspirations is lessening. We must expect setbacks. Change, as has been said, is a necessarily slow procedure if it is to take roots, to endure. We must support the law of today even when it may seem to some contrary to their sense of justice and history.

"If we are a Christian nation," wrote Coleridge, "we must learn to act nationally as well as individually as Christians." Let us become a better people and the reform of all grievances will follow of itself. Bitterness and division spring from our inability to cope with change. We in Ireland have found and are already using a common denominator for re-adjusting our society. We are experiencing acts of real leadership in fostering friendships regardless of geographical borders. Those who attempt to decry this or to allege motives should be viewed with suspicion and distrust. The development of common interests, the establishment of stable patterns of life must precede and not follow the creation of rigid international forms. Subversion from within must be resisted everywhere in our national life if we are not to lose ground in the world of men.

Adjustment of national differences must be by negotiation and compromise rather than other means, at home and abroad.

A politically mature electorate of effective parties must be the aim of us all, capable of sustaining good government which can make the wheels of the economic system go round undisturbed by events which can and do paint Irishmen in an inescapably poor light.

At bottom of course is a question of providing an adequate value of exports of all kinds to meet our imports bill. How large the bill will be and what volume of exports we must set aside to meet it will depend, naturally, on those increasingly famous or notorious things, the terms of trade: in other words on the prices we have to pay for our imports and the prices we can get for our exports.

If the terms of trade turn against us this will be a grave factor in supporting our present standard of life. Let us therefore in every sphere of Irish life spare no effort in developing communities in which men may have pride.

Here in Ireland, undisturbed by any form of barrier we can, if we wish, make our island an ever expanding tolerant land of opportunity, an example to other countries by our courage, energy, resource and above all building upon that profound knowledge of human nature which the Irish people seem to possess but, alas, erode too often by foolish words and action.

We require and must demand a reasonable standard of social justice but let us never forget that this must follow upon a fuller recognition of social obligations. We must have regard to the claims of our community as a whole. Above all what is required is an unbreakable determination to allow no obstacle to stand in the way of progress within our shores.

# WITHIN OUR SHORES

SIR GRAHAM LARMOR

Compiled from  
Dublin Newspaper Reports

## SOME OF THE POST 1916 LEADERS

De Valera, President of Ireland



An enigma—patriot or fraud? "1916-27 he played a role that was at different times heroic and petty, statesmanlike and immature." Great leader. Yeats. "He is a living argument rather than a living man. All propaganda, no human life, but not bitter, hysterical or unjust." Solitary and singleminded. Difficult, some say, to exonerate him from sponsorship of the Civil War. Question in fact of "sincerity versus self-delusion." Arrogant. "The people never have a right to do wrong." 1937 Constitution, Republic or not? "The State is what it is, not what I say or think it is." Offences Against the State Act, 1939, "Human rights must at times bow to the human good." 1931, Tour—successful—of the U.S.A. to get money for the Irish Press, a Republican paper. 1938, responsible for the Treaty ports being taken over. 1945, replies to Churchill's criticism of Ireland during War. "Could he—Churchill—not find in his heart the generosity to acknowledge that there is a small nation that stood alone, not for one year or two, but for several hundred years against aggression?" Fundamental criticism in European papers. One of world's greatest National Revolutionaries, providing policies and attitudes for all oppressed nations, while his social policy as head of Government was ultra Conservative. His own deep belief that he could never be wrong about anything Irish.

Sean T. O'Kelly, President of Ireland

Elected 1945. Former leader of the Fianna Fail Party. Was Assistant in the National Library for a while, and then went into Political Journalism; Griffith and Rooney were then laying the foundations of the Sinn Fein. Sigerson, Rolleston, Yeats, the poets and inspiration. Worked for a while on the Dublin Corporation. Joined Sinn Fein, Gaelic League, Volunteers, and fought in the Rising. Pleaded Ireland's cause to shut doors in Washington, to deaf ears in Versailles; later saw the insides of prisons English and Irish, and after 1916, remained by De Valera's side in the wilderness. 1932, rewarded with the appointment as Vice-President of the Executive Council. Minister for Local Government and Public Health. Delegate to Commonwealth Conference in Ottawa. 1932. 1945-59, President of the Republic. "True to the traditions of Old Dublin."



