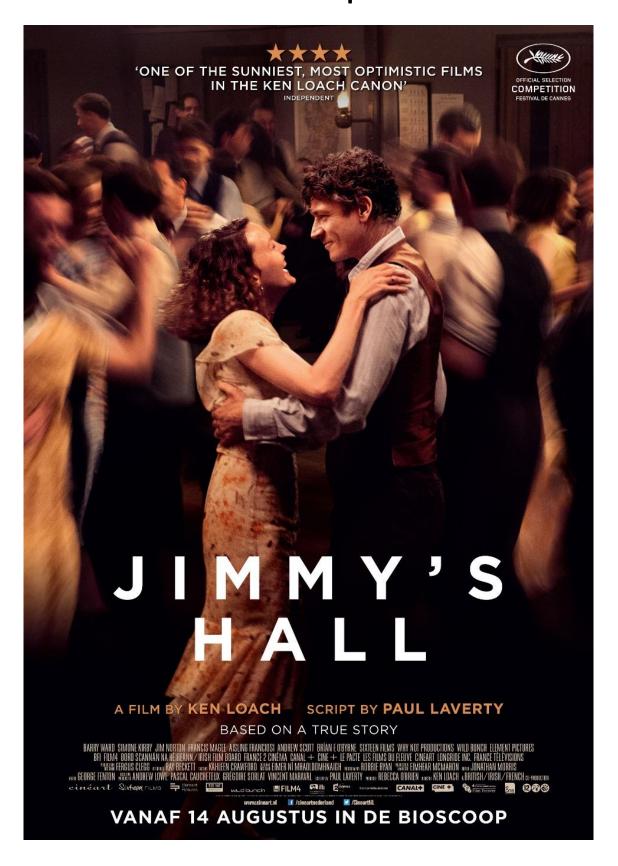
Persmap



JIMMY'S HALL

Een film van Ken Loach

De film vertelt het waargebeurde verhaal van de Ierse activist Jimmy Gralton die in de jaren '30 voor de vrijheid van meningsuiting streed. Jimmy Gralton bouwde op het Ierse platteland een cultuurhuis waar mensen samen komen om te Ieren, te debatteren, te Iezen en te dromen...maar vooral om te dansen en plezier te hebben. Tot afschuw van de katholieke kerk.

JIMMY'S HALL zal de laatste speelfilm zijn van regisseur Ken Loach.



OFFICIAL SELECTION

Speelduur: 106 min. - Land: UK - Jaar: 2014 - Genre: Drama Release datum bioscoop: 14 augustus 014 Distributie: Cinéart

Meer informatie over de film:

Cinéart Nederland - Janneke De Jong Herengracht 328 III / 1016 CE Amsterdam Tel: +31 (0)20 5308844

Email: janneke@cineart.nl

www.cineart.nl

Persmap en foto's staan op: www.cineart.nl Persrubriek - inlog: cineart / wachtwoord: film

Introduction - Paul Laverty - writer

Sometimes an idea for a story can land in your lap like some benign present from on high and you feel like thanking the lucky stars. *Jimmy's Hall* came this way, a long distant ripple from Nicaragua, via an old friend Donal O'Kelly, an actor and playwright whom I had the good fortune to meet there in the eighties while the United States was busy making carnage of the Sandinista revolution and its people.

Over three years ago Donal and Sorcha Fox were planning a community theatre project in County Leitrim to highlight the plight of asylum seekers in Ireland, many of whom were held in limbo for years with the threat of deportation hanging over their heads. Donal imagined a theatrical/dance event with them, linking their plight back to the story of Jimmy Gralton, the only Irishman deported from his own country as an "illegal alien" without trial way back in August 1933.

The spark to invest so much effort in a story is always a question of the gut. As I read of Jimmy Gralton's life I wondered out loud to Donal if it might make for a film in its own right. I was struck by the community effort to build a hall with voluntary labour on Jimmy's land where they could meet to debate, think, study, give classes, and of course sing and dance without interference from anyone, including the Church and the State which were intertwined around each other. Jimmy and his comrades were determined to build a free space in an increasingly authoritarian country dominated by the ideology of the Catholic Church, who insisted education was the sole preserve of Holy Mother Church.¹

It was both the conciseness, and the possibility of complexity unfurled, that made it such an attractive premise. The hall itself felt like a character. I spoke to Ken [Loach] and could sense the same gut reaction, and I noticed that glint in his eye at the prospect of meat and mischief in a story. Rebecca [O'Brien] too was intrigued by the possibility of another film in Ireland, set a decade later from the period we explored in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*.

