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IRISH DIMENSIONS IN BRITISH EDUCATION

Committee Search on 1996 him Assess Conference "Irish Dimensions in

REPORT ON 11th International Conference 26 - 27 March 1994

Soar Valley College Irish Studies Workshop



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11TH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IRISH DIMENSIONS IN BRITISH EDUCATION

SATURDAY 26th & SUNDAY 27th MARCH 1994

EXILES AND ERIN: IMAGES AND REALITIES

This conference was aimed at teachers, parents, first and second generation Irish, Irish Community organisations and all those interested in the relationship between culture and education – especially students and teaching staff in secondary, further, community and higher education.

Last year there were four guest speakers:

- 1) LIAM GREENSLADE, Institute of Irish studies University of Liverpool, "LIGHTNING IN THE BLOOD: ISSUES IN THE HEALTH OF IRISH PEOPLE IN BRITAIN" discussion of the health of Irish migrants in Britain today, which examined the cultural, historical and political background to high rates of mortality and mental illness.
- SEAN HUTTON, Community Care Development Co-ord., Federation of Irish Societies, "MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE IRISH COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN" this paper examined the needs of the Irish community in Britain, especially in the field of community care, and the ways in which these needs are met through statutory provision and by the Irish voluntary sector. It discussed some of the further steps which need to be taken in order to adequately meet these needs.
- 3) PROF JAMES O'CONNELL, of the Peace Studies Department, University of Bradford "CAN SMALL CULTURES SURVIVE?" a comparative study with special reference to the Irish, against the background of contemporary developments in Europe and the wider world.
- 4) DR MARY HARRIS of the Irish Studies Centre at the University of North London

 "INTERNAL EXILE": BELFAST CATHOLICISM, POVERTY AND POLITICS IN

 THE INTER-WAR YEARS. Contemporary interpretations of Catholic poverty in

 Belfast, the search for solutions within the framework of Catholic social teaching
 and the increasing detachment of Catholics from the state and from the Protestant
 poor.

There was a wide range of workshops to choose from covering many aspects of development: We thank all workshops/seminar leaders for their enthusiasm and effort (full list follows)

The Conference was, as usual, generously supported by the British Association for Irish Studies, Leicester City Council, Soar Valley College and the local firms who sponsor this Report. This Conference was one of the best attended ever, with around 195 representatives from all areas of the country, from different sectors of education and from contrasting cultural and educational standpoints. We are grateful to all for their continuing interest and support. In particular, we appreciated the strong support from H. E the Irish Ambassador, Mr Joseph Small and the positive liaison enjoyed with Breandan O'Caollai, erstwhile Third Secretary at the Embassy. Indeed, the Conference Dinner provided the opportunity for Breandan to make his valedictory speech. All of us involved in Irish Studies initiatives around the country thank Breandan for his encouragement and practical advice. We wish him well in his career in the Irish diplomatic service. He has set a high standard for networking and liaison which his successors will match, we are sure.

REPORT ON 'IRISH STUDIES WORKSHOP' ACTIVITIES 1993/94

In the Autumn of 1993 we ran our 11th annual Irish Studies Community Education

Programme - "Celtic Encounters." This is an inter-disciplinary course, with varied inputs (guest speakers, films, videos and drama groups) and proves consistently to be a popular option, attracting 40 enrolments and an average weekly attendance of around 25 persons. The course duration was 13 weeks (please refer to programme, reproduced in full in this Report). Our various programmes attract a wide variety of people, young and old, male and female.

A variety of cultural activities took place during the year. In the spring of 1994, we collaborated with the London-based Siol Phadraig programme, and hosted a series of readings from by Kevin Anderson and his "team," as well as mounting the Mna na h Eireann photographic exhibition designed by Belinda Loftus. A group from the Workshop also went to see the new film Into the West at the Phoenix Theatre. Later in the year a large party from the Workshop enjoyed the new production (hosted by the Phoenix) of Synge's 'Playboy of the Western World.'

In February 1994 the Workshop hosted the Gagile Theatre Company in their special family performance presentation of <u>The Pot of Broth</u> by W B Yeats. There was a follow-up discussion and a story-telling session incorporated in the evening.

John Hume, MP, spoke in Derby on 6 July on the theme: 'Towards a New Century in Ireland'; the Workshop was represented at the evening, which was organised by the Nottingham Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission.

The Workshop has also continued to run its successful and popular <u>SET AND CEILI DANCING CLASS</u>, over the last year. The current tutors are Deirdre Cusack and Maureen Danaher. Our thanks go to the dance teachers for their efforts and enthusiasm.

One item of long-term significance in Leicester is the advanced stage reached organising the Open College Network on the lines of those already established in other parts of the country. This workshop has made a formal input to the planning group at County Hall but there are at this time practical limitations to the further growth in accreditation of Irish Studies locally. There is insufficient time, support and flexibility to permit the hoped for expansion of a range of new modules, as these require systematic back-up, which is not available. The existing Irish Studies options will continue to run as normal. If circumstances permit, three new programmes are possibilities: (1) Irish Storytelling and Folklore; (2) Irish Labour History; (3) Irish Archaeology.

Our Irish Language Classes for both Beginners and Advanced continue to thrive, ably organized and delivered by Maureen Broderick and Maeve Hogan. Interest is such that we have had to introduce an extra tier of learning – we now have a third "Intermediate" class operating. The language classes are supported financially by the local Federation of Supplementary Schools. Our tutors have attended various in-service courses: These ranged from the residential language course for teachers at OIDEAS GAEL in Glencolumbkille, in the Donegal Gaeltacht to LEA inset for Adult Education tutors. We have now started to deliver Irish language for the Advanced group via the N.Ireland Board GCSE Syllabus.

Soar Valley College (in its 11-16 incarnation) has around 90 per cent of its students from Asian ethnic backgrounds, and has consequently a significant number of section 11 (English as a second language) staff. As a result of mutual Anglo-Irish representation at an ESL Conference, we were pleased to welcome two Dublin-based Irish teachers, Ann Kelly and Goretti Mannion, who visited Soar Valley for a week and took the opportunity to join in workshop activities. Section 11 staff from Soar Valley later had an enjoyable work-visit to Ireland.

The Workshop's traditional musicians (Beverly Whelan - flute and concertina; Mike Feely - flute and fiddle; Nessan Danaher - tenor banjo) contributed to Leicester City Council Multicultural Evening (May 1994) put on as part of their Conference on 'Needs of Elderly Ethnic Minorities' at Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre.

Much work has been carried out in relation to the ongoing research project on the history of the Irish community's interaction with Leicester in the 1841-91 period. The Co-ordinator has continued the programme of interviewing local Senior Citizens, as well as engaging in sustained and systematic explanation in various local and regional archives. In particular, the Co-ordinator wishes to thank the Dominican Sisters of St Catherine's Convent in Leicester for their help and support in relation to utilising the convent archives for research purposes, and Barbara Morris, Fred Jordan and Ronald Bromley for their assistance and oral history interviewees.

In terms of interaction with other Irish Studies bodies, and with Irish community and cultural organisations, the workshop is affiliated to: the British Association for Irish Studies, the American Conference for Irish Studies, the Irish Texts Society, Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann and Friends of Leicestershire Record Office. We also enjoy close relations with the Irish Studies Centre at the University of North London. The Workshop wishes to thank The Irish Post, the 'Celtic Fringe' programme on BBC Radio Leicester, and the 'Bob Brollie Irish Show' on Radio Leicester FM, for their help with publicity for events over the year.

Finally, we wish to thank Soar Valley College for its continued support and Leicester City Council (Leisure Services and Arts Department) for its annual grant support – essential for the administration and cultural programmes Workshop. Our thanks go to our usual local sponsors, kitchen and caretaking staff, to the college and students who assisted at the dinner, and of course to the many participants of all ages, cultural backgrounds and political traditions. It was most pleasant to receive the messages of appreciation from colleagues from around the country after the Conference weekend. We also wish to express our appreciation for the excellent conference bookstall service provided (annually) by Four Provinces Books of London; and to Elizabeth Wayne for help with conference administration.

We also wish to acknowledge the help provided by Maire Dowse as our Wednesday evening librarian and the administrative advice and support from Mrs Wendy Burke of the College Resources Department, and the typing by Mrs Rita Overhead. BAIS (British Association for Irish Studies) is to be particularly thanked for its support for the annual conference; we also wish to thank our long-term commercial sponsors who annually help to fund our Conference.

Nessan J Danaher, B.A. M.Ed Co-ordinator, Irish Studies Workshop 27 January 1995

THIS CONFERENCE HAS BEEN GENEROUSLY ASSISTED BY



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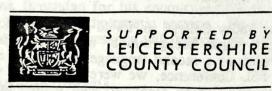












Everyong (May 1994) put on as part of their Conference on Needs of Elderly

Can Small Nations Survive? Irish experience and comparative European ethnicity

James O'Connell

Introduction: the issue of survival

The Irish make an interesting case study in the survival of small cultures, not least because the odds have been stacked against them. First, they not only live next to the large and developed English/British culture but they have been ruled for more than three centuries by persons of that culture. Second, they have lost their original language and taken on their neighbour's language. Third, though the Irish state is itself new, it has been sharing its sovereignty within the European Community/Union and may appear to have lost some ability to defend its culture.