# THE LEADERS

Inauguration 25th June, 1952. 11th Nov., 1952: President's plea for the language, and 7th Aug., 1955. President calls for the revival of self reliance spirit. "The necessity for a virile national spirit, in my opinion, was as necessary now as when we were fighting for their—Irish people—freedom. It seems to me that we have to an extent lost the Spirit of Sinn Fein." Served on establishment of the Republic, as Speaker in the Dail, as Envoy to France, Italy, and the U.S.A. Minister of Local Government, Public Health, Education and Finance.

"His generosity, kindness, integrity and dignity have won the admiration and regard of everyone."

Address at Ashbourne, April 26, 1959. President's compelling plea for an end to bitter divisions created by the Civil War. Firmly warned any minority from usurping the government's position.

"The liberation of the last six counties of our national territory from foreign rule scarcely can be regarded as reflecting the progressive trend of thought which stresses the immediate need for vision and hard work in the economic field before there can be any hope of winning over a people who, whatever feelings may be ascribed to them on this side of the Border, do not consider themselves to be under 'foreign rule'."

## Douglas Hyde, First President of the Republic

Founder of the Gaelic League, 1893. "Make Ireland intellectually interesting, and the resulting zest, energy, thoughts and temper will react on everything in the nation, economics included." Resigned in 1915 when the Constitution was amended. Fought for the Language. "Irish is not a low Patois." 1905 he toured America and raised £12,000. Like Gandhi he believed that the full regeneration of the country could be established by simply arousing ethical qualities of the people. Co-opted member of the Senate in 1925. Term expired, but rejected in 1937. Nominated President, 1938, elected the following year. Country squire of Frenchpark. Best Shot in Roscommon. German ballads among his favourite reading. Held the Chair of Irish at U.C.D. Folklorist, poet, demagogue, organiser, scholar, wore loose fitting clothes and a high old-fashioned collar. Nick-name, An Craobhin Aobhin, the delightful little branch. Yeats, "Like a man who discovered the food of the gods, and then stood aghast at the wonderful and terrible consequences of his find." Died 1949.

## Sean MacEntee. Minister Various.

Engineer with Belfast Electricity Works, 1914, joined The Irish Volunteers. Fought 1916, later sentenced to death, but

reprieved. 1917-1921 on the Executive Council of I.R.A. Interned for a year. 1918 he was elected on the Sinn Fein ticket as member for South Monaghan. Vice-Brig. Belfast I.R.A. 1920 O.C. Marlborough St. Post Office. June 1922, interned for two years. Member of Sinn Fein Standing Committee 1923-26. Also founder member of the Fianna Fail Party. Elected for Dublin County in 1927. Minister for Finance 1932-39. Minister for Industry and Commerce, 1939-41. Minister for Local Government and Public Health, 1951. Minister for Finance again 1957. "Unity cannot be secured by force; all policies to end Partition must be based on the realisation of that inescapable truth."

## Arthur Griffith. Proposed President.



Went to South Africa to see Irishmen fighting for the cause of the Boers. Came back with John MacBride. Editor of the United Irishman, 1899. Convinced of the futility of sending MPs to Westminster. "Let us renounce the disastrous policy of making the Parliament house of England the arena of the Irish struggle. Let us make the dissolution of the British Empire be our immediate object." Editor of The Sinn Fein. Believed that with his daily paper he could convert Ireland to Sinn Fein. Present in September 1914 at a meeting with Clarke, Connolly, Pearse, Sean O Faolain and McDermott, to decide on military action during the Great War. Reading Jail for a spell in 1916, and then opposed De Valera for the Presidency of the Sinn Fein. Played a large part in the campaign against Conscription in Ireland. Appointed head of the delegation sent to London to negotiate the Treaty. Signed Treaty, and was later proposed by Collins as a candidate for President when De Valera resigned. Died St. Venet's Hospital, August 12th, 1922.



