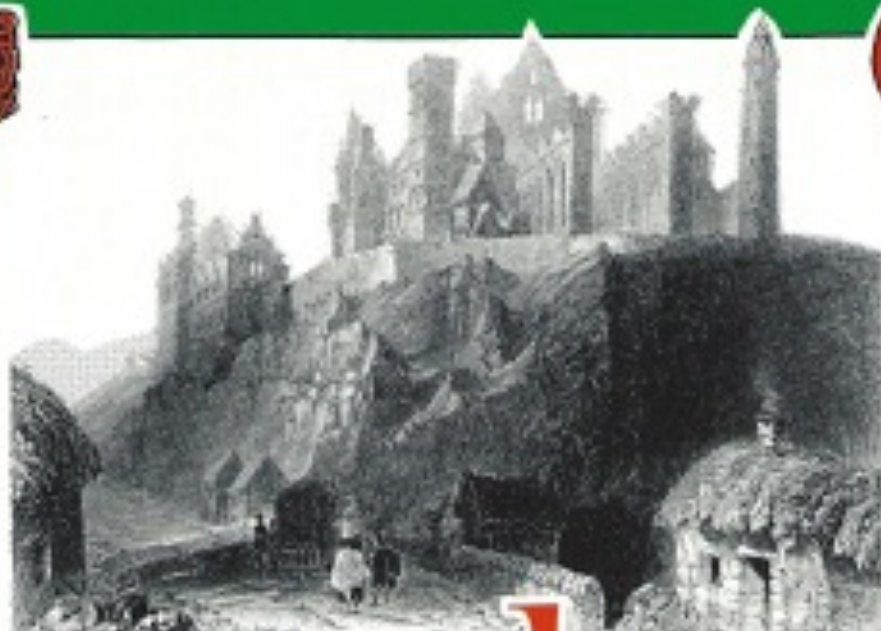


ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE MAGAZINE



Ireland



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About our cover:

Included in the collage on this year's cover are Seán O'Casey, representing Ireland's literary heritage; Rock of Cashel, Co. Tipperary, symbolizing the country's religious history and a reproduction of an old Irish print, recalling Ireland's pagan roots.

The credit for this cover design goes to BRENDAN SHERIDAN. Brendan is an Irish artist and musician now residing in Virginia and performing with the IRISH BREAKDOWN.



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The 1982 Washington, D.C. St. Patrick's Day Parade is co-sponsored by the Irish-American Club of Washington D.C. and the National Capitol Park Service, in conjunction with the John Fitzgerald Chapter of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

The St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee proudly presents this magazine as a vehicle to introduce you to the talented writers in this area. Hopefully, the original articles by these writers will also introduce you to the Irish heritage.

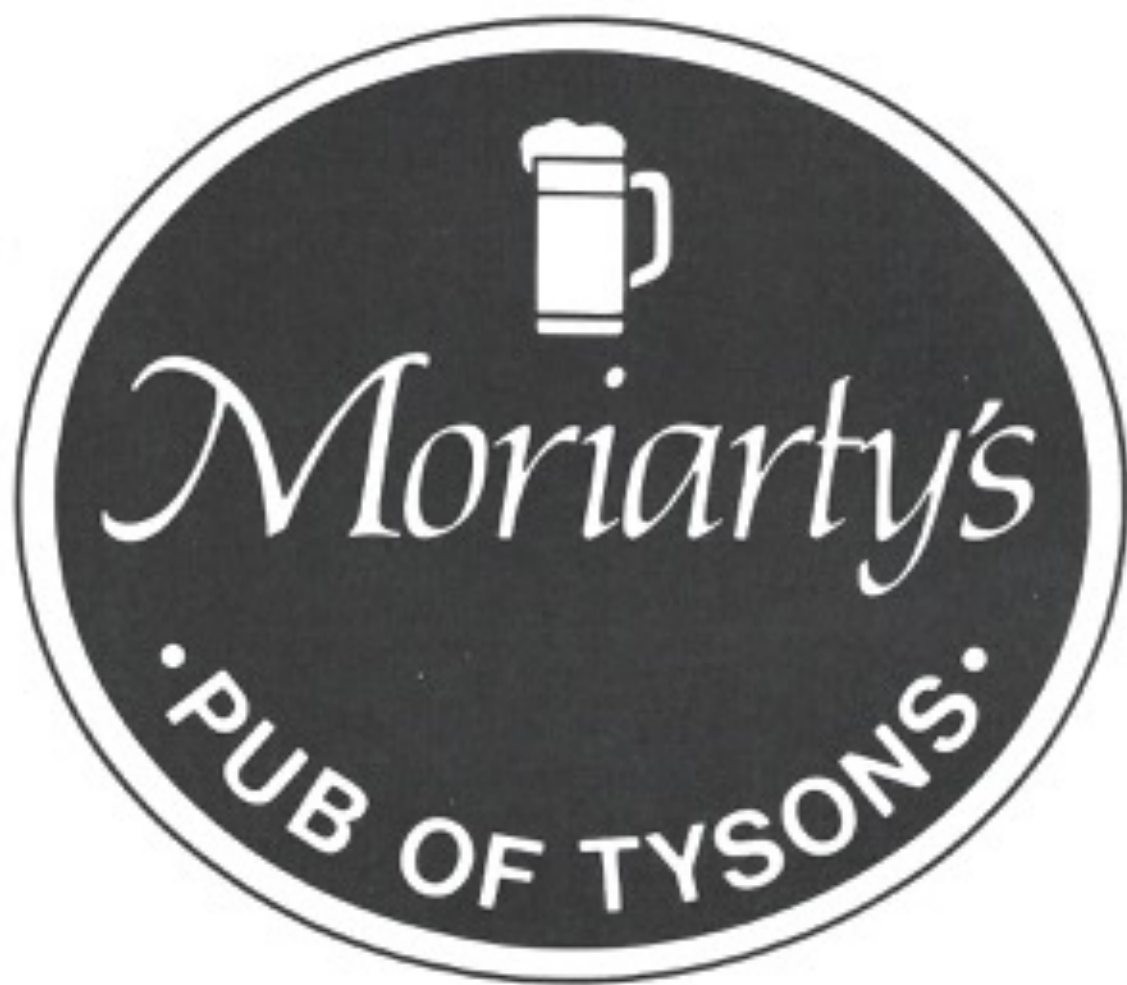
This year's Parade theme is "Heritage Remembered." In keeping with this theme, there are articles on "The Death of Michael Collins," "Celtic Women and Irish Women—the Contradictions of Social History" and the history of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. There are also two articles on "The Story Behind Our Names" and "The Names of Irish Places." In addition, we have included an article and collage of pictures presenting the history of the St. Patrick's Day Parade of Washington, D.C. and also an article entitled "Our Irish American Thing" describing the origin of the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

We are especially pleased to present an interview with Tadhg O'Sullivan, Ambassador of Ireland.

Once again, we hope that you will enjoy the St. Patrick's Day Parade magazine long after the Parade. Please take the time to read and thoroughly appreciate the fine contributions of our writers.

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Interview With the Irish Ambassador

By Bettie McNamara Fretz

The new Irish ambassador to the United States brings to his post a sophisticated expertise on economic issues, on building bridges, and in dealing with world leaders.

Resourceful, gracious, and proud of his Western Ireland roots, His Excellency, Tadhg O'Sullivan, is skilled in his capacity for challenge.

His father was a Kerry man, from Cahirciveen, and his mother, who was a Daly, is from Galway, near Clifton. His parents met when his father was an agricultural officer in Clifton, where Tadhg O'Sullivan was born in 1926. When his father was appointed Secretary for Agriculture for County Galway, his family moved to Galway City where he attended school, including University College, Galway.

He entered the Department of Foreign Affairs as Third Secretary in 1949, and he served in posts in Brussels and Berne, as well as in Dublin, before joining the Irish mission at the United Nations in 1960. Those days at the U.N. were concerned with the Cuban missiles, Adlai Stevenson debates, the Congo crisis, and the sending of the first Irish contingent of troops to join the United Nations peacekeeping force. He attended meetings of the U.N. Congo committee, under the chairmanship of Dag Hammarskjöld, the U.N. Secretary General.

At the end of the Nigerian Civil War, in 1970, he became Ambassador in Lagos. It was a period marked with the urgent need to build bridges and restore good relations between Ireland and Nigeria. During his four years in Lagos, there was a dramatic rise in Irish exports to Nigeria. He was later appointed Ambassador to Austria, where he was also accredited, on a non-residential basis, as Ambassador to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. He was named Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, in December, 1981.

The following commentary reflects his insights, observations and awareness of Ireland today.

Q. Do you feel the post of an Irish ambassador has become more prestigious since Irish participation in EEC?

A. The post of an ambassador in Washington has always had high prestige, but that is not to say it is the most important part of our service. I think it is perhaps the third most important. Leaving out the Secretary of the Foreign Service department in Dublin, which is now held by my predecessor Sean Donlan . . . in other words, he is my boss . . . I would say that Ireland's number one post is that of permanent representative to the European communities. This is an enormous office for us with about 100 people in it, with expenditures well over a million pounds a year just on administration. Then, of course, our embassy in London, would be number two, especially with so much involvement with Britain all of the time.

Paris is also important, as well as the post of permanent representative to the United Nations, but I would say that Washington is perhaps the third most important. It certainly has more glamour than the other two and people tend to become more excited about it.

Q. Is Ireland still doing well attracting industries from other countries to make investments in plants and businesses in Ireland?

A. We are indeed; especially from the United States, which is extremely important in terms of investment in the Irish economy. This of course is a great support and a great encouragement in building up our economy. We're talking about a country very small, a country the size of Maine, with an economy that is accordingly very small in American terms. But it is one that has been modernized, industrialized and one that is now able to compete on equal terms with the other states of the European Economic Community.

Q. How has membership in EEC changed Ireland?

A. It has revolutionized Irish economy. We knew it would. That is why we joined. It has brought more economic independence, because previous to joining the European Economic Community, we were very dependent on the British market. We sent over 70 percent of all of our products to one market and that's a very unhealthy dependence on one country. It's really having all one's eggs in one basket.

After we joined the common market we suddenly had a market of 250 million people opened up to us . . . the Germans, the French, the Dutch, the Italians, the Belgians. All of these markets were open to us and we could now export to them tariff free and at guaranteed prices at the European level. That meant that for the first time we got much more interesting prices for our agricultural products, for our beef and our butter, which are enormously important to us.

Before we joined the common market we had to accept prices offered to us in our practically single market in Britain. We were tied into the Commonwealth preference system which would guarantee us a market in Britain, but at prices Britain would pay, which were very low prices indeed. They were based on the British cheap food policy, which was a policy 100 years old, on which Britain's economic development was based. The whole industrial revolution was based on cheap food imported from the colonies, and up to 1973, when we joined the common market, that's what we had to put up with. Now we have much higher prices and much wider markets. So the immediate effect of EEC membership on our economy was to bring a surge of prosperity.

Q. During the Pope's recent visit to Ireland he expressed great concern for the increase in materialism. It is evident that the Irish are spending more money on homes, cars, television . . . many have two of each. Will the Pope's concern for materialism in Ireland now dwindle because of the current economic crunch?

A. Yes, its going to happen to all of us. If there is less money coming in, we're certainly going to have fewer cars, fewer television sets in the end. One doesn't see the effects of it yet, however. No matter how much taxation the government puts on; no matter how high the prices of cars go, and cars are far more expensive than here, people keep buying them. People keep going to the races; people keep buying television sets and going to the pubs . . . there doesn't seem to be any end of it.

I think it shows that in Ireland we have been living beyond our means in recent years, and there certainly has been a growth of materialism. I don't worry as much about that as His Holiness the Pope would. I don't regard, myself, that an interest in materialism as being a bad thing. I think that if you don't have it you're not going to have a healthy economy.

People like material things. People will work for them. It gives them an incentive to work, and I think that for far too long we were a primitive rural society that didn't have sufficient interest in materialism. That day has gone, and now that we have had our growth of prosperity, and now that people have tasted the delights of materialism, if you like, they are not going to let go of it too easily.

That's why the government lost out in the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament) in late January.

Q. Do you think that the new elections will bring about any radical change in the approach to solving the problems created by the economic crunch?

A. I wouldn't think so. Both of our major parties realize that something has to be done to correct the economic situation that we are up against. Now that we are feeling the effects of the recession, we have to have discipline in the economy unless we are to run into much more severe problems than we have at the moment. Both Irish parties realize this, although, of course, there will be maneuvering to show that one is going to be easier on the taxpayer than the other. But the taxpayer knows very well that there is a very unpleasant period ahead. I think the population is resigned to dig in.

Q. What has been the impact of inflation in Ireland?

A. Inflation is now running as high as 23 percent in Ireland. To put it in a nutshell, after three years of spectacular economic boom caused largely by our having joined the European Economic Community, we are now feeling, and feeling very hard, the effects of the recession. And, we have a very high foreign debt, which we have to repay, unless we are to suffer a reduction of our international credit rating, as well as pressure on our currency and pressure on the whole economy.

So, the government recently brought in a very severe, very austerity budget, with lots of high taxation on all sorts of things in an effort to correct this situation, to reduce our expenditures. But unfortunately, the government lost by one vote, so as a result there was a call for new elections.

Q. What has been the effect of inflation on the Irish farmer?

A. Our farmers, who are a very important part of our work force, 22 percent, suddenly became much more prosperous with EEC. They revolutionized, they modernized their farms. They invested, bought more lands, bought machinery, built new farm buildings and increased their output. Irish agriculture was transformed within a few years, but in doing so, our farmers invested very heavily. They borrowed from banks and some of them speculated. The price of land shot up to be the most expensive in Europe.

Due to the enormous inflations of input costs, the real income of farmers dropped by over 50 percent in the past two years and that represents a very grave problem. When agriculture is doing well, our whole economy is doing well. When it is doing badly so is the entire economy.

The big industrial members of the European community, namely Germany and England, which depend not on agriculture, but on industry, and which have this policy of trying to keep industrial costs down by keeping down the cost of food; began to complain that agricultural prices in the community were far too high. So, in recent years, there has been pressure to keep down the cost of agricultural products, which are so important to Ireland. Meanwhile, due to inflation, the costs of inputs into agriculture have been shooting up. Everything a farmer needs to invest in his farm; fertilizers, machinery, bank interests for his loan and for the development he has made on his farm, have rocketed in costs due to inflation in the economy.