With typical generosity Donal and Sorcha were delighted that we were interested and encouraged me to begin research into the detail of Jimmy's life and the hall.

First stop was Effernagh in County Leitrim, and the sparse crossroads in the countryside opposite a pub called the Black Swan. By one corner was a wooden sign with the words, "Site of the Pearse-Connolly Hall. In memory of Jimmy Gralton, Leitrim Socialist deported for his political beliefs on August 13th 1933." Though burnt down by "persons unknown" on New Year's Eve 1932, it was still possible to imagine the outline of the hall in the overgrown grass.

It was a wet, miserable January day, and the only sound was that of crows from the trees opposite. But gradually I could hear in my mind's eye the sound of feet tapping, and music drifting down over the 80 year gap. I couldn't help but smile at the thought of Jimmy's secret weapon in the battle against drabness: his stylish gramophone brought back from the States, and his collection of records. I was to hear stories of people travelling over 30 miles on their bicycles to hear the latest new record from across the Atlantic while local parish priests fumed against the devil's music and the "Los Angeles-isation" of Irish culture.

_

¹ It is hard to quantify the control the Church exerted not only over the daily lives, but over the imagination of a nation, especially after the Eucharistic Congress in 1932 which was the perfect platform for de Valera to demonstrate he was a safe pair of hands to the Catholic hierarchy. Many have commented on the Church's decline over the past decade but its grip on power has been deep and stubborn. As I write these notes today on the 23 Sept, 2013, the third last day of the shoot, the *Irish Times* reports on an agreement reached on the "transfer of the first Catholic primary school in the State to become multidenominational and to move out of the Catholic Church control." On the day the film started a priest on the board of the Trustees of a major Dublin hospital called for a rejection of recent (extremely limited) abortion legislation introduced by the Government to protect the lives of women.

I read news reports of over 500 people attending the Republican Courts (in parallel to the boycotted British-run courts) held in the hall, set up during the War of Independence in 1921 to solve land disputes. To implement the court's decisions Jimmy and his comrades formed the Direct Action Committee, which challenged not only the property rights of big ranchers, but upset the right-wing flank of the IRA. On one occasion the hall was surrounded by soldiers while Jimmy fled out a back window. It was little wonder that he had to flee for his life to the States in those troubled times (May '22) leading up to the civil war which tore Ireland asunder.

As I stood there with the sermons by local parish priests O'Dowd and Cosgrove ringing in my ear from 80 years back I remembered the words of a rich farmer from *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, who told the two IRA brothers in the story that if their like were to win the war, Ireland would end up a "priest-infested backwater".

Beyond the site of the hall was Jimmy's family home, now abandoned and in a state of disrepair set on a few acres of boggy land now covered in reeds. It was not hard to imagine a tough life against the elements. The Plantation story was implicit in the landscape, with many humble Catholic families etching out an existence on poorer land supplemented by trips to Scotland to pick potatoes. I imagined Jimmy's fierce sense of social justice forged against this backdrop, and nourished by politically aware parents.

In *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* we made a key decision. We tried to be truthful to the spirit of the times, but with fictional characters. In this story we were faced with a new challenge. There are key public events in Jimmy Gralton's life that we know from public sources, principally newspaper reports of the time, and word-of-mouth passed down through the generations.² I owe a great debt of gratitude to Paul Gralton and his father Jim Gralton in particular. Jim's mother and father, Packie and Maggie Gralton, were both cousins of Jimmy from two different sides of the family and were very close to him. It was even Jimmy who suggested they marry, and he left the farm to Packie and Maggie after his deportation in '33. Paul and Jim shared stories with me passed down through the generations, and I had a wonderful day with Jim who showed me the places where some key events took place like the cattle drives to implement Republican court decisions in the 1920s, and the community action to force the return of the Milmoe family to their cottage (whose descendants are still there) after they were evicted from the Kingston Estate in the early 1930s. Jimmy was asked to speak to mark the occasion and his main point rings hauntingly true in Ireland of 2013.