## Maude Gonne MacBride

Sent to France because of ill-health and there met the man who wanted to win back Alsace for France—Lucien Milleroye. She to help him for France. He to help her for Ireland. Returned to Ireland where she went to help fight for the oppressed peasantry in Donegal and Roscommon. Helped the Amnesty Movement to free Irish prisoners of treason in England. Raised money to keep the United Irishman going for Arthur Griffith. She married Major John MacBride on his return from the Boer war. He was shot after 1916. Maude Gonne MacBride went on after that to help the dependants of those shot in the Rising. She gave her life and money for this cause. She opposed the Treaty but lacked bitterness. Regarded herself as "one of those little stones on which the feet of the Queen rest a moment on her way to freedom." Obsessed, like many of the women of the time, and said: "Brooding on the abomination of English Rule, turned a girl into a woman who looks on the British Empire as a symbol of the Devil on Earth." Actor, painter, writer, lecturer, endlessly energetic.

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# OPPRESSION

PETER LENNON

GUARDIAN CORRESPONDENT IN PARIS. HAS BEEN CRITIC OF THE OPPRESSIVE INTELLECTUAL ATMOSPHERE IN IRELAND FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS. WRITTEN MOST DUBLIN PAPERS, HIBERNIAN, ETC.

Young people have an instinct for the age in which they live. They understand intuitively—and adjust naturally to—a changing social pattern. This has always created a conflict between them and an older generation emotionally unable to accept change. In Ireland this basic conflict has been intolerably aggravated by the presence of an intermediary generation which has never succeeded in making a significant impression on the community because of the automatic and habitual suppression to which they were subjected.

These people, born in the 20's and 30's, had to live under the domination of people with the habits of self criticism, people who were rarely exposed to the kind of vigorous and constructive criticism which helps those in public life to clarify and rectify their thinking. With one section of those public figures, the Clergy, the lines of power became unclear; entitled to unquestioned obedience only in certain special and normally restricted areas, their domination then increased out of all relation to their legitimate right.

This whole balance between those in power and the rest of the community, led most adults in Ireland, by the late 50's, to be convinced that social and moral problems were outside their province; they abandoned their responsibility because they had been persuaded that they were not entitled to handle these problems. But a religion or a society can only be fertile if it is supported by an enlightened and active lay membership.

The mistake which aggravated this problem in Ireland was the insistence of the Church on not disturbing "the simple faith of the people". Drawing on the people with simple faith, there is a danger that the material the Church will have to work with will be simple minded. This while the Catholic Church

has both authorised and urged responsible help from laymen.

But the younger generation has been directly exposed to these new ideas from Rome through both the newspapers and television. Even travel abroad, denied to those who came to maturity during and just after the War, is granted to them. A confrontation on a national scale between the younger generation and the older can no longer be avoided. The extent of the destructiveness, and the degree of bitterness, arising from this confrontation will depend on the willingness of those in authority to come to terms.

We will probably have to pass through a period of intense agitation before the balance is restored.

The first necessity is to discover the condition which we have fallen into. In 1962 Fr. John Kelly, writing in *The Furrow*, said that Ireland was in danger of becoming an "intellectual slum". Recently Sean O'Faolain described a "bourgeois class devoid of moral courage", "an indescribably repressive Church", and "shameless inroads on our personal freedom of expression". He spoke of censorship which had become "hysterical".

What the average person tends to forget is that repression is made up of a series of ordinary banal actions by certain human beings acting on other human beings. Therefore it is necessary to understand repression, to have some idea of the miserable details of these operations. I feel that neither Fr. Kelly nor Sean O'Faolain exaggerated.

