

- 3 Letter from the Secretary for Ireland to his Grace the Duke of Leinster on the formation of a Board of Education, 1837 (485) ix 585, in Hyland and Milne (1987), p.100.
- 4 See Deirdre Raftery and Martina Reihlan, 'Faith and nationhood: church, state and the provision of schooling in Ireland, 1870-1930' in Laurence Brockliss and Nicola Sheldon (eds), *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, 1870-1930* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2012).
- 5 See for example J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education, 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), and Deirdre Raftery, 'Colonizing the Mind: The Use of English Writers in the Education of the Irish Poor, c.1750-1850', in Mary Hilton and Jill Sheftin (eds), *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices* (UK and USA: Ashgate, 2009).
- 6 Donald Harman Akenson, *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland, 1922-1960* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).
- 7 See Raftery and Reihlan, 'Faith and Nationhood'.
- 8 John Coolahan, *Irish Education: History and Structure* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981).
- 9 National Archive, Dublin: ED/File No. 22299 Box 495, cited in Raftery and Reihlan, 'Faith and Nationhood'.
- 10 *Notes for Teachers* (Dublin: Department of Education, 1933), p.55.
- 11 See for example Rev. Michael Maher, SJ, cited in E. Brian Tittley, *Church, State and the Control of Schools in Ireland, 1900-1944* (Dublin and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), p. 143.
- 12 Tittley, *Church, State and the Control of Schools*, p.143.
- 13 Tom O'Donoghue, *Come Follow Me and Forsake Temptation* (Berr: Peter Lang, 2004)
- 14 Maurice C. Hime, *The Efficiency of Irish Schools and the Superiority to English Schools, as Places of Education for Irish Boys* (London, 1889).
- 15 *The Irish Catholic*, 1892, cited in Deirdre Raftery, 'Ideological differences in the first formal programmes of education for Irish women', *Proceedings of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education*, (Montreal 1995), p. 7.

## Moulding the Future: Na Fianna Éireann and its Members, 1909-1923<sup>1</sup>

Marnie Hay

The foundation of Na Fianna Éireann in 1909 was an Irish nationalist instance of the proliferation of 'pseudo-military youth groups' that occurred in many western countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These groups were not only part of the cult of discipline, training and manliness that grew out of the menace of the coming war in Europe,<sup>2</sup> but were also a reaction to a widely-perceived *fin-de-siècle* 'decadence'. The British Army's poor performance against a force of South African farmers during the Boer War (1899-1902) had provoked much concern that Britain was in a state of decline. Fearing that they were losing their competitive edge in industrial and military affairs and that their populations were deteriorating both physically and morally, western countries like Britain began 'to look to the health, education and moral welfare of the rising generation'.<sup>3</sup> The establishment of uniformed youth groups was one way of dealing with the perceived problem.

The best-known of these youth groups was the Boy Scout movement founded by Robert Baden-Powell in 1908. A British army officer, Baden-Powell started this movement in response to the interest that boys had shown in his 1899 army training manual *Aids to Scouting*. He was also inspired by the model of the Boys' Brigade, which was launched by businessman William Alexander Smith in 1883 in Glasgow. Smith used military drill and discipline as a way of providing guidance to the boys who attended his Scottish Free Church Sunday School. Smith's example also inspired the formation of the Church Lads' Brigade for Anglicans and the Jewish Lads' Brigade. Baden-Powell, in contrast, put less *overt* emphasis on militarism. Instead he focused on outdoor activities and personal development in order to counter what he saw as the moral and physical decline of the upcoming

generation.<sup>4</sup> Whether his main concern prior to 1920 was training future citizens or soldiers has sparked much debate.<sup>5</sup>

Irish nationalists viewed British uniformed youth groups as a threat that could be turned into an opportunity. In 1903 Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith condemned the Catholic Boys' Brigades as a recruiting ground for the British Army, but recognised that if 'properly conducted', boys' brigades could be turned into 'a great national force', contributing to 'the intellectual and physical good of the young'.<sup>6</sup>

Griffith saw such potential in the first incarnation of the Fianna, also called Na Fianna Éireann, which was a boys' hurling club founded by republican activist Bulmer Hobson in Belfast in 1902. Among its members was Séamus Robinson,<sup>7</sup> a future member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and a deputy in Dáil Éireann. The excitement surrounding the club's inaugural meeting convinced Hobson that the fledgling organisation was something that could be moulded 'into a strong force to help in the liberation of Ireland'.<sup>8</sup> But due to lack of money and the pressures of Hobson's various cultural and political commitments, the Belfast organisation lapsed before it could live up to this dream.