As I listened to Paul and Jim pass on their stories and considerable insight it became obvious too that there is so much about a person's personality, inner thoughts, fears, vulnerabilities, imagination, and subtleties of relations with friends and loved ones that are beyond historical record. There is likewise so much that is beyond the reach of subjective memories passed down from those who knew Jimmy (in their way), and then passed down in turn again to Paul and his generation.

In a film we have to grapple with the inner life, the contradictions, doubts and motivations or we will be left with the damp squib of a public skeleton. So after discussion with Ken we made another key decision. This would be a story "freely inspired" by the lives and times of Jimmy and the hall. Our story doesn't pretend to be a conventional biopic. We know he brought back records of Paul Robeson from the States, but did he bring back Bessie Smith? Did a young and curious free spirit like Jimmy go dancing the Shim Sham and Lindy Hop at the Saxony hotel in Harlem while he lived in New York, the only place in the United States where black and white could dance together openly? Nobody knows if he did or not, but in our version we imagine he did.

_

² There are two documentaries, one by Pat Feeley for RTE radio, *The Gralton Affair* and a particularly helpful booklet by him of the same name, and another interesting documentary made by Michael Carolan commissioned by SIPTU trade union that apparently never got an airing on TV, despite its quality. There is a later document to Pat Feeley's written by Des Guckian which also records the main public events in Jimmy's life and I was lucky enough to trace a recording of Maggie Gralton, Jimmy's cousin, made not too long before she died. Her *My Cousin Jimmy* was a warm personal record of her childhood memories.

Paul Gralton thought it feasible Jimmy might have brought back some Blues from New York, so we have a jazz band playing in the hall instead of a record playing on a flimsy gramophone. (Not long after Jimmy was deported there were anti-jazz marches lead by priests in Mohill, not far from where Jimmy lived, so these debates were in the air.) We know about the boxing, painting and literature classes at the hall, but the personalities and mix of Jimmy's friends who taught at the hall, and helped him run it, are imagined. I read of the denunciations from local parish priests O'Dowd and Cosgrove, and others too, and the pronouncements of local Bishops, and after weighing that up, and trying to imagine the times from the point of view of a local priest, we have drawn the fictional characters Father Sheridan and his curate Father Seamus. They struck us as more insightful than the priests of those crude sermons. We know Jimmy went to confront one of them. What he might have said, and how, are imagined.

I asked Paul Gralton if there was any hint that the unmarried Jimmy (he did finally marry in New York towards the end of his life, long after deportation) might have had a secret sweetheart given his personality and "the catch" he would have been in those times having returned from abroad. Paul's reply struck a chord. "You would never know even if he had." So did this impulsive, generous man have a secret love? Who knows, but he does in our version, and she is called Oonagh. This is a freely inspired guess, nothing more, nothing less, sparked by the character that took hold as we tried to imagine the man in the round. Does that do an injustice to Jimmy? I hope not. And would the absence of that tenderness, the secret and the intimate, if that had been our choice, have been an even greater injustice to this charismatic ball of energy that Jimmy seemed to be? There are no arithmetical answers to these imponderables. I could only engage with the script if we dived in boldly, and if we have erred, I hope it is in the spirit of Jimmy's hall itself.

How can we know the depth and intricacy of his relationship with his mother Alice? Jim and Paul told me that Alice ran the local mobile library in the area. Did she read to Jimmy, a bright and curious child, and teach him to think, criticise and welcome ideas from beyond Leitrim? I relied on that to imagine the kernel of a loving relationship which in turn led to unbearable choices for Jimmy as the political pressure mounted on him. I can only guess that as a teenager who had the courage to desert the British army because of his political convictions and challenge his superiors at such a tender age he must have had some grounding from his family.

Of all the sources I came across, I was particularly struck by a transcribed interview with Packie Gralton, who helped Jimmy hide when he was on the run. He was asked what Jimmy was like as a person. I imagined an old man smiling at the memory of a soul mate: "Ah... he was a free man... a free man."

