

Marnie Hay, 'The propaganda of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-26' in Mary Shine Thompson (ed.), *Young Irelands: Studies in children's literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), pp 47-56.

## **The propaganda of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-26<sup>1</sup>**

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In 1909 two Irish Protestant nationalist activists, Countess Constance Markievicz (1868-1927) and Bulmer Hobson (1883-1969), established a nationalist youth organisation called Na Fianna Éireann, or the Irish National Boy Scouts.<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the Fianna was an Irish nationalist manifestation of the proliferation of 'pseudo-military youth groups' that occurred in many western countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These groups were not only part of the cult of discipline, training and manliness that grew out of the menace of the coming war in Europe,<sup>3</sup> but also a reaction to a widely-perceived *fin-de-siècle* 'decadence'. For instance, the British Army's poor performance against a force of South African farmers during the Boer War (1899-1902) provoked much concern that British men were in a state of decline. Fearing that they were losing their competitive edge in industrial and military affairs and that their populations were deteriorating both physically and morally, western countries like Britain began 'to look to the health, education and moral welfare of the rising generation'.<sup>4</sup> The establishment of youth groups was one way of dealing with the perceived problem.

The best-known of these youth groups was the Boy Scout movement founded by Robert Baden-Powell in 1908. Baden-Powell, a British army officer, started this movement in response to the interest that boys had shown in his 1899 army training manual, *Aids to Scouting*. He was also inspired by the model of the Boys' Brigade, which was launched by William Alexander Smith in 1883 in Glasgow. Smith used military drill and discipline as a way of providing guidance to the boys who attended

his Scottish Free Church Sunday School. Baden-Powell, in contrast, put less *overt* emphasis on militarism. Instead he focused on outdoor activities and personal development in order to counter what he saw as the moral and physical decline of the upcoming generation. He also wanted to train boys [p. 47] to be better citizens.<sup>5</sup> Whether his main concern prior to 1920 was training citizens or future soldiers has sparked much scholarly debate.<sup>6</sup>

Irish nationalists viewed such British imports as the Boys' Brigades and the Boy Scouts as a threat that could be turned into an opportunity. In 1903 Arthur Griffith (1871-1922) condemned the Catholic Boys' Brigades as a recruiting ground for the British Army, but recognised that if 'properly conducted', boys' brigades could be turned into 'a great national force', contributing to 'the intellectual and physical good of the young'.<sup>7</sup> Griffith saw such potential in what was actually the first incarnation of Na Fianna Éireann.

This was a boys' hurling club founded by Hobson in Belfast in 1902. The excitement surrounding the club's inaugural meeting convinced Hobson that the fledgling organisation was something that could be moulded 'into a strong force to help in the liberation of Ireland'.<sup>8</sup> But due to lack of money and the pressures of his various cultural and political commitments, the Belfast organisation lapsed before it could live up to this dream.

By 1909 circumstances had changed and Hobson jumped at the opportunity to re-establish Na Fianna Éireann with Markievicz in Dublin. Their aim was to counteract the influence of Baden-Powell's pro-British body. The new militarised Fianna was a nationalist, non-sectarian youth organisation designed to appeal to boys between eight and eighteen,<sup>9</sup> although a girls' *sluagh*, or troop, was later started in Belfast.<sup>10</sup> The Fianna went on to play an important role in helping to prepare boys

(and some girls) for their future role in the fight for Irish freedom. It not only provided them with an Irish nationalist education and military training, but also promoted role models for them to emulate.

This chapter will examine advanced nationalist propaganda produced by Na Fianna Éireann in the period 1909-26. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘propaganda’ refers to written material intended to influence the attitude and opinion of readers. As members of the Fianna tended to come from families with [p.48] advanced nationalist and / or republican views, Fianna propaganda was more likely to reinforce an existing nationalist sentiment rather than convert readers to advanced nationalism. In addition, much of the material under consideration was designed to provide an Irish nationalist alternative to popular British youth publications, such as Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys* (1908) and periodicals like the *Boy’s Own Paper*,<sup>11</sup> by subverting the conventions of such literature.