Q. Has unemployment in Ireland caused an increase in immigration to other countries?

A. Immigration is not a problem at the moment. Immigration has tapered off for a number of reasons; one of which is the growth of the Irish economy and the other is the fact that it is harder to find jobs abroad. There are more restrictive immigration policies in the countries to which the Irish youth used to go. So, it is not as easy to make out abroad now. At the same time, things are a great deal easier at home in the face of what they were in the bad years; in the famine years; the succeeding years, and in the depression years in this country. Therefore, it is not as promising abroad today as it used to be. For these two reasons, immigration has tapered off and the Irish population has been rising for the first time in a hundred years.

Q. What will the economic crunch mean to tourism in Ireland?

A. It is an advantage for tourism. When there is a downward pressure on our currency and an upward pressure on the dollar, you have a high valued dollar and a low valued pound. The pound is worth \$1.50, which is far less than it was some years ago, and that means Americans can come and stay in Ireland for very little money. Therefore the effect of this on American tourism is certainly beneficial.

Unfortunately, Americans are feeling the pinch too. Even with their higher value of dollar at the moment, things are not that rosy in the United States either. We're not alone in being hit by the recession and I think there's going to be an all around reduction in tourism. But strange to say, it doesn't really seem to happen. More and more people seem to be going more and more places.

A remarkable thing in the last couple of years is Irish tourism to Florida. Here we are on the seat of our pants and we're all going to Florida. It's one of the irrational things about tourism. We have a very expensive dollar and we're all flooding to Florida. It probably means there is too much money around. That's one of the reasons why the government is in an austerity budget and sought to reduce the superfluity of money; to put money to the proper use, instead of spending it on holidays abroad.

Q. Many Americans are watching the woman's movement in Ireland with extreme interest. Women in Ireland made such a tremendous contribution in the revolutionary movement and throughout history have been extremely innovative. Do you see any greater participation of women in politics in Ireland?

A. We have a vigorous women's movement in Ireland

which is very vocalized and has many very clever people leading it. Senator Mary Bourke Robinson is an extremely active member of our legislature. She is a member of our Labor Party. There are quite a number of other women very active in Irish public life. In Ireland, as in the United States, there is nothing to stop a woman who wants to be active in politics or in business.

Q. Are there any women ambassadors?

A. Yes, my colleague Mary Finney is Ambassador to Belgium. We have a number of girls in the service; our counsellor general in San Francisco, our counsellor general in Boston. At the moment we have only one ambassador, but of course we don't have that many ambassadors. We have a very small diplomatic service and presently we have only thirty ambassadors in all the world.

Q. Does the Ambassador to Washington still represent Ireland in Mexico?

A. Yes, I have not yet presented my letter to Mexico. I want to wait until after St. Patrick's Day. We're going to be too busy until then.

Q. Speaking of the great Saint's day, how many parades, receptions and gatherings of the clan do you estimate that you will attend during the month of March?

A. This year it all depends, because we might have a visit by the Prime Minister. If he comes we are certainly going to have an enormously busy week. There are so many parades, dinners and other functions that we just have to farm them out between us. Everyone at the mission has to chip in and do something. The same applies to all of our consulates. But of course in the United States, St. Patrick's day isn't a day, it's a season; a kind of green Christmas that goes on and on and on.

St. Patrick's Day used to be a rather dull day in Ireland. It was just a church holiday, with not much happening; not even a drink to be had except at the dog show at Ballsbridge. That was the only place that had a license on St. Patrick's Day, consequently, it was the best attended dog show in Europe. For now, that has been relaxed and the pubs are open and people can enjoy themselves. It's a much gayer holiday here than in Ireland, but the holiday there is becoming more Americanized with groups coming over for the celebration, along with high school bands.

Q. Has the presence of an Irish American in the White House changed our diplomatic relations with Ireland?

A. No, it hasn't changed them in any way. I suppose more than any country in the world, we have close and friendly relations with the United States, because of the ties of family, of blood. And we have, of course, had many Irish presidents before. Most of them, incidentally, were presidents of older Irish families from the first migrations, the Protestant migrations from Ulster. Of course, the first great Catholic President was John F. Kennedy, but Nixon also had roots in Ireland, I remember when he came to visit and look up his roots.

President Reagan has clear origins in the village of Balhyoreen, County Tipperary, and he is also interested, as he told me, in the clan origins of the O'Reagans in an area of the Irish midlands known as Slieve Bloom mountains. The O'Reagans owned territory in these mountains, which was known as the O'Reagan territory, and they earned themselves in this process the proud title, 'defenders of the hills.' President

Reagan is very proud of his clan origins and their motto, or title, 'defenders of the hills,' and I think he associates it in mind with his ideology as a defender of the hills. Although it has been commented that he is defending against the hill these days.

Q. What about your roots. Are there any famous O'Sullivan in your family tree?

A. O'Sullivan is a very widespread name. I think it's fourth in order of frequency of all Irish names. It's a Cork and a Kerry name. When one distinguished between the Cork O'Sullivan and the Kerry O'Sullivan those from Cork are usually O'Sullivan Bare, and the Kerry O'Sullivan are O'Sullivan Mor. Mor means great, large, big. In that town in County Kerry where my father's people live, there are so many O'Sullivan in the countryside that they have to distinguish between different families by giving them another name, a kind of nick-name or a suffix. You're not just called O'Sullivan, you're called O'Sullivan something else. Our suffix was Mar, which is a variation on Mor, the word for great or big. We have cousins called Weaver. They're never called O'Sullivan either. I am known as Tadhg-Mar. The cousins that are called Weaver took their name from the fact that one of them was a weaver.

Q. Do you have any American cousins?

A. Yes, I do have American cousins on my father's side, but I'm afraid I have lost track of them. They go back a long way. I could perhaps find them again if I made inquiries the next time I'm home. I do remember that I was once asked to help with an estate when a relative of ours died in the United States and left some money. An old uncle of mine was the next of kin and he asked me to help him with this business, which I did. So I know there still must be some relationship back there.

Bettie McNamara Fretz is a syndicated columnist and public relations consultant.



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1982 Gael of the Year

The St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee is pleased to announce the selection of Mr. Cornelius (Cornie) J. Coakley as the recipient of the 1982 Gael of the Year Award. This award is presented to Mr. Coakley in recognition of his contributions to the Irish-American community through his participation in and support of Irish oriented clubs and activities in our area, as well as for the fine example he has set as a local businessman.

Mr. Coakley was born in Washington, D.C. and raised and educated in County Cork, Ireland.

Twenty years ago he and his wife, Ellen of Castleland, Co. Kerry, founded the C. J. Coakley Company in Merrifield, Va. As a prominent local businessman, he is a member of several trade associations and serves on the Board of Advisors for the Guaranty Bank and Trust Company in Fairfax, Va.

Mr. Coakley's knowledge and expertise in his trade have brought him many invitations to lecture at various trade seminars and conventions.

Cornelius Coakley became a member of the Knights of Columbus in Arlington, Va., in 1954 and is also a charter member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Arlington, Va. As a member of this organization he has made available his warehouses and offices for the construction of two AOH sponsored floats that participated in the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

Perhaps one of Mr. Coakley's most important achievements is the founding of the Seton Center, an educational program for children with learning disabilities. There are five of these centers in the Washington, D.C. area for which he serves as treasurer and is on the Board of Directors.

Cornelius J. Coakley and his wife now reside in Arlington, Va. with their five children, John, Maria, James, Liam and Michael.

Congratulations, Mr. Coakley and Happy St. Patrick's Day.



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Photo by Pat Cady

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The Story Behind Our Names

By Terri McSweeney

In recent years many Americans have recognized that although as a nation we are one, our ethnicity is quite diverse and the great interest in genealogy bears out the fact that we have begun to explore our ancestral lineages. One facet of genealogy is the examination of surnames, which can reveal a great deal about nationality as well as family connections.

The Census Bureau has indicated that the largest single ethnic minority in the United States, in the mid-twentieth century, has been the Irish. Although most Americans don't give a second thought to the significance of their surnames the origin often reveals lineage, occupation and/or territorial dominance. This phenomenon is particularly true of Irish surnames. In order to understand the meaning of an Irish last name, a little background history is necessary.

In the seventeenth century, Ireland was finally and totally conquered by neighboring Britain. The death knell for Gaelic autonomy was the defeat of the Irish at Kinsale in 1602. The ultimate result of that defeat was the near total confiscation of Irish lands by the British and the redistribution, based on service to the crown or debts owed by the crown, to the powerful noblemen of England. Three major wholesale transfers of land occurred, the Plantation of Ulster, The Cromwellian Settlement and the Williamite Forfeitures.

The immediate and deliberate result of these massive land grabs was the transference of power from Catholic, Gaelic chieftains to petit bourgeois Scots and British yeomen. Allegiance shifted from legendary Tara and Dublin to the emergence of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy class. They were generally loyal to the Church of England and resistant to absorption into the Irish masses. They were characteristically better educated and quite inclined to the theatre, sciences and literature. Probably the most famous family names belonging to the "Ascendancy" class are Parnell, Wilde, Yeats and Swift.

During the "Penal Years" many Gaelic names were anglicized in order to conform to repressive statutes designed to strip the native Irish not only of their land and religion, but their names as well. Some Irish resisted the anglicization of their names by modifying the Gaelic spelling or by dropping the O's or the Mc's. Other Irish were willing or forced to trade their heritage for favorable treatment and allowed the complete changing of the spelling of their last names. Some examples of these name changes are: Gormley to Bloomer, MacAneery to Bird, and MacCrossan to Crosbie.

The second major alteration of surnames occurred when large numbers of Scots-Presbyterian yeomen were brought to Ireland. The newcomers brought their clan names and seldom inter-married with the native Irish, so it was often possible to discern a man's past simply by his name. Typical names belonging to the Scots who settled in Ulster are MacDonald, McAllister, McWilliams, MacGregor and McCartney. Until recently, the distinction between the two groups of Irish was extended to the choice of first

names as well. The Irish Saints, Bridgid, Brendan, Patrick, Finbar and Columba, as well as other saints' names, such as Michael, James, Sean (Gaelic for John) and Timothy, were favored by the Catholic population. The Protestants used the names William, Mary, George and others that honored their heroes and kings.

Despite political and religious differences, the two groups of Irish share a common Gaelic heritage. Many historians believe Scotland was originally settled by the Irish. Scotia, which is the Latin name first used to denote "the land inhabited by the Irish race," has many similar names and places with that of Hibernia (Ireland). The prefixes Kil, Dun and Kin in the names of places are as frequent in one country as in the other and the prefixes Mac and Kil (for surnames) are common to both. Mac simply means son—MacShane, son of John; MacDonough, son of Dennis; MacBride, son of Bridgid etc. The prefix Kil, means cell—Kilpatrick is Gaelic for "where Patrick hails from."

Two other groups that contributed significantly to the Irish culture and provided distinctive names are the Normans and the Norse. Norman names such as Burke, Roche and Fitzgerald are often considered classic Irish names, but, in fact, reflect a separate group that integrated with the Gaelic-Irish. Hammond, Harold, Skiddy, Esmonde, Arthur and Coppinger are notable Viking names.

Ryan, cited as being the most common Gaelic name, was originally spelled O'Mulrian. The seat of the O'Mulrians bordered counties Limerick and Tipperary. The O'Sullivans (O'Suilleabhain) hail from a particular spot in County Kerry known as MacGillycuddy's Reeks. From County Cavan come the O'Raghallachs (O'Reilly), descendants of the Gaelic chieftain Raghallach. The second most common Irish name is Murphy with Kelly close behind. Other principal Irish names include Walsh, Lynch, Gallagher, Duffy and Byrne.

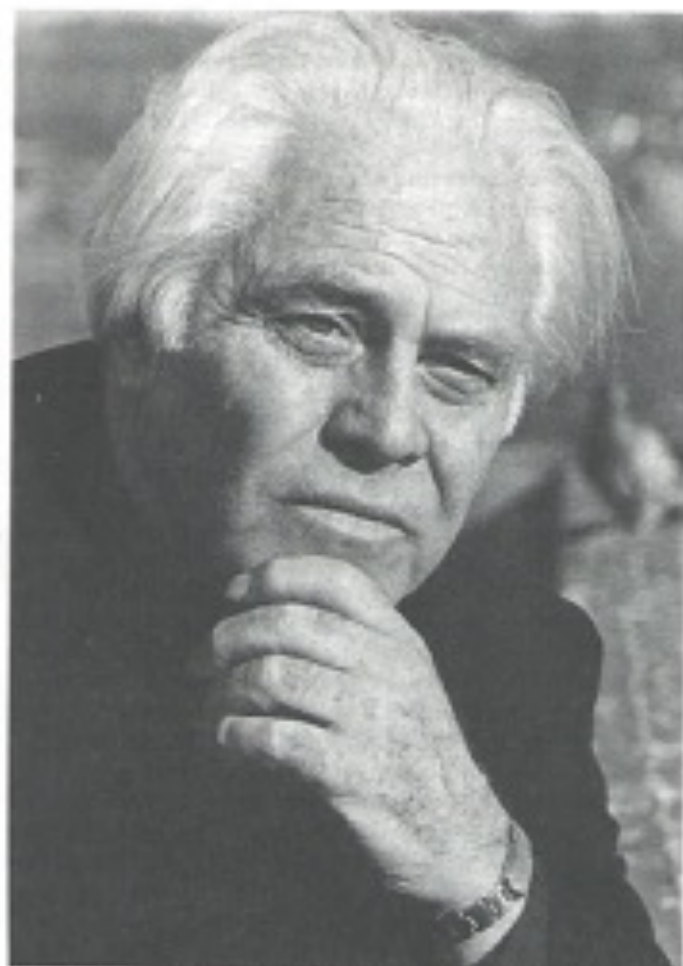
No matter what your last name is, if it's Irish you can be sure there is a long and proud tradition behind it. Whether you are first or seventh generation Irish-American the charm and mystique of the Emerald Isle are closely linked with your name.

Terri McSweeney (MacSuihbne) is a member of the St. Patrick's Day Parade Committee and works for the Daughters of the American Revolution as a staff genealogist.

Happy St. Patrick's Day
Vincent Grunert
New York, N.Y.

GRAND MARSHAL, 1982

REVEREND GILBERT V. HARTKE, O.P.



Father Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P., has been selected to serve as Grand Marshal of the 1982 St. Patrick's Day Parade. Each year, an outstanding contributor to the Irish-American community is selected to receive this honor. Father Hartke has been a prominent person in the Washington area theatre circles for the past forty years.