The Irish are not exceptional in having had to struggle to survive culturally. The Danes and Frisians have had to endure nervously the pull and push of the Germans. The Lithuanians have had to differentiate themselves from the Poles whose language their own upper classes used for a long time and to resist the Russians who tried to destroy their language, religion and customs. Letts and Estonians have had to resist decades of imposed Russification. Flemish culture in Belgium was for a long time weakened as the upper classes spoke French rather than the language of the populace just as in the 19th century well-to-do Finns spoke Swedish rather than Finnish. The Ukrainians who live with a regional and linguistic split have had to insist that they differ from the Russians. The Swiss have used four or more languages, lived alongside large and highly articulate peoples, and dealt with divided and warring faiths as they established a strong ethnic sense; and the Jews have retained an identity that

Culture is an elusive term. Here I take it to mean a combination of factors: a sense of identity or belonging, an agreed, though not necessarily uniform, appreciation of history, a broad sharing of values, and a style and rhythm in the use of language, humour, music and dance. In Europe there are elements of a shared culture that cut across ethnicity - Judaeo-Christian monotheism, Greek order and mathematics, and Roman organisation - but even those elements that are cross-cutting are embodied in the singularity of the national/ethnic traditions. For such reasons the use of 'culture' in this essay is close to 'ethnic identity'. But I have on occasion used the term loosely and hope that precision will come from the context.

has endured through a long diaspora and a multiplicity of spoken languages, including ghetto Yiddish and revived Hebrew.

It took the Irish some time to make an identity that included the Anglo-Irish gentry who came reluctantly and eventually to merge with them. They have also run into obstacles in developing a solidarity with planted Ulster people who through marginal differences in religion and defensive reflexes in politics join them somewhat ambivalently. But they have had no more problems than others. Many Lutherans among the Lithuanians and Poles preferred German to their own language because it was the language of their religion. '... Hungarian magnates and lower nobility and intelligentsia in the nineteenth century had to Magyarize Croatian and Slovak peasants, as well as encourage a middle class in the expanding towns. Polish szlachta and landowners, again with a small intelligentsia, had to Polonize the Catholic peasantries of various regions of a divided Poland, excluding (or converting) Ruthenian and other peasantries, and promote Polish culture in the rapidly expanding industrial centres of the late nineteenth century. In Wallachia and Moldavia, the nobility and clergy were scornful of their peasantries until the early nineteenth century; but later found it useful and necessary to join with a rising middle class and mobilize and unify the peasantry around a Dacian myth and Rumanian language.' By the nineteenth century the Welsh gentry were altogether anglicised, English-speaking and schooled in English, and Anglican in religion; vast numbers of English workers made their way into Wales during the industrial revolution; and it took resistant strata of society: bards, chapels, eisteddfoddau, working-class rugby players, and people with memories of legends from days of independent kingdoms to hold on to first, and then make anew, a tentative Welshness.

The Irish are often unaware of how hard the row was that other European nations had to hoe. Many modern nations started with much less developed cultures than the Irish and like the latter had to get rid of foreign rulers and entrenched landlords. The Czechs had few historical memories of independence and towards the end of the last century had much less to build on in literature than the Irish but dragged a language from the fields and hills into the salons, while politically in the wake of a European war they secured an awkward independence with the Slovaks. Complications can be found even among the German groups: the Bavarians are staunchly German but culturally and linguistically they resemble Austrians who live in another state much more than they do Westfalians who live in the German federation; the Austrians, in turn, have to live with the problem of finding an identity that differentiates them from other Southern Germans; and in recent years those Germans who settled in Russia have had to argue more on legal grounds than on the grounds of an almost lost culture the right to return to the homeland of their ancestors. The Scots have had to face an uneasy relationship between their heterogenous elements: the highland Celts, the lowlands Anglo-Saxons, and the fringe Scandinavians, not to mention the melting pot of the Strathclyde industrial centres. If the nationalist Irish sometimes regret that religion

stamps their history, the Poles so revere this part of their identity that many nationalist songs are what other peoples would call hymns; and while the Irish possess a bad ethnic conscience over losing the strength that language might give them, they have made powerful and unifying use of an adopted language and kept the undertow of the old tongue.

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There have been ethnic groups or potential ethnic groups that have failed or partially failed. During the growth of the French state the Burgundians did not manage to create ethnicity. There was continual teutonisation of Slav groups to the east of the German groups as the latter pursued their policy of Ostsiedlung (colonisation). In more recent times the Slovenes of Carinthia in Austria and of Trieste in Italy and the Bretons and Flemish in France have given up much of their traditional culture as had earlier those Gaelic groups in Ulster who shifted religion and language. Ironically, in the context of survival the Irish reversed two 19th century nationalist trends: first, they took their sense of dignity and superiority from religion rather than from ethnicity; and, second, they lost their language at a moment when for most other ethnic groups language had ' ... for good or ill,..[become] the decisive factor and the symbol nationality.'

For all the anxieties that groups have felt about the survival of cultures peoples have shown enormous resiliency during history; and during the last thousand years most small European ethnic groups seem to have managed to survive. Historically those small cultures that have lasted have owed a good part of their survival to isolation - transport costs. The greatest threat to small cultures has tended to come either when they have been taken over politically and had their culture put at a social or economic disadvantage and/or when an occupying power has tried forcibly to suppress a culture. Groups survived through calling on various strengths. The Poles and the Irish in good part used their religion to cope; the Copts maintained an identity through their religion and liturgy; the Serbs, Croats and Muslims among the Southern Slavs sought advantages in allying themselves with various neighbours and employed religion in a decisively differentiating role just as the Northern Irish have used it as a boundary mechanism; the Basques retained their language, dwelt on memories of history and nobility, and stayed culturally apart from the main groups in both France and Spain; and the Quebecois in North America asserted their economic grievances making their language a symbol of distinctiveness and rights. Overall, the hardy survivals in Europe are impressive: among many others, the Scots, Sardinians, Sorbs, Galicians, Catalans, Occitans, Alsatians, and Sicilians as well as minorities from otherwise majority peoples - Hungarian, Albanian, German, Italian, Polish and others.

In our times problems that arise from the presence of more powerful neighbours remain but they have been complicated by a new and pervasive growth of written, verbal and visual communication and entertainment that has been made possible by modern technology. Given these changed circumstances, the

question of the survival of small cultures is posed in a new and acute way. For that reason, we need to ask with some urgency: can Irish culture which in its formative origins is earlier than the developed stages of English culture and which is very much older than, for example, the cultures of the peoples of Central Europe remain distinct and avoid going the way of its traditional language? Not only do the Irish live in the new circumstances of modernity but they are in virtue of their recent history, culturally more cross-bred than many other European peoples. Moreover, what prospects are there for Irish culture among the Irish of the diaspora? Finally, we may have to modify our original question on survival as such and rather raise questions about forms of survival that purists may not contemplate benignly.

Survival and the accumulation of pressures: modernity, popular culture, and classical prestige

The broad influences for change on cultures in the contemporary world may be gathered into three categories. The first category contains the processes and structures of modernisation; it includes a range of factors that are heavily conditioned by technology; and these factors change ways of thinking, affect forms of associating, and set styles and rhythms of social living. A second category includes influences formed by a mingling of Western popular and commercial cultures that has been called 'mid-Atlantic culture'. A third category groups the most traditional pressures that are brought to bear on cultures: pressures that emanate from larger and highly articulate cultures with classically creative authors, painters and musicians on neighbouring smaller cultures that share the same cultural and political space. These influences can rob an intelligentsia of the latter cultures of a sense of local distinctiveness and leave them with a derivative culture.

Let me examine each category of influences in turn:

1) The impact of modernity: While the impact of modernity which began in the West has a certain uniformising effect on cultures - factory overalls, medical drugs and motor cars change little from one culture to another - its main elements are universally human rather than Western. Mathematics which is the central tool of technology belongs exclusively to no one people because once a theorem or application has been worked out in one place it can be worked out analytically anywhere. Printing which was once and in great measure still is - the main tool of communication between past and present as well as between contemporaries facilitated, for example, the widespread emergence of the novel as a literary art form. However when novel-writing spread to various cultures it quickly became apparent that peoples poured their own distinctive cultural perceptions into plots, character and language. One has only to compare Jane Austen with Feodor Dostoevsky, James Joyce with Franz Kafka, or Salman Rushdie with Chinue Achebe or Shusako Endo to note the singularities and differences.

In other words, rationality, technology and organisation provide outlets for expressing creatively human sensibility and for organising human living. They also eliminate some received ideas, link up with meritocratic attitudes, and oblige social structures to be re-worked. Though modernising factors do not take away the genius of individual cultures, they do however through the communications revolution make individual cultures more consciously aware of one another, render them better able to communicate with one another, offer them the challenge of new stimulus, and prompt them to borrow more willingly and frequently from one another. In this connection too modern technology has marvellously facilitated communication between diasporas and their original homelands.

In the Irish case modernity may eliminate de Valera's vision of a people satisfied with frugal comfort, devoted to the things of the spirit, and joyous with the laughter of comely maidens; and it may suggest the unrealism of his vision of the purity of culture. It does not however eliminate Joyce's and O'Connor's Irish use of words, the Anglo-Irish sensibility of Yeats and Synge, the sense of place in O'Casey, Heaney and Friel, and the earthy hold on God in Kavanagh. All these things have a particular resonance among the Irish from whom they come but they are appreciated by those concerned with literature in English and by those everywhere interested in literature.