The first example is a personal experience. In January of 1964 I published a series of articles on the climate of repression in Ireland—articles which were provoked by the refusal, three months earlier, of Dublin newspapers to print an interview in which the late Frank O'Connor touched briefly on some of these problems. The operation began.

# OPPRESSION

The first move was predictable. A Dublin newspaper which had constantly reprinted my *Guardian* articles all through 1963 suddenly ceased to publish these articles—although none of them dealt with Ireland. Not one has been published since. The management could not face the embarrassment of publishing articles signed by a person who was supposed to have “insulted Ireland”. The loss was slight, but it was the first clear hint of a lack of impartiality—and a lack of moral courage.

A short time later printers in Dublin refused to print material I wrote: later again, invited by students of Trinity College to speak in Dublin, an attempt was made to have the meeting held *in camera*. And then, in 1965, a clumsy attempt was made to prevent me coming to report on the Dublin Festival. This last, largely amateur, attempt was inspired by the supposition that I was not in favour with the establishment.

The extent to which this showed a loss of proportion becomes clear when we remember that not only were these articles not “anti-clerical” but gave public and even international recognition to the work of the liberal clergy in Ireland. The only reason why the material damage accomplished was slight is a bitter one; I was not dependant on Dublin management.

But there is an ironic and reassuring obverse to this picture. While the public was being assured that I was “out of touch” with Dublin Journalism I continued to draw a salary as a working correspondent of a Dublin newspaper—not the *Irish Times*. Since my name did not appear, this was not generally known. My fate was in the hands of the Editor and the staff of the paper. The tacit agreement was a normal, civilised one: what I did, outside my duties to the newspaper, was my own business. And I never experienced either pressure or reproach from the staff.

And that is the level that the younger generation can hope to succeed on: a level of personal tolerance. Repression reaches its greatest extremes impersonally—when those already exalted by a confused self-righteousness and a monumental self-importance operate by invoking an institution—such as the Church—of which they are only the servants, not the masters.

Repression is at its most virulent when it operates impersonally on someone dependent on institutions within the country. Now we come to institutions which submit humbly to a minority. Repression in Ireland is the work of a minority.

There is no pathetic picture to be drawn of John McGahern, a resourceful intelligent adult who adjusted easily to the community which valued him: an English community. It is we in Ireland who are pathetic.

In 1964 John McGahern, winner of the National Macauley Fellowship and an established young author, was a respected figure in Irish life. A few months later,

following a series of hysterical repressive actions, his book was seized by the Customs before even the Censors got near it. John McGahern was deprived, without warning or compensation, of his right of earning as a National school teacher. A School Manager, acting on instructions, put him in the position of having to leave the country. This in spite of the fact that “The Dark” is not banned by the Catholic Church.

The Constitution guarantees every employe the right of notice before dismissal, or compensation in lieu of notice: John McGahern was granted neither. His dismissal was not even granted the courtesy of a written explanation. The officials of the Irish National Teachers Organisation who, in October, verbally assured Mr. McGahern that if he was indeed fired they would offer him the formal guarantee of a salary until he found another teaching job withdrew this offer after an interview, some time later, with the School Manager.

Before the confused forces of hysterical oppression and operating in blind obedience, a School Manager, normally a kind man, acted almost unconsciously without any human consideration. There was a suggestion of a serene and simple minded conviction that the deprived person would naturally accept that he no longer had any rights. (“Mr. McGahern went away perfectly satisfied.”—School Manager, *IRISH TIMES*, Feb. 2nd.)

The Dublin newspapers—including the *INDEPENDENT*—who had all, a few months before, defended “The Dark”, now “hesitated” when faced with the possibility of an open confrontation with a minority who confused taste with morals, and whose actions generally betray a preoccupation with keeping up an appearance of morality rather than intelligent concern with complex moral problems.