Father Hartke was born in Chicago, Illinois and educated at Loyola Academy, Providence College, Catholic University and Northwestern University. Following his ordination in 1936 as a Dominican priest, he received his Master of Arts degree in English from Catholic University in 1938. World War II interrupted his graduate study on the doctorate level at Northwestern University. Father Hartke has been awarded numerous honorary degrees: in 1951 an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Notre Dame, in 1967 an honorary Doctor of Fine Arts degree from Providence College, in 1971 a Doctor of Humane Letters from Georgetown University, in 1974 a Doctor of Letters from Susquehanna and a Doctor of Humane Letters from Caldwell College, in 1979 an L.H.D. from Mount Saint Mary's and an L.L.D. from Trinity College, in 1980 an honorary L.H.D. from Allentown College and in 1981 a Doctor of Arts from the University of Maryland.

In 1937, Father Hartke founded the Department of Speech and Drama of the Catholic University of America.

Under Father Hartke's guidance, what began as the Blackfriars' summer session institute has grown into a university department. The Department and its professional affiliations have produced more than 500 major play productions. Numerous newspapers and magazines have all reported on the University Theatre's phenomenal success.

In 1949, Father Hartke and his associates founded University Players, a non-profit production organization the purpose of which was and is to "produce good theatre and provide creative opportunities for faculty, staff and students of the Department." Currently, University Players has two theatrical operations: National Players, America's oldest classical touring repertory company, which, in addition to its United States tours every year, has played for the armed forces overseas for 27 years; and Olney Theatre, the State Summer Theatre of Maryland.

In 1951, on assignment from President Truman, Father Hartke organized and led the first tour of University performers to entertain soldiers under battle conditions in Korea. From this, touring techniques were developed which were utilized again in Korea in 1952 and in other military installations in the Arctic Circle, Japan, France and Germany. In addition, Department of Defense Christmas show tours by Catholic University were sent to Taiwan, Germany, Italy, Holland and Belgium in 1972 through 1978.

In 1958, Father Hartke was invited to send a production to Latin American countries under President Eisenhower's special International Program for Cultural Presentations by the Department of State. In 1965, a similar invitation was issued by President Johnson to tour Israel and six European countries with O'Neill's "AH WILDERNESS!"

In 1974, Father Hartke was the first director to take a student group to Romania with "AH WILDERNESS!" Since 1969, Father Hartke has selected teams of drama department graduates to teach and perform in Poland and Latin America under the auspices of the State Department. In fact, there have been 29 overseas tours in all.

As a result, there is no wonder that Father Hartke has served on numerous boards and committees. Father Hartke's extra-curricular activities have earned him awards from the American Theatre Wing, The Washington Board of Trade, the United States Department of Defense, The National Catholic Theatre Conference, the Jewish Home for the Aged, the George M. Cohan Award, and Variety's "Heart of Gold." In 1965, Pope Paul VI conferred the Benemerenti Award on Father Hartke. In May, 1972 he was named Man of the Year in Education by the American University Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa Fraternity. In October, 1973 "Father Hartke Night" was held in Los Angeles, California, by his former students who have attained success in Hollywood. The "William Booth" award was bestowed on Father Hartke in April, 1979. Recently, he was named 1980 Washington Man of the Year and in 1981 he was awarded the first annual Mayor's Art Award.

It is with great pleasure that the St. Patrick's Day Committee of Washington, D.C. honors Father Gilbert V. Hartke, O.P., by selecting him as Grand Marshal of the 1982 St. Patrick's Day Parade.

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The Death of Michael Collins

by Terence R. Murphy

Ireland's most baffling historical mystery occurred nearly sixty years ago, but it continues even in the 1980's to generate much bitter controversy. At dusk on 22 August 1922 in the valley of Béal na mBláth Michael Collins was shot and killed. The time was the Irish Civil War. The place was West Cork, a region strongly Republican and opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, but also ironically Collins' native soil. The slaying took place during an exchange of gunfire between a small Irregular ambush force and the Free State convoy in which Collins was making a tour of inspection through West Munster. It was officially put forth that Collins died a hero of a wound sustained in battle.

The tragedy of Collins' death was more than the waste of a gallant young man. Although only 31 years old when he was killed, Collins was Commander-in-Chief of the National Army and strongman of the Provisional Government. His public career had lasted barely five years, but during that time more than anyone else he organized the victory in the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-21. In August 1922 he ruled the nascent Irish Free State.

Unlike other Free Staters, moreover, Collins had the prestige, credibility, and commitment to the eventual unification, full independence, and gaelicization of Ireland which might have ended the Civil War before it sank into the abyss of terror and slaughter. The infamous Free State Special Powers Act, the summary executions of Republican prisoners, the military atrocities, and the rest were not the work of Collins but of epigoni, his lesser successors.

Collins' death may have cut short a brilliant career of statesmanship. So his contemporaries believed and many historians have argued. Or possibly he had already reached the limits of his genius in guerrilla warfare and was in 1922 floundering out of his depth in national politics and international diplomacy. We shall never know for sure. The romantic image of Mick Collins, the Big Fellow, is appealing. Collins' Bloody Sunday, 21 November 1920, was the decisive event of the Anglo-Irish War, and in one ruthless stroke he nullified British intelligence in Ireland and irretrievably set back the counter-insurgency campaign. Collins has been the subject of at least eight major biographies and innumerable character sketches in books and specialized journal articles. We should not let the glamour and achievements, however, distract us from inquiring into the mystery of Collins' death.

The official account left unanswered many important and very troubling questions. Later attempts to answer them have tended to be partisan and really to deepen rather than to solve the mystery. No one has ever been able to explain convincingly how it happened that Collins who facing the enemy was shot from behind so that the wound was at the base of his skull and behind the right ear. Nor has his killer been positively identified and the motive established. Nor finally has Collins' presence in West Cork in late August 1922 been explained thoroughly.

Collins was himself a mysterious person who had what one perceptive biographer termed "a mania for secrecy." He kept his own counsel. Although he always maintained meticulous files, it is impossible to reconstruct his policies from these records because the crucial decisions, contacts, missions, and lines he never dared commit to

writing. During the Anglo-Irish War, for example, Collins not only ran his departments of Finance and Intelligence but also poached at will on other departments, ran the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood and his famous terrorist Squad, and almost singlehandedly directed the guerrilla campaign. He was the only link connecting his various networks of agents and double-agents which operated usually in ignorance of one another.

This secrecy did not end with the Truce on 11 July 1921 or even the Treaty of 7 January 1922 and Civil War which began on 27 June 1922. Collins surreptitiously encouraged and financed the IRA in Northern Ireland and was involved in the assassination of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson in London on 22 June 1922 and in the unsuccessful attempts to arrange the escapes of the assassins. The statesman Michael Collins publicly negotiated political compromises with the leaders of Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Anti-Treaty Irish Republicans, but the revolutionary strongman Collins continued covertly to direct his old operations.

Even in August 1922 no one except Collins himself knew exactly what he was planning. This is a tremendously important fact that too often is overlooked. What he was really doing in West Cork is unknown, but the various things that he told subordinates and had communicated to IRA leaders should probably be regarded as "need-to-know" pieces of a jigsaw puzzle to which only he had the key and which evidently he was about to put together.

Collins' enemies believed that he aspired to be a dictator. His incisiveness, efficiency, ruthlessness, impatience with forms, skillful employment of myth, elitism, and violence, and encouragement of the cult of personality would all appear to point in the direction of dictatorship. Most of the other new nations after World War I, and some of the old ones, were dictatorships by the early 1920s. Collins' protégé Eoin O'Duffy would later lead the Irish fascist movement, the Blueshirts of the National Guard.

During the Anglo-Irish War British intelligence had managed to suborn informers and place agents provocateurs very near to Collins. Although he had several close calls, in 1920-21, Collins luckily eluded capture and harm. After the Truce, he declined for personal sentimental reasons to pursue inquiries into the spies' identities or even to listen to conversations which might have revealed them. British intelligence also had its professional agents fairly high up in the Provisional Government and National Army. Relaxed security and Collins' informal amnesty may have sheltered both the erstwhile and active traitors.

No one on either side actually saw Collins shot. His comrades came to his aid some indeterminate time afterwards when it dawned on them that he had stopped firing and shouting commands. The Irregulars were unsure that they had hit anyone and kept up and even stepped up their fire. Years later several ex-Irregulars claimed to recollect the shooting, and one or another of them even confessed privately that he had fired the lethal bullet. In fact there was no eyewitness. Nor, if one accepts the official version, could anyone possibly have connected his shot with the wildly ricocheting bullet that defied the laws of ballistics to strike Collins from behind.

It was impossible afterwards, moreover, even approximately, to recreate the death scene. Later testimony about the chronology, sequence, and relative positions of the ambushers, defenders, and vehicles was muddled and on significant points conflicting. The excitement, confusion, and panic of ambush and flight did not make for clarity.

Collins was alone, when he was shot, back up the road some distance from the armored car, the last vehicle in the stalled convoy, but shielded by it from the Irregulars firing down off the ridge. Evidently his attention was on two Irregulars separated from the ambush, either retreating up the road or possibly in the vanguard of the returning main Irregular force. But precisely what relation his location and position had to the line of fire and the turret of the armored car and road surface which might have deflected the bullet remains problematical.

There never was an official inquest. Such proceedings are rarely if ever conducted when a soldier dies in battle during wartime. When that soldier is army commander-in-chief and head of state, the battle, an ambush, the war, a civil war, and the circumstances so suspicious and inexplicable, then if only to allay the nation's fears and put down rumors some formal inquiry appears essential. There was neither a police investigation nor a coroner's inquisition. Nor was there even any formal civilian or military inquiry panel.

Although forensic science was remarkably far advanced by the early 1920s, no forensic pathology, ballistics, or other scientific examination was performed. Two eminent surgeons did examine the corpse in Cork and in Dublin, but their off-hand observations were curiously amateurish and irrelevant. The bullet which killed Collins caused massive damage to his brain. Death was almost instantaneous. Witnesses described the entry wound as frightful and a gaping slash in the back of the head behind the right ear. There was no exit wound. The wound, direction, angle of entry, and situation appear inconsistent with the official version of events. If an Irregular rifle fired that shot, then it is necessary to hypothesize both a wildly ricocheting and almost spent bullet, and bizarre contortions by Collins in order to place the back of his head in the erratic line of fire.

A thorough medico-legal autopsy of the sort described as "routine" in standard manuals like Taylor's *Principles and Practice of Medical Jurisprudence* (7th edition, 1920) would have employed forensic pathology, X-ray, ballistics, projectile analysis, and so forth to remove all the uncertainties. One was never performed. The superficial evidence is not inconsistent with a pistol fired from behind at close-to-medium range, or perhaps with a dum-dum or similar specially lethal bullet, or even with a Thompson submachine gun fired at medium range. Strangely enough, despite the heavy Irregular fusillade, Collins was the first casualty, and there was only one other. The lieutenant who served as motorcycle-scout sustained a clean neck wound in the last flurry of shots when he rushed to Collins' aid, but he managed to carry on and lift Collins' body into the touring car. Perhaps it is significant that a Republican ambush only a few miles away at Kilmichael on 28 November 1920 had wiped out a motorized patrol of eighteen Auxiliaries.

The line between deliberate cover-up and negligence is a fine one. By the time that all the suspicious circumstances became apparent, it was too late except to tough it out with the official version. It was not in the interest of the Free State Government during the Civil War to ask potentially embarrassing questions.

In the absence of evidence, Irish imagination and partisanship formulated theories to explain Collins' death. Rumors spread. Even today new theories, shocking ones, continue to appear. Questions about the wound, the killer's identity, motives, and Collins' own behavior can never be answered with absolute certainty. One is left with only supposition and probability, and there are many possible permutations.

It is unlikely that the official version of Collins' death is accurate, although it was certainly expedient at the time for almost all parties to accept it, and afterwards many people were content to let the dead rest in peace. The probability of the standard spent stray parting shot or ricocheting bullet theory appears infinitesimal. The official version also rather too conveniently precluded questions about both the killer and his motives and Collins and his behavior.

Almost equally unlikely is the theory that Collins died not by mishap in battle but by Republican treachery. According to this theory Collins was lured into West Cork to negotiate with elements of the IRA. The ambush was a cover supposedly to enable Collins secretly to detach himself from the convoy and meet with the high-level Republican leaders gathered at Béal na mBláth. Believing IRA assurances Collins let down his guard and was deliberately picked off by a Republican marksman. The wound alone would seem to rule this out.

Parts of this theory would, however, answer nagging questions like why Collins was there, why he insisted on standing and fighting when the obvious course was to speed up, crash the partly disassembled and flimsy roadblock, and flee, and why he did seem to be working himself away from the convoy. IRA GHQ under Liam Lynch wished to wage guerrilla warfare and possibly to eliminate Collins, but the IRA force on the spot represented the peace faction.

If Collins indeed was there to negotiate, however, new questions arise. With the death of Griffith on 12 August 1922, although William Cosgrave was acting Chairman of the Provisional Government and President of the Dáil, Collins was the Free State. With the fall of Cork City on 10 August 1922, he had won the war on the field. Then why negotiate at all? Anyway, what was there to negotiate? The Treaty and Free State Constitution were not negotiable. Amnesty had been offered officially before along with the right to oppose the Treaty politically. The only negotiating point left was whether or not the IRA had to surrender its weapons or could dump them.

Collins had been under considerable diplomatic pressure from the British and their standing threat to intervene militarily. But his consolidation of leadership, Free State successes in the Civil War, and Britain's increasingly pacifistic postwar mood made such menaces less than ineffectual. A rift in the general diplomatic agreement had occurred when the Northern Ireland Government legislated against proportional representation and withdrew guarantees of civil rights for Roman Catholics, and security against pogroms, and when the British Government allowed the royal assent. Possibly a stepped-up IRA campaign in Northern Ireland was to be negotiated.

But a more likely explanation is that Collins was attempting to negotiate a quick end to the guerrilla war, nothing more, that arrangements were still very tentative, and that the IRA ambush had no more purpose than harassing a Free State convoy. According to one version of this theory, although the IRA fire was curiously ineffective, some of Collins' troops panicked and one of them inadvert-

ently shot Collins. But this does not explain how Collins, who was so far outside of the line of fire, was shot.