From its inception in 1909 up until the 1916 Easter Rising, the official Fianna organisation, as well as individual members, published propaganda aimed mainly at boys in their pre-teen and teen years in advanced nationalist newspapers, such as *Bean na hÉireann* (1908-11), *Irish Freedom* (1910-14) and the *Irish Volunteer* (1914-16), in the boys’ paper *Fianna* (1915-16), and in the *Fianna Handbook* (1914). During this time the Fianna served as a training ground for future members of the Irish Volunteers, a nationalist paramilitary organisation founded in 1913 which later became known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

As a result of the Rising’s ‘propaganda of deed’ and Irish abhorrence of the British reaction to the insurrection, the Fianna [allegedly] attracted an all-time high of over 30,000 members by June 1917.<sup>12</sup> However, there was a lull in Fianna publications during the period between the Rising and the achievement of

independence in the 26 counties because the organisation was preoccupied with re-grouping and then making an active contribution to the War of Independence (1919-21).

From about 1922 onwards, propagandist publications, such as a revived version of the *Fianna* paper, commemoration souvenirs and a new edition of the handbook, began to appear again. Particularly after the Irish Civil War (1922-3), the *Fianna*, which had opposed the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, was keen to emphasise its educational, rather than military, value in a newly independent Irish Free State, where the Baden-Powell Boy Scouts continued to attract higher membership figures, and in Northern Ireland where *Fianna* troops, despite having been outlawed in 1923, remained in existence.<sup>13</sup> The June 1926 issue of *Fianna* emphasised the continuing need for republican youth propaganda when it complained about the presence of allegedly 50,000 Freemasons and 36,000 Boy Scouts in Ireland, who represented ‘the Vanguard of British imperialism in this country’.<sup>14</sup> [p. 49]

Although the newspapers *Bean na hÉireann*, *Irish Freedom* and the *Irish Volunteer* were primarily aimed at an adult audience, they provided a forum for Na Fianna Éireann to report its news and views.<sup>15</sup> Markievicz and Hobson were contributors to *Bean na hÉireann*, which was published by the nationalist women’s organisation Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Erin). Various *Fianna* members and supporters produced articles for *Irish Freedom*, which was the mouthpiece of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), a secret society whose goal was the achievement of an Irish republic through the use of physical force if necessary. *Fianna* officers Liam Mellows and Pádraig Ó Riain wrote regular columns for the *Irish Volunteer*, the official organ of the Irish Volunteers. These papers kept members up to date on the activities of troops around the country and changes to official *Fianna* policy, with the

*Irish Volunteer* publishing articles providing instruction on topics such as field sketching and map reading.<sup>16</sup> Such coverage of Fianna activities may have attracted new members to the organisation.

*Irish Freedom* also ran a monthly column for youth under twenty, entitled ‘Grianán na nÓg’ (or the ‘Sunroom of Youth’). Written by a young woman identified as ‘Neasa’, it featured monthly competitions and suggested ways in which young people could further the struggle for Irish independence, such as was proposed on one occasion, by joining the Fianna or setting up a similar organisation for girls.<sup>17</sup> As it happened, it was not until the early 1930s that a girls’ group, Cumann na gCailíní, was started by the nationalist women’s organisation Cumann na mBan.

It is impossible to say for certain how many members of the Fianna read these papers, which were probably purchased by older family members. Hobson’s estimate that there were over 1,500 members of the IRB in 1912 suggests that *Irish Freedom* had a potential adult audience of at least that number.<sup>18</sup> Contemporary police reports surmised that the *Irish Volunteer* had at the very least a total circulation of 3,937 in November 1915 and 4,615 in February 1916.<sup>19</sup>

In 1914 the Fianna started to produce its own publications to disseminate propaganda aimed at youth, particularly boys. Its first venture was the launch of the *Fianna Handbook*, which was issued by the Fianna’s Central Council and compiled by Honorary General Secretary Pádraig Ó Riain.<sup>20</sup> Priced at one [p. 50] shilling, it provided detailed information about the Fianna organisation, such as its aims, structure, rules and tests of skill, and practical instruction on topics related to military training and camping, including drill, first aid and even swimming.<sup>21</sup> While Markievicz’s introduction was directed towards ‘young people’ in general,<sup>22</sup> the remainder of the text referred to boys only, highlighting the controversy over female

membership in the organisation.<sup>23</sup> Prominent nationalists such as Patrick Pearse (1879-1916), Douglas Hyde (1860-1949) and Roger Casement (1864-1916) also contributed chapters. The handbook's editor proudly reported that Catherine M. Mahon, the former president of the Irish National School Teachers' Organisation Society, had not only written a favourable review of the book, but urged 'all national school teachers to read [it] and to set about starting branches of the Fianna in connection with local Volunteer corps'.<sup>24</sup>