Taking the sources as a whole what struck us, in essence, was a man who had seen the world, lived a full life, and with a generous spirit; who tried to bring the best of what he had learned and experienced back to this modest little hall in a country crossroads some 50 yards from where he was born. He had been a soldier, a sailor, a miner, a docker, a taxi driver, worked in bars and no doubt much else besides. He left school at 14 but judging from the stories and how he wrote and spoke he must have been a man who read and studied. He had a sharp tongue and no doubt this got him into trouble, even accusing Peadar O'Donnell, a fellow-traveller and supporter, of needing to be the "bridegroom at every wedding and corpse at every funeral." Writing back from New York to Father O'Dowd after his deportation he wrote, "...even the cloak of religion can no longer cover the imperialist hooligan that hides behind it."

Having travelled the world, and witnessed the roaring twenties in the States, followed by the depression after 1929, and the ripple of misery that flowed from there around the world he must have seen tremendous poverty and brutality, but he never seemed to turn into a cynic.

I was struck by anecdotes of his generosity (housing a homeless man in New York who stole his trousers) and sense of humour. He was no sectarian. His sister, based in the States, was a nun who attended the hall to enjoy the music during a visit to Ireland until warned off by the local Parish

priest. Jimmy was very popular with many of the other nuns too in a convent in the US where his sister was based. Jimmy was intensely political, a committed socialist, but we had a sense of a man who appreciated that we need many types of nourishment, including fun and companionship. People travelled for miles to attend the dances despite the denunciations from the pulpit.

As well as digging into the secrets of the characters another major challenge was trying to imagine the texture of lived experience of the 20s in the flashbacks, and the quite different atmosphere of the 30s after a decade of authoritarian rule of the Cosgrave Government, not from the safety of hindsight, but in the moment with the characters. Historian Donal Ó Drisceoil from University College Cork, who worked with us on *Barley*, was once again a bedrock of support to outline the political atmosphere of the times, fill in the details and answer endless questions - which he did with the sharpest of observations.

On a visit to the National Archives in Dublin I confirmed what Donal had told me: the records relating to Jimmy's detention and subsequent deportation have mysteriously disappeared. What is intriguing, and what we couldn't find out, was when this happened. The vital question is how the decision was made in such secrecy and who was privy to it. It reminded me of the subversive first page of *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. Milan Kundera gives details of a famous propaganda photo of Communist leader Klement Gottwald on a balcony in Prague in 1948. In freezing weather Gottwald's comrade Clementis, by his side, gave his own furry hat to his bareheaded leader. Four years later Clementis was charged with treason and hanged. The Communist Party airbrushed him from the photo and history. But like the corner foundations of Jimmy's hall poking through sods of grass, Clementis's hat still remains. Kundera wrote, "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." It was not enough that Jimmy's hall was burnt to the ground, that he was deported from his birthplace - the official record of the events disappeared into nothingness too. Little wonder so few had heard the story of Jimmy Gralton, even in County Leitrim.

What attracted us to this story too was the physical courage of Jimmy and his comrades in intolerant times. I was reminded of this on day 26 of the shoot when six people were set upon in Athens for distributing posters for a youth festival organised by the left. Fifty Golden Dawn fascists attacked them with baseball bats and they were seriously injured and hospitalised. On day 29 of the shoot on the 17th of September 2013 a hip hop artist Pavlos Fyssas was chased by an armed group of 30 Golden Dawn members and then stabbed to death. While the circumstances were very different, and it would be specious to draw exact parallels (though the Guardian did mention Golden Dawn have been encouraged by clerics) it did make me reflect on the physical danger to our characters who refused to bow the knee before the Catholic elite in both Church and State, especially after the massive display of Catholic power following the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 when over a million attended mass at Phoenix Park in Dublin. It must have been terrifying for Jimmy and Co. to be called "anti-Christs" and the "anti-God people" each Sunday from the pulpit with hatred whipped up in an hysterical fashion. A mine was placed at the entrance to the hall, which did not explode because it was faulty. The hall was shot into (though in defiance they danced on) and I have little doubt Jimmy's friends must have feared for his life. It seems not much had changed, a decade later from Jimmy's first flight, when a crowd of 2,000 in Dublin, egged on by a priest, burned down the [James] Connolly House in 1932.