The most likely theory, though a repugnant one, is that Collins was shot by treachery by one of his comrades, murdered deliberately by a secret enemy whom he trusted and who used the fortuitous ambush as the opportunity to slay Collins, to confuse circumstances and diffuse responsibility, and so get away with the murder. Who then might have pulled the trigger? There were a score of men in the convoy, but most of them were pinned down behind the Crossly tender and Leyland touring car. Only a few men were in position near the armored car. Excepting the rather unsavory mercenary armored-car crew, these three men were officers, close comrades, and old friends of Collins. In a civil war during which brother fought brother and fast friends became deadly enemies, it is not outside the realm of possibility that one of them might have done it. There had been informers on Collins' own staff during the Anglo-Irish War. Ironically, confusion of loyalties and ruthless application of violence had been fostered as much by Collins himself as by such creatures as that monacled viper Brigadier-General Sir Ormonde Winter, who preferred to be addressed by his code name "O," with his spies, assassins, touts, and informers.

The enigmatic character of Collins, his secrecy, and the combination of realism, opportunism, and patriotism in his policy tended to bewilder his contemporaries. Some sincerely believed that Collins had sold out Ireland in order to become the puppet-dictator of a British satellite, while others equally sincerely could regard him as Ireland's greatest leader in her struggle for independence. Personally too Collins would alternate between sentimentalism, heartily good fellowship, and engaging prankishness, and an icily cold Machiavellianism. Strangely there was probably more common ground with mutual admiration between Collins and the British reactionary F.E. Smith, Lord Birkenhead than between Collins and any of his countrymen.

Collins wrote that in signing the Treaty he had signed his own death warrant. Long before that, however, he had become convinced that he would die by violence and treachery. Morbidly he often joked about it. This realization seemed to make him at once ever more secretive and more careless. During the Anglo-Irish War, for example, while he angrily refused to allow even his closest friend to trail him on missions, he took outrageous risks alone with notorious double-agents and informers. It was as if in believing everyone untrustworthy he lost the ability to gauge relative degrees of security. For a time this audacious fatalism seems to have served as a good-luck charm, but finally it may have been self-fulfilling.

It is hardly inconceivable that various agencies had marked Collins for assassination. Indeed it is likely. If in August 1922 both the British Government and the IRA had overriding interests in keeping Collins alive, some unsanctioned strike is not out of the question. An IRA unit or individual might have "executed" Collins for treason. British intelligence might have eliminated him in retaliation for Wilson and others or for some more obscure political objective. Even certain elements of Collins' own National Army and Provisional Government might have struck preemptively against his coming to terms with the Republicans or setting up a dictatorship. It would be a mistake, moreover, only to consider rational motives. An individual or con-

spiracy might have been moved by hatred, resentment, envy or fear, or irrational delusions and suspicions. The problem is not the lack of a possible motive but the surfeit of reasons which contemporaries had for wanting Collins dead.

Conspiracy hypotheses that in 1922 would have been unthinkable are only too easy to postulate in 1982. Yet it would be rash indeed to indict any person or party for Collins' death on the basis of supposition and extraneous circumstances no matter how suspicious these might be. The essential evidence on which to judge was negligently or perhaps deliberately suppressed and disarranged sixty years ago. Collins' own secretiveness, the complicated situation in Ireland in 1922, and the murky world of intelligence operations add further complications to the mystery. But it is still a mystery.

Historical mysteries fascinate us out of all proportion to the scholarly significance of their speculative solutions. They are so many annoying loose ends to the cloth of historical narrative. Who was the Man in the Iron Mask who died in the Bastille in 1703, who was responsible for the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey in 1678, what really happened at Kirk o'Field in 1567, and what became of Owain Glyndwr after 1410, though puzzling questions all, like what song the sirens sang, are not beyond all conjecture. So it is in the slaying of Michael Collins with all its mysteries that cry out for solutions and perhaps for justice.

Terence R. Murphy teaches British and Irish history at American University in Washington, D.C.

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by Ray Walsh

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Ray Walsh is a member of the Irish-American Club of Washington, D.C., working on the membership committee of the club.

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81	June 20	July 05	15	399	117	Aug. 01	Aug. 16	15	399
82	June 20	July 12	22	399	118	Aug. 01	Aug. 23	22	399
86	June 27	July 05	8	399	121	Aug. 08	Aug. 16	8	399
87	June 27	July 12	15	399	122	Aug. 08	Aug. 23	15	399
88	June 27	July 19	22	399	123	Aug. 08	Aug. 30	22	399
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Parades We Remember . . .

by Carole McNally

The first St. Patrick's Day Parade in Washington was held in 1971. Since then, this annual affair has grown from what was little more than a leisurely stroll by a few hundred participants to a full-scale spectacular that is easily the rival of the New York, Chicago and Boston parades.

The first march caused a good deal of concern on the part of the Metropolitan and U.S. Park Police. Aware of long-standing Irish-British differences, they feared that those participating would wind up demonstrating at the British Embassy. As it turned out, the marchers merely headed up Massachusetts Avenue for a rally and some speeches at the statue of Robert Emmet, an early 19th Century Irish patriot. The police apprehension turned out to be groundless.

Although the parade route has long-since changed and now goes down Constitution Avenue, a ceremony at the Emmet statue has become part of the tradition surrounding the week of March 17th.

As many Washingtonians may recall, Dupont Circle, the parade's starting point, was still a popular gathering place for hippies. That first year, these and other "residents" of the Circle were quite visible in the ranks of the marchers.

By the following year, police fears had subsided. They permitted the marchers to go off the sidewalks and closed off two lanes of traffic on Massachusetts Avenue. The result was a huge traffic jam. Motorists here are not noted for their tolerance for inconvenience, even on a Sunday.

One of the interesting facts about the early parades was that most of the spectators were actually marchers. It wasn't until 1974, when the parade changed to Constitution Avenue, that parade watching became an important yearly outing for the Irish and the "St. Patrick's Day Irish" of the Metropolitan area. By that time, the event had grown from a march with one or two bands, a few banners and a few hundred participants to something like the event it is today. That 1974 event found organizers with a real parade on their hands. Fundraising and more detailed planning were in order, and the parade committee expanded its work and numbers. Floats became part of the parade, as well as a Grand Marshal and a Gael of the Year. Washington had a "real" St. Paddy's Day Parade.

The parade committee starts its work the September before St. Patrick's Day. More than 20 people meet every other Saturday to map out the plans for the parade. In December invitations go out to sponsors of bands, floats and marching units. Although a lot of sponsors respond promptly, most have to be called. In January, the committee's work begins in earnest. The meetings have gone from every other Saturday to every Saturday. Committee members find themselves spending evenings on the phone. Deadlines for articles for the parade program are extended. Ticket sales are on for seats in the reviewing stands, and foremost, the fundraisers have started. Every Sunday for the six weeks prior to the parade, one of the local pubs sponsors a parade fundraising party. These events are almost as much fun as the parade itself. For a minimal fee, \$2, people come to the Irish pubs and restaurants to be entertained by fine Irish dancers, musicians and singers. Door prizes are given, and everyone generally has a fine time. The money from these events is used strictly for the parade, and there is usually very little left over for the following year.

America's bicentennial in 1976 was a year for parades, and that year's St. Paddy's Day Parade started the celebrations. According to committee members, it was the best parade ever or since. More than 250,000 viewed what was the largest parade in the history of Washington with the exception of the Inaugural parade.



Joint Military Honor Guard up at the head of the parade since 1975.



Peggy O'Neill, First Woman Gael of the Year 1978



Irish-American Club of Washington, D.C.



Robert Emmet Statue



Parade Chairman—Matt Hannon & 1979 Grand Marshal, Eddie Gallagher

It has become a tradition for the Irish Ambassador to the United States to be in the reviewing stand. He also presents the trophies to the bands, marching units and floats who are honored as the best in their fields. Former Ambassador Sean Donlon created another tradition by removing himself from the reviewing stand when the Irish National Caucus and Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAI) marched by. One year the Archbishop of Washington also felt compelled to protest the presence of both groups and threatened to remove the support of the Archdioceses from the parade. It was pointed out to him that the parade was not a Caucus or NORAI function, but an Irish community function and they are only part of that community. Various other groups that march are nonpolitical. Otherwise the parades have run very smoothly.

A great deal of credit for the flow of the parade goes to Mac McGarry, the parade commentator. McGarry works for WRC-TV and is host for "It's Academic," a half hour television show. Mac fills in the gaps with his glib commentary when floats get stuck and things bog down. Even if things don't run smoothly, he makes it seem so.

People here have been heard to comment that Washington weather in March is very much like Ireland's, wet, rainy and cold. Wet and cold, yes; rainy, no. Marchers have never had to walk in a downpour. The sun has managed to shine every year. One year, it rained right up until parade time, stopped for the duration of the parade, and then started up again—but not until watchers had time to repair to their cars or the local pubs.

There is a slight misnomer in calling the parade "The St. Patrick's DAY Parade." The parade has never been on March 17. It is always held on the Sunday before that date. According to Matt Hannon, parade committee chairman for the last several years, this solved a lot of anticipated traffic problems and since this is billed as a family day, children can participate and watch without missing school.

From its inception, the parade has been sponsored jointly by The Irish American Club of Greater Washington, The Col. John Fitzgerald Chapter of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Northern Virginia and the National Capitol Park Service. The Park Service has been a great supporter of the parade. These three groups provide the workers on the parade, the park police keeping things in order and the IAC and the AOH doing everything else.

The Grand Marshal for the parade is usually a prominent Washingtonian of Irish descent. This year's Grand Marshal is Father Gilbert Hartke, the former head of Catholic University's Speech and Drama Department. Father Hartke is noted for helping launch the careers of such notables as Ed McMahon, Mary Healey and Peter Lynn Hayes. The Gael of the year is also a prominent Washingtonian of the Irish Community. The identity of the Gael is usually kept secret until Parade time. Committee members vote on nominees, but even they don't know the final choice.

Every year problems arise at the parade, but the public sees little of them. That's where a good parade committee's work pays off. As one parade official puts it, "you learn to juggle and bob and weave." Problems such as the placement of the various Irish dance groups in the line of march are solved by rotating them every year. This way each group gets a chance to be first one year or another, and no one group is featured more than the other. The only complaints from these groups since the institution of this procedure, have been when they've had to march behind the horses.

It has been a learning process for all concerned, and the results are a well-organized parade that is fun for both the participants and the watchers.

Carole McNally is a research writer for a Trade Association and the Washington Correspondent for the Irish American News.

Photos by Pat Cody, Paul Flanagan and Charlie Vaughn.



John Hanson Patriots, yearly parade participants since 1972



1977 Rose of Troice Jean Marie Jorgensen



Professional floats introduced in 1978



Ancient Order of Hibernians—co-sponsors of the Parade



Master of Ceremonies, Mac McGarry

Parade Line Up as of February 28, 1981

A

1. D.C. Metropolitan Police Police Chief Maurice Turner
2. Happy St. Patrick's Day Irish American Club—Banner
3. Honor Guard Military District of Washington
4. Major General Jerry Curry Comm. Gen.—U.S. Army Military—Dist. of Wash.
5. U.S. Army Marching Platoon 3rd U.S. Infantry Old Guard, Ft. Meyer, Va.
6. The Grand Marshall Rev. Gilbert V. Harter of Catholic University
7. St. Patrick's Day Gael of the Year Cornelius J. Coakley—1982 Gael of the Year
8. U.S. Park Police Police Chief Lynn H. Herring
9. Joint Armed Forces Color Guard U.S. Honor Guard Units
10. U.S. Navy Ceremonial Guard & Marching Unit, D.C.
11. U.S. Marine Corps Honor Guard, Ceremonial Guard & Marching Unit
12. U.S. Air Force Marching Unit & Color Guard
13. U.S. Coast Guard Precision Drill Team Part of D.C. Ceremonial Honor Guard
14. Don Bosco High School Band Marching band from Ramsey, N.J.
15. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Irish American Club of D.C.
16. Irish American Club of D.C. President Tom McGee and IAC Marching Members
17. Mr. Jack Fish, Jr. Director Nat'l Capital Parks, Dept. of Interior
18. McKinley Tech. Se. High School Band Marching band from Washington, D.C.
19. Mayor Marion Barry Mayor District of Columbia
20. Fire Chief Norman Richardson Washington, D.C. Fire Chief
21. Emerald Society, D.C. Fire Department President Bill Kelly
22. McAllister Band 15 Member Pipe Band
23. D.C. Friends of Ireland Marching Unit
24. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Ireland's Four Provinces
25. Antique Car 1936 Packard-Sport Coupe owned by Dr. Joe. Schertz
26. Daedalian Descendants of World War I Pilots
27. Gov. Thos. Johnson High School Band Marching band from Frederick, Md.
28. Mid-Atlantic Irish Wolfhound Pres. John A. K. Donovan—17 Irish Wolfhounds
29. Beltsville Majorettes Drum Corps & Color Guard
30. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by O'Neill James School of Dancing
31. O'Neill-James School of Irish Dancers Laureen James directing 80 Irish Dancers
32. Leonard Hall Jr. Naval Academy 90 Member Battalion of Cadets
33. The Pink Panthers 15 majorettes with drums

34. Ft. Washington Continentals Sponsored by Ft. Washington Recreation Council
35. St. Patrick's Day Float—Irish Cottage Sponsored by O'Neill Corporation
36. Mr. Oscar Austin "Stay in School Campaign Drive"
37. Phillipsburg Catholic Terrier Band 90 member unit—Dr. Chas. King—Phillipsburg, N.J.
38. Irish American Conference Marching Unit

B

1. William T. Hannon Marshal of Division B Unit
2. Irish Leprechaun Mr. Ed Wholey Himself
3. McLean Highlanders 100 member Musicians, Drill Team and Flag
4. Arlington Police Color Guard Motorcycles with Officers and Flags
5. A.O.H. Virginia State Board President James J. Herlihy
6. A.O.H. John Fitzgerald Division #1 President Jim Connolly
7. A.O.H. John Fitzgerald Division #1 Ladies Auxiliary—President Nora Stewart
8. Colonial Piper Bagpipe Band Sponsor D.C. Friends of Ireland—Rockland, Mass.
9. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by The Irish Village
10. A.O.H. Virginia Horse Division 6 horses with riders
11. A.O.H. St. Brendan Division #1 President James T. McMahon
12. A.O.H. St. Brendan Division #1 Ladies Auxiliary President Anna Hahn
13. Damascus High School Band 156 Member Band—Director Matt Kahn
14. A.O.H. District Board President Frank J. Herbert
15. A.O.H. Michael Doud Division #5 President Patrick J. O'Sullivan
16. John Fitzgerald Kennedy A.O.H. Division #5 President Pete Flaherty
17. Rose of Tralee Beauty Queen Denise Boland—1982 Rose of Tralee
18. Lancaster Catholic High School Band Marching Band from Lancaster, Pa.
19. Commodore John Barry A.O.H. Division #1 President Paul D. Whelan, Sr.
20. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Cix Harington
21. Oceana High School Indian Band Marching Band from Oceana, West Virginia
22. Dahlgren Division U.S. Naval Sea Cadets 75 Member Unit wearing the Navy bell bottoms
23. McLean, Falls Church, Vienna Camp Fire Group Marching Unit
24. Patowmack Ancients File & Drum Corps Director Mr. Robert E. Lee
25. Washingtons Ethnic Dance Group
26. Stephenson Family of Clowns Clown Unit
27. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by C&P Telephone Company