2) Popular culture: There are in many countries great worries over the debasing effects of the commercial exploitation of entertainment and taste on popular culture. To offset American influences the French government, for example, held out strongly in the 1993 GATT negotiations for a commercially viable quota of French films. Yet this uniformising pressure which comes from the diffusion of superficial opinions and ephemeral tastes through newspapers and magazines, radio and television is geared more to the young than to the middle aged and the old. In that sense its effect is time-limited and tends to dry up as family and work preoccupations narrow the focus of individuals and as changing trends and tastes, particularly in musical industries geared to the young, leave the middle aged behind and stranded. Mid-Atlantic culture does however take up time and space that a popular culture might living otherwise have filled more creatively. Slick standardisation may also with time bring a certain corroding impact on individual cultural sensibilities. One can hear the anguish in O'Faolain's appeal in Ireland in the 1940s: 'The priest and the writer ought to be fighting side by side, if for nothing else than the rebuttal of the vulgarity that is pouring daily into the vacuum left in the popular mind by the dying out of the old traditional way of life.'

For all the pessimism of some prognoses for Irish culture, it was almost immediately after a saturation of Irish cities with British and American pop and rock music that fleadhtha and contemporary musical groups in Ireland took off - and also that under the impact of Irish folk music a relatively static German folk music regained a healthy dynamism. In this sense the Chieftains who have retained the most refined elements of

traditional music and U2, the Pogues, the Water Boys and the Cranberries who owe much to Irish ceilidhe bands as well as to the Beatles and the Rock musicians join together in a continuity of popular and traditional musical sensibility and cultural individuality. In another great popular movement that began in the last century just as soccer was about to sweep almost all before it in Europe Cusack and the Gaelic Athletic Association revived and created distinctive games of great finesse. Music and games provide limited cultural examples but more generally most Irish people do not now share the 1950s sense of failure expressed by one of Bryan McMahon's characters (Children of the Rainbow) in a Kerry village: 'What will we be in the heel o' time but a mongrel race draggled at the tail of Christianity?'

The negative dimension of what I am arguing here is that a people cannot survive culturally by simply harking back to, or even preserving, a folk culture, whether in language, music or religion. Without creativity and change folk music, for example, will gradually mummify (as German folk dances did) and become the social equivalent of a museum piece. Folk music can be preserved by those with a sense of history and by those who love its sounds and rhythms. But it grows enormously in strength when it becomes one of the sources of, and historically symbiotic with, the life of a folk or people who go on creating their own popular distinctiveness in the use of language, music or religion. We do not look into a folk mirror to find out what we should be like from what we once were - whether in music or in religion - but to help us to recognise what we are and can be.

3) The prestige of the classical: Intellectual and artistic influences were more dangerous in Ireland in the last century than now. The educated middle classes had during the century become oriented towards Britain; and they communicated an ethnic inferiority complex that they had caught from members of the Anglo-Irish gentry to a colonised, dispossessed, and resentful people. Moreover, the new system of national schools out of which a revolutionary generation was later to emerge had had an initially equivocal effect on their pupils in using English materials and in spreading the English language. Yet in spite of the poverty of the early part of the century and the disaster of the famine in its middle, Ireland was far from being a total backwater. Continentals looked to O'Connell as one of the great liberal Catholics - those who in respecting religion had accepted a secular political and democratic approach. The various Irish risings went in rhythm with the revolutions of the continent. The Land League and the land war achieved results that matched those of Denmark and that were not only ahead of those of other parts of the British Isles but that have still not been achieved in England, Scotland and most parts of Central Europe. The land movement also created a conscious self-dignity that was to lay a foundation for overcoming the sense of ethnic inferiority. The Anglo-Irish literary movement and the Gaelic revival around the turn of the century brought a new articulateness to the country whose writers contributed more powerfully to literature in English - Joyce in the novel, Yeats in poetry, and Synge, O'Casey and Shaw in the theatre - than did contemporary English writers.

Maynooth in spite of its national and diocesan particularisms drew on a universal and intellectual tradition; the clergy also and their flocks who despite being intensely local and parochial never forgot their world-wide affinities; they supplied pastors and schools for Irish and other communities in Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand; and they made use of the Western colonisation of other peoples - Irish Protestant groups were active as well as Catholic groups - to share missionary Christianity with them. In this connection one must never underestimate the spiritual dignity that Catholicism gave to the Irish, the organisational role of the lower clergy, and the way in which religion enabled a dispossessed people to despise those who held their land.

What gives distinctiveness to an intellectual and artistic culture is not its ideas which it tends to share with other elite cultures but the social and emotional roots to which these ideas are attached. These roots prevent an intelligentsia from being cut off from popular traditions and from becoming cosmopolitan without belonging. If there are not thoughtful and articulate elites in political groups, religious bodies, and in commercial, artistic and writing circles, the danger is that popular culture will be despised by those who exercise most influence in a country and who may allow an inheritance to be frittered away. It was an earlier failure in Irish society to nurture elite groups linked to the language that almost certainly underlay the loss of Gaelic in 18th and 19th century Ireland - and undermined revival efforts in the 20th century - when it could at least have been retained for home, neighbourhood and church use in the way that Welsh was retained in many parts of Wales, Slav within German jurisdictions, Ukrainian within Russia, and unwritten African languages in many parts of the continent.

If one puts together the three categories - those mixtures of influences or pressures from scientific ideas and techniques, shared elements of a universalising culture, and social and technological structures - one may argue that Irish culture is on the way not only to surviving but on a new world scene may well move towards greater creativity in the interaction of its own elements and in dialogue with other cultures. What is fascinating at the present moment is the veritable explosion of writing among the Irish at home and abroad: poets, dramatists and novelists. What is also evident is that the Irish are building links with their diaspora communities and the latter with one another in areas that range from commerce to literature; and in which they support and enhance one another.

What is it to be Irish?

Up to now I have taken for granted that the Irish form a real and distinctive social group or nation. What is a nation? To cut through many distinctions: only three things seem to me essential to a nation: an attachment to a piece of land; elements of a shared history; and a sense of belonging.

Since these three criteria are untidy, especially the understanding of history, there is no one Irish model or mould, and there is no single way of being Irish. In a very basic sense the Irish, including those Northern Irish who emphasise traditions that differ from those of the majority on the island, are people who have lived in the island of Ireland for many centuries and who in living together have shared a history, and who in relating to one another and to outsiders have created elements of distinctiveness. They and their forebears before them have shared experiences that no other people have. Being Irish is in this sense an experience of love that has grown within a 'made match'. Not all the Irish groups have shared in the same way the different periods of history; opposing groups have fought one another at various times; and not all equally value or subscribe to elements that have come out of that history; and not everyone wants a state that is co-terminous with the nation or the island. But they are all Irish.

For such reasons not everybody who considers themselves Irish possesses all the characteristics and attitudes that are steeped in a common history; and one cannot use these factors as determining. One cannot, for example, insist on Catholicism as normative, or even Christianity, just as one cannot insist on the requirement of a traditional language. Moreover, Northern Protestants, even if other groups did not, impede attempts to build a monolithic identity. In a profound sense many people remain Irish though they reject the identity or dislike its characteristics; and others need to be accepted as Irish, almost no matter what their characteristics, simply because they identify with the Irish.

Furthermore, the essence of a living people is to change: they do not change arbitrarily but they do change inexorably. Hence, Ireland is not only something inherited and something shared. It is also something that goes on being made. Like all change many of those who are maturely formed cherish some unease as change goes down unexplored paths to unwelcome crossroads; and yet those are the places also where danger and opportunity meet.

The Irish have also for good or for ill been reared together in a kind of fosterage with the English. They acknowledge Shakespeare as well as Seathrunn Ceitinn as literary ancestors. But they integrate Shakespeare into an Irish sensibility - true a sensibility formed in part by Shakespeare but also - as in my case, and each one of us can think his own case through - by the religious values of a North Cork grandmother, the nationalist views of her daughter, the cosmopolitanism of a sea-faring father, the spoken English of Cork city, and the gently mocking humour of the Munster Irish. Furthermore, over against a centuries long history of ethnic intermingling, contemporary inter-marriage, a common language and literature, and shared political and economic prospects, enduring enmity with the English makes no sense. We are all Anglo-Irish - and there is no way of knowing where the mixture that the hyphen indicates begins or ends. Moreover, if the English constitute close family, the

Europeans form part of an extended family in a contemporary world where we must find and create a global fellowship.

The Irish diaspora in England: the conditions of survival

Where does the nature and survival of Irish culture leave that culture in the Irish diaspora? Diasporas are not easy. Even where the will to remain Irish endures the diaspora faces not only those pressures that the home culture faces but others that derive from its separated location. First, once generations move on, the links with Ireland and communities of origin inevitably weaken as distance, travel costs and other difficulties restrict contacts. Second, further generations come under pressure because they not only live among another people and own a fellowship with them but imbibe the latter's culture through schooling, the media, and a host of other influences in work and play. Third, the Irish in England face the difficult task of reconciling plural personal loyalties in working with new concepts and tensions in a post-colonial and multi-cultural society. In spite of its problems, the new multi-cultural context however offers opportunities to those who know how to take them.

Those who have been formed in the historic culture-community may carry its inheritance seriously or lightly but they have no choice except to carry it. On those raised within another culture neither sociological weight nor national obligation falls. Why then might they carry the inheritance? Or, to put the question another way: why do or why might second generation Irish accept inheritance that they can mostly avoid? straightforward answer in the Irish case is that many simply like or love the culture that has come to them through a mixture of friends, visits, religion, school, music, things: parents, reading. But if they choose to carry the inheritance, they realise that it offers them, not least, a relationship with a lovely land. Beyond that it offers a dimension to their personal and social identity through which they can reach into the treasury of a history that also belongs to them, that in its legends and folk tales, monasteries and castles, its fights and its defeats, its famine ditches and its migrations offers a well of human reflection, that enables them to go on knowing a people who cherish spirituality, music, language and humour, and that induces them in a world grown small and where societies now consciously jostle one another to bear within themselves a them a new empathy with pluralism that gives cultural contemporary society. I am sure that there are other reasons but inherent in any set of reasons is that crucial freedom that every person has to choose and to give value - not capriciously but thoughtfully - to whatever is historically offered them. Few offers provide more enriching and more complex choices than the inheritance of a tradition and the availability of a society and its culture.