I hope this little tale will be an antidote to the instinct to conform and the tugging of the forelock to those in power. Between takes I found myself wondering who would be the modern day equivalents to the anti-Christs of Jimmy's time. Would it be Chelsea Manning, sentenced to 35 years on day seven of the shoot, for revealing torture and murder by US troops while the murderers go unpunished? Or Ai Weiwei, China's most famous artist who had his art studio, which was also to be used as an education centre, demolished by the Chinese authorities because they could not control his criticism or wit. Or Julian Assange, who finds himself facing serious personal allegations which, out of all sense of scale, dwarf in the public narrative the systematic crimes against humanity he and his collaborators had the courage to expose. Or Edward Snowden for revealing how the State and

Corporations collaborate on massive surveillance of our private lives. Or independent trade union activists risking life and limb in the maquilla factories along the Mexican border, or the vicious sweatshops in China. Or gay activists in Russia, or women educationalists in Afghanistan, or those brave teachers in Greece threatened by Golden Dawn to have their ears cut off if they continued to teach immigrant children? Or those activists today in Ireland who demand a transparent accounting of deals done in private between politicians and financiers that have had massive repercussions in public services that will affect every level of life for the foreseeable future, or who have criticised Irish budget details discussed in Germany before the Irish cabinet even saw them? What a mockery of the democratic process.

It seems clear we need a Jimmy's Hall of the imagination, whether material, virtual, or a combination of both, if we are to be citizens; a safe free space where we can meet to think, debate, listen, learn, organise and analyse the world around us, and examine how power is shared, or not, in our daily lives. If our resistance is to last we need the nourishment of mischief and friendship in the process. It was Emma Goldman who told the Bolsheviks "If I can't dance I don't want your revolution" and the executed Nigerian writer Ken Saro-Wira who wrote "Dance your anger and your joys, dance their military guns to silence, dance their dumb laws to the dump, dance oppression and injustice to death...." Somewhere, somehow, in every corner of the world, Jimmy's Hall and Clementis's hat, reveal themselves, despite the brutality.

[P.L. Sligo Sept 13, revised Edinburgh, Oct 13.]



Synopsis

March, 1932, County Leitrim. Jimmy Gralton has come home after a decade working in America. The Ireland he returns to, ten years after the Civil War, has a new Government and fresh hope for Jimmy's people – farmers, workers, the young, the rural poor. Jimmy's first love, Oonagh, is married now. And the Pearse-Connolly Hall, a beacon for the local community, which Jimmy and his friends built, lies empty.

Jimmy has returned to Ireland to look after his mother, Alice, and when he gets to her cottage all his old friends are present and correct – Mossie, Tommy, Sean, Dezzie, Finn and Molly. He says he wants a quiet life now. But Jimmy Gralton is an activist, a leader. None of them really believes him. Father Sheridan, the parish priest, hears of Jimmy's return. He knows that a man who people follow, a man of action, is back in his parish. To him Jimmy Gralton is a man that the Church cannot control. Meanwhile the young people want to dance. They have heard the stories about the hall - the dances; the classes in literature, art, sport and music - and they want to know if Jimmy will open it up again. There is nothing else for them here. Jimmy says no. Not this time.

But then he goes to the hall, and thinks back to how it was before – a safe haven for the local community to learn and to sing and dance, away from the glare of Holy Mother Church; a home for the Republican Courts that gave the people a justice denied them by the collusion of Church and State. And he thinks back to Oonagh Dempsey, dancing, defiant, his true love whom he asked to come with him when he was driven out to America. He said she would always be in his heart and now he has returned, she still is.

The hall is reopened. Soon the place is alive with music - Jimmy has brought back a gramophone from America and with it he brings the Shim Sham, the Lindy Hop, joy and hope. The classes begin once more, too – Sean teaching Yeats, Mossie teaching boxing, Molly teaching music and Oonagh teaching dance.

