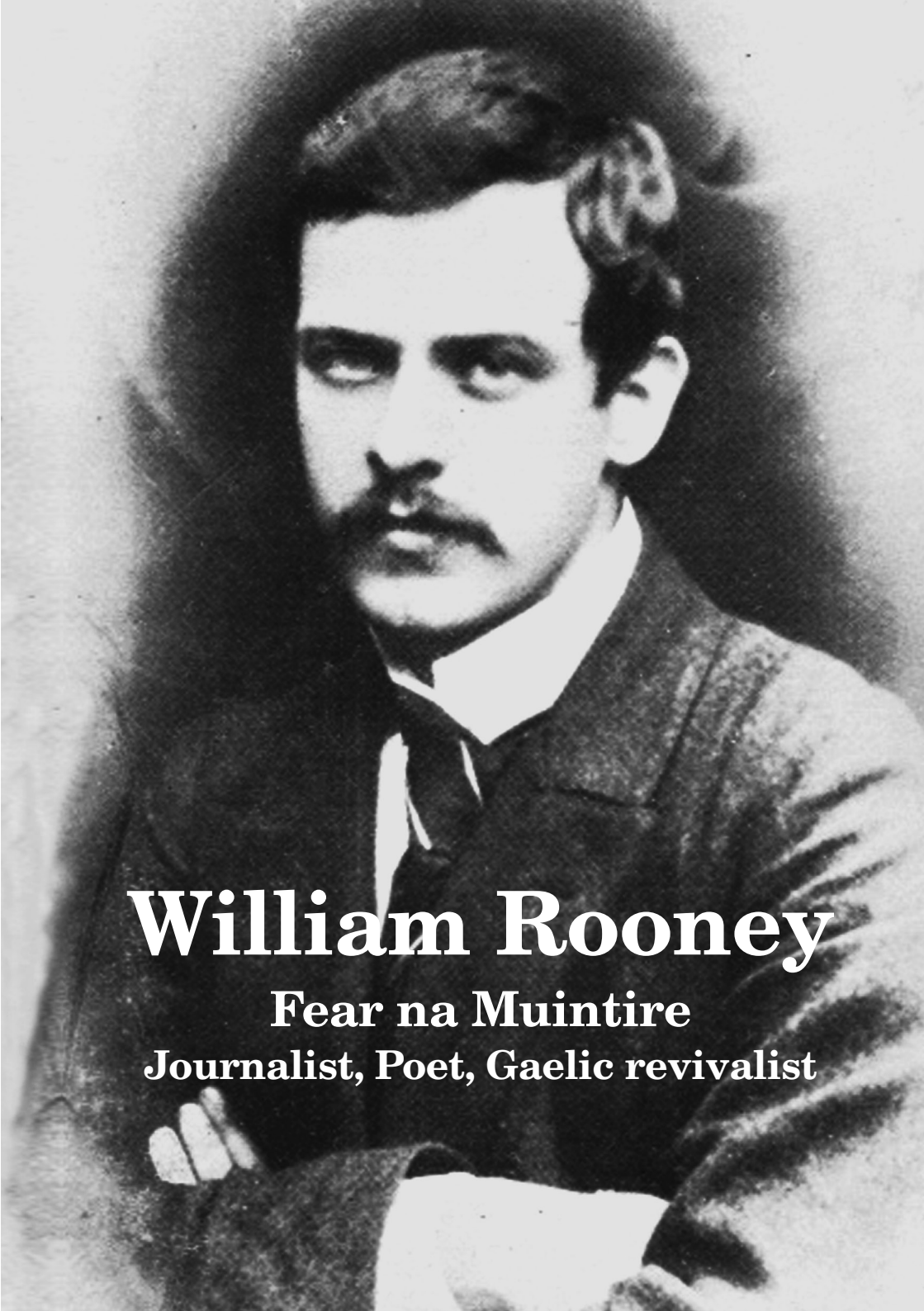
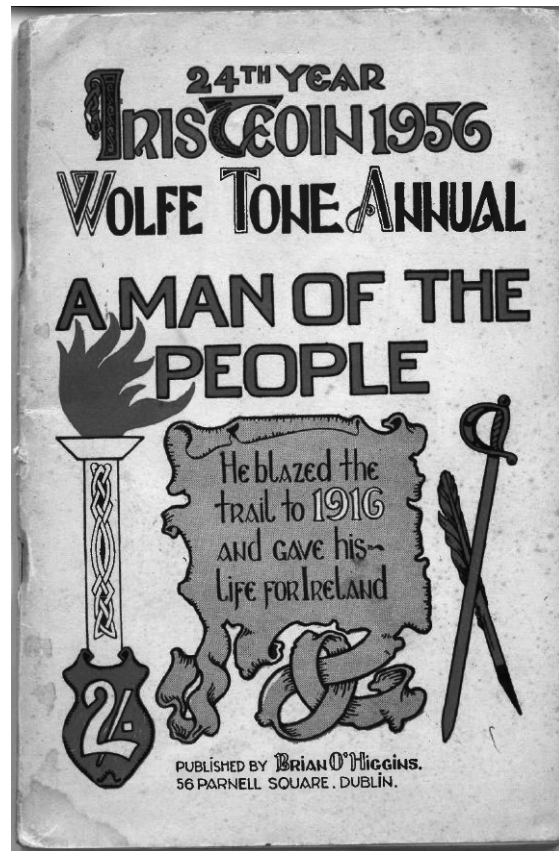




William Rooney

Fear na Muintire

Journalist, Poet, Gaelic revivalist



Wolfe Tone Annual dedicated to
William Rooney 1956

Published for the unveiling of
a memorial plaque at
23 Leinster Avenue,
North Strand
Dublin
on May 10th 2025

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Images courtesy of Rooney and O'Brolchain families
National Library of Ireland, University of Limerick
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William Rooney

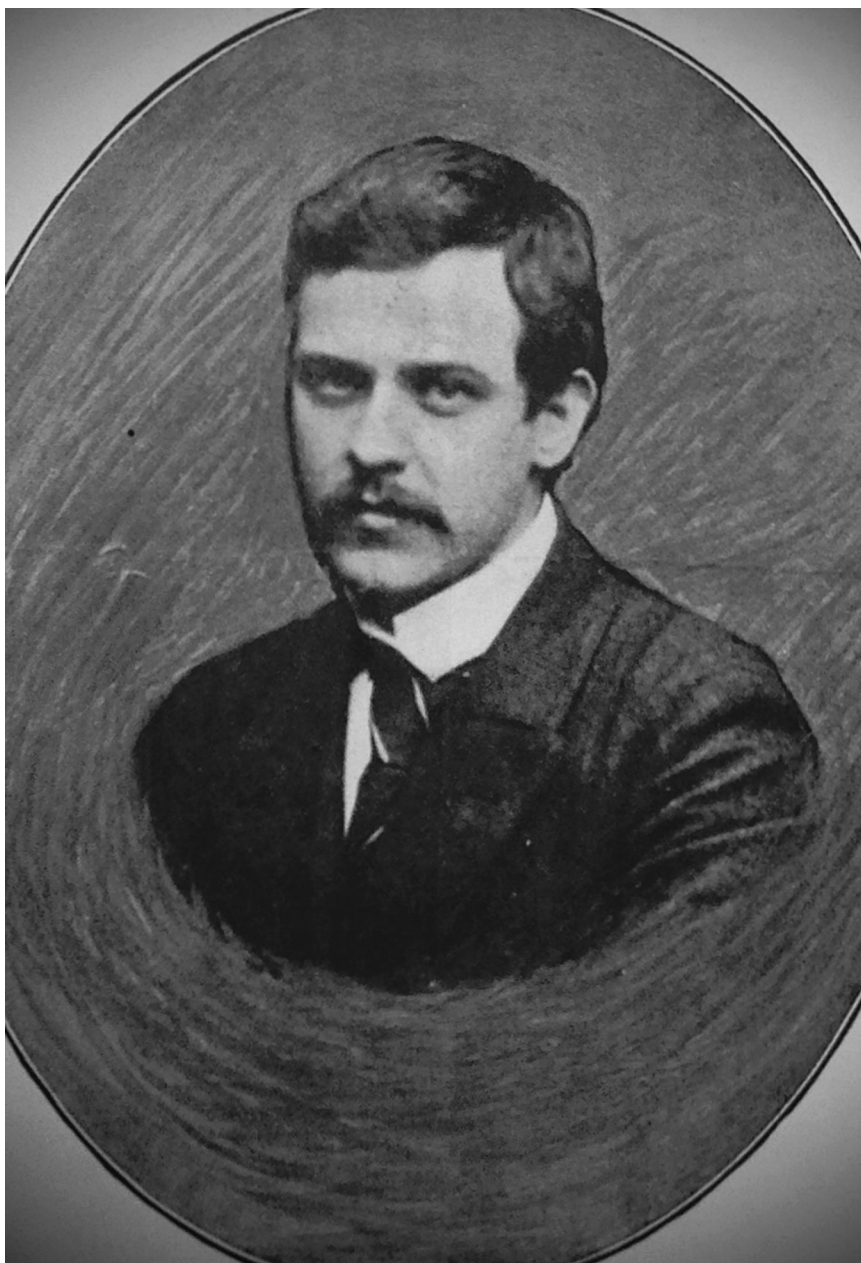
Fear na Muintire
Journalist, Poet, Gaelic revivalist

1873-1901

Liam O'Maolruanaidh,
Iriseoir, File,
Athbheochanóir na Gaeilge

David Connolly

With deepest appreciation to
Gerard Shannon and Terry Fagan



William Rooney 1899

Introduction

Although once widely acknowledged as a very important influence in Irish nationalist and republican organisation and activity, for most of the last century, William Rooney has been generally excluded from the history of the Irish national revival and the subsequent revolutionary period. The aim of this short account is to place the influential ideas and organisational capacity of Rooney and his working-class comrades in the context of the broad and inclusive popular separatist movement in Ireland, from 1885 to 1905. The following narrative will draw on the key historical information available on Rooney, specifically from primary sources, such as the records of the organisations he was involved with, his extensive writings, as well as statements and recollections from prominent individuals, with whom he was associated or influenced.