The *Fianna Handbook* was billed as 'the first, the largest and the only illustrated military publication issued for the use of Irish nationalists', implying that its content would be of use to adults (such as the Irish Volunteers) as well as youth.<sup>25</sup> It was designed to replace Baden-Powell's 1908 book *Scouting for Boys* and British War Office manuals, which were the few written sources for instruction previously available to the Fianna. Both the *Fianna Handbook* and *Scouting for Boys* covered topics such as camping, first aid, patriotism and chivalry, but the interpretation differed, particularly of the latter two topics. Baden-Powell promoted patriotism in the context of the British Empire and medieval knights as models of chivalry. In contrast, the *Fianna Handbook* encouraged Irish youth to direct their patriotic impulses toward the foundation of an independent Irish state and hailed the chivalry of Fionn Mac Cumhaill's Fianna warriors. Unlike *Scouting for Boys*, the *Fianna Handbook* included an illustrated section on rifle exercises, revealing the overtly militant nature of the Irish organisation.<sup>26</sup>

When the *Fianna Handbook* was re-issued in 1924, most of the content remained largely the same. A key difference, however, can be seen in the declaration to be made by new Fianna members, which reflected the changed political circumstances in Ireland and post-Treaty divisions within Irish nationalism. In 1914

members promised ‘to work for the independence of Ireland, never to join England’s armed forces, and to obey [their] superior officers’.<sup>27</sup> Ten years later they pledged their ‘allegiance to the Irish Republic and promise[d] to do all in [p. 51] [their] power to protect her from all enemies, whether foreign or domestic, and not to relax [their] efforts until the Irish Republic is universally recognised’. The promise to obey their superior officers remained the same.<sup>28</sup> More significant changes in content were made to later editions published in 1964 and 1988.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the appearance of the first handbook, the year 1914 witnessed the publication of a [one-off] Fianna Christmas annual, entitled *Nodlaig na bhFiann*. Edited by Fianna members Percy Reynolds and Patsy O’Connor, the annual was not issued by Fianna Headquarters but did have official sanction.<sup>30</sup> The annual proved a financial success, but drew criticism from Ó Riain who deemed it ‘the most unboyish boys’ paper I have ever seen’. He slated ‘two rather heavy articles’ by James Connolly (1868-1916) and Hobson (‘The chief merit of both is that they are brief’) and complained that the annual’s title was the only line of Irish that appeared in the publication. On a more positive note Ó Riain praised Markievicz’s article on the formation of the Fianna and enjoyed reading ‘an amusing escapade of four members of the Dublin Fianna’ who decided to annoy ‘the aristocracy of Rathmines and neighbourhood’ through their carol singing.<sup>31</sup>

Reynolds and O’Connor continued to take heed of Hobson’s recommendation that ‘every boy in the Fianna should be a propagandist for the Irish nation’,<sup>32</sup> going on to launch *Fianna*, a monthly paper for boys, in February 1915.<sup>33</sup> The paper published fiction, poetry and jokes, articles on Irish history and folklore, and Fianna news and views, though it was not an official organ of Na Fianna Éireann. Ó Riain’s criticism regarding the absence of Irish in the Christmas annual was addressed by including a

monthly column on folklore written in Irish. Among the serials that the paper ran was ‘The Wandering Hawk’, a school story by Pearse about a popular teacher in a Catholic boys’ boarding school who was a Fenian on the run, and ‘The Boys of Wexford’, a series of tales about ‘a brave band of boys’ who fought during the 1798 Rebellion.<sup>34</sup> *Fianna’s* editors, [p. 52] however, found it difficult to compete against popular British boys’ periodicals, such as the *Boys’ Friend*, which they declared were ‘killing Irish Nationalism’. Despite attempts to boost circulation by offering incentives such as free copies of the *Fianna Handbook* to readers who attracted four new subscribers,<sup>35</sup> they were forced to widen their target audience to include adult men as well from July 1915 onwards.<sup>36</sup> By November 1915 the British authorities estimated that the paper had a circulation of at least 859, which grew to 1,094 by February 1916.<sup>37</sup>

*Fianna* was later revived as an official organ of the youth group in June 1922. Its editor outlined some of the challenges facing the organisation in light of the changed circumstances in a (partially) independent Ireland:

Conditions in recent years rendered it necessary that the *Fianna* should act more like a military organisation than they would be expected to do in normal times. The educational side of our programming has been completely neglected. For instance, how many of our officers or boys have qualified to wear the Fáiinne? To develop on educational lines a paper is more needed than ever. While still keeping in view military training we must devote more of our time to the training of the mind and body. Physical training has had to be cut out; Gaelic games have been neglected, both necessary if we are to raise up strong and virile Irishmen fit to take a soldier’s part in the national struggle of tomorrow.<sup>38</sup>

The revived paper included the usual *Fianna* news and views, as well as poetry, competitions, and articles about republican heroes, old and new, such as Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-98) and Liam Mellows (1892-1922).<sup>39</sup>

A competition in the June 1922 edition betrayed the organisation’s continuing sexist attitude towards the role of females in the nationalist movement, despite



Markievicz's position as Chief of the Fianna and the notable contributions made by women to the Irish Revolution in the preceding years. The premise of the competition was that Kathleen, 'a good Irish cailín', needed help in choosing a husband on the basis of the answers provided by her suitors Kevin, Lorcan and Brendan to the question 'Why did you become a soldier of the IRA?' Entrants were to write an essay on which soldier gave the best answer to the question and by extension which man Kathleen should marry.<sup>40</sup>

Inherent in the foundation of the Fianna by Markievicz and Hobson had been the recognition that youth were the future of the Irish nationalist movement. Thus, education and training were meant to be an important part of the organisation, in terms of both its written propaganda and its regular activities such as [p. 53] weekly meetings, route marches and camping trips. To move up within the ranks of the Fianna (at least during 'peace time'), members had to pass tests on Irish language and history, as well as on military drill, first aid and other skills necessary for scouting and camping.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, Fianna propaganda sought to educate young people about Irish history and folklore in order to teach them about their own unique heritage, to familiarise them with Ireland's long struggle against British occupation, and to introduce them to Irish heroes worthy of emulation. Practical instruction on topics such as signalling, map reading and handling weapons was provided both at weekly meetings and in the *Fianna Handbook* and articles included in the *Irish Volunteer*. Members learned how to govern themselves by being responsible for the running of the organisation, preparing them for citizenship, possibly even leadership, in an independent Ireland. To this end, the *Fianna Handbook* outlined the policy, organisational structure and constitution of the youth group.<sup>42</sup> In taking the initiative to produce *Nodlaig na bhFiann* and *Fianna*, Reynolds and O'Connor demonstrated

that Fianna membership could help youths to develop the ability and self-confidence to communicate the message of Irish nationalism and separatism to their own age cohort. However, none of these publications provided any Irish language instruction, though they did include some Irish language content and urged Fianna members to learn Irish.

In addition to providing an Irish nationalist education and military training, Fianna propaganda endorsed suitable role models for Irish boys. In general, it promoted an idealised image of Irish nationalist youth that emphasised the importance of patriotism and morality. A Fianna member was to learn ‘all about his country, its history and language, its resources and industries, and his one aim in life [was] to serve it to the best of his ability’. He should also keep his body and mind ‘clean and pure’.<sup>43</sup> Such propaganda urged members never to ‘do anything that would bring discredit upon Ireland or upon the Fianna’.<sup>44</sup> According to the Fianna Code of Honour, which was developed in 1921, members of the Fianna were to embody the following twelve traits: patriotism, reliability, diligence, kindness, obedience, cheerfulness, thrift, bravery, cleanliness, humility, temperance and punctuality.<sup>45</sup> Such qualities were similar to those promoted by Baden-Powell’s Boy Scouts, which included self-discipline, obedience, loyalty, sobriety and cleanliness.<sup>46</sup> Despite these obvious parallels, however, advanced nationalist propaganda from this period highlighted a moral dichotomy between Ireland and Britain, criticising the alleged ‘degenerate and debased nature of British and pro-British people’.<sup>47</sup> [p. 54]

As part of this idealised image of nationalist youth, Fianna members were to be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice to attain Irish independence. In her introduction to the first *Fianna Handbook*, Markievicz predicted that members of the Fianna would not ‘flinch’ if the ‘path to freedom’ led to their death, as it had for

Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet (1778-1803).<sup>48</sup> Those current or former members of the organisation who died as a result of their involvement in the Easter Rising, the War of Independence or the Irish Civil War were not only praised in post-1916 Fianna propaganda, but promoted as worthy role models for future generations.<sup>49</sup> For instance, a 1922 Easter Week commemoration souvenir programme declared that Fianna officers Sean Heuston and Con Colbert, who were executed for their roles in the 1916 Rising, ‘met their deaths, happy that it was for Ireland, sure of the heaven that awaited them. In boyish simplicity and purity, and with manly courage, they faced the firing squad.’<sup>50</sup> Markievicz’s foreword to the second edition of the *Fianna Handbook* encouraged members to follow ‘the example and teachings of our heroic dead’. She reported that Liam Mellows, who was executed in 1922 during the Civil War by the Irish Free State as a reprisal for the murder of a Dáil deputy, ‘always urged on the Fianna the importance of educating and training their minds, in the principles and ideals that governed Gaelic Ireland’.<sup>51</sup> Future Fianna propaganda continued to glorify martyrs to the cause, with a Fianna Roll of Honour listing the names of 54 members ‘who gave their lives for Ireland’s freedom’ between 1915 and 1981.<sup>52</sup> The first name on the list is former *Fianna* editor Patsy O’Connor, whose death in 1915 was believed to have resulted from a head injury that he received when he was batoned by the police while administering first aid to a worker during the 1913 Lock-out in Dublin.<sup>53</sup>

It is difficult to provide an empirical assessment of the effectiveness of any type of propaganda. There are, however, indications that the Fianna’s propaganda was effective to some degree. That the editors of *Bean na hÉireann*, *Irish Freedom*, the *Irish Volunteer* and *Fianna* chose to publish, and continued to publish, propaganda aimed at Fianna members in particular and youth in general, suggests that they

believed there was a potentially receptive audience for their message. Although *Fianna*, unlike the Christian Brothers' *Our Boys*, clearly failed in its attempt to provide a successful Irish nationalist alternative to popular [p. 55] British boys' papers, it made gains in circulation after it widened its focus to become a paper geared towards boys and men. After the outbreak of the First World War the authorities in Dublin Castle were so worried about the effect of 'seditious' newspapers that they suppressed *Irish Freedom*, issued a warning to the printer of the *Irish Volunteer*, and began tracking the rising circulation of *Fianna*.<sup>54</sup> That members of the Fianna served as leaders, combatants, scouts and messengers during the Easter Rising and later in the War of Independence also attests to the effectiveness of Fianna propaganda: nine Fianna members died during the Rising and twenty-one during the War of Independence.<sup>55</sup> Such propaganda may have contributed to the role of youth and the pre-dominance of young men within the IRA, which has been noted in recent studies of the Irish Revolution.<sup>56</sup> Although the Fianna laid down its arms in May 1923, it did not surrender its commitment to a 32-county Irish republic. Instead, it revived its educational programme through activities such as the publication of republican youth propaganda.

The propaganda produced by the Fianna in the period 1909-26 served a similar purpose to advanced nationalist propaganda aimed at children and youth in general. It provided Fianna members with an Irish nationalist education and military training; promoted specific role models as well as an idealised image of Irish nationalist youth that members could emulate; and, just like the Fianna organisation itself, offered an Irish nationalist alternative to British youth culture. As much of this propaganda was generated by the youthful members themselves, participation in its production also

empowered them to seize control of their own destinies, both individual and national.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences for its financial support, which enabled me to undertake research for this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> For more in-depth discussion of the Fianna, see J. Anthony Gaughan, *Scouting in Ireland* (Dublin: Kingdom Books, 2006), pp 33-77, and Marnie Hay, 'The foundation and development of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-16', in *Irish Historical Studies*, 36:141 (2008), pp 53-71

<sup>3</sup> David Fitzpatrick, 'Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), pp 382-3.

<sup>4</sup> Colin Heywood, *A history of childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), pp 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> Richard A. Smith, 'Robert Baden-Powell', in John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford companion to British history* (Oxford: OUP, 1997), p. 72; Robert A. Smith, 'Boy Scouts' and 'Boys' Brigade', in Cannon (ed.), *Oxford companion*, p. 119; Henry Collis, Fred Hurl and Rex Hazlewood, *B.-P.'s Scouts: An official history of the Boy Scouts Association* (London: Collins, 1961), pp 48, 55.