28. Middletown High School Knights Band Marching band from Middletown, Md.
29. Smokey the Bear Agriculture Dept. Forest Fire Prevention Symbol
30. Weedy the Owl Agriculture Dept. Forest Service, Ecology Symbol
31. Osbourn High School Band 70 Member Drum & Bugle Band—Manassas, Va.
32. Md. National Capital Park Police Motorcycle Unit
33. Oak View Exhibitional Activities Club Unicycles, Tumblers, Balancers, Jugglers, etc.
34. The Blackthorn Stick Authentic Irish Cottage Float, Marchers, etc.
35. Nashville Township High School Band Marching band from Nashville, N.J.
36. Md. National Capital Park Police Six mounted police officers
37. Maureen Malone & Erin Dancers 50 Dancers in blue & green costume
38. Karesettes Majorettes & Drum Corps 68 Members

C

1. Eddie Gallagher Marshal of Division C Unit
2. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by W.A.S.H. Radio
3. WASH FM Marching Band 50 member unit sponsored by W.A.S.H. Radio
4. Four Corner Leprechauns 1 Cadillac Convertible & 1 Golf Cart
5. Riggs Pipe Band Sponsored by the Riggs National Bank
6. Irish Northern Aid 50 Marching Members
7. Ronald McDonald World Famous McDonaldland characters
8. Banner Good Mile Fallo (100 Thousand Welcomes)
9. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by the Dubliner
10. Patriots of Northern Virginia 450 member unit—Director Sam Evans
11. The Wheelmen Antique 1880 bicycles—led by Sol Kass
12. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Geo. Brent K. of C. Council
13. Bishop J. Louis Flaherty Assembly K. of C. Color Corps & Marching Unit
14. Commodore J. Barry, K. of C. 15 member Color Guard Unit
15. Verein Deutscher Trachten of Baltimore, Md. Ethnic March Dance Group
16. Bishop Haley High School Band Marching Band from Haddon, Pa.
17. The Brookland Club Marching Unit and Green Dog
18. Peggy O'Neill Irish Dancers Peggy O'Neill & The Claddagh Ring Ceb Band
19. St. Pius X Knights of Columbus Clowns Knights of Columbus Clown Unit
20. John Hanson File and Drum Corps Director Robert Painter, Indian Head, Md.

21. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Anheuser-Busch Inc.
22. Antique Car 1928 Lincoln Touring Car—Owner Buzz Potter
23. Antique Car 1926 Model T Ford—Owner Al Harper
24. Antique Car Used in Movie the " Sting"—Owner Jerry Wilkerson
25. Antique Car with the Irish Mob 1932 Pierce Arrow—Owner Ted Doran
26. Lewes Jr. High School Band Marching band from Lewes, Delaware
27. Emerald Shillelagh Chouder & Marching Soc. Marching unit from Shillelagh Air Travel Club
28. Ocean Township High School Band Marching band from Oakhurst, N.J.
29. Wheaton Rescue Squad Wagon and Ambulance
30. Kona Temple Motor Corps Harley Davidson Motorcycles
31. Almas Temple Clowns World famous Shrine Clown Unit
32. Keystone Kopps Unit Old time Kopps on cycles, Frederick, Md.
33. Winston Churchill High School Band Marching band from Potomac, Md.
34. Antique Car 1930 Lincoln—Owner Ed Lail
35. Antique Car 1919 Model "T" Ford—Owner Melvin Fletcher
36. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by Jack Cove Associates
37. Antique Truck Owner Ted Doran
38. Antique Car 1929 Ford Coupe—Owner David Yinger

D

1. Uncle Sam—John Bask Marshal of Division D Unit
2. St. John's College High School Band Marching band from Washington, D.C.
3. American Salute, Waldorf, Md. Drum Corps Color Guard and Majorettes
4. Maryland Gaelic Dancers Colleen Johnson T.C.R.G.—Director
5. Capitol Klowns 30 member clown unit from Takoma Park, Md.
6. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by The Touchdown Club
7. McAlpine Pipe Band 12 member unit—Pipe Major Robert Mitchell
8. Lutes Hall Military School 55 member Drum and Bagle Corps
9. Maryland Medieval Mercenary Militia Marching unit in costume
10. Bentley's Restaurant—Antique Car & Truck 1926 Car—1956 Truck—Owner Richer MacTherson
11. Antique Car 1949 MG-TC—Owner Andrew A. Callay
12. Royal Knights Marching Band Bishop O'Connell Marching Band of Arlington, Va.
13. Cadillac Eldorado Green 1964 Convertible—Owner Rick Mahan
14. St. Patrick's Day Float Sponsored by World Airways
15. Eastern Arabian Horse Show Circuit Arabian horses in show dress
16. Jack Delaney's Irish Pizza Pub Irish Cadillac with 2 live Leprechauns
17. The Irish Mail 1925 Buatall Speedster Ford

18. VPI Regimental Band "The Highty Tighties" from Blacksburg, Va.
19. Company A—1st Maryland Cavalry USA 7 covered wagons in Army Scout Dress
20. Rockville American Legion Post #86 Marching Unit with Color Guard
21. Georgetown Trolley Car Sponsored by Hyatt-Regency, Arlington, Va.
22. Cumberland Twirling Corps Baton twirling marching unit
23. City of Rockville Rec. & Parks Dept. Marching unit
24. Hasbrouck Heights High School Band Marching band from Hasbrouck Heights, N.J.
25. Brentwood Eagle-ettes Marching Unit from Mt. Rainier, Md.
26. Children Adelphi Cavaliers 140 member unit—Director Jim & Pam Eaton
27. Royal-Aires Baton & Drum Corps Marching Unit—46 members
28. Antique Car Sponsored by Channel 53
29. Cardozo High School Band Marching band from Washington, D.C.
30. Antique Car 1929 Chevrolet Coupe—Don & Shirley Ware
31. Peary High School Band Marching band from Rockville, Md.
32. The Richard Leaky Corporation 40 member marching unit
33. Erin Go Bragh Banner Irish American Club—Banner
34. Fire Dept. Arch (15th & Constitution Ave.) 2 100-ft. Ladders with U.S. Flag



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 ③ BUS PARKING

PARADE AREA

Our Irish American Thing

by John J. Conannon

The St. Patrick's Day Parade is "OUR THING . . . OUR IRISH-AMERICAN THING."

There is nothing more Irish-American—or American for that matter—than taking part in a St. Patrick's Day Parade. It is a two-century-old, made-in-America custom and tradition, born in New York City and transplanted across the nation. It was not imported or borrowed in any manner, shape or form from Ireland or any other nation.

The happenstance of its creation is enough to make one believe in "the luck of the Irish."

Like many a good thing, the St. Patrick's Day Parade was not created all of a sudden, full-blown. It came about . . . evolved. And, as with most important happenings, no one at the time took particular note of its first occurrence. What little we know of . . . can surmise of . . . that first Parade is based on the brief notation of a historian for a group known as the "Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick." (This is an antecedent but not a predecessor group to the well-known Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.)

This anonymous historian, in looking back and writing about past celebrations honoring St. Patrick, noted that on March 17, 1762, a small group of Irish-born American militiamen on their way to a St. Patrick's Day "breakfast" at Hull's Tavern on lower Broadway, staged an impromptu march, with their band playing and their regimental colors on display. He noted that this first St. Patrick's Day Parade was such a success with participants and spectators alike, that it was continued.

The Irish in colonial America, though relatively few in numbers, had many fraternal societies and kept alive their common interests and ties with their native land by meeting frequently—in especially large numbers on the anniversary of their patron Saint, Patrick, who died on March 17, 461 A.D.

Originally, the Irish in the colonies formally honored the Saint and celebrated his day by gathering at St. Patrick's Day "breakfasts," held in the early afternoon at prominent local taverns, the hotels of their day. There, the colonial Irish would toast the Saint, each trying to outdo the other in flowery oratory. They would recall and toast each of St. Patrick's great accomplishments, long for the old land, toast each other and their native and adoptive countries, wishing all well. It is recorded that St. Patrick's breakfasts were held as early as 1734 in Boston and 1756 in New York, at the Crown and Thistle.

Out of this custom grew another custom—putting on a Parade to commemorate the "Great Day." There is ample evidence that the sons and daughters of Erin, and their progeny in America, took a quick and strong fancy to this marching in mid-March. The original soon spawned four-score more St. Patrick's Day Parades. Wherever the Irish migrated to in America in great numbers, they brought with them the custom of holding a St. Patrick's Day Parade.

There was a St. Patrick's Day Parade as early as 1776 in Boston, 1812 in Savannah; 1820 in Brooklyn; 1824 in Montreal; 1833 in Carbondale, Pa.; 1843 in Chicago; 1845 in New Haven, Conn.; 1851 in St. Paul, Minn.; 1852 in San

Francisco; 1853 in Scranton, Pa.; 1858 in Atlanta and 1867 in Cleveland.

New York City's St. Patrick's Day Parade was 14 years old when "these colonies" became the United States of America with the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

During the last quarter of the 1700s and the early part of the 1800s, this St. Patrick's Day Parade grew slowly and remained comparatively small. Then, conditions began to change for the Irish in New York and for the Parade.

It was in the late 1830s and the early 1840s that two movements gave strong impetus to the growth of the New York City's St. Patrick's Day Parade. One was the founding of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (A.O.H.) in New York City in May 1836. The March 17, 1838 Parade was the first one held under the auspices of the A.O.H. The other spur to the Parade came from the growing threat of the "nativists," "Know Nothings," and other violent anti-Catholic, anti-Irish elements in the northeast.

In 1834, a mob of "nativists" had burned a Catholic convent school in Charleston, Massachusetts. In early May of 1844, a "native American" mob pillaged the Kensington section of Philadelphia, looting and burning two Catholic churches, two Catholic rectories, two Catholic convents and a Catholic library.

The Irish took notice that the "native American" mob had bypassed Roman Catholic churches in the German section of Philadelphia to pillage churches in the Irish section of town.

In late May of 1844, the first Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, a native of Annaloughan, County Tyrone, was warned that local "nativists," inflamed by the riot news from Philadelphia, were organizing to attack New York City churches. When the local New York City governmental authorities expressed no great concern about the threat, Archbishop Hughes issued a call to the fledgling Ancient Order of Hibernians to help him defend the city's Catholic churches. The Hibernians answered the call in great numbers, armed themselves with cudgels and muskets, and stood guard around old St. Patrick's Cathedral and other churches. Needless to say, no harm came to any of the Catholic churches.

The threat of the "church-burners and convent-sackers," which brought united protective action by New York's Irish Americans, proved to be a shot in the arm to enlistment in the A.O.H. and to the participation of the Hibernians and other Irish Americans in the City's St. Patrick's Day Parade.

But, in those days, the Parade was still quite small and of short duration. It wasn't until the 1850s that the Parade began to assume large numbers, with the presence of good-sized Irish "county" units, many with their banners and costumes. In 1853, the Parade came to Fifth Avenue, but the line of march was still in downtown New York. It wasn't until March 17, 1879—103 years ago—that New York City's Parade came "uptown," with the completion of the present St. Patrick's Cathedral at 50th Street and Fifth Avenue, and settled on its present, fundamental line of

march—north on Fifth Avenue past St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In this marching season of 1982, the Irish and their friends will honor Ireland's "Steadfast Man," St. Patrick, in 31 of the 50 states, in Puerto Rico, in Washington, D.C. and in Montreal, Canada. The "Great Day for the Irish" will be kept by St. Patrick's Day Parades in at least 124 cities, towns and hamlets throughout the land.

WAIT! . . . listen . . . listen. There in the far distance . . . those sounds? Isn't it the skirl of a bagpipe, the blare of a horn, the tuck of a drum? That tune? Great God! It's "O'Donnell Abuf"

Where's my blacktorn stick? My tricolor sash? The sprig of shamrock for my hat?

"I'm off. Left, right . . . hut, two, three, four . . .

"Proudly the note of the trumpet is sounding . . .

This piece is excerpted from, the soon-to-be-published, "The Irish American Directory," compiled by John J. Concannon and Francis E. Cull.

John J. Concannon is an Associate Editor of NEWSWEEK magazine.



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In Memoriam

**Margaret Coakley
1979 Gael of the Year**

History Of The Ancient Order Of Hibernians

by Frank Bohan

The Ancient Order of Hibernians was founded in Ireland in 1520. It was extended to America on May 4, 1836, when a unit was established in New York City.

The idea of organizations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians was known in Ireland long before the birth of Christ. In those days the men of Ireland grouped themselves into special types of organizations called "Orders." Among the "Orders" were: "Knights of the Golden Chain," the "Bardie Order," and "The Knights of the Red Branch." These ancient fraternities were powerful units long before the dawn of Christianity.

When St. Patrick came to Ireland in the Fifth Century, these Ancient Orders embraced Christianity and built schools and monasteries. When, in the early 1500s the long persecution of the Catholic Church and the Irish nation began, the men of Ireland naturally set up an organization that was patterned after the Ancient Orders with which they were familiar. The Ancient Order of Hibernians was organized in 1520 in Ireland to protect the Mass, the Priest and the Church. From 1536 to 1547 it resisted the efforts of King Henry VIII to make himself, instead of the Pope, head of the Catholic Church. It fought the armies of Queen Elizabeth from 1560 to 1603 and defied her plans to exterminate the Irish Catholics by dungeon, fire and sword.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians fought Oliver Cromwell from 1649 to 1658. The Order's purpose of protecting the Mass, the Priest and the Church took on added significance when Cromwell by law decreed that "priests were to be found guilty of high treason and those who sheltered them guilty of felony." In 1655 Cromwell ordered "every priest found in the country to be arrested and either executed or sold as a slave to the Barbados Island." Cromwell paid more money for the head of a priest than for the head of a man-eating wolf, which at that time brought a reward of three pounds.