In 1909, however, Hobson joined Countess Markievicz in re-establishing Na Fianna Éireann in Dublin in order to counteract the growing popularity and influence of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout movement in Ireland. In the British context the establishment of uniformed youth groups revealed an underlying adult view of youth as a problem which required a solution. Such youth groups were often designed to keep working-class boys off the streets and provide them with a pastime that promoted middle-class values of order and discipline.<sup>9</sup> Markievicz, however, was less interested in keeping Irish boys off the streets than in keeping them out of the meeting halls of the Boys' Brigade and the Boy Scouts. She and Hobson appear to have harboured a more positive underlying view of youth than their British counterparts, seeing the boys as a potential resource for the Irish nationalist movement. The Fianna was designed to provide its members with the military training and nationalist nurturing to enable them to play an important role in the struggle for Irish independence. Thus, the second incarnation of the Fianna served not only as a focus for the spare time and energy of nationalist youth, offering members a combination of military training, outdoor pursuits and cultural activities, but also as a recruiting ground for the future soldiers of the Irish revolution.

Na Fianna Éireann initially purported to be a national organisation open to all Irish boys between the ages of eight and eighteen, no matter 'what class, creed, or party that they or their fathers belong[ed] to'.<sup>10</sup> However, there was a gap between who was welcome to join the Fianna and who actually joined. Issues of gender, age, class, creed and political affiliation had varying degrees of impact on the Fianna's membership over time.

Members were encouraged to join the Fianna by schoolmasters, family members, friends, and notices in nationalist newspapers. Eamon Martin attended the first public meeting of the Fianna at the urging of his former schoolmaster William O'Neill of St Andrew's National School on what is now Pearse Street in Dublin.<sup>11</sup> Markievicz had contacted O'Neill about her plans to start a nationalist youth group, asking him to recommend suitable boys, which he duly did.<sup>12</sup> After Liam Mellows joined the Fianna in 1911, he also brought his brothers Barney and Fred into the organisation. Garry Holohan was recruited by his friend Joe Connolly who belonged to the first 'Irish-Ireland family' that Holohan had ever met.<sup>13</sup> Séamus MacCaisín attended the inaugural meeting after he spotted an announcement about the event in the Gaelic League newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis*.<sup>14</sup> Other potential recruits may have been intrigued by the flag-wielding Fianna boy who stood outside the organisation's main hall at 34 Lower Camden Street in Dublin, ready to answer queries about the organisation and to direct boys inside.<sup>15</sup>

Although the organisation was officially for boys, some girls joined in certain parts of the country for limited periods of time. Prior to 1916, there was a girls' *sluaigh* (troop) in Belfast, in which 1916 insurrectionist James Connolly's daughters Nora and Ina played an active role. The question of whether to admit girls nationally was a source of controversy and a 1912 *ard-fhéis* decision to establish girls' troops was quickly reversed.<sup>16</sup> Girls remained involved even if they had no official representation at the national level. For instance, between 1916 and 1918 girls under the age of eighteen joined in Waterford, but in early 1918 Fianna headquarters in Dublin informed the girls that they should join the Clan na Gael Girl Guides instead.<sup>17</sup> Established in Dublin in 1910 under the patronage of the Hibernian Rifles, this group catered for girls between the ages of eight and sixteen years.<sup>18</sup>

Members of the Fianna tended to be products of families with nationalist sentiments of various degrees. Aine Ceannt, wife of 1916 insurrectionist Eamon,

recalled that 'only the most extreme families had enrolled their sons in the Fianna'.<sup>19</sup> The youth group may have attracted members from a wider nationalist spectrum after the establishment of the Irish Volunteers (later known as the IRA) in November 1913 because many sons of Volunteers joined.<sup>20</sup> Prior to the Volunteer split in September 1914 between those who supported or opposed Irish Parliamentary Party leader John Redmond's call to fight in the First World War, the Irish Volunteers had included home rulers as well as republicans and Sinn Féiners. Of the thirty-seven former Fianna members born between 1888 and 1912 whose achievements merited their inclusion in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (*DIB*), seven definitely came from Fenian or republican families and three had fathers who supported home rule. Occasionally, however, boys joined the Fianna despite parental opposition. For instance, Austin Hogan's father, a Royal Irish Constabulary pensioner, disapproved of republicanism.<sup>21</sup>