Immediately after his sudden death in 1901, at the age of twenty-seven, there was wide coverage in Irish and overseas newspapers, emphasising his importance to the revival and his prominence in the separatist movement. Over the following three decades a number of key national leaders identified Rooney as a significant influence, highlighting his political philosophy and extensive writings. In the introduction to Rooney's *Poems and Ballads*, published in 1902, his close friend Arthur Griffith asserted that: "... had he lived, (he) would have become, perhaps, the greatest leader Ireland has known". In a commemorative piece in 1913, entitled 'William Rooney: A Democrat', written for *The Irish Worker*, James Connolly wrote, "... although he subordinated all other causes to the one supreme cause of Irish Independence, he was none the less a democrat in the truest and fullest sense of the word." In 1922, Michael Collins invoked Rooney in an article written in support of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. In the article 'Freedom Within Grasp' Collins wrote, "Rooney spoke as a prophet. He prepared the way and foresaw the victory, and he helped his nation to rise and, by developing its soul, to get ready for victory." As an intriguing counterpoint, in a series of lectures in the 1930s, anti-Treaty republican Brian O'Higgins, 1916 veteran and President of Sinn Féin, dismissed Griffith and declared that Rooney "...was the real founder of Sinn Féin." Maud Gonne in her memoirs reflected on Rooney's tragic loss, whom she personally

knew: “It was a great blow. Rooney was a fine national thinker and a convinced separatist; his influence on the young people of his day was comparable to Thomas Davis in his.”

During his short life, Rooney was recognised by many of his peers as a pivotal figure, and the key influence and inspiration for vital aspects of the cultural revival that emerged in Ireland in the late 1880s. He was primarily a leading activist and organiser in Dublin, from a working-class background, who helped to motivate and shape core elements of the emerging national liberation and anti-colonial struggle, which ultimately lead to the Easter Rising in 1916 and the War of Independence. However, during his short life, Rooney’s involvement in this broad and inclusive popular movement took the form of cultural, literary and peaceful political resistance, rather than armed action.

Rooney and his comrades, in many respects, represented a continuity with the republican ideals and aspirations of their predecessors, particularly John Mitchel and Thomas Davis, who represented the more militant, radical and democratic tendency in the separatist movement. Espousing the progressive philosophy of Davis and the Young Ireland movement and maintaining respect for the later Fenians, which included Rooney’s father and the exiled leaders John O’Leary and James Stephens. O’Leary on his return in 1885, became active in a range of political initiatives, together with Rooney and other young men and women, involved in the separatist movement. In opposition to the dominant Parliamentary tendency, they kept alive the possibility of an Irish Republic, through physical force if necessary.

The activities of Rooney and his associates, in the late 19th century and early 20th century, must be considered as part of an emerging anti-colonial resistance across Ireland, which culminated in the emergence and formation of Sinn Féin as a political party. As borne out in the subsequent revolutionary decade, this broad popular movement would eventually mature as the essential element of a longer-term independence struggle, both in Ireland and abroad, influencing liberation movements in other British colonies.

This new colonial resistance in Ireland proved vital in response to the Berlin Conference of 1885, where the main imperial powers forged an agreement to enable rapid expansion of their empires, particularly in Africa, referred to as ‘the scramble for Africa’. This

expansionary ambition intensified the political imperative in Westminster to ensure stability in Ireland, by proposing the first Home Rule Bill in 1886, which convinced the Irish Parliamentary Party, initially under Parnell and more markedly under John Redmond, to become a more pro-imperial party, aimed at securing Ireland’s future position wholly within the Empire.

The following two decades from 1885 would see a reawakening in Ireland of the sense of separate identity and unique nationality, articulated by Douglas Hyde in his ‘de-anglicising Ireland’ policy and shared by increasing numbers of cultural organisations and creative individuals. Eventually this momentum created the foundation for a new radical political initiative, involving a very broad range of actors, united in their opposition to parliamentary politics in Westminster. This generation of activists believed and argued that Home Rule was primarily a ploy to secure the Empire and retain Ireland as a colony.

Rooney’s early life and activism

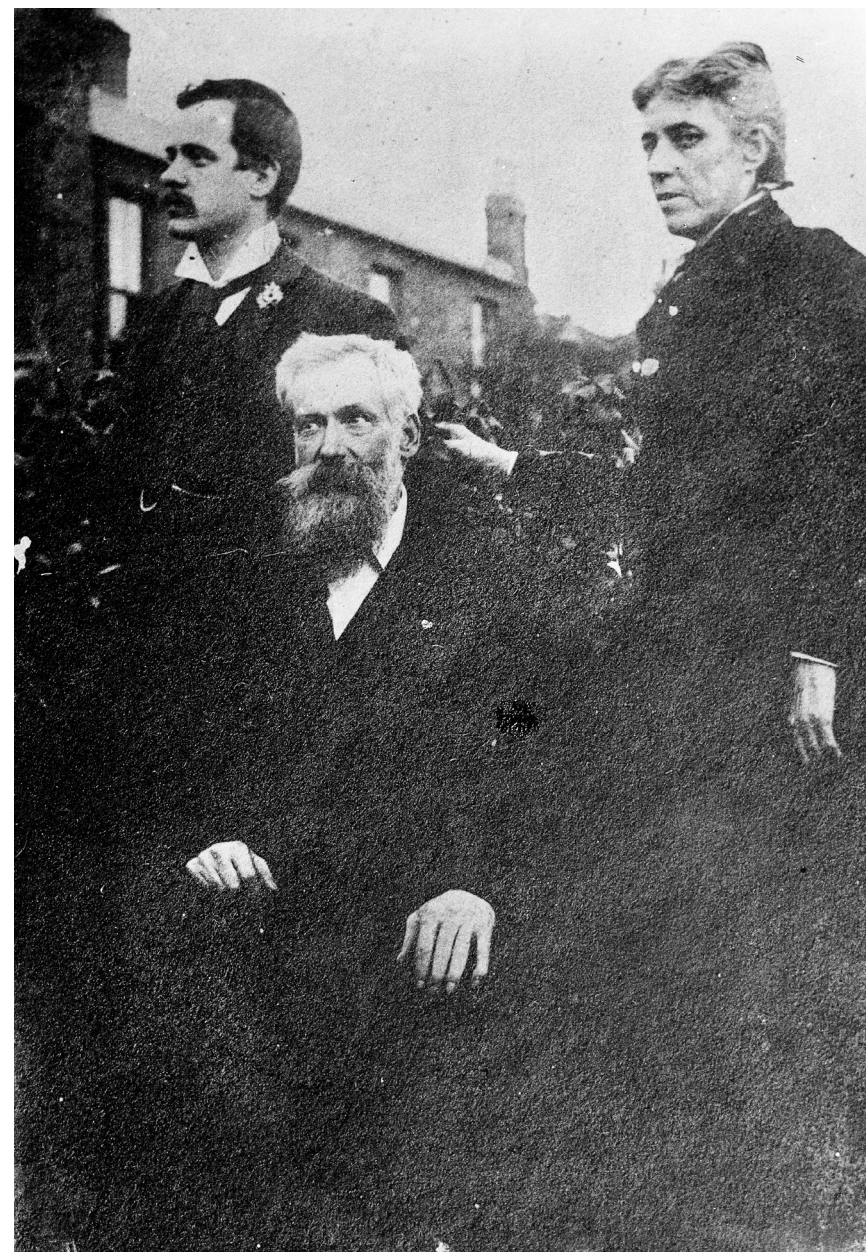
William Rooney was born on 20 October 1873, in a tenement at 39 Mabbot Street, which was adjacent to Montgomery Street, the location of Dublin’s north centre city infamous district, ‘The Monto’. Dublin at the time had a significant concentration of extreme poverty, living in the worst housing conditions in Europe. In 1880, Dublin city had a population of 249,000. Of the 23,000 houses in Dublin, 9,700 were occupied as tenement houses and, of these, 2,300 were officially assessed to be in a condition unsuitable for human habitation. The Rooney family, including seven children, lived in a one-room tenement flat on Mabbot Street, until William was ten years old, when they moved to a tenement in Moore Street and then Jervis Street.

Rooney’s father, who had been active and imprisoned during the Fenian uprising in 1867, worked as a coach builder in Hutton & Co. in Summerhill. For a short period, the Rooneys shared a house nearby with the Griffith family, before renting a house in Leinster Avenue, North Strand. William attended Strand Street National School and left at the age of eleven, in 1885, which was normal for working class children at that time. He was apprenticed as a clerk in a solicitor’s office in Dame Street, where Henry Dixon, a prominent Fenian, also worked. Rooney attended night classes in

O'Connell schools on Richmond Street, where he achieved the Intermediate certificate in 1887, after which he was employed as a railway clerk. He also attended Irish classes and became fluent in the Irish language at that time. While Rooney worked full time, six days a week as a clerk with the Great Western railway, all his free time was taken up by his considerable political activities in the language movement and separatist cause. Rooney was active during a period of great demoralisation and disillusionment among the more radical republicans, while Irish parliamentary 'Home Rule' politics was in the ascendant and very much the political mainstream.