The Ancient Order of Hibernians fought, for hundreds of years, the laws and armies of extermination bent upon eliminating completely the Catholic religion in Ireland. Its fight was for national survival and religious liberty. Members of the Order acted as guards to the Priests when they carried the Sacred Host on sick calls; they served as guides in directing the Priests to secret caves back in the mountain fastnesses when Mass was quietly said; they served as lookouts to spread the word of warning should danger from soldiers threaten.

A.O.H. COMES TO AMERICA

A mounting wave of religious bigotry, discrimination and mob action violence in the 1830s brought the Ancient Order of Hibernians to America. On August 11, 1834, the Ursuline Convent in Boston was burned by a mob which called itself "Native Americans." At the same time, there arose an organization which called itself the American Pro-

tection Association. Whenever a member of this association was arrested for crimes of violence against Catholics and questioned, his stock answer was "I know nothing." To combat these activities the AOH was established in America on May 4, 1836, for the same purpose as in Ireland: to protect the Mass, the Priest and the Church. The Division that was formed in New York City that year continues to this day.

By 1840, the AOH spread to Newark, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The reason was to counter the plans of the "Native American" and "Know Nothing" organizations which were active in these regions. In May, 1844, the "Know Nothing" organization physically attacked Catholics and burned the church, rectory and convents of St. Michael's and St. Augustine's parishes in Philadelphia. They also threatened other churches in Philadelphia. The "Hibernian Greens," a company of Irishmen in the local military forces, were among those who, with civilian Hibernians, defended Philadelphia churches from attack.

In April, 1844, the "Know Nothing" organization advanced and prepared to burn the old St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Archbishop John Hughes of New York called in the Hibernians to defend it. Armed with muskets they manned the walls while others manfully erected barricades in the streets. Their action turned away the "Know Nothing" mob that had come to burn the Cathedral. Resolute Hibernian action, such as this, also turned away church-burning "Know Nothing" mobs in other sections of the country during the 1844-56 period of "Know Nothing" activity.

In the Civil War, whole Divisions of the AOH volunteered and entered the armies at a time when other young men were buying themselves out of the draft for one hundred dollars each. The Hibernian Divisions were active in opening the way for Catholic nuns to go on to the battlefield as nurses for the sick and wounded. There were no organized nursing corps in the Civil War and the nuns took over that duty. In 1924, a monument was erected in Washington, D.C., by the Ladies Auxiliary of the AOH on land donated by an Act of Congress. It is dedicated to the 600 nuns of twelve religious communities who volunteered to serve in the Civil War. Official records show that 306 of these nuns were born in Ireland.

Today, the Society is striving to unite our people in one vigorous Organization, the aims of which are to perpetuate, in America, the spirit of our Catholic ancestors, to preserve the ideals and make known the history of the race, and to guard and defend the principles of civil and religious liberty in our own heaven-blessed land.

Frank Bohan is a member of the Saint Brendan Division of the AOH in Fairfax, Va.



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The Great Green Suit
by Eugene J. McCarthy

There once was a patriot named Caneen,
Who had a suit of seasonal sheen.
Combining mold, and mist, and shamrock green.

It was, without doubt, the greatest of tweeds.
Its woof was wool, its warp of Irish reeds.
It stood alone, without hanger or board
It had strength to withstand night-stick and sword.

It was loose at the shoulders for fighting the British
It was full in the trousers for running in ditches.

Its color was such that for hiding in heather
There was nothing better, and as for the weather

It was fine in the sun but better in rain
For it repelled water, and scarce showed a stain.

It was so marvelous in its variety
It could serve, in a pinch, as a hair shirt for piety.

Then a woman's decision
Brought about a decision

To send the suit to the cleaner to have it made lighter
And then to the tailor to have it made tighter.

When the call came on the first moonlit night,
Kept from the fight and also from flight
Because the suit was too tight

Caneen, concealed in a thicket so as not to be seen,
Was found by the smell of the kerosene.

On the very next day at the moment of dawn
They hanged him on the courthouse lawn.

But they honored at death his last request
And he wore the green suit to his final rest.

Eugene J. McCarthy is a former Senator from the State of Minnesota.

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Celtic Women and Irish Women: The Contradictions of Social History

by Rona M. Fields, Ph.D.

There are striking contradictions in the history of women's status in Irish society. Historical and archaeological research on Celtic civilization in Europe (Davie, 1973) and the findings of the Commission on the Status of Women in the Irish Republic provide such contrast as to indicate that there has been a drastic decline in sex role flexibility and equality. This is in some contradiction with other societies which have reflected, in their twentieth century achievements, increasing gender equality. By examining the ancient Irish legal code; the grammar of the Irish language; the myths and folk customs of Ireland in the context of several hundred years of that country's political history, we find the point at which Irish women became subjugated. This point coincides with the completion of the British conquest of Ireland and the attempted eradication of native Irish culture.

The Constitution of the Irish Republic, adopted in 1937, declares, in Article 40.1 that "All citizens shall as human persons, be held equal before the law . . . This shall not be held to mean that the State shall not in its enactments have due regard to differences of capacity, physical and moral, and of social function." The article following it, Article 41, deals with the family as the fundamental group of society and as a moral institution possessing inalienable rights. The State recognizes that by her life in the home, a woman gives to the State a support "without which the common good cannot be achieved."

Later enactments, such as the Local Government Act of 1941 which provided that the appropriate Minister could declare any office such that only unmarried women or widows might occupy it; and the Civil Services Commission Act of 1956 raised barriers against the employment and contract rights of women which discriminated against women, and might be construed as a violation of the purpose of Article 40.1. However, as stated in the Report of the Commission on the Status of Women:

Originally, at common law, a married woman's existence was treated as being merged in that of her husband, the theory of the law being that in consideration of the husband's undertaking to support and maintain his wife he became entitled to her property. Accordingly, any property held by her at the time of her marriage or acquired thereafter became either absolutely or temporarily the property of her husband . . . A married woman could not make a valid contract and her husband could be held liable on foot of contracts entered into by his wife before or during the marriage.

(Report of the Commission on the
Status of Women, Report to Minister
for Finance,
Dublin, the Stationary
Office, December, 1972, p. 173)

Some of this "common law" derived discrimination was effectively counteracted in the Married Women's Property Status Act, 1957, which provided that a married woman would be capable of contracting and made her personally liable as well as personally capable of acquiring and disposing of property.

Unfortunately for the women of Ireland, "common law" which was British law had, for three hundred years, dominated Ireland and, in the process, had created sex role dichotomies and inequities totally inconsistent with Irish tradition.

The Commission Report details the status of Irish women in employment generally, and in such varied fields as Commerce and Arts. The picture given of the status of Irish

women therein, is bleak. The Report attributes the condition of Irish women, to Irish "tradition," thus:

Public opinion in Ireland traditionally resisted the employment and promotion of married women on two grounds. One was the belief that outside work was incompatible with the responsibilities of a mother and housewife . . . The other objection has been that in conditions of less than full employment, the employment of married women will reduce the employment prospects of men, single women and widows . . .

(Commission on the Status of Women Report, 1972 p. 125)
(Author's italics)

There is no question but that women's role in the past two hundred years of Irish history has been ignominiously stereotyped. This means that the female is expected to define herself and be defined by her relationship to males and that such a relationship be predicated on her docility, subservience and inferiority. This sex role stereotyping has been a viable tool for the exploitation of Irish land and labor by a succession of institutions—economics, governmental and religious.

During the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries woman and child labor filled the coffers of greedy landowners and rising industrialists. So long as the value of a woman remains comparable with (but inferior to) a milk cow there is little chance that the Irish people might re-assert their historic hegemony in their own land. James Connolly said as much and wrote extensively on the subject. Along with Countess Markievicz she struggled to organize women factory workers into a militant force for social revolution.¹

Despite the dominant influences of 18th through 20th century society in Ireland, there has been a succession of Irish women, who in defiance of its androcentrism, behaved in the manner of their Irish/Celtic forebears.

Not unlike the imposition of potato cultivation, English language, and Anglo-Saxon customs, the system of marriage and family with its consequences for the role of women, was imposed by the British ruler to facilitate that dominance. Prior to the seventeenth century, Irish social and cultural affairs were guided by the ancient Brehon Law and Celtic tradition. In these circumstances the relationship between the sexes in Ireland was far more egalitarian than was the condition of their British and European contemporaries. Indeed, the Irish language itself reflected and still reflects the equipotentiality of male and female to the executive position. The word for "Chairman" in Irish is *neuter*; the word for God, likewise *neuter*; and the word for the Holy Ghost is of feminine gender!

Language is a reflection and determinant of thought. Through language behaviors and attitudes are shaped and conceptualized. The values of a society are spoken in their words, the ordering of those words, variety and idiom. Thus, despite the destruction of Gaelic Ireland, as the language has persisted, so also have some variances in the status and role of women.

Also, through the language, the myths of Queen Maeve, Kathleen O'Houlihan, and St. Brigid have merged with the real-life persons of Grania O'Malley, Anne Devlin, Maude Gonne, Constance Markievicz, and Mary McSwiney.

The problems outlined in the Report of the Commission on the Status of Women² are the product of a tradition neither native to Ireland nor antedating two hundred years. Issues such as women's property rights, decision making power, marriage and divorce rights, child care arrangements, economic security and full engagement in the arts and sciences were a matter of course among the Irish at a time when other Western European women were barely conceded possession of an immortal soul and the obligation for maintaining chastity.

Elizabeth Gould Davis, in her book, *The First Sex*, attributes the decline of the status of Celtic womanhood to the intrusion and ultimate dominance of the Church both in the European continent and, later, in Britain and Ireland. Her necessarily brief review of the literature pertaining to the Milesians and their predecessors, the Tuatha De Danann provides some historical documentation for the old myths which, like the Queen Maeve legend, are strongly feminist and anti-patriarchal.

The very name, *Eire*, is taken from Queen Eire who held out against the queen of the invading Milesians, Queen Scotia. In regard to women's status in war, it would appear that there was little difference between the older and the invading Celtic groups.³ And, from that time forward, Kings in Ireland, upon being installed, were "married" to the great goddess for legitimization of their reign.⁴ And Cu Chulainn, the great warrior, we are told, learned his martial arts from women, Ailbe and Aile in Alba (Scotland).⁵

Davis is in error when she attributes the decline of women's status in Ireland to the advent of St. Patrick and his Christianizing. There is considerable evidence that Patrick introduced the Christianity of St. John and allowed for a liberal intermingling with it of the native Gaelic culture.⁶ St. Brigid epitomizes the evolution of this connection. Unlike her continental sisters elevated to sainthood, St. Brigid was neither a Magdalene nor an insipid virgin clinging to her chastity. St. Brigid was renowned for her brilliance in the law and classical learning. She was, in the tradition of the Celtic woman, wise, strong and active. As Chadwick describes it:

Christianity, in an attempt to reconcile the strong attraction of this feast with its own teaching and ritual, made it the Feast of St. Brigid, who in Irish Christian tradition was made the middle of the Virgin Mary. St. Brigid herself, if she ever existed, appears to have taken over the functions of a Celtic goddess of the same name and comparable attributes.

(Nora Chadwick, 1970, p. 181)⁷

St. Brigid, an Abbess, in the context of the times and place, was director of a community of scholars, not contemplatives or ascetics, but possibly a member of a professional clan devoted to the healing arts. Since women as

well as men could and did perform the professional tasks of their class, it is conceivable that St. Brigid, or whoever served as the model for her in popular folk culture, was such a person.

The myths and legends, by their reference to matrilineal descent and the consequent assumption of land, title, rights, loyalties, obligations or even character traits resulting from maternal descent, remain in sharp contrast with the patriarchal Roman, Greek and Teutonic legends. Scholars researching Brehon Law have repeatedly commented on the superior position of women in Irish society when compared with their contemporaries up until the seventeenth century.

There is every indication that Brehon Law prevailed over Christian orthodoxy throughout the middle ages—especially as regarded marriage, divorce, child-rearing and, of course, the status of women.

After a brief establishment of fiefdoms, the clergy often married and frequently had multiple marriages and political as well as familial relationships with secular chieftains and functioned more as a learned class in continuity with the ancient Brehon system than as leaders of the religious domain. While royalty on the continent and in Britain were constrained to monogamy by Church Law, and even at the point in history when Henry VIII required a Papal dispensation to dissolve his marriage with his first wife, Irish chiefs and chieftains, clergy and free peasants were not constrained from multiple and serial marriage to close kin.⁸

Women were able to enter into any of a dozen different kinds of relationships with attendant property and personal rights respective to the form of the relationship, their own familial status; property status; and the status of their paramours. Women, until the seventeenth century could, by "naming," declare the paternity of their children for paternal and filial responsibility in accordance with the law. The education and care of a child was the sole responsibility of the mother only if she had knowingly conceived the child with a slave or a clergyman bound by vows of chastity. Women who were poets, searists, or otherwise professionals and women who were physically or mentally unfit, were not held responsible at all for the rearing of their children.⁹

Promiscuity among the Irish, as it was perceived by Cromwell and his Puritans, was scandalous. In various correspondence from appointed civil authorities (as well as that of his predecessors from England) there is frequent mention of the need to reform these "wild pagan customs."

An illustrative case is the sixteenth century courtship and marriage of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, with Mabel Bagenal, daughter of Queen's Marshall, Sir Nicholas Bagenal. O'Neill, brought up among English aristocracy, had spent twenty-five years of his life as a native Irish Chief when he met Mabel Bagenal. He well understood English custom, mores and even religion—sufficient to have been married to his abducted fiancée by an Anglican Bishop! It would appear, however, that his bride had little understanding and only repugnance for the lifestyle into which she entered:

... women married early in those days and men early and often, and only the toughest women like the pirate queen Grania O'Malley reversed positions with the much-marrying men ... how can she have understood what it really meant to live according to Agellic ways, and may be not have begun to forget how rude they were? She, poor girl, can only have understood when she found herself among his kernes and gallowglasses, his charlies and mistresses ...