Unlike other youth groups of the period, religion played no official part in the Fianna, probably because its Protestant founders not only recognised how politically divisive religion was in Ireland but also did not want Catholic parents to fear proselytism. As nationalism tended to be associated with Catholicism, the majority of Fianna members came from Catholic families, but nationalists of other religions also joined. Of the *DIB* sample, three were Protestant (Archie Heron and George and James Plant) and one was Jewish (Robert Briscoe).

A family commitment to nationalism was often reinforced by the schools and clubs that Fianna boys attended. Seventeen members of the *DIB* sample group attended Christian Brothers' schools, while three others went to St Enda's School set up by Patrick Pearse.<sup>22</sup> These schools were notable for their emphasis on providing an overtly Irish education for students, particularly through the teaching of history, geography and the Irish language. Many Fianna members were also involved with cultural nationalist organisations such as the Gaelic League and hurling clubs.<sup>23</sup>

Some members of the Fianna had already left school. For example, Con Colbert and Seán Heuston were employed as clerks at Kennedy's Bakery and the Great Southern and Western Railway Company respectively while Patrick O'Daly worked as a carpenter.<sup>24</sup> This is not surprising given that in 1911 almost nineteen percent of the total workforce in the United Kingdom consisted of those aged between ten and twenty.<sup>25</sup>

Members mainly came from working- and middle-class backgrounds. Among the members' fathers were labour leader James Connolly, journalist W.P. Ryan, university professor Eoin MacNeill, and Harold's Cross builder George Walsh, who, like MacNeill, was a member of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers.<sup>26</sup> Atypically, the fathers of Alfie White and Patrick O'Daly were members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police.<sup>27</sup>

Another unusual case was that of the Mellows brothers, whose father and paternal grandfather were soldiers in the British Army. Despite being educated at military schools, Liam Mellows' disappointed his father's wish that he join the [British] army' and instead became a clerk.<sup>28</sup> Any military impulses fostered by his upbringing were directed toward Irish paramilitary organisations.

Although the official age limit for Fianna membership was eighteen, some of the officers remained in the organisation until their early twenties. For example, the Fianna members who attacked the Magazine Fort in Phoenix Park at the beginning of the Easter Rising fell into the 18-21 age range.<sup>29</sup> Once the Irish Volunteers were established in 1913, members who had reached the age of eighteen and for whom there was no officer position available were asked to transfer to the adult paramilitary organisation.<sup>30</sup>

There was also some overlap between the two groups, with some older members getting involved in both the Fianna and the Volunteers. For instance, Patrick O'Daly was already a member of the Volunteers when he moved to Tuam. There he found that the local Fianna *siuagh* was more actively engaged in military training than the Volunteers, so he joined the youth group and remained a member when he returned to Dublin.<sup>31</sup> Overlapping membership was also the case in Belfast where Fianna member Nora Connolly helped to establish Cumann na mBan, the women's counterpart to the Volunteers. Due to their military training, senior members of the Fianna were also called into service to train members of the Volunteers and Cumann na mBan.<sup>32</sup>

The Fianna appear to have viewed only adolescent males as suitable for active military service. During the Howth gun-running in July 1914, only boys over twelve were mobilised.<sup>33</sup> While the adolescent boys were helping to unload the Asgard's cargo, filling their trek-cart with ammunition and taking it back to Dublin, Markiewicz was supervising a camp attended by the Connolly girls and the younger boys. Ina Connolly was angry and disappointed that the girls were excluded,

recalling that 'It really looked as if we were not trusted ... Had I been a boy I would not have been overlooked.'<sup>34</sup> The Connolly sisters later smuggled guns to Belfast.<sup>35</sup> Although efforts were made to keep younger boys out of action during the 1916 rebellion by organising a camp for the Easter weekend, many former and current members of the Fianna participated in the rising as commanders, fighters, dispatch carriers and scouts. Seven were killed in action.<sup>36</sup> As a result of the rising's 'propaganda of deed' and Irish abhorrence of the execution of the rebellion's leaders, the Fianna is reputed to have attracted an all-time high of over 30,000 members by June 1917.<sup>37</sup> Not all of these members would have been militarily active, however.