Those who remain consciously Irish in England can live with a sense of belonging to one another and to another community; they give loyalty to the English community where they live and yet remain aware of another allegiance as well; they live with a

distance, including often a religious distance, that prevents them from complete assimilation to many local attitudes; they know other ways of speaking and other forms of sensibility; and they retain a way into other music and song. Yet they can, and do, simultaneously belong to and draw on the wealth of English society and culture.

To put things in a different way: first, though members of a diaspora keep in touch with their original homeland in a real or idealised version, they cannot ignore the history, culture and tasks of the territorial community where they live; second, they must of their nature face up to being a hybrid - with the consequent danger of breakdown, or to alter the metaphor, they may water their roots but must know that most of the rain that falls will be English; and, third, if a diaspora identity persists, it must also change in measure within its own rhythms and the rhythms of the host community, and in relation to its community of origin and the changes that take place there. For such reasons, the Jews in the United States are not the same as the Jews in Russia; and the Lebanese in Nigeria are not the same as the Lebanese in Brazil. So the Irish in Britain who encounter the remnants of a colonial mentality are not the same as the Irish in the United States who are not only generally considerably more prosperous than the American average but who benefit from a political ethos geared to the pluralism of a 'nation of immigrants'.

In pursuing the last point I might add that a facilitating reason why many Irish - unlike, for example, the Indian groups - have let go their culture is that they were able with extraordinary ease to assimilate, encountering no colour bar and speaking English from the beginning. In a sense the Irish lost their identity because they were too easily accepted as non-foreign and looked no more strange than the Scots and the Welsh. The English in Australia seem to have lost their identity for much the same reason, while the English/British in Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe have in areas of cultural contrast and economic privilege retained strong notions of identity.

There is now evidence that Irish groups in Britain are working on the identity consolidation that previously mostly escaped them. There is a retention of Irish belonging among first generation Irish and the consolidation of an identity among second generation Irish and even beyond. Though this sense of belonging and identity is being maintained within Britain, I suspect also that many Irish families continue through exogamous marriage, personal apathy and lack of religious practice to slip away from identity and out of association with other Irish. The same thing happens to the strong Jewish community in the United States, especially through inter-marriage. The question is not whether some Irish or Jews get lost but whether enough will stay. The question also is whether Irish people have the will to make the effort needed to maintain, to enlarge, and to diversify identity.

continued on page 24

THE LIMERICK SOVIET by D R O'Connor Lysaght

One of the more disagreeable features of the struggle between Irish historical 'traditionalists' and 'revisionists' is not their clashes but their <u>de facto</u> readiness to agree on major issues without investigation. The traditionalists do have the excuse that they drafted the line on these issues in the first place; the revisionists pretend that they question everything.

One such matter of implicit agreement is the socio-political nature of the revolutionary struggle after 1916. The traditionalists are happy with the historic perspective of a 'pure' nationalist political-military campaign with, as Michael Tierney put it, no social or political aspects. The revisionists are happy to go along with this. The first school fears lest too careful research provides ammunition to shake the status quo. Its opponents, or, at least, too many of them, want to change the status quo only in the political sense and are happy to accept Tierney's assertion as producing the ammunition they need in their task of defaming the national struggle for its alleged lack of social content.

In this matter, both sides are wrong. The atmosphere in nationalist Ireland between 1916 and 1923, and in Unionist Ireland to 1920, differed from the periods before and afterwards more than they differed from each other. Partly because of organisational and political weaknesses in the revolutionary camp itself, this potential was either strangled at birth or just neutralised by its enemies. It had been there, however, and it had enough reality to be part of the overall picture of the years of the national struggle.

For example, this was the period when Ireland led Britain and, indeed, the world outside Russia on women's political rights. This cannot be separated from the rise of Sinn Fein. The only two women running in Ireland in the general election of 1918 were candidates of that party. Had its electoral triumph been much less than it was, it is likely that Constance Markievicz would not have been these islands' first woman M.P. and that she would not have been the world's second woman government minister. Later, with the limited independence given by the Treaty, women under thirty got the vote on equal terms with men six years before their sisters elsewhere on these islands.

Such advances were paralleled by the fact that clerical influence was unusually low. At the time of the 1917 Sinn Fein unity convention, there were objections by Catholic priests that they were not seated by right of their cloth alone, as they were at similar Home Ruler assemblies. Though the Dail cabinet came down at last against democratic, rather than clerical control of education, it did so after a struggle that would not be seen again for more that seventy years. It is not really surprising, then, that the majority of the Catholic bishops remained hostile to the first Dails and their Republic even after the leaders of the Home Rule party had accepted the fact that events had overtaken their programme.

None of this meant that Sinn Fein headed a socialist movement. It did mean that it headed a revolutionary democratic mass movement. Such bodies have to face the fact at last that bourgeois society cannot support too much democracy and that they must either advance further than the leaders of that society would like in the direction of Socialism or accept that their programmes be diluted.

The potential approached Socialism in the theories of some of the Republic's leading supporters. Richard Mulcahy has testified that at that time the major social influence

upon the revolutionaries was George Russell's <u>National Being</u>, with its perspective of co-operative socialism achieved through the <u>self-interest</u> of the petty bourgeoisie. This vision was embraced, then, by W.B. Yeats, in his article 'If I Were Four and Twenty,' published in Russell's <u>Irish Statesman</u> in August 1919. This journal challenged the Anti-Bolshevik propaganda of the rest of the capitalist media.

What stopped this developing into Socialism was the absence in the revolutionary movement of any mass working class socialist presence. Connolly had led the Citizen Army in the Rising and his comrade-in-arms, Markievicz was token labour as well as token woman minister in the Dail Cabinet, but she lacked Connolly's union base. The leadership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union knew that its Acting-General Secretary's intervention in the rebellion had cost him his life, the union headquarters, Liberty Hall and, for a while, the freedom of the union President. While using Connolly's name to win recruits, it took its line, along with other unions, from their movement's surviving ideologist, Thomas Johnson. While Labour was to be sympathetic to Irish national aspirations and the struggle to achieve them, it was to keep them at arms length, and mobilise only against specific anti-democratic actions on the part of the British occupier. An attempt by Connolly's friend, William O'Brien to maintain a Labour presence within the broad revolutionary front that would become a single Sinn Fein party without that presence was undermined by the opposition of his Labour allies.

They were not altogether to blame. The organisation of their movement united as a single entity the industrial and political movements, so as to make labour simply a function of the Irish Trade Union Congress. This had been expected to aid recruitment on a clear class basis. In reality, it made political division a major hazard to unions as well as the party that they constituted, and made unity a premium to be achieved, if necessary through a strategy based on the lowest common denominator. In a land where workers, like everyone else were divided politically between Unionists, constitutional nationalists and Republicans, this meant a necessary fudge on the national question.

Until 1920, this fudge seemed to work. Membership of the I.T.U.C.'s affiliates, trades unions and trades councils, rose from 130,000 at the end of 1916 to 320,000 in August 1920. The I.T.G.W.U. made up the largest part of this, growing from 5,000 to 120,000 in the same period. This growth did not simply parallel that of the reviving Republican movement after 1916. What became the new Sinn Fein expanded steadily all through 1917, as did the Volunteers; both appealed beyond the working class to tenant farmers and small businessmen who made up the broad social front termed the 'men of no property.' Labour advanced more slowly until the October revolution in Russia showed it what workers could do and inspired the Irish along with others.

The national struggle could still affect Irish Labour positively as was shown the following April. The British government move to conscript Ireland was met by petitions, pulpit denunciations and by the constitutional nationalist M.P.s taking the Sinn Fein line of abstention from Westminster. Labour organised the first political general strike in these islands: the first successful political general strike in western Europe. Admittedly with aid from the Irish Volunteers in some non-unionised areas, the stoppage was nearly 100 per cent successful outside the Unionist north, and it might have been successful there, had the Belfast Trades Council been able to protect a previous anti-conscription meeting against Loyalist interference. As a result, 1918 saw Labour and the I.T.G.W.U. breakthrough in area where they had been unknown.

If the 1918 general strike had shown the possibilities for Labour in advancing the national struggle, the end of the year gave it a warning against being too detached from it. The issue was bound to become the central feature of the December general

election campaign in Ireland. Labour found too late that it had allowed Sinn Fein to identify the cause with its strategy of principled abstention from Westminster. Labour could either oppose Sinn Fein, with the almost certain prospect of losing, or it could run in tandem with it, alienate many constitutional nationalist workers and accepting the paramouncy of the projected Dail Eireann over a trade union congress that saw itself as the prospective, syndicalist 'Parliament of Labour.' Except in four Unionist constituencies in Belfast, the Labour candidates withdrew.

Yet, as the anti-conscription strike had shown, and as was borne out by Volunteers and other Sinn Fein supporters joining local general strikes for better conditions, the Irish working class linked nationalism and syndicalism 'in its revolutionary consciousness,' as Trotsky had put it. It was inevitable that this combination would be expressed more than would be welcome to the Labour or Republican leaderships.