The girl was . . . numbed at first, and then horrified and then furious . . . she must have realized her isolation in the foreign world of Gaelic Danganmon; seen the slighting looks of the hardy fighting men; pined in the routine of a life that became more and more uncouth as she became mistress only in the kitchen and had to prove herself by qualities that she apparently did not possess . . . He could hardly be expected to give up his highborn women living in the same house as his wife, manners old as the lovers of Queen Maeve and the courtesans of Brian Boru, and all the soft life of the border-raider . . . and he saw the contemptuous looks of his own full-blooded women and heard the sniffs of neighboring amazons like the O'Donnell's Innes Duv—she whom the Four Masters describe as a woman like the mother of Machabees who joined a man's heart to a woman's thought . . .

(Author's italics—Sean O'Faolain, 1970, ed. pp. 116-121)¹⁰

After the defeat of O'Neill and his allies at Kinsale, the plantation, military and political occupation of all of Ireland and, finally, a series of enactments and military victories during the seventeenth century, the institutions of Gaelic society—the legal system, class system, and literary/professional tradition—were all but annihilated.¹¹

With the imposition of laws against the existence and training of Catholic clergy, this group, which had become the primary agent for transmission of Gaelic culture, lost its function. From the seventeenth until the nineteenth century, Catholic clergy were to be educated abroad, and, in the process, became agents for the transmission of Roman Catholicism, and, to a lesser extent, in the eighteenth century, agents for transmitting the new philosophies of nationalism, republicanism and revolution. However, in the nineteenth century, with Catholic Emancipation and the establishment through the Crown of Maynooth Seminary, even these kinds of intrusions on the established order of things were terminated.

But the language itself, purveyor of the forbidden value system, survived throughout this period. And, along with it, the manuscripts which detailed the laws governing the status of women in Gaelic society, also survived. Looking at these we find that:

- a) Women could and did hold property in their own name:

There is evidence that in earlier Pict society, a matriarchy existed and women could contract independently regardless of marital status, but, since contract law is a relatively later development than the laws of inheritance or marriage rights, there is some confusion and contradiction about the early condition of Gaelic women as regards contract right. However, the earlier laws describing the categories of marriage and rights accruing to each category suggest that at least two categories of wife had absolute veto rights on their husband's contracts, and that other categories of wives and unmarried women could conclude "good" contracts in their own or their spouse's behalf, which, although subject to veto by him, could on their own be held legitimate. (More about categories of marriage and classification of women later). If the woman was an heiress or if her properties exceeded those of her husband or lover, his honor-price was derivative of hers.¹²

- b) Inheritance and descent:

The mother of a child could declare the child's paternity regardless of her marital status or the brevity or nature of her relationship to the child's father. Likewise, her "portion," both assets and liabilities devolve first on her sons and then in parts to her family of origin. If she inherits

property or receives it through gift, her right to it may be limited by her lifetime if she relinquishes the obligation for military service which accompanies the property right. However, it is apparent that in the seventh century and perhaps later, women and clergy maintained their obligation for military service and it was only through the Cain Adomnain of about 697 A.D. that killing or harming a woman or cleric became such a major criminal offense as to negate their participation in warfare. On the other hand, it may be that these laws were intended to provide greater protection for their non-combatant status, since also "innocent children" were included. "If a woman dies a violent death which can in any way be attributed to malice or the neglect of man, full fines are to be paid. Visitation of God and lawful childbed are expressly excluded; death caused by cattle, pigs, dogs, tame beasts in general and everything that is made by human agency . . . expressly included." (J. Ryan, 1936, p. 270).¹³ Prior to this law, it is probable that the two sexes had been on equal footing as regards military service and criminal law. Earlier law mandated that the honor-price of the woman was to be paid to her sons (if she was a mother) or her fine; or her husband (depending on her status, such honor-price could be split amongst all the aforementioned). In fact, a woman's inheritance was most often expected to be from her father, while the son inherited from his mother, and the liabilities for the parents' debts were first assumed by sons and then by the fine, but not in any case by the daughters. A woman's status in marriage derived in part from her family of origin from her fine's consent or dissent of the match. However, she did not have to have their consent in order to form the alliance and she did not have to have her husband's consent in certain instances to form a legitimate relationship with another man. However, the responsibility of her family of origin or her former husband for her assets, liabilities and children from the informal alliance were accordingly decreased, albeit not eliminated! Further, her husband was required to return her dowry or other property to her family or to her sons if she died or divorced him. If the woman's familial status was higher than that of her husband—if he were a foreigner or propertyless and clan-less, he assumed membership in her family and derived his status from hers. Furthermore, their children were to be considered of her family. If a woman remained single she could, during her lifetime, have property and make contracts in her own name, the property reverting to the geyne upon her death. In all cases, she could own in her own name property given her as a gift or earned through her business dealings. This she could bequeath as she determined.¹⁴

- c) Child care and education:

The Irish custom of "fosterage" was the major provision for child care and education. However, it was also a basic political interchange through which families and clans might be brought into alliance. Fosterage fees were arranged by rank, and, depending on rank, there might be numerous fosterers. Some authors have suggested that fosterage also served to avoid the conflicts attendant upon having numerous sons, by various wives, growing up in the same household. Fosterage for the Irish served a purpose not dissimilar to the Kibbutz system initiated by the early settlers of Israel—i.e. to provide an environment for children which would eliminate the kind of parent-child conflict they themselves had experienced; to ensure that the child would be focused on the community rather than narrowly on the family; minimize sibling rivalry and pro-

vide a wider variety of adult role models for the children. Given the communal organization of Gaelic Ireland, it is not inconceivable that fosterage was similarly motivated. Furthermore, fosterage arrangements devolved equally on males or females and were to be shared between them. That is, the arrangement could be made by and to either or both parents.

The age of fosterage for a boy was until he reached seventeen, and for a girl, to the age of fourteen. These were considered the respective "ages of choice." However, the fee for fostering a girl, despite the relative brevity of her stay, was greater than the fee for fostering a boy—perhaps because the boy would later be more able to protect, maintain, and support the foster-father. The gift given the foster-child upon leaving was equal for male and female, and, in both cases, the education provided, while dependent upon social class, was not necessarily defined in terms of sex-role stereotyped skills until the later commentaries.

If the foster parents separated during the fosterage, and the foster mother took the fosterling, the foster father must turn over to her the remainder of the fee, the reverse would also be the case.

As for responsibility to pay for fosterage, in most cases, it was equally shared between the parents. However, if the father was a repentant cleric, or slave (known as such to the mother), or if the father was physically or mentally ill or, if the father were a "satirist" (a poet-actor-mystic-prophet), the mother had sole responsibility for the cost of the child's education. On the other hand, if the mother was either mentally or physically ill, dead, or a "satirist," the father had sole responsibility for educating the child and placing it in fosterage. The child conceived in rape was the responsibility of the rapist and furthermore, he had to pay the woman's husband a fine for his misbehavior and also purchase back his child. Furthermore, women could, by contract, stipulate that no responsibility with regard to the upbringing of children should fall on them.¹¹

d) Family relationship of women:

... Irish law ... by the time it was committed to writing (ed. note—sixth century and later) did not carry the agnatic principle to the point of denying all legal relationship between a married woman and her own kin, and between the latter and her children ... 1) the share of her kin in the liabilities and assets of a married woman, and 2) the relationship between her kin and the children of the marriage ... The general rule is that liability and gain are in exactly equal proportions. But the actual proportion ... which devolves on the woman's kin varies according to the form of her marriage. Four kinds of union are distinguished:

(a) where the woman is a *ceimíneoir* who has borne sons to her husband, her *fine* takes one-third of her assets and liabilities and her sons the other two thirds ... (b) where she is not a *ceimíneoir*, but still her marriage is recognized by her kin and the head of the latter has betrothed her to her husband, the rule is equal division between her sons and her own *fine*, (c) where she has not been formally betrothed by her *fine*, but the union has subsequently been recognized by them, they take two-thirds, the remaining third going to the children of the marriage, (d) when she has been carried off against the will of the family and they refuse to recognize or sanction the union ... then the abductor must bear the total amount of her liabilities whereas her family are entitled to the whole of her assets ... no form of marriage entailed the complete separation of the woman from her own family ... The more formal the marriage, the greater the severance.

(D. A. Binchy, 1936, pp. 180-182)¹²

Children and their mother's kin had certain recognized rights to each other. The mother's kin could intervene if they felt her children were being neglected by their father or inadequately educated or fostered. Of course, if the woman married a man who was without property or a foreigner, he and her children remained part of her *fine*. But there are other kinds of unions and classes of relationship as well, in which the woman remains in her own *fine*, as Binchy writes:

... ancient Irish law, unlike most other Indo-European systems, did not regard marriage as terminating the legal relations between a woman and her own family. The latter retained a certain legal interest in her and her sons.

(D. A. Binchy, 1936, pp. 184-185)¹³

e) Kinds of marriage connections and kinds of wives:

There was a distinction between the kind of marriage connection and the kind of wife a woman was. Although, in Irish law, women were defined in terms of property relationships and through their relationships with men, men were also defined in relation to women and in relation to each other by property and familial bonds. It is clear that while a woman lost her rights *vis-à-vis* honor-price if she left her husband for another partner without her husband's permission, a husband must also come to some sort of agreement with his wife in order to form a secure relationship with his second wife and/or his concubines. It is hard to imagine, from the vantage point of the twentieth century, what must have been the feelings of a woman who entered in a relationship as a second wife or as one of the classifications of concubine. It would be erroneous too, to assume that the chief wife would feel betrayed by her husband's acquisition of other wives. However, there is an extensive consideration given to the legitimacy of actions taken by the chief wife (*ceimíneoir*) in hostility toward the second wife (*adaítrach*) and vice versa:

Both minor assaults and major assaults, even such as involve life and death are permitted to a *ceimíneoir* during a period of three nights, and (only) half fine (is payable in respect of such assaults) committed from the end of three nights. The *adaítrach* is free from liabilities during the first three nights but full fine is payable by her for all other deeds (i.e. after that period) ... The *ceimíneoir* is completely free from liability for anything she may do during the first three nights short of killing ... Half fine is due from her after the first three nights for a month or until she goes to a man ... The *adaítrach* has the right to inflict damage with her fingernails and to utter insults and screechings and hair pulling and small injuries ... among the seven bloodsheds which might be inflicted with impunity was bloodshed by a *ceimíneoir* through rightful jealousy of the *adaítrach* who took her place ... An *adaítrach* introduced into a household was liable to the latter's honor price ...

(Nancy Power, 1936, p. 87)¹⁴

The kinds of marriage connection refer to the relationship of property, not to the kind of wife. These connections were 1) a union with joint property; 2) a woman with a man of property; 3) a man with a woman of property with service; 4) a woman received on inducement; 5) a man who frequents without service, without inducement, without performance and without bringing property; 6) a union with abduction; 7) a union of wandering mercenaries; 8) a clandestine union; 9) a union brought about by force.

A *ceimíneoir* could be involved in any of the first three mentioned kind of connections. She held a position of pres-

tige and honor and was able to nullify contracts made by her husband without her consent. If she was invalided or bore no sons, her husband could take a temporary, second cetmíneuter or, if he took a wife of lower station, an adaltrach.

... a contracted woman (adaltrach) had no control over her husband's contracts unless these had to do with the sale of clothes, food, cattle or sheep ...

(Nancy Powers, 1936, p. 86)¹⁸

There were two kinds of concubine relationships, as well. Although these were recognized relationships and property rights are specified for them, they were not referred to as "lawful relationships" as were the cetmíneuter and adaltrach.

The corrtreoch each characterized by receiving no property from the man ... a woman visited habitually by the man for whose inducement seolt are not given, a woman of compact and a contracted woman, the man's visits being acknowledged ... the woman to whom the man resorts to cohabit with her ... the proportion of the man's art to which a lawful woman is entitled, one-fourth of this is due to the oírech and one-fifth to the corrtreoch ... the reason why he is entitled to a larger share of the profit from handiwork in the case of the oírech than in that of the corrtreoch is that seolt are given for the inducement of the former but not for the latter. And half the honor price of her father is the bridal price of each of these women, and the husband has an equal share in the inheritance and liabilities of each of these women as in the inheritance and liabilities of his chief wife ... and each of these women is with him with the sanction of his chief wife and tribe except the benindia; the latter is with him with the sanction of her husband.

(Author's italics) (Nancy Power, 1936, pp. 95-96)¹⁹

Is it possible that the strong Celtic emphasis on female detties and military leaders in the surviving myths and legends has provided a sex-role model for women in Ireland that might serve to explain the striking phenomenon of Irish patriots (men) who were of native Irish descent only on their mother's side? It might serve also to explain the heroic women of 1916-24: Constance de Markievicz, Maude Gonne MacBride, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Kathleen Daly Clarke, Mary and Muriel McSwiney and Lady Wilde. There is considerable evidence that Catholic and Protestant working class women, who later organized for suffrage, republicanism and unionization, had been earlier involved with the Gaelic League and Irish Language Movement.

The rights of women were neither antithetical to the Republican movement of 1910-1920, nor even separate from it. These remarkable women, and some men as well, were the nucleus of the Citizen Army, the Abbey Theatre

and other political and cultural revolutionary organizations, and were advocates of women's equality.

Did these Irish feminists and revolutionaries, their antecedents and contemporary successors, recognize that an Irish Ireland; a nation with its own culture; its present and future built on a Celtic heritage—in short, the only surviving Celtic Nation—must, for the sake of its integrity, be a nation of equal citizens—male and female?

FOOTNOTES

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13. The Cain Adomnain, chapter in *Early Irish Law*, by John Ryan, S. J.
14. "The Relationship of Mother and Son, of Father and Daughter and the Law of Inheritance with Regard to Women," chapter in *Early Irish Law* by Myles Dillon.
15. "The Rights and Duties of Women with Regard to the Education of Their Children" chapter in *Early Irish Law*, by Kathleen Mulchrone.
16. D. A. Binchy, *Early Irish Law*, op.cit.
17. *Ibid*.
18. "Classes of Women described in *Saechus Mór*," chapter in *Early Irish Law* by Nancy Power.
19. *Ibid*.
20. *Ibid*.

Rosa M. Fields, Ph.D., Psychologist, presented this paper by invitation at the University of Haifa, Israel on December 28, 1981.

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Paddy's Pig

by Charles Dalton Vidsens

"He's as Irish as Paddy's pig!" Have you ever heard a remark like that? Do you wonder where it comes from? I can't tell you exactly when or how it came to be used; but I can tell you that at one time the Irish were closely identified with pigs. So close was the association that many Irish shared their living quarters with pigs. It is quite likely that this cohabitation gave rise to the saying.