By 1922 only boys aged between twelve and eighteen were eligible for membership.<sup>38</sup> The limitations in age and gender probably reflected the increasingly militant activities of the Fianna during the War of Independence (1919-21). Over time the youth group had not only become a training and recruiting ground for future members of the Irish Volunteers / IRA, but had also undertaken military operations of its own. Recognition of the potentially dangerous consequences of overlapping arms raids by the two organisations, which had occurred in the autumn of 1920, resulted in negotiations between the Dáil Ministry of Defence and Fianna headquarters. A formal link between the Fianna and the IRA was forged in early 1921 to facilitate cooperation.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the limitation of membership in the Fianna to adolescent males in the later years of the Irish revolution probably reflected the expectation that Fianna members could or would be combatants.

As an organisation, the Fianna opposed the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty and supported the anti-Treaty side during the Irish Civil War (1922-23). Individual members who were pro-Treaty appear to have quietly left the organisation, some to join the Irish Free State Army. Of the *DIB* sample, twenty are listed as anti-Treaty and six as pro-Treaty.<sup>40</sup>

The willingness of Fianna members to participate in the Irish revolution can be linked to the philosophy promoted by the organisation. Inherent in its foundation was the recognition that youth were the future of the Irish nationalist movement. Therefore, the organisation was designed to provide young people with the education and training necessary to enable them to assume their place within that movement. The Fianna undertook this task through regular activities, such as weekly meetings, route marches and camping trips, and through print propaganda

published in the 1914 *Fianna Handbook* and in articles in advanced nationalist newspapers.<sup>41</sup>

To move up within the ranks of the Fianna (at least during 'peace time'), members had to pass tests on Irish language and history, as well as on military drill, first aid and other skills necessary for scouting and camping.<sup>42</sup> The Fianna used lectures, newspaper articles, and chapters in its handbook to educate its members about Irish history (from an Irish nationalist perspective) and folklore in order to teach them about their own unique heritage, to familiarise them with the nationalist vision of Ireland's long struggle against British rule, and to introduce them to Irish heroes worthy of emulation. Practical instruction on topics such as signalling, map reading, topography, military strategy, handling weapons and first aid was provided at weekly meetings, on camping trips, and in the handbook and newspaper articles. Members also learned how to govern themselves by being responsible for the running of the organisation, preparing them for citizenship, and possibly even leadership, in an independent Ireland. To this end, the *Fianna Handbook* outlined the policy, organisational structure and constitution of the youth group.<sup>43</sup>

The Fianna also endorsed suitable role models for Irish boys, promoting an idealised image of Irish nationalist youth that emphasised the importance of patriotism and morality. A Fianna member was to learn 'all about his country, its history and language, its resources and industries, and his one aim in life [was] to serve it to the best of his ability'. He should also keep his body and mind 'clean and pure'.<sup>44</sup> Con Colbert 'often lectured boys on how they should keep their bodies. He used to tell them that they should wash their feet as often as they washed their face'.<sup>45</sup> Fianna propaganda also urged members never to 'do anything that would bring discredit upon Ireland or upon the Fianna'.<sup>46</sup>

As part of this idealised image of nationalist youth, members were to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice to attain Irish independence. In the *Fianna Handbook*, Markievicz predicted that members of the Fianna would not 'flinch' if the 'path to freedom' led to their death, as it had for Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet.<sup>47</sup> Those members who died as a result of their involvement in the Easter Rising, the War of Independence, and the Civil War were not only praised in post-1916 Fianna propaganda, but promoted as worthy role models for future generations.<sup>48</sup> For instance, a 1922 Easter Week commemoration souvenir programme declared that Fianna officers Seán Heuston and Con Colbert, who

were executed for their roles in the rising, 'met their deaths, happy that it was for Ireland, sure of the heaven that awaited them. In boyish simplicity and purity, and with manly courage, they faced the firing squad'.<sup>49</sup> Fianna propaganda continued to glorify martyrs to the cause, with a Fianna Roll of Honour listing the names of 54 members 'who gave their lives for Ireland's freedom' between 1915 and 1981.<sup>50</sup>