Since the newspapers were reluctant to examine the case too closely, the public was not informed of the McGahern affair until, four months after he was first prevented from teaching, John McGahern and I sent a detailed description of the affair from abroad to all the Dublin newspapers and some magazines. Even then some newspapers suppressed most of the vital details which accounts for a relatively lame public reaction.

Senator Sheehy Skeffington was the only figure who took responsible action. He brought the matter to the attention of the Senate, and in so doing revealed a fantastic situation.

He was told that the Minister for Education had “no responsibility” in the affair. (It is logically impossible that a Minister for Education does not have a moral responsibility in a case involving a school teacher.)

The Senate, pressed by Senator Sheehy Skeffington, had to admit that the Minister has “no power, no responsibility, no capacity to see that this man

is not deprived of his right to earn his living in Ireland”.—Senate, Feb. 9th.

Every progressive young National school teacher in Ireland is now warned that his fate is in the unreliable hands of a local School Manager—even an incompetent School Manager—and that, in these cases, the local Manager has more power than a Minister for Education.

An immediate and practical assurance that the Department is willing to be concerned about the security of its teachers would be given if John McGahern were—at least nominally—reinstated until the circumstances of his dismissal are investigated. But since even the Union has abandoned responsibility the only manner in which this situation can be rectified is through persistent protest from the teachers themselves supported by the Press and the public.

A press campaign in 1964 brought the standard of film censorship in Ireland almost up to adult levels in a very short time. Dublin journalists, in spite of working under conditions which would discourage the most spirited, have shown an ever increasing willingness to reveal and describe social abuse. But they come up against intolerable difficulties when it comes to the fundamental test: publicly placing responsibility.

Public opinion itself is still sluggish because it is not sufficiently informed. The general public rarely have the chance to realise the extent, and the implications, of simple repressive action. And they are discouraged from protest by simple devices.

The most common device is that the public is made to feel that anyone who takes part in social protest is “eccentric”. Although these deep rooted and complex social problems will only be resolved by consistent and insistent campaigning, people are persuaded that those who do insist are “obsessed”.

The moral courage of the inexperienced falters at the thought of “insulting Ireland” whereas it is insulting and ungrateful not to be interested in the problems of your country.

There is only one way to combat such attempts to silence you. Ignore them.

People are overwhelmed at what seems the problem of changing the face of the Nation. But the change, in the attitude of some of the people, has taken place. A school boy writing from Castleknock early in 1964 already knew that. So did most of his classmates who debated the subject.

Nor is the problem one of having to change our character. While we have an impressive talent for being unpleasant in the most efficient ways—being personal—we are also a spontaneously warm people, too impulsive to be rigidly intolerant: inflexible disapproval does not suit us.

The problem is neither changing the face nor the character of Ireland. It is the problem of a community with a population as small as Chicago coming to the surface—past the obstacles set up by an oppressive minority.

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## LIBERATION



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### ROY JOHNSTON

DOUBLE MOD, MATHS/PHYSICS 1951; ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE 1951-3; DUBLIN INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDIES 1953-60; Ph.D. DUBLIN 1955; HAS SINCE WORKED IN INDUSTRIAL AUTOMATION IN ENGLAND AND NOW WORKS IN OPERATIONAL RESEARCH. SEE NATIONAL QUESTION AS "ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES PROBLEM." MAIN QUESTION: WHO DECIDES AND IN WHOSE INTEREST? VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE DUBLIN WOLFE TONE SOCIETY. MARRIED, HAS THREE CHILDREN.

# AHEAD

The views expressed here are personal and candid. The Wolfe Tone Society, with which I am associated, has established itself as a means of working out new approaches to the question of national unity and independence. By refraining from didacticism and stressing practical objectives it has succeeded in helping the learning process which the Republican Movement is undergoing at present.

No one movement, programme, or philosophy has all the answers. What follows is an attempt to point the way to how to build a national liberation movement of a new type, making use of elements already in existence and drawing on historical experience.