It was not coincidental that Limerick would seem such a synthesis of working-class forms of struggle and the cause of Irish self-determination. The city had elected a local Labour Party to a majority on its corporation as long ago as 1899, though disillusion with what became another constitutional nationalist front had contributed to the achievement being eclipsed by the notorious anti-Jewish pogrom of 1904. Later, the city's Bishop O'Dwyer had been the one member of the hierarchy to condemn Britain's executions of the 1916 leaders. In 1918, the constitutional nationalists who controlled the corporation had replaced the mayor, who had accepted a knighthood, with a professed Sinn Feiner, Alphonsus O'Mara, of the bacon-curing firm, Donnelly's, re-electing O'Mara in 1919.

Syndicalism had been slower to appear. Unlike other major Irish cities, Limerick got no I.T.G.W.U. branch until July 1917. Even then, half the trade council's affiliated membership was in British based unions. Yet Syndicalist militancy affected all. The council chairman, Sean Cronin of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters had been very critical of the influence of 'Dublin Socialists' in his movement. By April 1918, he was hailing the general strike as evidence that his class really ruled Ireland. This had a narrower side. As strict Syndicalists, the delegates from the Trades Councils of Limerick, Cork and Waterford had opposed Labour amending its constitution to allow some form of political intervention by non-trade unionists.

For the first quarter of 1919, class and national struggles in Limerick moved on parallel lines. The 600 workers in the Condensed Milk Company's factory, the core of the I.T.G.W.U. branch, were preparing a strategy to win a wage increase. On 21st January, Robert ('Bertie') Byrne, trade union militant and Volunteer was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for possession of a revolver. On 1st February his comrades on the Trade Council voted that he and other such prisoners should have their political status recognised. Neither this nor Byrne's hunger strike had any result except to have him moved to the Workhouse Hospital (now St Camillus') on 12th March.

On 6th April, his Volunteer comrades tried to rescue him. Though they succeeded in killing his R.I.C. guards, he died from wounds received in the fracas. While his body went to lie in state in the Cathedral, the colonial authorities sought the killers of the policeman. They arrested two of Byrne's cousins, but were never able to make a case against them. Meanwhile, the crises in the Condensed Milk Factory had reached its head. The organised workers in all the company plants formed a Munster Council of Action which threatened strike action. The company replied by offering a wage of 45 shillings (about £79 at todays prices) and a 48 hour week for the Limerick workers, while sacking their shop steward.

On top of this, the colonial government moved to assert its authority. On Friday, 11th April, a large area in and around the borough of Limerick was declared to be under martial law as from the following Tuesday. The proclaimed region was defined

arbitrarily; it was limited to the south side of the Shannon, not only excluding from it the Workhouse Hospital, but several factories, including the Condensed Milk factory, and a large proportion of the city. Many workers had to commute in and out of the proclaimed area to earn their living. The would have to carry passports issued by the military if they were to do so.

The next day, the condensed milk workers moved to show their power to the British and their bosses by striking against this order. On the Sunday their union representatives persuaded the trades council to call a citywide general strike from 5 a.m., Monday 14th April until the ending of martial law.

The Trades Council transformed itself into the Strike Committee. It took over a printing press in Cornmarket Row, prepared placards explaining the strike and had them postered all over Limerick. It would publish many other publications: permits, proclamations, food price lists and a <u>Strike Bulletin</u>. The Committee's other move was to appoint skeleton staffs to maintain gas, electricity and water supplies.

Despite the suddenness of this decision, it was enforced immediately by Limerick's 15,000 organised workers. From the Monday, all that were operating were public utilities under skeleton staffs, carriers transporting journalists to interview the strike committee, banks, hotels, government offices (the post office only for the sale of stamps) and the railways. These last would become a major issue in the stoppage.

the next day, the Unionists <u>Irish Times</u> described the strike as a 'Soviet,' though the American journalist, Ruth Russell describes Cronin himself admitting proudly to the name on the first Monday. Certainly, nobody challenged it at the time.

But what did this mean? Quite simply, the trades council/strike committee had local sovereignty over Limerick during the Soviet's fortnight. The city council was irrelevant and the local bourgeoisie accepted it. Mayor O'Mara moved from his home outside the proclaimed area to an hotel within it. On the 14th, the Chamber of Commerce made an unanimous appeal for an end to the permit scheme to the United Kingdom cabinet and the military authorities.

This acceptance was due partly to initial actions by Cronin himself and by the British General in Command of the area, C.J. Griffin. Cronin was careful to limit his aim to winning the right of free movement against the passports. Griffin refused an offer from Messrs. Cleeve, the Condensed Milk Company's holding firm, that it take, hold and distribute permits on behalf of its employees. It was his biggest mistake in the crisis.

The one member of the strike committee not of the working class was the farmer, Michael Brennan, Commandant of the East Clare Brigade of the Irish Volunteers. He was co-opted so that the Soviet could have not only its own pickets but a body of armed men in reserve. That this was only a contingency is shown by the fact that Brennan was the choice. There was too much rivalry between the Limerick brigades for them to allow any nominee from one of them to be their sole representative; rather than have one from each, the outsider, Brennan was appointed.

Under the Strike Committee were three sub-committes: food, pickets and propaganda. The first organised the supply and distribution of food, down to hay for carthorses. This was both a necessary part of Soviet control and a reduction of pressures to claim British entry passports in practice in case there was an attempt to starve out the city. The sub-committee opened a depot on the north bank of the River Shannon. Provisions were sent mainly by Co. Clare farmers, though they were promised, too, from elsewhere in Ireland and from trade unions in Britain. From the depot, food was smuggled across the river, in various ways, most notably by boats with muffled oars and hearses empty of corpses. Once in the city it went to one of four

distribution depots from which the sub-committee released it at fixed prices. Eventually, much of this would have to be delegated to local ward committees.

The decrees of the food sub-committee were enforced by the sub-committee on pickets. It may have enforced, as well, general law and order, though that may have been the responsibility of a sub-committee for vigilance, if not immediately, than later. Such a sub-committee had little to do. When Labour discussed the Soviet at its Annual Meeting the following August, it would be stated that not a single arrest had had to be made. Eventually, the pickets sub-committee was definitely split into sub-committees for permits (passports) and for transport.

The propaganda sub-committee produced propaganda, including a daily $\underline{\text{Workers'}}$ Bulletin.

Against these measures, the colonial state added to its garrison 100 police, an armoured car and a tank ('Scotch' and Soda'), blockading the entrance to the proclaimed area with barbed wire. At the time, Griffin took care to grant any passport that was claimed. On Thursday, the 17th, he offered the members of the Chamber of Commerce the terms he had refused Messrs. Cleeve. The Chamber referred the offer to the Strike Committee. On the same day, however, solidarity with the Soviet was broken by the large coal merchants. They had obeyed the Strike Committee order to remain open only to suffer a run on their stocks. They refused to open again.

For all that, the Soviet approached the end of its first week with reason for confidence. It had been helped by a stroke of luck. A competition had been initiated to fly the Atlantic for the first time. One competitor, Major Wood, planned to restore fuel supplies at nearby Bawnmore field. To cover this, many reporters for newspapers all over the world had come to Limerick and came under the authority of the Strike Committee, a fact that they reported. Indeed, the Soviet became their only story, since Wood crashed in the Irish Sea on his way from England.

Yet the Soviet could not continue in isolation. Cronin expected the Irish railwaymen to strike in sympathy. By Good Friday, 18th April, they were blacking goods for Limerick not endorsed by the Soviet or protected by the British Army. In addition, the Soviet had sent delegates to call for a national general strike (like the one the previous year) in its support. The answers were favourable.

To initiate such national action would be the task of Irish Labour's National Executive. As its membership was drawn from all around Ireland, it was unable to meet until the 17th. There it listened to two delegates from the Strike Committee, agreed to send Thomas Johnson to Limerick and appealed for the Soviet to be backed by the workers and peoples of the world. Beyond this it would not go until a quorum of its members could visit the city, which would not be before Tuesday, 22nd April.

Over the Easter weekend, pressures mounted on the Soviet from both sides. On the 19th, the Resident Magistrates voted down the Mayor and appealed to Griffin to extend the boundaries of the proclaimed area. The same day, a crowd of boys was dispersed by a sentry. On Easter Monday, a hurling match at Cahirdavin, north of the Shannon was the opportunity for 300, including Thomas Johnson, to test the British resolve not to let them return without passports. This was not broken at Sarsefield Bridge, but the demonstrators were able to return the next day by taking a train from Long Pavement and getting out at Limerick on the side opposite the platform where the British were waiting.

The same day brought bad news. Cronin was hoping for financial aid from the British unions that organised half the Limerick trade unionists. On Easter Monday, the British T.U.C. instructed those of its affiliates that had members in Limerick not to

allow strike pay for this political strike. This was supported by the leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen which ordered its members not to strike in sympathy.

The blow to morale was considerable; the financial blow had been partly anticipated. By the end of the first week, there was already a money shortage. Limerick needed £7,000 to £8,000 per week for purchases outside and circulation within. Over the fortnight of the Soviet, it received £1,500 and £1,000 from the I.T.G.W.U. So, on the 18th, the Soviet funded a new sub-committee. It included the newly-arrived Johnson, qualified accountants and men from the finance departments of local firms. This body prepared special bank notes to be issued on the credit of the Strike Committee. There is disagreement as to whether the notes were circulated. Meanwhile, by Wednesday the 23rd, local attitudes to the Soviet were continuing to polarise on class lines. On the one hand, the workhouse clerks joined the strikers. On the other, the Chamber of Commerce postponed but did not reject a proposal to break the strike.