Membership of the Fianna also enabled young people to become part of a nationalist network of like-minded individuals. In the early years, older members were often recruited into the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), a secret society committed to the establishment of an Irish republic through physical force if necessary. The Fianna's increasingly militant stance during the 1910s coincided with the recruitment of selected senior members into the IRB when they had reached the age of seventeen. Eamon Martin claimed that by 1913 practically every senior Fianna officer throughout the country had become a member of the IRB. The annual Fianna *ard-theis* often served to endorse decisions already made at meetings of the Fianna circle of the IRB held the night before.<sup>51</sup>

An alternative network revolved around Markiewicz, who disapproved of secret societies like the IRB.<sup>52</sup> A small group of Fianna members, who regularly gathered at her home on Leinster Road in Rathmines in Dublin, became known as 'Madam's Boys' or 'the Surrey House clique'. One member of this group, Seamus Pounch, who chose not to join the IRB on conscientious grounds, was no less militaristic than his Fianna colleagues who belonged to the secret society. He served at Jacob's Biscuit Factory during the rising, later recalling that after the surrender 'I dumped my gun with the rest and it was the saddest parting I can remember'.<sup>53</sup>

Through its education and training initiatives, print propaganda and social network, the Fianna sought to create a future army of liberation for Ireland. The adolescent male members of the Fianna were expected to be physically and mentally fit to fight for – even die for – Irish independence. They were exposed to a philosophy that valued and promoted Irish (as opposed to British) culture, military preparation, a separatist brand of nationalism, and a willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice for one's country. In many ways Seán Heuston exemplified this philosophy with the following words: 'Whatever I have done as a soldier of Ireland is what I believe to be my country's best interest. I have, thank God, no vain regrets'.<sup>54</sup> Heuston was not alone in heeding the call to arms. Among the thirty-seven ex-Fianna members in the *DIB* sample, twenty-seven are listed as joining the Irish Volunteers / IRA and two Cumann na mBan.<sup>55</sup>

Many former Fianna members who joined during the years of the Irish revolution went on to notable careers after independence. Of the *DIB* sample, nine became deputies in Dáil Éireann: two for Sinn Féin, six for Fianna Fáil, and one for the Labour Party.<sup>56</sup> Fianna Failers Thomas Derrig and John Ormonde even held cabinet portfolios.<sup>57</sup> Four of the sample became senators.<sup>58</sup> Seven were active in the labour movement, including Nora Connolly O'Brien.<sup>59</sup> Four joined the Irish Free State Army or the Defence Forces. For instance, Michael Brennan served as Army Chief of Staff between 1931 and 1940 and Hugo McNeill retired as a major-general.<sup>60</sup> In contrast, George Plant remained a member of the IRA and was executed by the state in 1942 for the murder of a fellow IRA associate.<sup>61</sup> Five became journalists, another five became businessmen, and two others were teachers.<sup>62</sup> Dan Dowd and Martin Walton promoted Irish traditional music as musicians and through music-related business activities, while John Joe 'Purty' Landers and John Joe Sheehy distinguished themselves as Gaelic footballers. Maurice MacGonigal became a celebrated artist and is buried in Roundstone, Connemara, next to Hobson, who had encouraged him to join the youth group.<sup>63</sup>

Undoubtedly, youth who already harboured advanced nationalist or republican views were attracted to the Fianna. But it would be surprising if involvement in the organisation did not reinforce or intensify these views. The preceding sample suggests that membership in the Fianna and exposure to the philosophy that it promoted helped to generate active participants in the struggle for Irish independence. In the longer term former Fianna members grew up to become political, military and business leaders as well as individuals who were in a position to shape public opinion through their employment in journalism and education. Others contributed to the cultural life of Ireland. As to those other former Fianna members whose achievements did not merit inclusion in the *DIB*, involvement in the Fianna surely influenced their future lives as well.