Firstly, why "national liberation"? Are we not free? The short answer is that until we can control the eco-

nomical forces we are still in chains. If between ourselves and a major imperialist power there is free movement of capital, labour and goods, we, as a nation, are not in control of the economic forces. We will be economically free as a nation when we can control in the national interest the re-investment of the national economic surplus, having regard to the short-term and long-term needs of the common people. This we are not doing now: instead our rulers are auctioning off our assets and passing control more and more to London boardrooms. When the rate of sell-out declines, as it is doing now despite the best efforts of the Government, we get a "balance of payments crisis."

To assume control on a 26-county basis would be difficult. On a 32-county basis from the economic point of view it would be easier: the necessary control over movement of capital could be obtained without the need for partitioning the banking system and watching a long land-frontier. The unity of the country is therefore a vital and necessary step towards independence.

The main features of the 32-county Republic have been sketched tentatively in a document drafted by a sub-committee set up by the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle which included some Wolfe Tone Society members. The draft was an expansion of points submitted by the Ard-Comhairle. This has not yet been published in full, as it is still under discussion. However, the main features of it have been accepted and the problem is one of presentation and integration into an immediate practical programme.

If a label is needed, I prefer to use "Connolly social-republicanism." The term socialist has been debased in European usage, being so imprecise as to be virtually meaningless. The Connolly approach is precise, well worked out; it lacks the negative elements (overtones of alien interference, lack of democratic tradition) which have bedevilled European Marxism. There is no need for us to go abroad for our revolutionary theory. Ireland is the classical underdeveloped country: our experience as a nation could hardly be richer. Let us lean on it, evaluate it critically, compare with the experience of other nations and draw our own conclusions.

Having affixed the label, let us examine the bottle. At this distance from the goal it would be absurd to be too detailed (e.g. raise the old-age pensions to £5-12-6, etc.) but we can discuss certain well-defined features:

(1) All major national assets owned within the nation. This implies nationalisation of at least some foreign-owned enterprises. We have enough external assets to spare to pay fair compensation. Any foreign-owned enterprise which worked in with the national goals, contributed to the national level of technology and had a progressive policy with regard to employment of Irish staff would be favourably treated.

(2) The maximum democracy in economics. This means the development of co-operative ownership of small and medium enterprises and the participation of the workers in the control of large state-owned industries, possibly via their unions. Many small private firms would survive, strengthened by co-operative marketing and purchasing organisations. The line of demarcation between private and state would depend on the degree of involve-

ment with foreign capital. A firm which had "sold out" would be nationalised, an independent one would not.

(3) Instead of one large firm dominating an industry and forcing the closure of smaller competitors, giving rise to concentration of industry and population, the rule of the game would be for the dominant (state) firm to bring the smaller firms co-operatively under its umbrella (common research and development labs., rationalisation of transport, etc.) and by intelligent direction of investment and specialisation to make an integrated industrial complex spread out in space. Concentration only pays under capitalism, where the taxpayer and the worker foot the re-housing bill. Thus it would probably turn out to be sound economics to put an absolute stop to the expansion of Dublin if the social costs of abandoning houses in the West and building new ones in Dublin were counted.

(4) Development of the Belfast engineering industry in such a way as to supply the plant for industrialising the whole country. Specialise towards agricultural needs: food processing and fertiliser production involve advanced engineering and sophisticated control equipment. This is likely to be an expanding export field also.

(5) Banking and insurance would be nationalised or co-operative. State finance would be based on progressive taxation; incomes would be egalitarian but not to the extent of destroying incentive.

(6) Volume of credit, interest rate, etc., would be used as planning instruments. Credit would be allowed to expand for as long as resources remained underutilised. Trade and movement of capital would be subject to control. The currency would be independent and would be related to sterling in such a way as to equalise the balance of payments, with an annual adjustment based on the previous years trade figures. An initial devaluation would make exports highly competitive and imports dear, thus encouraging the maximum production of manufactured goods at home. (The present crippling connection between volume of credit and balance of payments is the way in which rigid sterling parity exercises its adverse effect. There are conflicting signals: "unemployed resources" suggest to expand credit; "balance of payments" imposes a contraction. Domination of decision-making by pure financial interests wins).