At the age of fourteen he made the acquaintance of the poet, Rose Kennedy, a close friend of John O'Leary's sister, the poet Ellen O'Leary. His earliest political activity, as a teenager, was in establishing the first Dublin branch of the Fireside Club, for working class youth to pursue an interest in Irish history and literature. The leading Fenian of the day, John O'Leary, was appointed as President of the Young Ireland Society on his return to Ireland in January 1885, after twenty years of forced exile. In his opening address, O'Leary proposed that the renewed struggle for independence should concentrate on cultural resistance and mobilisation through the new organisations that were emerging during this period, including the GAA, the Gaelic League, the Literary and Historical Societies and links to broad based political campaigners.

This new radical approach to organisation was to be achieved by open mobilisation, among the committed activist involved in the wide range of cultural organisations, with the secret oath-bound organisation the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), then led by O'Leary, securing a covert influence through leadership. O'Leary after his return to Ireland in 1885, attracted a group of dedicated supporters and prominent activists. Rooney, Griffith and other young men, first encountered John O'Leary when he was President of the Young Ireland Society, of which they were members. Rooney and his young associates made common cause with O'Leary's initiative and the elder Fenian directly supported and participated in many of Rooney's initiatives, often as honorary president. Rooney's earliest political experience was linked to the Amnesty Association, which was campaigning for the release of the last of the Fenians imprisoned since the 1867 uprising, namely Thomas Clarke and John Daly. At the age of seventeen he was sworn-in to the IRB and he



William Rooney and parents, Patrick and Teresa 1899 (NLI)

subsequently became a key organiser and recruiter for the group.

In January 1891, at the age of seventeen, Rooney joined the Leinster Literary Society (LLS), where he first met Arthur Griffith and many of the young men that would participate in the various language, cultural and political activities subsequently organised and led by Rooney. Unlike the more prestigious Dublin societies, who could rely on the patronage of Home Rule politicians or the network of IRB organisers, the LLS was comprised solely of young working-class men, mainly from the north city area. Their weekly meetings, held at 87 Marlborough street, involved the members preparing and presenting papers on Irish historical or literary figures. A monthly Journal was also produced and quarterly social events, such as music sessions and cultural outings were organised. During this early period Rooney began to write his poems and ballads, some of which were published in the United Ireland newspaper. Despite their reservations about Home Rule, a number of the Society members, including Rooney and Griffith, were briefly involved in supporting Parnell, after the split in the parliamentary party. In fact, they produced a written address in support of Parnell and presented it to him on his return to Dublin during the election. However, the issue of Parnell also generated an internal crisis in the LLS when Griffith and some other members resigned and the Society was subsequently dissolved.

Following the split and dissolution of the Leinster Society, in January 1893 Rooney founded the Celtic Literary Society and convened the first meeting in his family home at 23 Leinster Avenue, North Strand. This society subsequently became one of the most prominent cultural organisations involved in continuous radical political activity over the next decade and had a significant impact in mobilising many of the young men and women who became prominent in the struggle for independence. The Society rented premises at 32 Abbey Street Lower, owned by the United Ireland newspaper, where weekly meetings and monthly music sessions were held.

Over the following decade this address also became the initial location for a number of important political organisations, including James Connolly's, Irish Socialist Republican Party, the Irish Transvaal Committee, Inghinidhe na hÉireann and Cumann na nGael. Over the initial years a branch network was established across Ireland and in Britain. The founder members of the Cork branch



The Blind Fiddler (a drama) with William Rooney (right), Sinead Flanagan and Arthur Griffith, photo by Luke Rooney (Rooney family)

included, Liam de Róiste, Terence Mac Swiney, Tomás Mac Curtain, Seán O'Hegarty and Daniel Corkery. A member of the Celtic from the early stages, recollected, "By far the most conscientious worker in the society was William Rooney. He was the founder and inspirer, and indeed, until the return of Griffith (from South Africa), he was

the factotum, and seemed to carry all the responsibility on his own shoulders.”

The Celtic was set up, to study and promote Irish language, literature, history and music, almost six months before the founding of the Gaelic League. At the early stages, recognising his talents in the burgeoning cultural and language movement, Eoin MacNeill, one of the founders of the Gaelic League, invited Rooney to become involved in the development of the organisation shortly after it was established in 1893. In the Gaelic League, Rooney became active as a promoter and organiser over the early years, alongside Patrick Pearse. However, he differed significantly from the main leaders, Douglas Hyde and MacNeill, in that he strongly believed that the League should be actively involved in leading political campaigns, such as the 1798 commemoration, and not remain ‘non-political’, in terms of language and cultural development. McNeill in his memoirs claimed that Rooney was responsible for the antipathy of the Irish Parliamentary Party to the Gaelic League, because he stridently criticised their failure in a speech in Mayo, in 1898

Rooney was very passionate about the Irish language as well as traditional Irish music and song. He was an accomplished singer and wrote many songs in English, to traditional Irish airs, which were published widely. He was involved in the organisation of the first Feis Ceol in 1897 and, in the same year he helped initiate the first Oireachtas na Gaeilge festival, which was held in the Mansion House, with an attendance of over one thousand. He became very active in the Gaelic League, setting up new branches in Dublin and travelling at weekends to initiate branches particularly in the west of Ireland. He first met Máire Killeen, from Cong in Mayo, who became his fiancée, in the Dublin branch of the Gaelic League. She was among the first women elected to the League leadership and also became active with the Celtic Literary Society and as a founder of Inghinide na hÉireann.

In order to commemorate the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798 it was decided to organise a centenary commemoration with a new broad-based and inclusive political approach through a national organisation, of which Rooney became a prominent leader. During these commemorative events, the key cultural organisations and new groups of political activists joined forces across the whole country, including leading members of the Irish Parliamentary Party.



Maire Killeen, dressed as a Celtic goddess (O Brolchain family)

Rooney, elected to the steering group, was one of the main organisers and travelled around the country, alongside Maud Gonne.

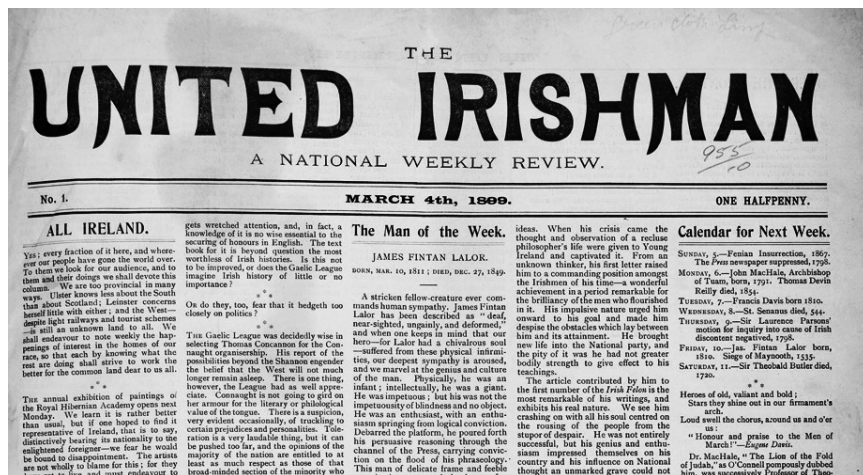
In Mayo very large crowds convened to hear Gonne and Rooney, where the latter addressed crowds in Irish. On 11 May 1898, in Ballina a large monument was unveiled by Maud Gonne to honour General Humbert, who led the French army who had landed at Killala a century before. Inspired by the revolutionary history of Ballina, Rooney wrote the song 'Men of the West', which became the anthem for the commemoration. Rooney also insisted that any monuments erected should use the Irish language and provided translations for local committees. The centenary commemoration culminated with a massive gathering of tens of thousands of people, from all across Ireland and overseas, in Dublin to witness the placing of a foundation stone for a memorial to Wolfe Tone, at the entrance to St. Stephens Green. At the end of a march Rooney shared a platform that included John O'Leary, John Dillon, John Redmond, W.B. Yeats, a French delegate and the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Thomas Pile. Rooney's oration was the only one delivered in Irish and commenced as follows:

A Mhic Uí Laoire agus a mhuintir na hÉireann, dúirt duine éigin fad ó shin nuair raibh sa chathair seo ach fíorbheagán de chlann na nGael- "Beidh an Ghaeilge faoi ard-mheas fós i mBaile Átha Cliath uasal na gcom fíona óil." Ní raibh réalta sa spéir, ní raibh dóchas sna aer ansin chun chlann na nGael nó chun chúis na hÉireann, ach bhí creideamh chroí aige go rachadh an oíche thart agus go dtiocfadh an fáinne arís. Bhí a fhios aige nach raibh an chúis caillte go léir, nach raibh an tír marbh; ce go raibh scoth a clainne thar sáile agus a huaisle gan teach gan áras ina ndúiche féin. Níl an oíche thart go fóill ach tá an fáinne ag éirí agus tá an fhirinne ag an tairngire faoi ardmheas i mBaile Átha Cliath. Táimid anseo inniu chun onóir agus suim a thabhairt do na daoine a thug a lándícheall in aghaidh na namhad céad bliain ó shin.

Thángamar as gach uile air dar fud na hÉireann, agus beagnach as gach uile tír ar dhroim an domhain chun obair a chur ar bun a thaispeánfadh don domhan nach bhfuilimid cloite fós. Thángamar le chéile chun obair a



Maud Gonne portrait 1896 (NLI)



The United Irishman front page first edition March 1899 (NLI)

dhéanamh a thaispeánfadh go bhfuilimid inár nDireannaigh fós ach, “ní Eireannach go Gaeilgeoir”, agus murar mían linn a bheith ag magadh faoina chéile caitfimid meas agus spéis a thabhairt chun teanga no hÉireann chomh mait le gach rud a bhaineann léi.