Father Sheridan is aghast. His curate, Father Seamus, preaches restraint – repression breeds belligerence; leave them and they'll wither away. But Sheridan sees this as the beginnings of a Communist insurrection, with Gralton a man with fire in his soul and a plan in his head. The evening dances start up again, wondrous and vital, just like the old days. Sheridan is on hand to take names of the people coming to the dance. Next day at Sunday Mass, he reads them out. A young girl takes a beating at her father's hands as a result, but a seed has been sown - she still goes back to the hall for her dance class the next day.

Sheridan does his rounds, cajoling the locals to steer clear of the hall. Not only does the Church have Jimmy in its sights but the Army Comrade's Association are circling – proto fascists who see Jimmy and his friends as Reds to be routed.

Meanwhile, the IRA call on Jimmy to help reinstate a family evicted from their cottage by a callous landowner. They know that Jimmy has a way with words and can rally a crowd. It will become a challenge to landed estates countrywide.

When Jimmy agrees, and delivers an energizing speech against an Ireland divided by wealth and class, he knows his fate is sealed. It begins with shots fired at the hall during an evening dance. It continues when the hall is burned down. And it ends when the guards come for Jimmy, eventually taking him to the docks to be deported back to America. The crowd is made up of the young people who have danced at Jimmy's hall – as he is led away, they promise to keep dancing.

Ken Loach - Director

Why did you want to tell Jimmy Gralton's story?

It is a story that brings so many things together: it challenges the idea that the left is dour and dispiriting and against fun and enjoyment and celebration. It also shows how organised religion will make common cause with economic power. They did it in the case of Jimmy Gralton and continue to do so. Church and state become agents of oppression. In this case - though it's barely mentioned in the film because of time - those who would appear to be progressive regressed, like de Valera, whom people thought would encourage open minds and tolerance. In fact, the first thing he did was to seek the approval of the church and get them on his side. Principles were expendable in the interest of realpolitik.

Is it intended to be a companion piece to The Wind that Shakes the Barley and if so, how?

Well it's set just ten years later and there's a line in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* where the Anglo-Irish landowner says, "This country will become a priest infested backwater," and lo and behold, it came to pass. It's been a struggle ever since. The church has now lost a lot of credibility because of the scandals. But when we were making the film people absolutely understood the power of the church and the power of the priest to determine who would be successful or not in the community.

To what extent is this film history and to what extent fiction?

The film is 'inspired' by the life and times of Jimmy Gralton. There isn't a huge amount known about the details of his life and personality. That's sad in some ways because clearly he was a brilliant man, but it gave us the freedom to imagine a private life and explore those choices he had to make. We wanted to give the audience a character that has richness and is a rounded person, not just a two-dimensional activist. That balance is very difficult and it always comes down to the details - can he have a relationship with someone? And then what might that relationship be? We can share and imagine the secrets. We did not want the priests to appear as caricatures, which would have been a danger if we had just dramatised the historical record. It was more interesting to imagine a priest who while he was ferocious in his hostility, nevertheless had another dimension to him - he respected his enemy's integrity. Jimmy had real qualities that the priest couldn't ignore. What we tried to do was round the characters whilst being true to the historical facts.

What is the significance of the hall?

I think it's an embodiment of a free spirit, a place where ideas can be tested and expressed, where poetry, music, sport can all be celebrated, where people can express their talents and, of course, dance.

So what is the role of dance and music in the story?

It is an expression of freedom. Always dangerous to those who seek to exercise control.

How did you go about capturing dance and music on film?

You can do it in various ways. You can choreograph the camera and the dancers and make it very stylised, but that was the antithesis of what we wanted. People learned the dances to a point where they could enjoy them and express themselves. Then we had to find camera positions and images that would capture that. I think it's to do with the angle you shoot at and it's to do with the lens you use: it comes down to technical issues. The images that I always have in my head are the Degas images of dance where you feel you're sitting in a box, alongside. It's not right in the middle of the stalls, where everything is straight on to you, he's at an angle, and he's slightly above the dancers, and you see not only the dancers but you see what's in the wings. You observe the dancers rather

than being in the middle of them and you observe the joy and the comedy and the communication between them.

Rather than using a taped track you filmed your musicians live. Why?