<sup>6</sup> See Michael Rosenthal, 'Knights and retainers: the earliest version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout scheme', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15 (1980), pp 603-17; Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986), pp 376-98; John Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout movement before 1920: citizen training or soldiers of the future?', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), pp 934-42; Anne Summers, 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), pp 943-47; Allen Warren, 'Baden-Powell: a final comment', *English Historical Review*, 102 (1987), pp 948-50.

<sup>7</sup> *United Irishman* (24 Jan. 1903), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Bulmer Hobson, *Ireland yesterday and tomorrow* (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1968), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Eamon Martin, Bureau of Military History (BMH) witness statement, n.d. (National Archives of Ireland [NAI], BMH, WS 591).

<sup>10</sup> James Connolly's daughters Nora and Ina were leading members of this girls' troop in Belfast.

<sup>11</sup> For more on nationalist propaganda aimed at youth, see Marnie Hay, 'This treasured island: Irish nationalist propaganda aimed at children and youth, 1910-16' and Michael Flanagan, "'There is an isle in the western ocean": the Christian Brothers, *Our Boys* and Catholic / nationalist ideology', in Mary Shine Thompson and Celia Keenan (eds.), *Treasure islands: studies in children's literature* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006), pp 33-52.

<sup>12</sup> Pádraig Mac Fhloinn, 'The history and tradition of Fianna Éireann', *Fianna Éireann Handbook* (Dublin: Fianna Éireann, 1988), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> 'Editorial', *Fianna* (June 1926), p. 1. Four years earlier Fianna membership stood at 26,000, though this was probably an inflated figure ('Report of the Fianna convention', *Fianna* [June 1922], p. 5).

<sup>15</sup> For an example of these Fianna news reports, see Ruaidhri, 'Na Fianna Éireann', *Bean na hÉireann* (Jan. 1911), pp 12-13, which discusses the drawing of the Goose Club prizes at the Fianna Hall on Camden Street in Dublin and the recent growth and activities of three Belfast troops.

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- <sup>16</sup> For instance, a series of articles on map reading appeared in early 1916. See Ó Riain, ‘Na Fianna Éireann’, *Irish Volunteer* (22 Jan. 1916, 29 Jan. 1916, 5 Feb. 1916, 12 Feb. 1916), p. 8.
- <sup>17</sup> Neasa, ‘Grianán na nÓg’, *Irish Freedom* (June & July 1912), p. 3.
- <sup>18</sup> Hobson, *Ireland*, p. 36.
- <sup>19</sup> Breandán Mac Giolla Choille (ed.), *Intelligence notes 1913-16* (Dublin: Republic of Ireland State Papers Office, 1966), p. 163.
- <sup>20</sup> Bulmer Hobson, BMH witness statement (15 Oct. 1947) (NAI, BMH, WS 31).
- <sup>21</sup> See Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook* (Dublin: Central Council of Na Fianna Éireann, 1914).
- <sup>22</sup> Countess Markievicz, ‘Introduction’, in Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook*, pp 6-8.
- <sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this controversy, see Hay, ‘The foundation and development of Na Fianna Éireann, 1909-16’, pp 60-2, and Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable revolutionaries: women and Irish nationalism* (London: Pluto, 1995), pp 104-6.
- <sup>24</sup> ‘Boy Scouts’, *Irish Volunteer* (24 Oct. 1914), p. 16.
- <sup>25</sup> ‘Boy Scouts’, *Irish Volunteer* (12 Sept. 1914), p. 3.
- <sup>26</sup> See Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook*, pp 53-74.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- <sup>28</sup> *Fianna Handbook*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Dublin: Central Council of Fianna Éireann, 1924), p. 7.
- <sup>29</sup> See *The young guard of Erin: the Fianna Handbook* (Dublin: Na Fianna Éireann, 1964) and *Fianna Éireann Handbook* (Dublin: Fianna Éireann, 1988).
- <sup>30</sup> Liam Mellows, ‘Boy Scouts Organising Notes’, *Irish Volunteer* (21 Nov. 1914), p. 15.
- <sup>31</sup> Willie Nelson (Pádraig Ó Riain), ‘Na Fianna Éireann’, *Irish Volunteer* (19 Dec. 1914), p. 8.
- <sup>32</sup> Fergus Mac Leda (Bulmer Hobson), ‘Letters to members of Na Fianna Éireann’, *Irish Freedom* (Mar. 1913), p. 6.
- <sup>33</sup> Contemporary newspaper articles identified Reynolds and O’Connor as the initial editors of the paper, with O’Connor resigning from the editorship sometime prior to his death in June 1915 (Willie Nelson, ‘Na Fianna Éireann’, *Irish Volunteer* [9 Jan. 1915, 26 June 1915], p. 8; ‘In memoriam’, *Fianna* [July 1915], p. 3). Reynolds may have secured another editorial partner. Although Virginia E. Glandon and Ben Novick have cited Hobson as the editor of *Fianna*, Hobson does not verify this in his memoirs, perhaps wishing to maintain the impression that the paper was produced by Fianna members (Virginia E. Glandon, *Arthur Griffith and the advanced nationalist press: Ireland, 1900-1922* [New York: Peter Lang, 1985], p. 269; Ben Novick, *Conceiving revolution: Irish nationalist propaganda during the first world war* [Dublin: Four Courts, 2001], p. 30; Bulmer Hobson, BMH witness statement [15 Oct. 1947] [NAI, BMH, WS 31]).
- <sup>34</sup> Pearse’s serial started in the Feb. 1915 issue of *Fianna* while ‘The Boys of Wexford’ by Croghan Kinsella began in April of that year.
- <sup>35</sup> ‘Killing Irish Nationalism’, *Fianna* (Mar. 1915), p. 4.
- <sup>36</sup> ‘From the Editors’, *Fianna* (June 1915), p. 3.