The 1798 centenary commemoration proved so successful in mobilising people across the country that it was decided that there was a need for a radical, republican and separatist, weekly newspaper, free of control by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston (poet Ethna Carbery) had produced the monthly Shan Van Vocht in Belfast for three years from 1896, with Rooney and James Connolly and others as regular contributors. Rooney was directly involved in establishing The United Irishman newspaper, funded by several individuals closely associated with Rooney and the IRB. Milligan and Johnston passed their subscription list to Rooney. He was invited to become editor but declined and proposed his close friend, Arthur Griffith, who was in South Africa at the time, primarily as a means to entice him to return to a worthwhile job in Ireland but also in recognition of Griffith's skills. The first paper was produced on the anniversary of the birth of the United

Irishman and revolutionary, Robert Emmet, on 4 March 1899.

With constantly expanding readership, this nationalist and republican newspaper became the most influential political publication for over seven years. Rooney, operating as the joint editor, produced much of the content and influenced the direction and philosophy of the paper, working late hours writing content while maintaining his work with the railway company. Rooney compiled the weekly front page, ‘All Ireland’ column, which reported on the increasing range of local cultural and political activity. He also wrote detailed articles, poems and ballads, under ten different pseudonyms, but was mainly known as *Fear na Muintire*. Over seven years the newspaper provided the means to highlight and promote multiple radical initiatives and campaigns linking the various Irish separatist and advanced nationalist organisations, until it was forced to close and was relaunched in 1906 under the title of Sinn Féin.

The British invasion in southern Africa, in October 1899, generated a significant anti-colonial resistance in Ireland, built on the success of the centenary commemoration of the 1798 rebellion. The Irish Transvaal Campaign, in support of the Boers, led by William Rooney and his associates, included a broad range of republicans, nationalists and socialists and secured widespread public support for the Boer resistance. This radical activity involved Irish volunteers, including John R. Whelan from the Celtic Society, led by John McBride, joining the Boer guerrilla forces as an Irish Brigade, street protests in towns across Ireland, solidarity fund-raising for medical aid and The United Irishman generated widespread public sympathy for the campaign. This popular mobilisation, which received massive support throughout Ireland, had gradually developed over the previous decade as the British empire expanded and became more violent. In response popular support began to grow for what was referred to generally as ‘de-anglicisation’ or in more specific terms, an anti-colonial movement. The local action groups who had been convened for the centenary commemoration, were encouraged to become active in support of the Boer rebellion against British occupation in South Africa.

Rooney and Griffith convened the Transvaal committee, under the chairman John O’Leary. Many other notable figures involved, of both the advanced nationalist and cultural milieu, included WB

Yeats, Maud Gonne, as well as James Connolly. Connolly, with Rooney's help, convened a separate group led by the Irish socialist republican party, involving many organised workers.

When Michael Davitt resigned his parliamentary seat in Westminster, in protest at the British treatment of the Boers, Rooney and Griffith put forward and campaigned for John MacBride. MacBride was then leader of the Irish Brigade in the Transvaal and stood in the Mayo constituency as a protest candidate. The United Irish League refused to cooperate and easily won the seat, but a marker had been put down for future republican electoral tactics.

Through the national campaign, substantial numbers were convened at many sympathetic protests organised across the country, including one rally in Dublin in December 1899, to protest at the visit to Trinity College of Joseph Chamberlain. This was banned by the British authorities and the subsequent march, led by James Connolly, resulted in a street riot and baton charges in Dublin.

In 1900, Rooney encouraged Maud Gonne and a number of other women associated with the Celtic Literary Society, including his fiancée Máire Killeen, to organise the Patriotic Children's Treat, as part of the opposition to the visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin. The event was held on 1 July in Drumcondra and over 20,000 'nationalist children' attended. This experience convinced the women involved to form an independent womens organisation, which was established as Inghinidhe na Éireann, on Easter Sunday. With Maud Gonne as president, while Máire Killeen was elected vice president, alongside Jennie Wyse Power, Anna Johnson (poet Ethna Carbery), Máire Quinn, Alice Furlong, Sinéad O'Flanagan and Mary Walker (actor Máire nic Shiubhlaigh). Each of these became prominent in the longer term struggle for independence and were initially involved in anti-recruitment campaigns during the Boer War. This series of campaigns, mobilisations and active groups, organised during an intense period at the end of the 1880s by Rooney and his associates, culminated at Rooneys suggestion, with the formation of Cumann na nGaedhael in 1900. Cumann na nGaedhael brought together a network of the key organisations, with an agreed radical agenda. Rooney was the group's initial treasurer and undoubtedly their main influence, placing him at the helm of what had the potential to be a bold new political force for advanced nationalism, republicanism and separatism.

CUMANN NA NGAEDHEAL.

FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION.

On Sunday last the Cumann na nGaedhael was inaugurated by a Convention of delegates which assembled at 32 Lower Abbey-street, Dublin, kindly lent for the occasion by the Celtic Literary Society. The following is a list of those present:—Miss O'Kennedy, B.A., Inghinidhe na hÉireann; D. MacCarthy and D. Moore, Major MacBride National Athletic and Literary Club; Michael Cusack and M. MacGowan, Michael Dwyer Club; J. Sharpe, Pioneers' Branch, Belfast; D. C. Tierney and J. O'Keeffe, Young Ireland Society, Cork; J. A. Power, Young Ireland Society, Limerick; George Sparks and H. Bodie, Robert Emmet '98 Club; P. T. Daly and George A. Lyons, Oliver Bond '98 Club; James F. Egan, Arthur Griffith, Editor UNITED IRISHMAN; William Rooney, P. White, E. R. Whelan, J. Ryan, P. Bradley, John Lawless, B. H. Callender, Sec. Celtic Literary Society; P. Nash, Rapparee Hurling Club; T. Foley, Celtic Hurling Club; J. Dunne and — Darcy, Emmet Guard, Milltown; W. L. Cole, T. P. Fox, J. Joyce, Llanudno; The Inghinidhe na hÉireann; L. McEvoy, Mountmellick, and M. J. Quinn, Hon. Sec. pro tem.

Letters apologising for non-attendance were received from Mr. John O'Leary, Miss Gonne, Major MacBride, Stephen MacKenna, the Sec. Celtic Literary Society, Tullamore; J. Saunders, L. Smyth, C.P.L.G., Magherafelt; J. M'Greavy, D.C., Roscommon; J. Hughes, Armagh; P. Flanagan, Cumann Litordha na nGaedhael, Derry; Robert Johnston, Belfast; J. Clarke, do.; W. O'Leary Curtis, J. O'Connellan, Newry; St. John's Band, Kilkenny; D. O'Donovan, C. Lehané, and C. O'Mahony, Skibbereen; Nationalists of Manchester; Irish National Club, Glasgow; Charles M'Combe, Belfast; F. Dorr, Foxford; F. Mandeville,

Kilsheelan; J. W. O'Beirne, M. F. Gallagher, Carrick-on-Shannon; L. Fowler, Ballydine; Patrick Hughes, U.D.C., Armagh; J. F. Christy, '98 Club, Glenmornan; P. J. Flanagan, Derry.

Affiliation fees were received from Cork Young Ireland Society; Tullamore Celtic Literary Society; Pioneers' Branch, Belfast; and Oliver Bond '98 Club, Dublin.

On the motion of Mr. Quinn, seconded by Mr. Griffith, Mr. William Rooney took the chair, and in opening the proceedings, on behalf of the Provisional Committee and of the Celtic Literary Society, he heartily welcomed the delegates, and expressed the opinion that the outcome of their deliberations would be the inauguration of an organisation which would before long have an important share in the destinies of Ireland.

The Hon. Sec. then read the Report of the Provisional Committee, which was unanimously adopted.

The consideration of the constitution and rules of the organisation was then taken up in a most earnest and practical manner, and an amendment permitting the members of the Inghinidhe na hÉireann to become members, having being agreed to, the constitution and rules were formally adopted.

The Convention next proceeded to the election of officers and council to govern the organisation till 1st November, 1901.

Mr. John O'Leary was elected President amidst enthusiasm; Major MacBride, Robert Johnson, Belfast; Father Kavanagh and James F. Egan were elected vice-presidents; Mr. William Rooney, treasurer, and M. J. Quinn, and P. White, hon. secretaries. Mr. James F. Egan was moved to the second chair. On the motion of Mr. P. T. Daly, seconded by Mr. Lyons, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Rooney for the manner in which he presided over the Convention, to which he briefly replied. In the evening the delegates attended a most enjoyable Ceilidh, given by the Inghinidhe na hÉireann. The council will consist of the president and secretaries of the twenty-one affiliated societies and twenty elected members.