(7) Given full employment and an expanding economy, a generous social service system in the interests of the common people presents no problem. We could certainly afford to improve on the British standard if we had the proper ratio of the age-groups at home and at work, instead of nearly all children and old people.

(8) In agriculture the land would be individually owned but co-operative marketing, purchasing and some co-operative productive enterprises would exist. There would be a maximum farm size. Some experimental estates might be run as fully co-operative enterprises, possibly by returned emigrant farmers' sons, experimentally. Agriculture does not lend itself to industrialisation easily, as countries which have tried to force the pace have found to their cost.

(9) Education would be free up to 16 or 17; university entrance would be on merit alone. Education would receive priority over (for example) road widening. (All the conventional priorities would be looked at hard).

(10) The national language would be widely and increasingly spoken, and would support a flourishing literature. There would be generous subsidies for the arts. (The idea of a national language is neither obscurantist nor fanatical. Trinity radicals spoil their potential support in the nation at large by opposing it. An increasing num-

ber of Dublin intellectuals of the highest calibre are fluent in it. Cliche-ridden Civil Service Irish is on its way out. When the language is widespread and English has to be learned, we will become good linguists and learn French and German too, as do the minor European language speakers. There is no one more insulated from other people's ideas than the monoglot English speaker; this is visible wherever you find them. The sooner we leave that club the better).

(11) Irish science and technology would be put on the map; a sensible balance being struck between pure and applied science and industrial development works. (At the moment there are isolated enclaves in tenuous contact with laboratories abroad, with great gulfs between them. Research where it occurs has to surmount unbelievable obstacles. This is worth a series of articles on its own).

So much for the 32-county Utopia. This is easy to do: pen and ink are cheap, ideas even cheaper. How do we translate them into reality?

In brief: the approach now developing is classical Wolfe Tone: to organise the people whose interests are actively being damaged by the existing economic, political and social set-up to fight for short-term objectives, and to proceed step by step, overcoming each new obstacle as it is revealed.

This represents a return to classical republicanism and a departure from the more recent tradition of "shoot first and explain afterwards." The Government, whose auctioneering work on the national assets in the long run is likely to be endangered by this trend, is acutely aware of this and is actively engaged in trying to force the movement into the Forties' mould, aided by "physical-force" splinter groups; no doubt under the leadership of agent-provocateurs, and to sow dissention by leaks to a national daily suggesting that "Communist infiltration" is going on. This same daily on a famous occasion called for Connolly's execution. This in the 1916 Jubilee Year. Further comment is superfluous.

It is now widely understood in the movement that the surest recipe for the Fianna Fail/Clann na Poblacht process is for the gunman to go straight into politics without clear social objectives. Fear of this process is the basis for the traditional instinctive Sinn Fein attitude to Leinster House.

The new element now coming into existence is a "mass movement" for immediate goals all of which are demonstrably the results of the domination of the country by the foreign monopolies.

On March 22nd last I attended a meeting in Galway which was addressed by two fishermen, a farmer, and was chaired by an industrial worker from Galway city. Professor Ó Nuallain of U.C.G. spoke; I said a few words myself. There was not a single traditional politician present, nor was a single political debating point scored. The demand was simple: they want the right to fish Galway Bay for salmon. This they are prevented from doing by a regulation of the London company which owns the Corrib river. They want all river fishing rights to be nationalised and handed over to local-based co-operatives, the profits to be used for local development work. The National Waters Restoration League is spreading rapidly to all areas restricted by the ascendancy fishing regulations. In this and its like I see the seeds of the future. Perhaps I am over-optimistic: but what I find most encouraging is the tendency for at least some intellectuals to emerge from their academic shells and to associate themselves with the demands of the ordinary people and to help formulate them.

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