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- <sup>37</sup> Mac Giolla Choille (ed.), *Intelligence notes*, p. 163.
- <sup>38</sup> ‘Editorial’, *Fianna* (June 1922), p. 3.
- <sup>39</sup> ‘Tone: episodes in his life’, ‘The objects of Tone’, *Fianna* (June 1922), pp 8-9; ‘Liam Ó Maoil Íosa’, *Fianna* (June 1926), p. 1.
- <sup>40</sup> ‘Fianna-tion’, *Fianna* (June 1922), p. 10.
- <sup>41</sup> See Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook*, pp 17-21.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>43</sup> Fianna Code of Honour (1929) (National Library of Ireland [NLI], MS 10,910).
- <sup>44</sup> Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook*, p. 14.
- <sup>45</sup> Fianna Code of Honour (1929) (NLI, MS 10,910).
- <sup>46</sup> Lieut.-General R.S.S. Baden Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A handbook for instruction in good citizenship*, fifth impression (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1908), p. 266.
- <sup>47</sup> Novick, *Conceiving revolution*, p. 169.
- <sup>48</sup> Markievicz, ‘Introduction’, in Ó Riain (ed.), *Fianna Handbook*, p. 8.
- <sup>49</sup> See *Easter Week 1916-1922 Commemoration Aeridheacht Souvenir Programme, 23 April 1922* (Dublin: Fianna Éireann Dublin Brigade, 1922), and Cathal O’Shannon (ed.), *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of Fianna Éireann, Aug. 16, 1909-Aug. 16, 1959* (Dublin: Na Fianna Éireann, 1959).
- <sup>50</sup> *Easter Week 1916-1922 Commemoration Aeridheacht Souvenir Programme*, p. 7.
- <sup>51</sup> Countess Markievicz, ‘Foreword’, *Fianna Handbook*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp 4-5.
- <sup>52</sup> ‘Fianna Roll of Honour’, in Robert Holland, ‘A short history of Fianna Éireann’, n.d. [circa 1981], pp 25-6 (NLI, MS 35,455/3/12A). Na Fianna Éireann produced this photocopied booklet, which features a memoir written in 1949.
- <sup>53</sup> Willie Nelson, ‘Na Fianna Éireann’, *Irish Volunteer* (26 June 1915), p. 8; Mac Fhloinn, ‘History and tradition’, p. 10.
- <sup>54</sup> Mac Giolla Choille (ed.), *Intelligence notes*, pp 116, 163.
- <sup>55</sup> ‘Fianna Roll of Honour’, in Holland, ‘A short history of Fianna Éireann’ (NLI, MS 35,455/3/12A).
- <sup>56</sup> See Peter Hart, *The IRA and its enemies* (Oxford: Clarendon., 1998); Joost Augusteijn, *From public defiance to guerrilla warfare* (Dublin: Irish Academic, 1996); Marie Coleman, *County Longford and the Irish revolution* (Dublin: Irish Academic, 2003); and David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish life, 1913-1921* (Cork: CUP, 1998).