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## Notes:

- 1 I would like to acknowledge the receipt of funding from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, which made some of the research for this article possible.
- 2 David Fitzpatrick, 'Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge: 1996), pp.382-3.
- 3 Colin Heywood, *A history of childhood* (Cambridge: 2005), pp.29-30.
- 4 Richard A. Smith, 'Robert Baden-Powell' in John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford companion to British history* (Oxford 1997), p. 72; Robert A. Smith, 'Boy Scouts' and 'Boys' Brigade' in *ibid*, p.119; Henry Collis, Fred Hurl and Rex Hazlewood, *B.-P.'s Scouts: An official history of the Boy Scouts Association* (London: 1961), pp.48, 55.
- 5 For example, see Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, ci (1986), pp.376-98; John Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout movement before 1920: citizen training or soldiers of the future?', *ibid*, cii (1987), pp.934-42.
- 6 *United Irishman*, 24 Jan. 1903, p. 1.
- 7 Marie Coleman, 'Robinson, Séamus' in *Dictionary of Irish biography* (Cambridge: 2009), accessed online 8 Feb. 2011.
- 8 Bulmer Hobson, *Ireland yesterday and tomorrow* (Tralee: 1968), p.15.
- 9 John Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960* (Dublin: 1986), pp.27, 64.
- 10 Pádraic Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna handbook* (Dublin: 1914), p.23.
- 11 Eamon Martin, witness statement, undated, National Archives of Ireland (NAI), Bureau of Military History (BMH), WS 591.
- 12 Anne Marreco, *The rebel countess* (London: 1967), p.114; Sean McGarry, witness statement, 15 Apr. 1950, NAI, BMH, WS 368.
- 13 Garry Holohan, witness statement, undated, NAI, BMH, WS 328.
- 14 Seamus MacCaisin, witness statement, 8 June 1947, NAI, BMH, WS 8.
- 15 Seamus Pouch, witness statement, undated, NAI, BMH, WS 267.
- 16 Marnie Hay, 'The foundation and development of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-16', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi (2008), pp.60-1.
- 17 Rosamond Jacob's diary, 10 Oct. 1916, National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS 32,582 (30); Leeann Lane, *Rosamond Jacob: third person singular* (Dublin: 2010), p.123.
- 18 Ann Matthews, *Renegades: Irish republican women, 1900-1922* (Cork: 2010), p.109
- 19 Áine Ceannt, witness statement, undated, NAI, BMH, WS 264.
- 20 Robert Holland, *A short history of Fianna Éireann*, p.19, NLI, MS 35,455/3/12A.
- 21 *DIB*, accessed online on 7-8 Feb. 2011. A search of the online version of the *DIB* generated a list of the following former Fianna members: Seán Brady (1890-1969), Michael Brennan (1896-1986), Robert Briscoe (1894-1969), Basil Clancy (1907-96), Con Colbert (1888-1916), Thomas Derrig (1897-1956), Dan Dowd (1903-89), Joe Groome (c. 1908-77), Stephen Hayes (1902-74), Archie Heron (1894-1971), Ina Connolly Heron (1896-1980), Seán Heuston (1891-1916), Austin Hogan (né Dilloughery) (1906-74), Paddy Holohan (1897-1946), Garry Holohan (1894-1967), John Joe 'Purty' Landers (1907-2001), John McCann (1905-80), Maurice MacGongial (1900-79), Higo McNeill (1900-63), Liam Mellows (1892-1922), Thomas Mullins (1903-78), Nora Connolly O'Brien (1893-1981), Tommy O'Brien (1905-88), Peter O'Connor (1912-99), Patrick O'Daly (1888-1957), John Ormonde (1905-81), Cathal O'Shannon (1890-1969), George Plant (1904-42), James Plant (born circa 1903), Augustus 'Percy' Reynolds (1895-1983), Seamus Robinson (1890-1961), Desmond Ryan (1893-1964), Eugene Sheehan (1903-86), John Joe Sheehy (1897-1980), Joseph Walsh (1905-92), John Walsh, and Martin Walton (1901-81). Please note: 1) some of these individuals do not have *DIB* entries of their own, but are included in a sibling's entry; 2) the entry for Joseph Walsh is unclear as to whether he was indeed a member of the Fianna. As his father promoted the youth group in Waterford and his older brother John was a Fianna captain, his membership is likely. Michael Brennan, Con Colbert, the Connolly sisters, Joe Groome, Peter O'Connor, Seamus Robinson and Martin Walton are listed as coming from families with Fenian / republican sympathies. The fathers of Robert Briscoe and the Walsh brothers were supporters of home rule.
- 22 The following former Fianna members attended Christian Brothers' schools: Seán Brady, Con Colbert, Thomas Derrig, Joe Groome, Stephen

Hayes, Seán Heuston, Austin Hogan, John Joe 'Purty' Landers, John McCann, Maurice MacGonigal, Tommy O'Brien, Peter O'Connor, John Ormonde, Percy Reynolds, Séamus Robinson, Desmond Ryan and John Joe Sheehy. The ex-St Enda's pupils were Hugo McNeill, Thomas Mullins and Desmond Ryan.