Report of the first annual convention of Cumann na nGaedhael from The United Irishman 1st of December 1900 page 5 (INA)

Early death of William Rooney

Tragically Rooney died from typhoid fever, on 6 May 1901 at the young age of twenty-seven, in his family home 23 Leinster Avenue, North Strand, with Máire Killeen, Griffith, Patrick Bradley and other close friends with him at the end. His passing came just over a month after he had attended the funeral of James Stephens, founder of the IRB, whom he had met and photographed the previous Christmas. The unexpected death of William Rooney was a great blow to the organisers and activists of the whole range of cultural and separatist groups where he was involved. Over one thousand people, representing over fifty local and national organisations, including the Gaelic League, the GAA, Cumann na nGael, Inghinidhe na hÉireann, and the Celtic Literary Society turned out for the funeral. The cortege left from his family home in a solemn procession to Glasnevin cemetery, led by a large number of young people from his neighbourhood. The leadership and branch delegations from the large organisations marched in formation behind the hearse, including over thirty members of the IRB under the different banners. The attendance included Michael Cusack of the GAA, Eoin McNeill and Patrick Pearse of the Gaelic league, the Fenian John Daly mayor of Limerick, and a number of elected City Councillors. Over fifty wreaths covered the coffin and large numbers of condolences were forwarded, including Maud Gonne, Yeats, Mark Ryan London IRB leader, Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston. Large numbers of clubs and associations passed votes of sympathy. In his graveside oration Griffith stated:

The Davis of the National revival is dead-dead in the spring of life - a martyr to his passionate love of our unhappy country. Ireland has lost the son she could least have spared, and we have lost our leader, our comrade and our life-long friend. Like the name of Thomas Davis, the name of William Rooney was no household word in Ireland; but the movements that have revived a nation sinking into death sprang from his patriotism, were nursed by his genius, and carried to success by his energy, industry, and fiery enthusiasm ... To make Ireland free, a sovereign, self-reliant nation was the ambition of his life. He stored his mind with her language, her literature, her



James Stephens, Blackrock, January 1901 photographed by William Rooney

history - he studied her economic resources, her military resources, her natural features to that end ... And surely the cause that inspired a soul so noble and so great as William Rooney's is a cause that in itself must be of the greatest and noblest.

Following the funeral a meeting was held in Glasnevin to plan for a memorial fund to pay for a grave monument and the publication of his writings. The members of Inghinide na hÉireann also agreed to care for the grave each month. The monument was erected by the end of the year and the book entitled *Poems and Ballads* was published, with an introduction by Arthur Griffith and a thirty-four page biography by one of his closest friends, Patrick Bradley, who married Máire Killeen three years later. A further book entitled, *Prose Writings* was published in 1909, with a short introduction by Seumas MacManus, husband of Rooney's friend, the writer Ethna Carbery, who had died in 1902. This included a selection of his best known writings, which had appeared in *The United Irishman*, 1899-1901. The introduction to the poetry book included one of his most significant statements, which directly influenced the later formation of Sinn Féin policy. Rooney wrote a robust criticism of Irish parliamentarians and what he regarded as the failed concept of Home Rule:

'Advanced' nationalism is in truth, no petty, compromising propaganda, which talks of healing the wounds of centuries, or guarantees the aid of Irish arms for Imperial buccaneering, 'if our rights are conceded.' It is indeed no convenient creed which would toast a foreign queen or flaunt the Union Jack on College Green for the privilege of being allowed to concoct a drainage scheme or pass an authority for a railway cutting through Cork or Connemara. It is no temporising, time serving, half-hearted sentiment which fears the future, but likes to take advantage of the present, trusting to the forgetfulness of the popular memory to overlook any vacillation from the right road. It is a spirit which takes something more than an antiquaries interest in the struggles and belief of the past, which does not talk of the superior advantages of our fathers to excuse inac-



Ar Tir Ar Teanga inscription on boaters centre Maire Killeen, left at rear Padraic O Brolchain front row Arthur Griffith and Maud Sheehan (O Brolchain family)

tion or indifference today. It is in fine, the spirit of Irish Nationality, which recognises nothing short of supreme and entire independence as the limit of Irish hopes and aspirations.

Rooney's death dealt a staggering blow to Cumann na nGaedhael, and the other organisations where he was most active. However, after a period of adjustment, the momentum to establish a unified, effective and more representative separatist organisation intensified, resulting, just over four years later with the establishment of Sinn Féin. This new organisation was a broadly based and inclusive movement, both in terms of class and political allegiance. The fundamental changes in social, cultural and political circumstances in Ireland, in the final decades of the nineteenth century, encouraged new types of organisation and activity, often facilitat-

ing mass mobilisation with increased public participation, in a variety of new structures and the emergence of leaders from a range of class backgrounds, with women activists often in the forefront. This radical phase of Irish history was both exciting and dynamic and often a reaction to British colonial ambitions and paved the way for the next revolutionary phase beginning in Ireland in the following decade.

Rooney is certainly comparable to Thomas Davis of the Young Irelanders, who also died young at the age of thirty, both in terms of his writings and influence and political philosophy and republican fervour. However, with his death occurring four years before Sinn Féin first convened, it may appear far-fetched to refer to William Rooney as the 'real founder of Sinn Féin'. Yet, without question, Rooney was central to the establishment of the main advanced nationalist organisations that later formed the nucleus of the party. Rooney first developed and articulated the key ideas, philosophy and strategic vision that determined the initial political consensus and shaped the longer-term outlook of Sinn Féin, as a separatist and republican party. While traditionally Arthur Griffith has been recognised in this leadership role, he was very dependent on Rooney, whom he referred to as his best friend and mentor and, after his early death, Griffith continued the approach first articulated and led by Rooney and subsequently acknowledged the prominence and centrality of Rooney to the formation of Sinn Féin.

The concept of 'Sinn Féin' was first proposed, debated and endorsed at a public meeting held in the Rotunda Dublin on 28 November 1905. The Sinn Féin policy approved was based to a significant extent on the work and ideas of William Rooney, with many of the key positions agreed, drawn directly from Rooney's thinking. This policy and approach formed the basis for the subsequent merger, two years later, of the key nationalist and republican organisations, including Cumann na nGaedheal, the Dungannon Clubs in Ulster, Inghinghe na hÉireann and Griffiths National Council, to constitute the Sinn Féin political party.

Rooney's influence and legacy

A significant number of veterans from the revolutionary period, who provided witness statements to the Military Archive, confirmed that the Celtic Literary Society led by William Rooney, was the key early

influence on their participation in radical activity. The membership of the Celtic Literary Society also provided a base for liaison and intervention in many of the larger cultural organisations and for IRB recruitment. Through his activism Rooney was directly associated with several of the leaders of the 1916 Rising, who were subsequently executed, including Pearse, Connolly, MacBride, Ceannt and Clarke. Patrick Pearse was directly involved with Rooney through the Gaelic League and attended his funeral; Eamonn Ceannt was active in the Celtic Literary Society, James Connolly was involved in the Boer War campaign and organised a socialist support group with Rooney's assistance and Thomas Clarke was involved in Cumann na nGaedheal and the IRB, of which Rooney was a member. John Daly, the renowned Fenian imprisoned with Clarke, also attended Rooney's funeral, as Lord Mayor of Limerick.

As a contribution to the first anniversary of Rooney's death. WB Yeats and Lady Gregory wrote a new one act play, Cathleen Ni Houlihan, which was dedicated to his memory, with Maud Gonne playing the lead role in the first performance. This highly patriotic play was based on the arrival of the French army in Killala in 1798 and the impact of the local peasantry. Gonne had been closely involved with Rooney in a range of political organisations. Thomas MacDonagh, also a member of the Gaelic League, was only twenty-three when Rooney died but he was influenced by his ideas and dedicated one of his early poems, to his memory, 'Of a Poet Patriot':

His songs were a little phrase
Of eternal song,
Drowned in the harping of lays
More loud and long.

His deed was a single word,
Called out alone
In a night when no echo stirred
To laughter or moan.

But his songs new souls shall thrill,
The loud harps dumb,
And his deeds the echos fill
When the dawn is come.

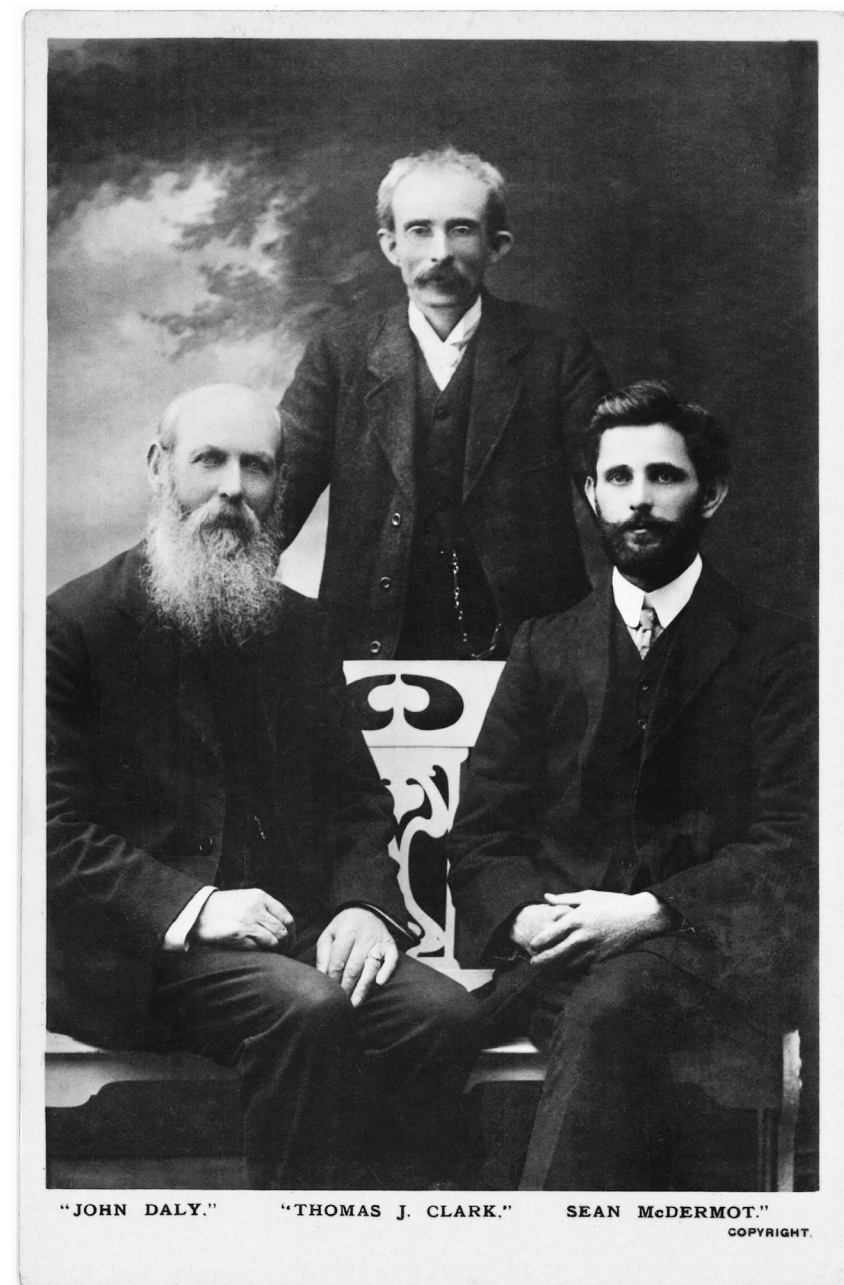
Each of the City councillors, elected for Sinn Féin in Dublin in 1906, were closely associated with Rooney, and leading members of the Celtic Society namely, Walter Cole, Tom Kelly and Seán T O'Kelly. In the same year, because of a legal action, The United Irishman newspaper changed its name to Sinn Féin, as the official voice of the new party, with Griffith as editor.