The same day, the visitors of Labour's National Executive met the Strike Committee and sealed the fate of the Limerick Soviet. They stated that 'under the existing state of affairs,' their movement was 'not prepared for the revolution.' Instead, they proposed a symbolic gesture to impress the British. The Volunteer Chief of Staff, Richard Mulcahy had suggested evacuating the city's women and children. Now the Executive turned his idea into something all its own: the total evacuation of the city. Not surprisingly, the Strike Committee rejected it.

With the strike deadlocked and the Committee disoriented, the capitalists felt able to seek their own compromise without asking the Strike Committee. They started talks with Griffin. At the same time, the Committee itself began to retreat. It called on those who worked within the proclaimed area to resume work. This angered many in Thomondgate, who travelled to their jobs on the southside. Copies of the proclamation curtailing the strike were torn down and unofficial pickets stopped permit holder from crossing into the proclaimed area until dispersed by the R.I.C. Their defeat encouraged the Bishop and the Mayor to call for the strike to end completely. The Committee abandoned it on Sunday, 27th April. Seven days later, as if it had been agreed with O'Mara and the Bishop, the colonial authorities withdrew proclamation and passports.

The Limerick Soviet had ended because the Labour Party and T.U.C. represented less than half Ireland's 700,000 workers and feared that it would not get to represent a majority if it moved in a way that would place itself at the head of the divisive political cause of Irish independence.

Though the strike may have hastened the end of the Limerick proclamation, the most definite victors were the Condensed Milk Company workers. Their show of strength enabled them to keep their pay and hours award and their shop steward. The trouble was that they did not hold out on behalf of their comrades in the Council of Action. That body split as each factory negotiated separate terms.

Inevitably, there was discontent about the outcome of the Limerick Soviet, but it was limited to Limerick and to those whose opposition to Johnson and the National Executive majority was seen as based on doubtful grounds. This enabled Johnson to defend his part successfully at the Party and Congress' Annual Meeting at Drogheda in August 1919:

'A general strike could have been legitimately called in Ireland on twelve occasions within the last two years. But it was not a question of justification. It was a question of strategy. Were they to take the enemy's time or were they to take their own? They knew if the railwaymen came out the soldiers would have taken on the railways the next day. They knew if the soldiers were put on the railways, the railways would have been blown up.

They knew that would have meant armed revolt. Did they as Trade Unionists suggest that it was for their Executive to say that such action should be taken at a particular time, knowing, assured as they were, that it would resulted in armed revolt in Ireland. He believed that it was quite possible that it would be by the action of the Labour Movement in Ireland that insurrection would some day be developed. There might be occasion to decide on a down tools policy which would have the effect of calling out the armed forces of the Crown. But Limerick was not the occasion.'

Before the most militant could learn that Johnson would never find the occasion for Labour to take the lead in the national struggle, much time and activity was to take place, including a political rail strike (against the British forces' carriage of arms) which did not have the results prophesied. Meanwhile, Sinn Fein continued at the head of the national struggle, which became increasingly an armed contest between different capitalist forces, without hindrance from organised Labour.

In Limerick, the workers remained among the most militant in Ireland, but they did not again place themselves at the very front of their comrades. That vanguard role moved to Cork and Tipperary. Only as the new capitalist order consolidated itself in the form of the Irish Free State, did the spirit of the Soviet revive. In 1922, the Limerick unemployed organised themselves, and the local tenants' movement occupied houses in Garryowen. The following year, striking printers produced the own Limerick Herald. By that time, the Free State Army was crushing both Republicans and militant workers to establish a social order in which Soviets could have no place.

Until its fiftieth anniversary, the Limerick Soviet of 1919 was buried from memory more completely than the workplace occupations of the period. Limerick's fusion of syndicalism and nationalism embarrassed trade unionists and nationalists alike. Between 1920 and 1969 only one chapter of one book (McCann's War by the Irish) gave it any sort of detailed treatment. Since 1969, matters have been different. The seventieth anniversary was an occasion for celebration in the city. This was only just. Though Labour's national leadership prevented the Soviet having a place in Irish history comparable to the St. Petersburg Soviet in the history of Russia, for two short weeks it showed Ireland the manifestation of the Workers' Republic.

Please turn over for MAP of LIMERICK CITY in 1919.

FURTHER READING

Primary Source

Ruth Russell, What's the Matter with Ireland, Chicago, 1920.

Secondary Sources

Liam Cahill, Forgotten Revolution, Dublin 1991.

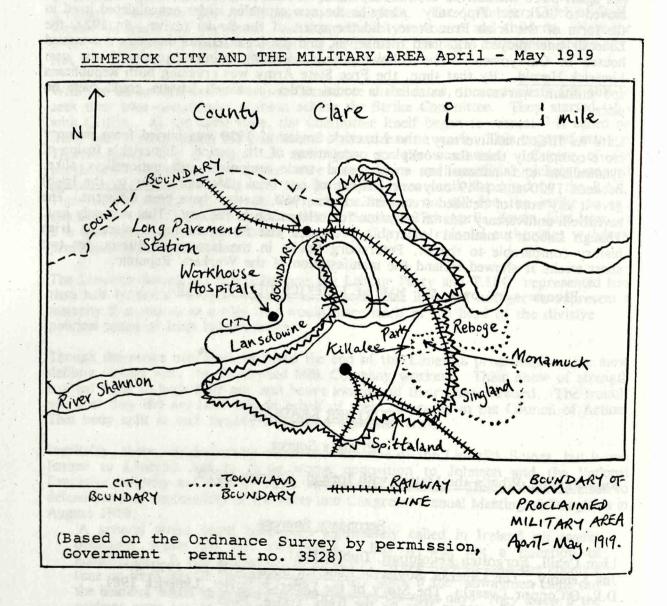
Jim Kemmy, 'The Limerick Soviet in Limerick Socialist II-IX, 1973-4.

D.R. O'Connor Lysaght, The Story of the Limerick Soviet, Limerick 1981.

John McCann, Chapter in War by the Irish, Tralee, 1946.

Conclusion (continued from page 16)

Let me come back to the question: what is it to be Irish, whether in the old land or abroad? To be Irish is to cherish the love of a land; to share a history with others; and to belong to a people. In belonging we need also to respect other peoples and accept our linkages and affinities with them and with the whole world. There is no prescriptive statement of what a people are, only a descriptive one. There is no ideology about being a people. There is only a hope that we ourselves and those to whom we belong - whether they live in the homeland or in the diaspora - will respect the best of our traditions, stay together, and act well.



Workshop	WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS				
No	Please note your choice of workshop in the boxes provided and keep this sheet for reference.				
1	GAVIN MURPHY, University of Ulster at Belfast. REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN IRISH CINEMA. Looking at films such as The Field, The Quiet Man, Hush A Bye Baby and December Bride, the role of women in relation to the land question and contemporary debate will be examined.				
2	RAYNER O'CONNOR LYSAGHT, of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. THE LIMERICK SOVIET. The story of the General Strike against the British imposition of travel permits in Limerick in the War of Independence.				
Joys 1 in	DR BRIAN P MURPHY, Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick. REVISIONISM AND ROY FOSTER'S HISTORY OF IRELAND. a) Revisionism in general; b) 20th Century Ireland in Foster's c) his use of sources and d) political effects.				
4	MARIE O'REILLY, St. Mary's School, IRISH STUDIES IN BRITISH SCHOOLS; REALITY AND PRACTICALITY. Topic related work for Primary Schools; a look at Music and Language (Irish) Story and Drama. Secondary school work; areas of reference for National Curriculum work, based on classroom experience.				
S server releman () pa Arguna pa Arguna	JOHN EGAN, researcher in London. JOHN O'NEILL - SHOEMAKER, POET, TEMPERANCE WORKER AUTHOR OF FIFTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE OF AN IRISH SHOEMAKER IN LONDON. Born in Waterford, John O'Neill (1788-1858) spent the last 50 years of his life in London. Him memoirs show how he worked at his trade, how he lived (very poorly) and why his name should be remembered.				
6 3V tal-lo he3	GERRI MORIARTY, freelance drama specialist, EXPLORING IMAGE AND REALITY THROUGH DRAMA - IN BELFAST, DUBLIN AND MANCHESTER. Community drama/theatre offers a "safe space" for individuals and groups to explore the controversial, the painful, the hilarious, the challenging. This workshop will examine what happens when the "safe space" is offered in an Irish context.				
7	KATE JOYCE, Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool, IRISH WOMEN IN MERSEYSIDE: ISSUES OF IDENTITY, this study of Irish Republic born women living in Merseyside represents a quantitative investigation of the experience of migration and 'settlement. I will talk about the research and outline the importance of an investigation of identity.				
8	SEAN QUINN St Mary's College Belfast, THE TRADITIONAL MUSIC EDUCATION PACK - INTRODUCING SCHOOL PUPILS TO IRISH MUSIC an exploration of the purpose and methodology of teaching about traditional music in schools, and facilitating workshop members in working with these published materials				
9	PAULINE ROCHE, Birmingham Irish Women's Support Group, Co-ord, GETTING OVER COMING OVER - IRISH WOMEN ARRIVING IN ENGLAND IN THE 1980'S AND 1990'S (A WOMEN - ONLY WORKSHOP), the effects of coming to England on the physical and mental health of Irish women based on conversations with women who have come to England from Ireland since 1980				