"Not so," you say? Ah, but it is! The Irish did live with pigs, and not so long ago either. "Well then," you may ask, "how did such a state of affairs come to be?" I'll tell you. It was not by choice. It was not because the Irish didn't know any better, it was because they couldn't do any better.

Now home is a difficult word to define. It means different things to different people. I can assure you, who read these words, that your idea of home is quite different from that of an Irishman of 150 years ago. To the Irish of that time, a pig was a measure of great wealth. This being the case they could not afford to allow the animals to roam free. They were kept in the home.

In 1955, Radio Eirvann broadcast a series of essays on Irish life in the early 1800's. Here is an excerpt from one of those essays by T. P. O'Neill. It is a description of an Irish home about the time of Dan O'Connell. "Imagine four walls of dried mud, which the rain as it falls, easily restores to its primitive conditions. The roof is made of straw or perhaps sod. The chimney is a hole cut in the roof, and in some cases the door itself must serve as an exit for the smoke. One single apartment contains father, mother, children and sometimes grandparents. There is no furniture. A single bed of straw serves the entire family. Five or six half-naked children may be seen crouched near a miserable fire, the ashes of which cover a few potatoes. In the midst of all lies a dirty pig, the only thriving inhabitant of the place for he lives in filth. The presence of a pig in an Irish hovel may at first seem an indication of misery. It is not! It is a sign of comparative comfort. Indigence is still more extreme in the hovel where no pig is found. Although this dwelling is very miserable, it is not the home of a pauper. This is the dwelling of an Irish farmer or laborer."

Further on O'Neill tells what it was like when an Irishman was too poor to afford a pig. Here is the report of a police officer in County Meath. The year is 1836. "We came to what appeared to be a roughly thatched roof of a cabin, but the roof was even with the ground. Upon examination we found it to be a human habitation. It was an old excavation in a peat bog and occupied by a laborer and his family. A roof had been thrown over a hole in the ground to form a house. The only means of getting in or out was by a ladder of sticks."

And so the Irish came to live with pigs, when they could afford it, in homes not suited for anything better. Perhaps you will remember this the next time someone says, "He's as Irish as Paddy's pig."

Charles D. Vidsens is a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, John F. Kennedy Division 5.

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Saint Brendan

Adapted by James Herlihy

Saint Brendan (about 486-578), an Irish monk, was born in what is now Tralee, in County Kerry. He was educated under monastic influences and became a priest, but, filled with a great desire to travel, he went on a long journey to the western and northern islands, including the Hebrides, Shetland, and Faro islands, and also Brittany. After his return, he traveled with a large party to the continent of Europe and to the Canary Islands, then called the Fortunate Isles. Returning from this second voyage, he founded, in 561, the monastery in what is now Clonfert, County Galway. Later, he visited the island of Iona, in the Inner Hebrides, and the mainland of Scotland. The travels of Saint Brendan ("The Navigator") are the subject, too, of a popular medieval romance, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*, in which the saint is described as experiencing fabulous adventures. Influenced by this romance, mapmakers from medieval times and into the 18th century placed on their maps "Saint Brendan's Island," a presumed discovery of the voyager's; it was just south of the Antilles and west of the Cape Verde Islands.

Saint Brendan's traditional feast day is May 16.

James Herlihy adapted this article from an AOH publication.



**ST. PATRICK'S DAY
GREETINGS**

The Names of Irish Places

by Dr. Colín Owens

Visitors to Ireland's capital city are sometimes puzzled by the dissimilarity between the English and Irish roadsigns, which indicate that "Dublin" and "Baile Átha Cliath" are indeed the same place. Many Irish towns bear similarly unlike names in the two languages: Queenstown/Cobh, Kingstown/Dun Laoghaire, Maryboro/Portlaoise, and Edgeworthstown/Mostrim. Unless one is lost on a country road with a map which doesn't match the roadsigns, it can be an amusing and instructive exercise to translate and match such odd pairings as these which appear all over the roads of Ireland.

The name "Dublin" derives from *Dubh-linn* (Black Pool) a point in the River Liffey close to the present Grattan Bridge, whereas, the more ancient name of "Baile Átha Cliath" (The Town of the Hurdle Ford) originally designated a crossing-place about 600 yards upstream. But since medieval times the city of Dublin has encompassed both locations. Following the War of Independence, an attempt was made to restore hundreds of ancient Irish placenames, this was accepted in some instance (Cobh, for example), and rejected in others (nobody calls the town of Navan, Co. Meath by its Official name, "An Uaimh").

Although the Irish language has long ceased to function as the primary medium of expression and communication among the people of Ireland, it remains on their tongues and in their frame of reference in many ways which are largely unconscious. A significant way in which this is so is in the use of Irish placenames in reference to cities, towns, villages, roads, fields, hills, ponds, rocks, and myriad features of the landscape. Even in areas of Ireland where the language has been dead a long time, one finds purely Irish names applied to local landmarks. In my own parish near Slane, Co. Meath, for instance—for centuries a part of the Pale, and English-speaking for at least two hundred years—the local cattle pond is known as the "Pallmore" (*Poll mór*, "Big Hole"), a particular bend in the road is the "Camaleen" (*Camadh*, bend: "Little Bend"), and every hill has an Irish designation: "Mullagha" ("The Height of the Plain"), "Kingarth" (*Cinn*, Top: "Garth's Hill"), "Mullaghban" (*Bán*, white: "The White Height"), etc. Many lanes, fields and wells have Irish names known only to the immediate neighbors, often only a single family. Most people using such placenames would probably not recognize them as Irish: they would simply be "names"—identification tags without a context beyond familiar usage. The rapid changes brought about by technology and travel further dim the "race memory" which illuminated the relationship between country people and their surroundings.

As a visitor gets to know the landscape and all its little names, one begins to develop an imaginative bond with it, a bond that is not only personal, but also communal and historical as well. The countryside ceases to become a mere "scene," but a dense web of reference, a minutely intelligible grid in which one can fix the position of a person or a thing precisely, as Desmond Fennell recently remarked about his own move from Dublin to Maoinis in Connemara. This detailed meaning of the features of the countryside over the accumulated centuries is a basic activity by which people domesticate raw "nature." By naming, by imposing meaning, in this manner, on a portion of the earth's surface, they make it mentally manageable and transform it into a place where they can feel at home.

Brian Friel's recent play, *Translations*, among other themes deals with the effect on Gaelic Ireland of the angli-

cization of placenames. It proposes that like the English-speaking National Schools, this had a profoundly alienating effect. But this is an exaggeration, because local people do not consult maps or roadsigns to find their way. Only outsiders—colonists or tourists—do. The erosion of Irish placenames in common usage is a very slow process, much slower than the loss of the language as a medium of communication. Irish placenames will continue to be used as long as agriculture, and not tourism or industry, remains the chief occupation of the people Ireland.

Patrick Weston Joyce's 3-volume work, *Irish Names of Places*, can recover for us a vast range of topographic information which is becoming less accessible as time goes on. Although over one hundred years since the first volume appeared, it remains today the standard reference work on this subject, and is a valuable companion on a serious tour of Ireland. Considering that it is entirely the work of one man, it has relatively few errors. But it should be consulted with caution.

Irish placenames derive, Joyce explains, from a large variety of sources: mythological and historical figures and events, folklore, the lives of the saints, the system of land division, descriptions of physical features, local fauna and flora, artificial structures (roads, castles, mills, kilns, churches, etc.), the planets, the cardinal points, prominent families, etc. The task of properly interpreting these names is a complex one because of the constantly changing language, pronunciation and orthography, the imprecision of many maps, the unreliability of many commentators, the corruption of names, and the similarity of many Irish words to one another. Here are some examples of Irish placenames based on ten randomly selected common roots.

1. Bally (*Baile*, Town): Ballymore (*mór*, big); Ballydooneen (*dúinn*, little fort); Ballycullen (*coillín*, little wood); Ballybrogan (family name); Ballynabola (*boile*, booley or milking place); Ballycarridge (*Caradoc*, a Welsh settler).

2. Kill (*Cill*, a church; or *Coill*, a wood): Kilbarry (Church of St. Barry); Kildare (*dair*, oak: Church of the Oak); Killaconin (*coinn*, rabbit: The Wood of the Rabbit); Killeencreevagh (*croabhach*, branchy: The Little Wood of the Branchy Trees).

3. Ros (*Ros*, a wood or headland): Rosmadda (*mada*, dog: The Wood of the Dogs); Rossmeen (*mín*, smooth: Smooth, or Open, Wood); Rosnagrena (*grán*, sun: Sunny Wood); Rosclare (*clér*, clergy: Point of the Clergy).

4. Rath (*Rath*, fort, ancient circular house): Rathbrist (*briste*, broken: Broken Rath); Rathingle (*aingil*, angel: Rath of the Angel); Rathcloheen (*cloch*, stone: Rath of the Little Stones).

5. Shan (*Shan*, old): Shanahill, (Old Wood); Shanballylosky (*loiscithe*, burnt: Old Burnt Town).

6. Gort (*Gort*, enclosed field): Gortagowan (*gobha*, smith: Field of the Smith); Gortaspiddale (*apidéal*, hospital: Field of the Hospital); Gorteennaguppage (*cupóg*, dock-leaf: The Little Field of the Dockleaves).

7. Slieve (*Slieve*, mountain): Slieveaneena (*fin*, wine: Mountain of the Wine); Slievacushabinnia (*cos*, foot; *binn*, peak: The Mountain at the Foot of the Peak).

8. Drom, Drum (*Drom*, ridge): Drumaskibbole (*scioból*, bam: The Ridge of the Barn); Drumardnagross (*árd*, high; *cross*, cross: The High Rise of the Crosses).

9. Clon, Cloon (*Cluain*, meadow or religious retreat): Clonagoose (*cuos*, cave: The Meadow of the

Caves); Clooncashel (cashel, stonefort: The Meadow of the Stone Fort).

10. Boher (Boher, road): Boherfadda (fada, long: Long Road); Bohernambo (bo, cow: The Road of the Cows).

There are thousands of such placenames which reflect the language and history of Ireland. The town named Ardee (Ferdia's Ford) marks Cuchulain's combat with his son; scores of placenames like Downpatrick (Patrick's fort), reflect St. Patrick's missionary activity. The Norsemen leave their mark on the map with names such as Wicklow, (Vikingaló) and Fingal (Fair Foreigners), and the Anglo-Normans with Bally and Forth, and various English planters register their conquest with names such as Londonderry and Craigavon. But the vast majority of Irish placenames retain their original Irish language forms even though obscured by approximate translations or corruptions. It took a wayward imagination to convert, as did the Ordnance Survey, Bun na hAbhann (Rivermouth) into Burnfoot! And how many today know that Dublin's Phoenix Park has nothing to do with the mythological bird, but is a corruption of *fionn uisce*, "clear water"?

A lot of a people's feeling for their environment evaporated with the loss of the native language. No doubt in most parishes, local landmarks lost their colorful identity marks, and became just "that rock over there" or "that low hill beyond." And no doubt this trend will continue: sadly the environment will slowly lose its capacity to speak to the modernized inhabitant, and will meet with silence the visitor who comes to listen.

Cóilín Owens, is an Assistant Professor of English at George Mason University, Virginia.

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Irish Stew

2½ lbs. stewing beef, cubed
¾ lb. onions
¾ lb. carrots
1½ teaspoons salt
¼ teaspoon pepper
1 Tablespoon parsley (chopped)
water or stock
3 stalks celery
2 lbs. potatoes

Trim excess fat from meat cubes. Peel potatoes. Slice onions. Slice carrots. Chop celery. Place a layer of potatoes in stewpan, season lightly with pepper and salt. Add a layer of meat and a sprinkling of vegetables. Repeat layers, finishing with potatoes. Add water (or stock) almost to cover. Cook, covered, over a very low heat about 2½ hours or until meat is tender. Skim away excess fat. Serve sprinkled with parsley.

Happy St. Patrick's Day
from the members of
The St. Patrick's Day Parade
Committee

THE FIDDLER OF DOONEY

WHEN I PLAY ON MY FIDDLE IN DOONEY.

Folk dance like a wave of the sea;
My cousin is priest in Kilmonee,
My brother in
Moharabree.

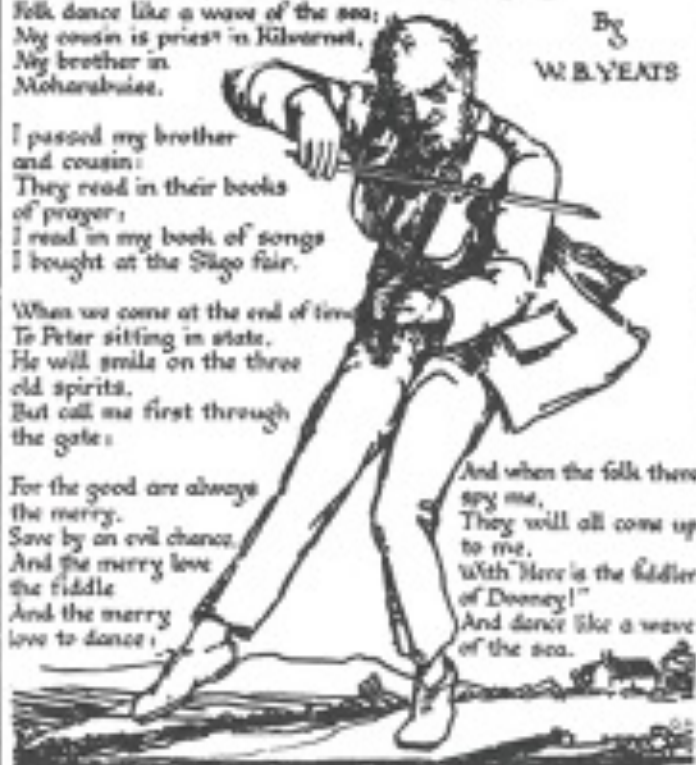
By
W.B. YEATS

I passed my brother
and cousin:
They read in their books
of prayer;
I read in my book of songs
I bought at the Sligo fair.

When we come at the end of time
To Peter sitting in state,
He will smile on the three
old spirits,
But call me first through
the gate:

For the good are always
the merry,
Save by an evil chance,
And the merry love
the fiddle
And the merry
love to dance.

And when the folk there
spy me,
They will all come up
to me,
With "Here is the fiddler
of Dooney!"
And dance like a wave
of the sea.



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¼ teaspoon baking powder

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