Rooney also became a totemic figure for young Irish separatists, an ideal against which older activists were found wanting. For instance, Irish Freedom, newspaper of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and founded by Thomas Clarke, began publication in November 1910, with Bulmer Hobson as editor and Sean Mac Dermott as business manager. In one of its first articles, it memorialised the early days of The United Irishman newspaper, celebrating in particular Rooney's purist politics. This reflected the growing impatience with Griffith and his Sinn Féin newspaper, as he was not living up to Rooney's reputation as an unalloyed separatist. On the tenth anniversary of his death, in 1911, the paper carried an extensive series of articles lauding Rooney as the main philosophical source for their republican views, stating,

We stand for the Ireland which produced Hugh, Shane and Owen O'Neill, and O'Donnell the Red, and Rory O'More, and Tone and Emmet and Fitzgerald, and Mitchel and Davis and Stephens and Rooney. On their behalf ... we repudiate all bargains or treaties concerning the rights of this nation. Concessions be damned, we want our country!

In April 1913, three months before the lockout, James Connolly wrote a long commemorative piece in The Irish Worker entitled 'Rooney: A Democrat' where he stated:

Although he is now dead some twelve years, the influence of William Rooney's writings is still discernible among the young men of Dublin-and this is as it should be; although he subordinated all other causes to the one supreme cause of Irish Independence, he was none the less a democrat in the truest and fullest sense of the word. In every sphere in which he laboured he surrounded himself by men who



John Daly, Thomas J. Clarke and Seán Mac Dermott 1900s
(Limerick University)

earned their bread by their daily toll, and who, although handicapped as all workers are, devoted their spare time to the grand cause of freedom - not only the freedom of Ireland in the political sense, but also the social, industrial and intellectual advancement of her people.

Other important figures, such as Michael Collins, acknowledged the significant debt owed to the leadership, energy and inspiration of William Rooney to the development of the struggle for independence. In his essay 'Freedom Within Grasp', written sometime in 1922 after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Collins referred to the early formation of Sinn Féin:

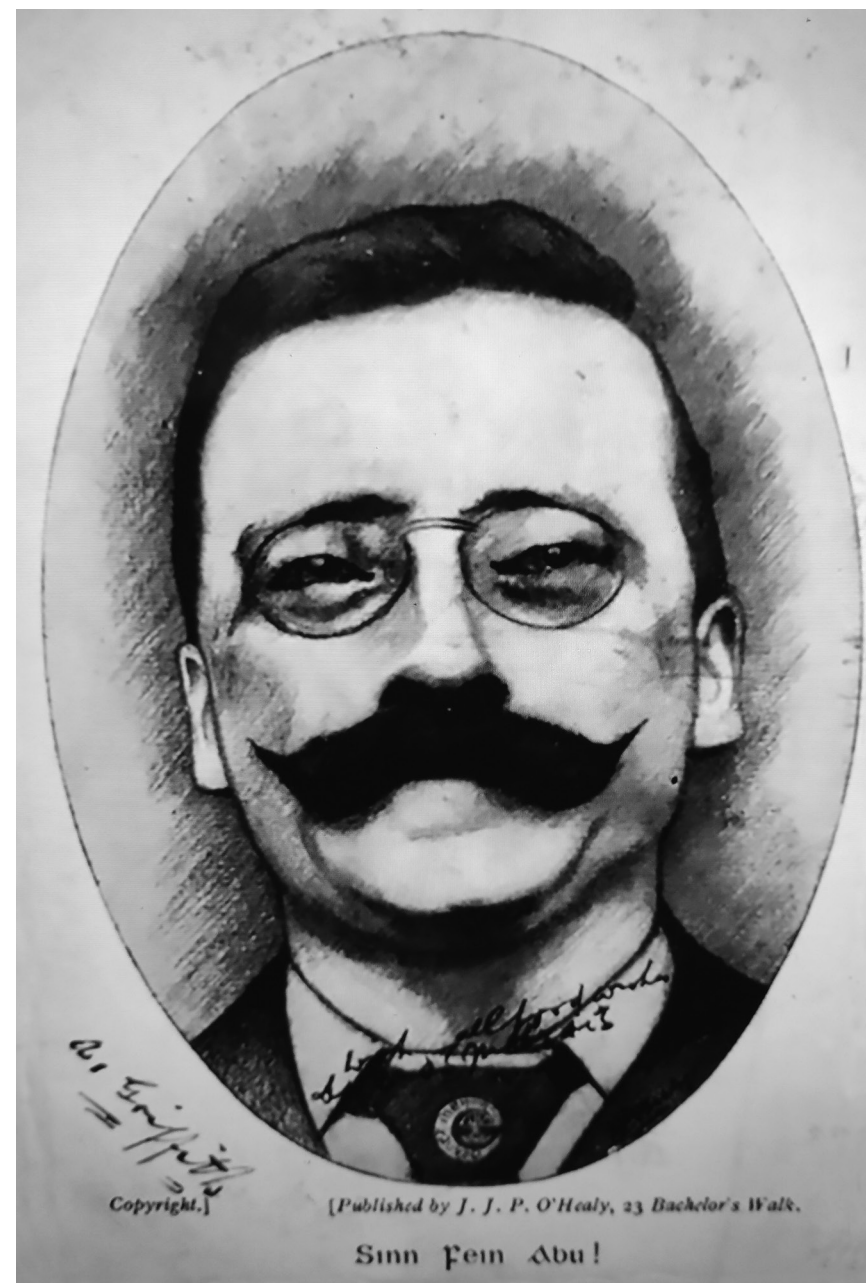
The Sinn Féin movement was both economic and national, meeting therefore, two evils produced by the Union. Inspired by Arthur Griffith and William Rooney, it grew to wield enormous educational and spiritual power. It organised the country. It promoted what came to be known as the 'Irish-Ireland policy'... Rooney preached language and liberty. He inspired all whom he met with national pride and courage.

Collins also quoted extensively from Rooney's work, and concluded:

The freedom which Ireland has achieved was dreamed of by Wolfe Tone, was foreseen by Thomas Davis, and their efforts were broadened out until they took into their embrace all the true national movements by the 'grim resolve' of William Rooney, supported later by the 'strong arm' of the Volunteers.

Arthur Griffith also remained loyal to his closest friend and mentor. In the final newspaper interview, before his untimely death in June 1922, he confirmed that:

Sinn Féin was not my exclusive creation. It is unfair to the memory of a great Irishman that this false impression should be allowed to exist. Sinn Féin was conceived by two



Arthur Griffith Sinn Féin Abu!

of us and the other man was William Rooney ... The Sinn Féin movement was both economic and national. Rooney's idea and mine was to make Sinn Féin in this way meet the two evils produced by the Union. Primarily Ireland's need for education. Sinn Féin grew to wield enormous educational power. More than that, we saw the fruits of our labours in the growth of spiritual power among those who came into the ranks of Sinn Féin.

In the same interview, Griffith also asserted that Sinn Féin was not a pacifist organisation. He quoted Rooney as stating:

We most decidedly do believe that this nation has a right to direct its own destinies. We do most heartily concede that men bred and native of the soil are the best judges of what is good for this land. We are believers in an Irish nation using its own tongue, flying its own flag, defending its own coasts, and using its own discretion when dealing with the outside world. But this we most certainly believe can never come as the gift of any parliament, British or otherwise. It can only be won by the strong right arm and grim resolve of men. Neglect no weapon which the necessities and difficulties of the enemy force him to abandon to us, and make each concession a steppingstone to further things.

When the poet Padraic Colum was preparing his biography of Arthur Griffith, in the early 1950s, he spoke with survivors of the 'Celtic' group. He recorded that he was ...

surprised to find that they stressed William Rooney's rather than Arthur Griffith's activities - activities which included not only a part of the publication of the United Irishman, but lectures, meetings, conduct of debates, the laying down of plans for the new departure. Rooney was fervent and he was tireless, whereas Griffith showed himself stolid and slow-moving ... There is no doubt that in William Rooney, Griffith knew a spirit that expanded his own.



Womens Suffrage, Irish women holding a sign quoting William Rooney (Fort Lewis College)

Colum also states that the name selected by Griffith for the new political policy was originally suggested to him by Rooney, when he had written to him in Africa, "You are right - Sinn Féin must be the motto."