10	GAVIN MURPHY, University of Ulster at Belfast, MODERN ART AND
	THE CONFLICT IN THE NORTH, how artists and critics have approached issues surrounding the conflict in the North.
11	PATRICIA McCARTHY, Archivist, Cork, Cork Archives Institute, AN INTRODUCTION TO SOURCES HELD, the Cork Archives Institute provides an archival service for Cork City and County. The archive is chiefly utilised by third level students, academic researchers, those involved with heritage related projects, local historians, schools and adult educational groups. The archives holds a wide range of collections relating to the development of Cork City and County.
12	LIAM O CUINNEAGAIN of Oideas Gael, Gleann Cholm Cille, Co. Dhún na nGall, TEACHING IRISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS SKILLS FOR BEGINNERS AND INTERMEDIATE LEARNERS, syllabus and materials and methods for adult learners; setting up classes for best results; reinforcement techniques and means of staying in contact with the language.
13	RAYNER O'CONNOR LYSAGHT, of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, THE IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT SINCE THE TROUBLES OF c.1918-21, highlights of development and relations with British labour Organisations.
14	NOEL COUGHLAN, HIV Research and Development (Irish Community), ACTIONS ON IRISH PEOPLES HEALTH. A summary of current information on the health of Irish people and presentation of the Coventry experience. A detailed look at attitudes towards sex and sexuality and the effects of these on our health.
15	MICHAEL PARKER, Sen. Lect in English at Liverpool Inst. of H.Ed., BRIAN FRIEL AND 'TRANSLATIONS'. The Politics of Language - a participatory Workshop with video.
16	PROF. JAMES O'CONNELL, Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON IRISH ATTITUDES IN BRITAIN, a postscript to the extensive Irish Post survey.
17	DR LLOYD LAING, Archaeology Section of Nottingham University, AN INTRODUCTION TO CELTIC ART, an illustrated talk dealing with the art of the Celts from the 4th to the 12th Centuries.
18	MICHAEL PARKER, Sen. Lect. in English at Liverpool Inst. of H.Ed., SEAMUS HEANEY AND THE TROUBLES: The interaction of poetry and politics. A participatory workshop with slides and video.
19	DR BRIAN P. MURPHY, Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick, IRELAND AND AMERICAN CONNECTIONS c.1916-1940, a) de Valera's first tour of America to the Treaty of 1921, b) Pro and Anti-Treaty groups compete in America 1922-1926 and c) Fianna Fail and rival groups in America 1926-1940.
20	JOAN O' FLYNN of the London based ACTION GROUP FOR IRISH YOUTH will address two topics: access to Social Services and dealing with Anti-Irish Racism.

PARTICIPANTS 1994

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10	18	06	01	BIRD, Elizabeth, Derby BOULT, Eva, London
04		06	20	BRADY, Sadie, Coventry
04	07	08	12	BRODERICK, Mrs Maureen, Irish Language Tutor SVC, Leicester
15	07	06	01	BRENNAN, Rose, U/G Cultural Studies University of Birmingham
				BROOKS, Wendy M Mrs
04	20	13	16	BUSHER, Paula, Bromley
01	14	09	16	CAMILL, Elizabeth, Irish Community Care Manchester CANAVAN, Bernard, Irish Studies Tutor, London
04		18	08	CARROLL, Liz, Northampton
07	03	09	20	CASEY, Colettee, Birmingham
05	17	18		CASSIN, Walter, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
04		06	20	CLAVIN, Rosemarie, Mickleover, Derby CLEMENTS, Rose, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
04	20	06	16	COFFEY, Ellen, Mackworth, Derby
05	07		01	COLBERT, Phil, Leicester
15	18	11	13	COLEMAN, Helen, London
15	18		01	CONNOLLY, Fidelma, North London
15	03	06	01	CONNOR, Maria, Mountsorrel, Leicester
				COOKE, Mr Patsy, Irish Studies Workshop SVC
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07	20	09	01	COPE, Clare, Rotherham, S. Yorks
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	23	13	16	COWAN, Clare, Handsworth, Sheffield
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07	20	19	01	CROSS, Nicola, Sheffield
				CROWLEY, Derry, Regional Manager Aerlingus,
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07	14	06	12	DARBEY, Sarah, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
37	14		01	DARBYSHIRE, Eibhlin, Irish Community Care, Manchester DAVIES, Bernard, Sheffield
	03	13	01	DE POAR, Laoise, London
	07	09	20	DEARLOVE, J Mrs, Birmingham
15	18	06		DOWSE, Máire, Peterborough
				DOYLE, Anne Marie, U/G Cultural Studies University of Birmingham
17	03	02	12	DUFFY, Pat, Wolverhampton

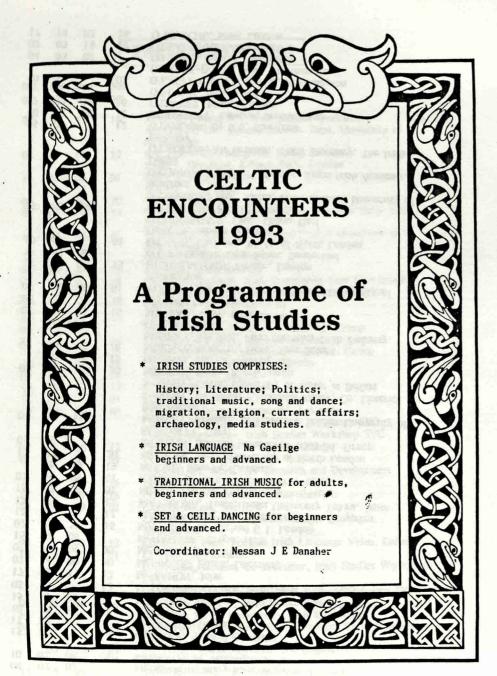
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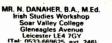
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15	18		16	McKEOCH, John, Leicester
17	18			McKEVITT, Teresa
10	18	6		McKEVITT, Tina
15	16	06	12	McLOUGHLIN, Kath, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
05			12	MCLUUGHLIN, Liam, Manchester Irish Ed Group
17	03	19	12	McMAHON, John
07	14	09	20	McMANUS, Eileen, Leicester
07	16	09	20	McMULLEN, Maureen
15	17	08		McNAMARA, Brigid, Hull
02	03	19	16	MAGUIRE, Dr Michael G I, London
17	07	06	12	MARTIN, Anna, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
17	03		12	MATSUOKA, Toshi, Hosei University Tokyo, Japan
15	03	09	01	MINES, Patricia, Wolverhampton
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15	07	13	20	MOORE, Maurice, Coventry
			20	MORGAN, Sarah, University of North London
05	18			MORGAN, Seamas, Manchester Irish Ed. Group
04	0-			MORIARTY, Gerri
04	07	11		MORLEY, Amanda, U/G Cultural Studies University of
				Birmingham
				MURPHY, Dr. Brian P, Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick
				MURPHY, Gavin, University of Ulster at Belfast
02	-	13	20	MURPHY, Kevin, Northampton
	03	11	13	MURPHY, Patrick, Nottingham
05	18	11	16	MURPHY, Winifred, Hove, East Sussex
				MIIDDAY Mr. Doul First County Live
				MURRAY, Mr Paul, First Secretary Irish Embassy, Cultural Attache
02	07	06	16	MIDDAY Tony Lander
05	03	00	16	MURRAY, Tony, London
07	18	06		MYANT, Chris, London
07	10	06	01	NUGENT, Julie, P/G Cultural Studies University of
16	0.7	0.		Birmingham
15	03	06	13	NICHREACHAIN, Firinne, London
15	03	08		O'BROLCHAIN, Caoimhghin, Sunderland
10	17		01	O'BRIEN, Christine, P/t II of North London
				OBROIN, Seoirse, London
	VI			O'CUINNEGAIN, Liam, Oideas Gael
15	03	19		OCONCHUIR, Padraig, London
				O'CONNELL, Prof. James, Peace Studies, University of
				Bradford Studies, Prace Studies, University of
				O'CONNOR LYSAGHT, Rayner, Royal Irish Academy,
				Dublin Dublin
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				O'CAOLLAI, Mr Brendan, Third Secretary, The Irish Embassy
15	03		12	O'DIREAIN DE D.C. CIJC
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17	07	19	16	O'DOHERTY, Eamonn, Peterborough
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04	03	08		O'KEEFE-IVANS, Nora, Northampton
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				O'REILLY, Marie St. Mary's Sahari
				PARKER, Michael, Sen Lect in English at Livernant L.
04	16	19		
04	10	19	01	PLANT, E.A.
05	03	11	16	QUINN, Sean, St. Mary's College Belfast
05	03		10	Adriatic Italy Colchester, United World College of the
07	00			RELF, Seamus, Irish Studies Workshop SVC
07	03	01	01	ROCHE, Clare, U/G Cultural Studies University of
				Birmingnam
				ROCHE, Pauline, Co-or. Birmingham Irish Women's
				Support Group
	16	19	13	RYAN, John, West Hendon, London
04	07	11	16	RYAN, Marian, Wigston, Leicester
				SAMMELLS, Neil , Irish Studies Review
	03	19	16	SAVAGE, Stephen, London
15	03	16		SCOTT, A.C., London
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05		02	01	SCULLY, Mrs J, Birmingham
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10	03	11		TAYLOR, Barbara, Leeds
15	18		12	THOMPSON, Kate, Coventry
				WALLACE, Marion, Notts. Irish Studies
17		11	01	WARRENER, Mrs Mary, Leicester
				WAYNE, Elizabeth, Irish Studies Workshop SVC
				WHELAN Reverley Irish Dance Marie Town CVC
10	17	11	01	WHELAN, Beverley, Irish Dance Music Tutor SVC
10	**	••	O1	WILKINSON, June, Knutsford, Cheshire
				WILLIAMS, Lestyn, U/G Cultural Studies University of Birmingham
04	03	13	16	WOODHURST, John, Newark & Sherwood College
				FEELY, Michael; Music Tutor: SVC/Irish
				Studies Workshop

LATE ENROLMENTS

RYCE, Tricia, London
WILLIS, Tim, University of Leicester
BOYCE, Eva
COLLINS, Ann, SVC Irish Studies Workshop
CUSACK, Deirdre, Set Dance Tutor, SVC/ISW
CUSACK, Stephen, Leics Social Services
MORGAN, Kevin, Leicestershire
COPE, Claire, Derbys Co Council, Social Services
McLISTER, Gerard, Derbys Co Council, Social
Services









"CELTIC ENCOUNTERS" - A PROGRAMME OF IRISH STUDIES

Autumn 1993 - Wednesday evening 7.10-8.40pm

Fee: £23 [£8]

Tutor - Nessan Danaher

8 September - "TASTER" night:

A sample of a typical evening's programme. Topic will be the Irish in Britain, video will be used. [There is no charge for this session].