<sup>23</sup> Martin, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 591.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Holland, witness statement, 18 July 1949, NAI, BMH, WS 280;

Patrick O'Daly, witness statement, undated, NAI, BMH, WS 220; David Murphy, 'Heuston, Seán (John J.)' in *DIB*, accessed 7 Feb. 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Springhall, *Coming of age*, p.65.

<sup>26</sup> Martin, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 591.

<sup>27</sup> Holland, *A short history*, p. 10; Lawrence William White, 'O'Daly (Daly), Patrick' in *DIB*, accessed on 8 Feb. 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Marie Coleman and William Murphy, 'Mellows, William Joseph ('Liam')' in *DIB*, accessed on 7 Feb. 2011.

<sup>29</sup> O'Daly, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 220.

<sup>30</sup> Martin, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 591; Patrick Ward, witness statement, 30 Mar. 1955, NAI, BMH, WS 1,140.

<sup>31</sup> O'Daly, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 220.

<sup>32</sup> Hay, 'Foundation and development', pp.62-3.

<sup>33</sup> Holland, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 280.

<sup>34</sup> Ina Connolly Heron, witness statement, 25 Jan. 1954, NAI, BMH, WS 919.

<sup>35</sup> Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable revolutionaries: women and Irish nationalism* (London: 1995), pp.105-6.

<sup>36</sup> 'Fianna Roll of Honour' in Holland, *A short history*, p.25.

<sup>37</sup> Pádraig Mac Phloinn, 'The history and tradition of Fianna Éireann' in *Fianna Éireann Handbook* (Dublin: 1988), p.14.

<sup>38</sup> 'HQ Notes and Orders', *Fianna*, June 1922, p.2.

<sup>39</sup> Fianna GHQ Dublin to Fianna officers, Feb. 1921, Military Archives, BMH, Michael Kilmartin Collection, CD 144/1/20; Joseph Reynolds, witness statement, undated, NAI, BMH, WS 191.

<sup>40</sup> The anti-Treatyites were: Seán Brady, Robert Briscoe, Thomas Derrig, Dan Dowd, Joe Groome, Stephen Hayes, the Holohan brothers, John Joe Landers, Liam Mellows, Thomas Mullins, Nora Connolly O'Brien, Peter

O'Connor, John Ormonde, the Plant brothers, Séamus Robinson, Eugene Sheehan, John Joe Sheehy and Martin Walton. The pro-Treatyites were: Michael Brennan, Archie Heron, Hugo McNeill, Patrick O'Daly, Cathal O'Shannon and Desmond Ryan.

<sup>41</sup> See Mamie Hay, 'The propaganda of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-26' in Mary Shine Thompson (ed.), *Young Ireland: studies in children's literature* (Dublin: 2011), pp.47-56.

<sup>42</sup> See Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna handbook*, pp.17-21.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p.14.

<sup>44</sup> Fianna Code of Honour, 1929, NLI, MS 10,910.

<sup>45</sup> Holland, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 280.

<sup>46</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna handbook*, p.14.

<sup>47</sup> Markiewicz, 'Introduction' in *ibid*, p.8.

<sup>48</sup> See *Easter Week 1916-1922 Commemoration Aeritheacht Souvenir Programme, 23 April 1922* (Dublin 1922), and Cathal O'Shannon (ed.), *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of Fianna Éireann, Aug. 16, 1909-Aug. 16, 1959* (Dublin: 1959).

<sup>49</sup> *Easter Week 1916-1922 Commemoration Aeritheacht Souvenir Programme*, p.7.

<sup>50</sup> 'Fianna Roll of Honour' in Holland, *A short history*, pp.25-6.

<sup>51</sup> Martin, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 591; Ward, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 1,140; Holohan, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 328.

<sup>52</sup> Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance de Markiewicz in the cause of Ireland* (Amherst, MA 1967), pp.89-90.

<sup>53</sup> Pouch, witness statement, NAI, BMH, WS 267.

<sup>54</sup> *Easter Week Commemoration Programme, 1932*, p.12, Military Archives, Kathleen Clarke Collection, CD 163/4.