Many of the participants in the revolutionary period, also subsequently cited, the Celtic Literary Society and the influential role of William Rooney, as an essential part of their personal development as they moved towards political involvement and commitment to the separatist cause. Among those, referring specifically to Rooney, who provided witness statements to the Bureau of Military History, was the then President of Ireland, Seán T O'Kelly, who cited Rooney's influence after he joined the Gaelic League in 1897. O'Kelly was involved in the centenary commemoration and joined

the Celtic Literary Society and the IRB in 1899. Others, who also provided statements, included leaders who had known Rooney, such as Alice Milligan and the writer and husband of poet Ethna Carbery, Seamus MacManus; Marie O'Brolchain (Marie Killeen) leader of Inghinide na hEireann; IRB leaders, Denis McCullough and Bulmer Hobson, founders of the Dungannon clubs, and IRA leaders, Tom Barry and Seán Moylan.

As seen throughout this text, many acknowledged Rooney's abiding contribution to their intellectual formation. Whether this was through inculcation of the importance of understanding Irish history, to the promotion and use of the language and to the potential to develop new form of republican politics that did not rely on dominant political parties, who existed solely for electoral contest in isolation from the wider national separatist movement. After the split in Sinn Féin, with the formation of Fianna Fáil in 1926, subsequent leaders of the party were closely associated with William Rooney. JJ O'Kelly (Sceilg), who wrote for *The United Irishman*, and succeeded DeValera as Sinn Féin party president in 1926, was a close friend of Rooney. Brian O'Higgins, President of Sinn Féin from 1931-1933, lectured and spoke on Rooney's life, and also published the entire 1956 edition of the Wolfe Tone Annual about him. Margaret Buckley, party president between 1937 and 1950, became initially involved with the Celtic Literary Society. She was then later a founder and President of the Cork branch of Inghinidhe na hÉireann as well as a leader of the Irish Women Workers Union.

At least up to the 1950s, Rooney continued to be recognised as an important, influential, and often central figure, in the development of separatism and republicanism, during the national revival and the revolutionary period. In terms of popular perception, in the early 1950s, his poem 'NINETY-EIGHT A Centenary Ode' was among the prescribed poems for the secondary schools Intermediate Certificate examination, alongside Yeats and Padraic Colum. In 1956, The Clancy Brothers recorded his song 'The Men of the West'.

Yet, despite this public recognition, in general the many histories produced during the subsequent decades provided scarce reference to Rooney, save where he has been described as a 'footnote in history', or merely repeating that he '...spoke in Irish' at the massive 1898 march, to support the Wolfe Tone memorial. However, in recent years there has been some recognition of Rooney, particu-

larly in books published on the Fenians and Irish nationalism, on the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and, specifically, in recent biographies of Arthur Griffith, which generally place Griffith as the founder of Sinn Féin but also acknowledge Rooney's enormous influence and contribution.

Conclusion

The Sinn Féin party emerged from a broad and inclusive movement, developed over two decades and which involved a wide range of nationalist, republican and cultural organisations and individuals. It comprised of many different political perspectives and tendencies, although the anti-colonial aspect of this struggle, in a global context, has been poorly appreciated and generally undervalued.

William Rooney and his comrades were firmly anti-colonial in their thinking and, in the context of Irish republicanism were challenging the British Empire at the height of its power. They drew their inspiration and ideas from the United Irishmen leader, Wolfe Tone and the Young Irelander, Thomas Davis. In a period of general demoralisation among the separatist movement, they were determined to regenerate hope by inspiring and mobilising resistance, by any means possible. In one of his articles Rooney had written:

History has never been made by the millions; the few who sacrificed did all the world is proud of. The single seed eventually fills the cornfield. The silent, earnest thinker moves the mass ... It is necessary that they be men whom no danger shall deter and whom no indifference shall discourage; that they be men whose love of right alone shall be sufficient to make them persevere and rise superior to all the disillusion which unselfish effort too frequently has to face ...

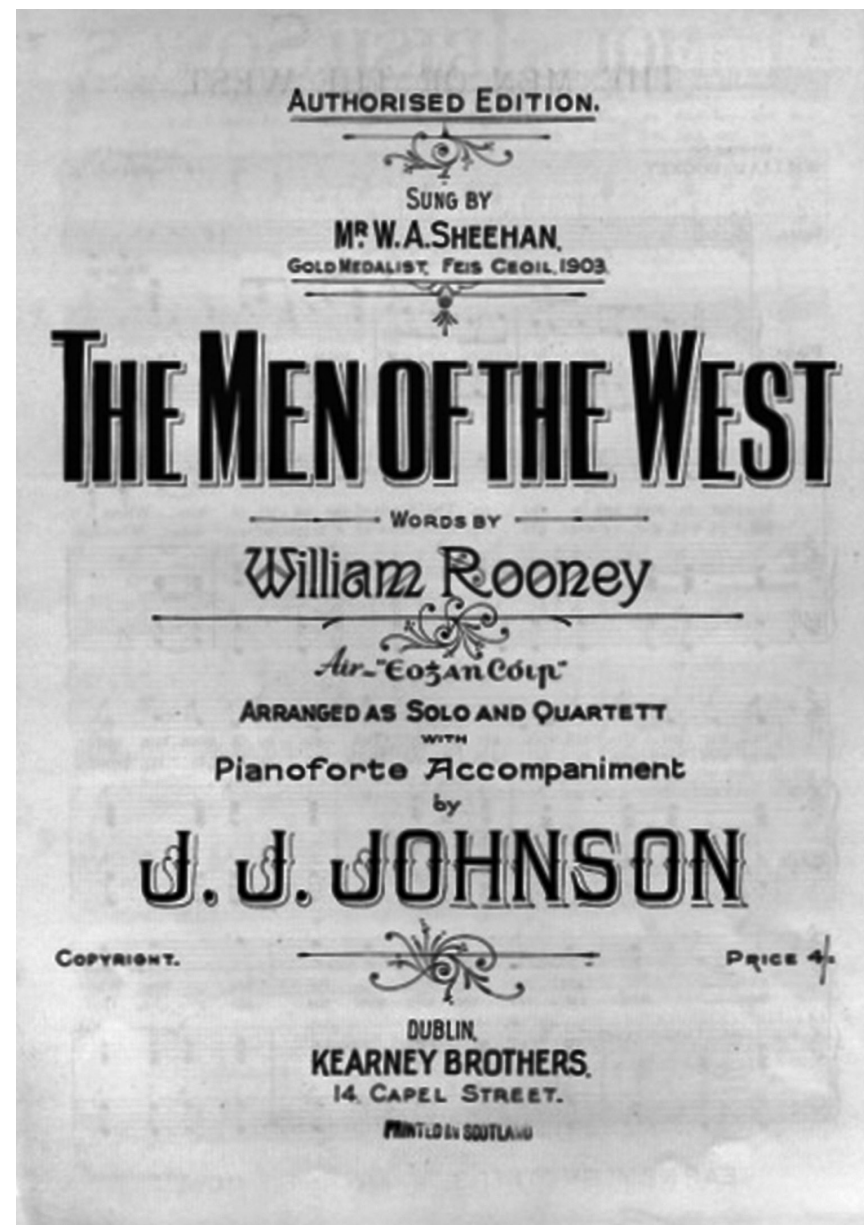
Many of those involved were fully informed on resistance movements in the British colonies and viewed their activity in this wider context. They had clear ideas for a radical alternative to continued British occupation. This can be seen in the lecture delivered to the Celtic Literary Society on 3 January 1900, entitled 'The Development of the National Ideal'. Here, Rooney articulated this anti-colonial and republican vision of an inclusive independent Irish state,

which later helped shape the core Sinn Féin policy, formulated in 1905, and is echoed in the 1916 Proclamation:

An Irish State self-supporting, self-defending, her flag respected in every port. Her shores and her sympathy for the oppressed of every race and colour. Her voice in the councils of the nations; her language, her laws, and her achievements the pride of all her people. Such is a national ideal and to Tone do we owe the fact that any of its most militant features still recommend themselves to the vast bulk of our countrymen.

These Irish republicans and activists, of William Rooney's generation, organised and operated in a political environment where the British empire was at its most powerful, both as a military and economic power, occupying vast territories across the globe. Even though colonial Dublin was once viewed as 'the second city of the Empire', the native Irish were considered as either subordinate or troublesome colonial subjects, with the majority of citizens living in acute poverty. However, despite the demoralisation among the general population in Ireland at that time, Rooney was an optimist, and considering the severe challenges presented by imperialism and the colonial mindset of the occupier, he was able to envisage and articulate an independent republic.

William Rooney's ideas, energy and inspirational leadership encouraged many other young men and women to become active in the struggle for self-determination and freedom. His commitment and philosophy greatly influenced the generation who were prepared to undertake the revolution. His intellect, energy and absolute determination deserve to be recognised as a significant contribution to Ireland's independent republic, and as a continued source of inspiration to the current generation, seeking a unified island as Ireland's future.



Cover of sheet music for The Men of the West 1903 (NLI)

BÉARFAIMID BUA

(Óráid a thug Liam Ó Maolruanaidh 15 Lúnasa 1898, nuair a leagadh bunchloch do leacht Wolfe Tone. Foilsíodh sa *Freemans Journal*).