[1] 15 September - "THE CINEMA & CONFLICT IN N. IRELAND"

(An Introduction to FILM & THE TROUBLES)
This course will look at how filmmakers from America, Britain & Ireland tackle the current conflict in Northern Ireland in their work. This will range from dealing with how violence is treated on film to discussing the range of political opinions on offer. Speaker will be post-grad researcher GAVIN MURPHY.

[2] 22 September - "THE IRISH IN BRITAIN - A CHURCH IN EXILE"

Fr. John LALLY heads an active parish team in Highfields, a typical innercity area of Leicester, where the parish of the Sacred Heart is situated. This is a relevant topic for all Irish people, whether they are practising Catholic or otherwise.

[3] 29 September - MAN OF ARAN

A film made in the 1930's, starring Patcheen Conelly, Maggie Dirrane and Colman King. [76 mins] directed by ROBERT FLAHERTY.

Measured by modern standards, life on Aran in the early 1930s was hard, but the islanders were amused when told that their way of life had been left behind by the march of progress. Tiger King, Maggie his wife and Michael their son were typical islanders. Together they fought fierce fights against the elements and against the difficulties of winning their livelihood from a harsh nature. The sea would smash against the cliffs sending waves hundreds of feet into the murk - hammering death dealing blows on to their frail fishing boats. This was the treacherous world of the Man of Aran.

[4] 6 October - PASSAGE GRAVES OF THE RIVER BOYNE

A talk about some of the most famous prehistoric sites in Ireland, including NEWGRANGE. Illustrated by slides; the tutor will be NESSAN DANAHER.

[5] 13 October - WHO ARE THE SECOND GENERATION IRISH?

A controversial look at this topic, led by the Workshop Co-ordinator, at aspects of identity and the relationship with the first generation Irish. Video footage will be used.







20 October - NO MEETING as it is half term week.

[6] 27 October - RESEARCHING ONE'S ROOTS - Nick GERAGHTY

Leicester born with multi-ethnic connections, will talk about the methods, techniques (and frustrations) of family history research in an Irish context. Slides will be used. Nick is partly of Mayo/Roscommon extraction.

[7] 3 November - THE BRONZE/AGE IN IRELAND

An illustrated talk covering the sites and artefacts of this absorbing period of early Irish history and archaeology. (Tutor will be NESSAN DANAHER)

[8] 10 November

The co-ordinator of the Wolverhampton Irish Cultural Association PAT DUFFY, comes to talk on:

<u>"EXCITING THE MOMENT WITH HOPE"</u> - Sean O'Faolain, Patrick Kavanagh and Post - Revival Irish Literature - Fascinating look at mid 20th century figureheads of Irish Literature.

[9] 17 November - CURIOUS JOURNEY

An oral history of Irelands unfinished revolution. Interviews with men and women prominent in the 1916 Rising and its aftermath. This is one of Kenneth Griffiths important cinematic statements about Irish history. (video, 60 mins).

[10] 24 November - "SUCH REELING TIMES"

Not a talk about Set Dancing, but about the Confederation of Kilkenny 1642-45 and its aftermath, by JOHN WOODHURST, Irish Studies Organiser at Newark Technical College. In 1992, Kilkenny celebrated the 350th anniversary of the above Confederation - a sort of all-Ireland parliament. Who exactly were the Irish it purported to represent? - an uneasy alliance of still well-off old English Catholics and the native Irish whose power had long since waned? What happened after 1645 is also significant - what was the importance of Cromwell's land settlement "(To hell or Connacht)" and the part played by his New Model Army extremists (the Levellers and Diggers) who did not want to invade Ireland?

[11] 1 December - IRISH WOMEN IN LEICESTER

<u>HENRIETTA O'CONNOR</u> - Research student at Leicester University & in Dublin, will look at the results of her recent survey which examines questions of marital relationships, religious practice, cultural expression and family life.











[12] 8 December

The Co-ordinator, Nessan DANAHER, will talk on his visit earlier this year to the special exhibition celebrating the 500th Anniversary of the Archdiocese of GLASGOW. This look at the IRISH IN SCOTLAND will be illustrated by slides and by reference to the life of Paddy "the Cope" Gallagher, the migrant who set up the early Co-operatives in poverty-stricken Donegal earlier this century.

THE IRISH FACTOR

From the early 19th century increasing numbers of Irish people came to the West of Scotland seeking work. After the potato famine, which struck Ireland in the 1840s, numbers grew dramatically. The emerging Catholic Church in Glasgow found it increasingly difficult to look after the thousands of Irish Catholics who were settling in the city.

After the 1840s many orders of monks and nuns came to the city, working among the poor and teaching in the few schools which existed for Catholic children.

10 December

"XMAS CRACK" with the JUNIOR BAND of the Leicester Branch of COMHALTAS CEOLTOIRI EIREANN led by their teacher, Coventry based CARMEL COMMINS. A musical experience not to be missed (date to be confirmed).

Go gearr in a dhiaidh bhunú na gcúrsaí le Staidéir na Gaeilge ag Coláiste Soar Valley deich mbliain o shin tháinig sliocht nua briomhar i láthair - an teanga Gaeilge. Thuigeadh do dhaoine gan comhpháirt na teanga nach mbíodh clár iomlán

Tá áthas orainn a rá go bhfuil an leanbh ag dul o neart go neart. Anois tá dhá rang againn, ceann do thosaitheóirí agus ceann do dhaoine a bhfuil beagán eolais acu ar an dteanga. Cuireann triúr muinteoir an teagasc ar fáil, Máirín Uí Bhrúadair, Maebh Uí Ógain agus Máire Uí Donchadha.

Bíonn rannpháirt ag an Gaeilge sna comhdháileacha bliantúileacha ag an gColáiste, le saineolaithe as Éirinn comh maith le daoine as Éiteanna eagsúla sa Bhreatain ag stúiriú ceardlanna san teanga.

Cearclanna san teanga.

Tá na scoláirí a mbíonn i láthair on réigiún go léir a thaispeáint go bhfuil mothalacht tochtach agus intleachtach acu don maoin atá a nochtadh dóibh, scoth nach feidir a aistriú, an croí, intinn agus pearsantacht atá doimhin san teanga. De na teangacha Ceilteacha go léir sí an ceann is congarach don sean fhoirm.

Tuigtear más rud e nach glacann daoine an dualgas ortha féin foghlaím agus cumarsáid a dhéanamh san teanga caillfear í. Da bhrí sin táimid ar ár dhíceall ag Soar Valley soláthar a dhéanamh in aghaidh an theagmhais seo. Le dóchas atáimid ag brath ar an saol ata romhainn.



4 LEICESTER MERCURY, SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1993

Celtic conference

ORGANISERS of an Irish conference being held in Leicester this weekend have received personal congratulations

from the country's president.

Delegates from all over the world have arrived in Leicester this week to take part in the two-day event.

The event, at Soar Valley College, is looking at topics including Irish litera-

ture, language and emigration.

Mr Nessan Danaher co-ordinator of
the 10th Irish Studies Workshop, said: "I
am very pleased that people have come
to Leicester from all over the country. It
is gratifying to see the increase in interest on Irish cultural matters.

"We will be having workshops and lectures from more than 20 people during the two days including speakers from America, Canada, Ireland and all over the United Kingdom."

Mrs Mary Robinson, president of Ireland, has sent her good wishes to the organisers.

She said: "The pioneering work of the Leicester Irish Studies Workshop and Soar Valley College over the last 10 years has helped to secure a more permanent and important place for Irish studies across a broad spectrum of educational establishments in Britain."





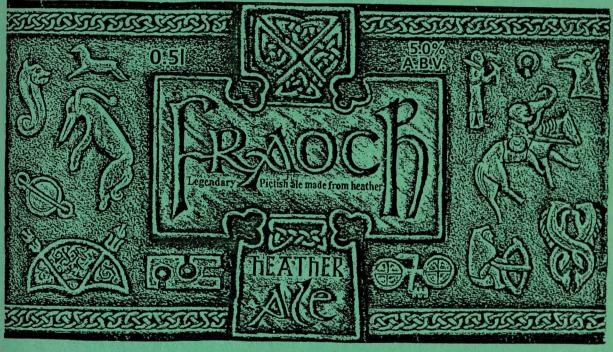
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- In Gaelic, the word FRAOCH has two meanings; one is "heather"; the other is "fierceness" or "fury"
- Fraoch is the ideal and special ale for any Irish event: weddings, parties, conferences, dances, or indeed any celebration.
- The exclusive distributors in England are BIRMINGHAM BEER SUPPLIES write or phone for details and quotations.
- Available publicly for the first time in England at the Irish Studies Conference at Soar Valley College, Leicester, on Saturday, 8 April 1995. Come and try this unique and flavoursome brew.