<sup>55</sup> The *DIB* lists the following former Fianna members as having joined the Irish Volunteer / IRA: Seán Brady, Michael Brennan, Robert Briscoe, Con Colbert, Thomas Derrig, Joe Groome, Stephen Hayes, Archie Heron, Seán Heuston, the Holohan brothers, John Joe 'Purty' Landers, Maurice MacGonigal, Hugo McNeill, Liam Mellows, Thomas Mullins, Tommy O'Brien, Peter O'Connor, Patrick O'Daly, Cathal O'Shannon, the Plant

brothers, Séamus Robinson, Desmond Ryan, Eugene Sheehan, John Joe Sheehy and Martin Walton. Nora and Ina Connolly joined Cumann na mBan.

<sup>56</sup> The following former Fianna members became deputies of Dáil Éireann: Seán Brady (Fianna Fáil), Robert Briscoe (Fianna Fáil), Thomas Derrig (Fianna Fáil), Archie Heron (Labour), John McCann (Fianna Fáil), Liam Mellows (Sinn Féin), Thomas Mullins (Fianna Fáil), John Ormonde (Fianna Fáil), Cathal O'Shannon (Labour) and Séamus Robinson (Sinn Féin).

<sup>57</sup> Pauric J. Dempsey, 'Derrig, Thomas (Ó Deirig, Tomás)' and Anne Dolan, 'Ormonde, John Michael' in *DIB*, accessed online 7-8 Feb. 2011. Derrig served in three ministries, Education, Lands, and Posts and Telegraphs, while Ormonde also held the latter portfolio.

<sup>58</sup> The senators were Thomas Mullins, Nora Connolly O'Brien, John Ormonde and Séamus Robinson.

<sup>59</sup> The following are listed as labour activists: Archie Heron, Austin Hogan, Paddy Holohan, Nora Connolly O'Brien, Peter O'Connor, Cathal O'Shannon and Desmond Ryan.

<sup>60</sup> The following served in the Free State Army or the Defence Forces: Michael Brennan, Paddy Holohan, Hugo McNeill and Patrick O'Daly. See James Quinn, 'Brennan, Michael' and Patrick Long, 'McNeill, Hugh Hyacinth ('Hugo')' in *DIB*, accessed on 7-8 Feb. 2011.

<sup>61</sup> See Lawrence William White, 'Plant, George' in *DIB*, accessed on 8 Feb. 2011.

<sup>62</sup> The journalists were Basil Clancy, John McCann, Tommy O'Brien, Cathal O'Shannon, Desmond Ryan and Joseph Walsh. The businessmen were Seán Brady, Robert Briscoe, Joe Groome, Percy Reynolds and Martin Walton. Thomas Derrig and John Ormonde were teachers before entering politics.

<sup>63</sup> Email from Ciaran MacGonigal to Ivar McGrath, 17 Nov. 2009 (email in possession of Marnie Hay).

# John Kelly, Politician and Scholar

**John O'Dowd**

2012 sees the twenty-first anniversary of the death of John Maurice Kelly, Professor of Roman Law and Jurisprudence at University College Dublin and one of the leading Irish political figures of the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>1</sup> With the benefit of the hindsight which the two intervening decades afford, we may appreciate more clearly the importance and present-day relevance of some of his main political ideas and of his work as a scholar.

This is not the occasion for a review of John Kelly's political career.<sup>2</sup> What I propose to focus on here is the most profound political proposal which he advanced - the healing of the division between the 'Civil War' parties and a fundamental re-alignment of Irish politics accordingly. Before proceeding to that, however, one general comment is in order. Throughout his political career, John Kelly leavened his public speeches and statements with remarkable imagination, fine wit and great humour. On occasion, he perhaps ran the risk that, for this reason, his listeners might not appreciate how vehemently he felt about issues which many others would find rather mundane. One excellent example is a speech in the Dáil towards the end of his career, on the subject of the then recently created National Lottery. A few quotations will give a flavour of his argument:

*The worst financial device of the whole lot, something which my own party introduced, is the national lottery. ... The national lottery had exceeded expectations. That is the Government's position on it. I have to say in justice to Deputy Haughey that had there been a Fine Gael Minister there I do not expect he would have acted any differently. I consider it a gross shame that*