A Mhic Uí Laoire agus a mhuintir na hÉireann, dúirt duine éigin fad ó shin nuair nach raibh sa chathair seo ach fíorbheagán de chlann na nGael - “Beidh an Ghaeilge faoi ardmheas fós i mBaile Átha Cliath uasal na gcom fíona óil.” Ní raibh réalta sa spéir, ní raibh dóchas sna aer ansin chun chlann na nGael nó chun chúis na hÉireann, ach bhí creideamh chroí aige go rachadh an oíche thart agus go dtiocfadh an fáinne arís. Bhí a fhios aige nach raibh an chúis caillte go léir, nach raibh an tír marbh; cé go raibh scoth a clainne thar sáile agus a huaisle gan teach gan áras ina ndúiche féin. Níl an oíche thart go fóill ach tá an fáinne ag éirí agus tá an fhírinne ag an tairngire faoi ardmheas i mBaile Átha Cliath. Táimid anseo inniu chun onóir agus suim a thabhairt do na daoine a thug a lándícheall in aghaidh na namhad céad bliain ó shin. Tháingamar as gach uile aird ar fud na hÉireann, agus beagnach as gach uile thír ar dhroim an domhain chun obair a chur ar bun a thaispeánfadh don domhan nach bhfuilimid cloíte fós. Tháingamar le chéile chun obair a dhéanamh a thaispeánfadh go bhfuilimid inár nÉireannaigh fós ach, “ní Éireannach go Gaeilgeoir”, agus murar mian linn a bheith ag magadh faoina chéile caithfimid meas agus spéis a thabhairt chun teanga na hÉireann chomh maith le gach rud a bhaineann léi.

Dúirt mé go bhfuil an fhírinne ag an tairngire, tá meas i measc na ndaoine ar theanga na nGael inniu, gan amhras. Mar sin is mór an t-áthas agus an lúcháir chroí atá orm go dtig liomsa rud a dhéanamh chun an tseanchúis a chur ar aghaidh. Ní raibh an tseanteanga á cloisteáil ach go hannamh sna cathracha; ach táimid ag déanamh rud éigin inniu chun an drochobair sin a chur ar gcúl. Táimid ag déanamh rud éigin a thaispeánfaidh don domhan agus go mór mhór do na Sasanaigh go bhfuil teanga ár sinsear beo agus fíorbheo fós. Tá spiorad na hÉireann, spiorad ár seacht sinsear ag corraí agus ag fadú tine i ngach uile chroí sa chruinniú mór seo, agus ba chóir dúinn go mbeadh a dteanga á spreagadh inár measc freisin. Anam agus spiorad na hÉireann, baineann siad le chéile agus críonfaidh an chúis agus gheobhaidh sí bás mura dtugaimid aire do theanga ár sinsear

Willam Rooneys commemoration speech for the centenary of the 1798 rebellion, Dublin August 1898 (Conradh na Gaeilge)

agus do nósanna na tíre. Ní riachtanach domsa trácht a dhéanamh ar an obair a rinne na daoine a bhfuilimid ag tabhairt measa agus onóra dóibh anois. Tá daoine go leor anseo leis an rud sin a dhéanamh agus tá eolas maith agaibhse ar an obair sin ach caithfidh mé rud éigin a rá ar na nithe ar chóir dúinn a dhéanamh feasta, dá mba thoil linn fíor-náisiúntacht na hÉireann a choimeád beo. Rinne ár n-aithreacha céad bliain ó shin a ndícheall agus ní leosan an locht nár rug siad an bua leo. Táimid anseo á rá nach bhfuil an troid críochnaithe fós, agus gur mian linn an tseanslí a leanúint agus an tseantroid a dhéanamh go dtiocfaidh an lá ar a raibh ár n-aithreacha ag feitheamh le cianta. An mian fhírinneach linn é? Más ea ní thiocfaidh linn a dhéanamh go ceart mura ndéanfaimid ár ndícheall chun an Ghaeilge a choimeád beo i gcuideachta le cuimhne na ndaoine a thug a mbeatha ar son na hÉireann céad bliain ó shin. An é i mBéarla, an measann sibh, gur cóir dúinn onóir a thabhairt do na hÉireannaigh Aontaithe dá mba leo bua céad bliain ó shin? Dar m'anam ní hea! Ní bheadh focal Béarla ar bith á rá anseo inniu, bheadh gutha na ndaoine chomh Gaelach lena gcroíthe agus b'fhearr lenár n-aithreacha é sin gan amhras, ná an rud arb éigean dúinn, nó do chuid againn scor ar bith, a bheith againn. Ní abraim gur libhse an locht go léir, ach ba mhór an náire dúinn mura ndéanfaimid ár ndícheall sna laethanta atá le teacht chun an locht sin a thógáil dinn-ne agus teanga ár n-aithreacha a choimeád beo inár measc chomh maith lena spiorad agus a gcuimhne. Nach aisteach libh an Francach gan teanga na Fraince aige? Nach aisteach duine ar bith gan eolas aige ar theanga a thír féin. Mar sin nach aisteach d'fhíor-Ghael gan eolas aige ar theanga gach uile tréanlaoch agus fíor-thírghráthóir a thug a bheatha ar son na tíre seo? Is aisteach gan amhras! Ach is aistí an duine nach gcuireann ach mí-meas agus drochonóir ar a theanga mháthartha! Bíonn daoine den sórt sin inár measc féin. B'fhéidir go bhfuil cuid acu anseo inniu ach má tá, sílim nach mbeidh ach beagán acu le fáil in Éirinn as seo amach. Tá cor an bhealaigh againn anois agus is éigean dúinn an ceartlorg a leanúint go dtí an lá ar a mbéarfaimid an bua linn ionas go mbeidh an méad mórmheasa ar an nGaeilge i ngach uile áit in Éirinn is atá uirthi i mBaile Átha Cliath inniu. Ná bacadh leis na daoine a deir nach bhfuil maitheas sa Ghaeilge; ná bacadh leis na daoine a deir nach féidir linn a sábháil. Is fíor go raibh sí i riocht báis; is fíor nach bhfuil an dorchadas thart fós, ach bíodh cuimhne againn i gcónaí ar fhocail an fhir mhóir dá bhfuilimid ag tógáil an leacht onóra inniu. “Ná caill dóchas choíche”. Bíodh sin mar fhocal faire againn feasta. Cuirimis le chéile, déanaimis ár ndícheall agus cé go mba fhada an oíche agus trom an obair, “Béarfaimid bua faoi dheoin Dé.”

The Celtic Literary Society,
SECOND SESSION, 1894-5.

The Members request the pleasure of
presence at their
: INAUGURAL MEETING :
TO BE HELD AT THE SOCIETY'S ROOMS 32 LOWER ABBEY STREET,
ON FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5th, 1894.

When the President will deliver the Inaugural Address, entitled :--
" THE 'NARROWMINDEDNESS' OF NATIONALITY."

Chair to be taken at 8 o'clock by COUNT PLUNKETT, M.R.I.A.

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IN AUGURAL • MEETING •

On FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 30,
When the President will deliver the Inaugural Address, entitled :--
'THE COMING OF NATIONALITY.'

PROGRAMME.	
Chorus ..	"She bees ni Connallan" "Fear na muintire"—CHOIR.
"THE DELIVERANCE OF RED HUGH," <i>A Dramatic Incident in two Scenes by Miss A. L. Milligan.</i>	
Red Hugh O'Donnell ..	MR. J. DUDLEY DIGGES.
Art O'Neill ..	MR. PATRICK BRADLEY.
Henry O'Neill ..	MR. MICHAEL J. QUINN.
Governor of Dublin Castle ..	MR. PETER WHITE.
An Officer ..	MR. P. J. KELLY.
Pierce ..	.. MR. THOS. S. CUFFE.
Martin ..	.. MR. F. J. FAY.
Time—Christmas, 1592.	
<i>Scene—The Tower, Roopri of Birmingham Tower, Dublin Castle.</i>	
In the Interval between the two Scenes Mr. Owen Floyd will play a Selection of Irish Music on the Harp.	
Selection on the Irish Pipes ..	
Recitation ..	MR. DENIS DELANEY. "Sarsfield's Ride" .. Fear na Muintire
Song ..	MR. CHARLIE CAULFIELD. "Capitius Tonn." .. Fear na Muintire MISS ALLGOOD.
Irish jig ..	"Glenn na h-Éiríochán" FLORRIE DEIGAN, EILEEN ONELL, JOSEPH KING AND JAMES DEIGAN.
Songs { "The Man of the West" "Lift your Heart up Mother Erin" } Fear na muintire MR. JOHN LAWLESS.	
THE ONE ACT PLAY IN IRISH BY P. T. MAGHINLEY, "Eilis i an bean óirice." sinéio níc ualair. caomhin ua cumm. maire ní peróis.	
Eilis ..	CONCÓBÁIR (A MAC)
meabha ..	..
Song ..	.. "If Iao t'ón eip" MISS M. MORAN.
Recitation ..	"The Priest of Adorgoole" MR. F. J. FAY.
Song ..	"Gáin fear Gúrdie na mbo" MISS REDDIN.
Song ..	.. "Thapín" .. MR. AUG. BOYLAN.
Song ..	"Quinnionn thu éir" MISS WINNIE WHEATLEY.
Song ..	"The Patriot Mother" MR. PATRICK MORAN.
IRISH CEILIDH.	
TABLEAUX VIVANTS.	
DOER TABLEAUX DEPICTING.	
1. The Republic Militant. 2. The Republic Mourning.	
3. The Sister Republics.	
ERIN FEETURED AND ERIN FREE.	
Final Chorus ..	"A Nation once Again" "Fear na muintire" CHOIR.
The Audience is requested to join in the Chorus of "A Nation once Again," which concludes the Programme.	
Stage Manager, MR. W. G. FAY.	
Musical Conductor, MR. LOUIS O'BRIEN.	

nager, MR. W. G. FAY.

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*Yours sincerely,
Mr. Dooney*

**"fear na muintire."
Patriot, Poet, and Essayist.**

BORN, October 20th, 1873.

DIED, May, 1901.

We'll shrine his name and story bright
to guide us on,
Till hope has reached its haven, till gloom
and grief are gone.



Till Freeman's hands may fashion the
name and fame on high,
Of all who trod that pathway and showed
the way to die.