Well because you've got to see the effort of playing. We've done that in our films for half a century it's quite amusing that one or two people have started doing it now and it's presented as a breakthrough! It's the only way you can see people really playing, and the interaction between the musicians and the dancers, otherwise there's just something slightly wrong, slightly missing. It just needs to be live. It does mean that the editor has got to be good at cutting music and maybe joining two or three bits of music together. But Jonathan [Morris] is very good at that.

Why did you build the hall in situ, as opposed to using a studio?

Building a real hall was much easier. The landscape is very important - the landscape of that part of Ireland, the lives people lead because of that landscape and the bogs and the mist and the rest. The temptation in the studio is that you don't make it the actual size, yet the actual size imposes a discipline that I think you can sense as an audience. In a studio, walls can be moved and you get a shot you could never get in real life. In addition, the natural light in the hall is beautiful. Sometimes, Robbie [Ryan, DOP] had to supplement it, but the reality was always there in the room.

And why did you choose to film it in Leitrim, where the original hall was situated?

We looked all over the west of Ireland but in fact Leitrim was the best, not only because it was the truest to where the story actually happened but because it's quite an empty county so the impact of modern technical things isn't so great. It's also quite deserted. A lot of people have left because of the lack of jobs, so it's quite easy to film in. In the end there seemed no reason to go anywhere else.

How did the locals respond to you telling a local story?

They couldn't have been more welcoming. We had a lot of young people in the film and their commitment was very strong. What's great is that they weren't cynical, they were very open-hearted and generous and absolutely committed. They worked their socks off and their enjoyment was infectious.

What was the casting process?

We tried to keep a strong connection to the area, but there wasn't quite the range of people in terms of professional actors. So we had to spread the net a bit wider. It's just a long process - we see as many people as possible, anybody who shows interest. Kahleen [Crawford, Casting Director] is very good at drawing them in. We tried to cast as many parts as locally as possible because the sense of community is very important in this film - it isn't just one or two characters and a bunch of extras. Everyone who is in it became part of the process - and, I hope, felt embedded in the project. I think you can always tell when there are big scenes in films and people have been hired from a casting agency. They just turn up and they're placed by the assistant directors and the director directs from a monitor. You can't do that. Well you can but it shows in the fabric of the film.

Why did you choose Barry Ward to play Jimmy?

Jimmy, as written, is politically very committed, he's got a genial spirit, he's got empathy with people, he's got a history of working class struggle, of working in different manual jobs, of travelling around the world. There's a warmth and a generosity to him as well as a shrewdness. Finding all those elements was quite tricky. We didn't want him too young and we didn't want him too old - in real life I think he was about 40 when this happened. So we saw lots and lots of people but Barry was the one who seemed to bring all those qualities altogether.

Who was Jimmy Gralton?

In real life he was a dedicated activist. I've met many over the years, dedicated trade unionists and organisers, people drawn to politics - once it gets its claws into you, it doesn't let go. When Jimmy came back to Ireland, having been kicked out ten years earlier, reopening the hall was a big decision. Once the hall is re-opened they're going to be after him again. And once they're after him, he's either got to abandon the politics in order to stay or face the same huge battle as before. There was a feeling that the change of government would open possibilities but somebody with Jimmy's politics would know that a politician like de Valera would betray the interests of the working class. Jimmy understood class struggle, and that conflict is inevitable. So it's a very difficult question for him to dive back into politics when he's returned to be with his mother, to help look after the farm. He's exhausted after twenty years of travel and yet in the end what else can he do? If you're political you have no choice.

What parallels are there between Jimmy's Ireland and Ireland today?

Well I guess it's the same struggle. There was a financial crash in '29 followed by a decade of depression and mass unemployment. That seems to be the case now: it's a huge struggle for the left to get any purchase in the political argument; it barely does. Politics is presented as a narrow discussion between different right-wing parties, and yet there is great hardship with the poorest taking the hardest cuts, lots of young people with no future, and in Ireland mass emigration to look for any kind of job security. So it's very similar in that respect: financial crash followed by economic depression.

Can film-making make a difference or affect the debate?

No I'm not sure it can really, not much. By-and-large films reinforce the status quo because those are the big films that get made and get the big budgets and get the most advertising. They either reinforce the status quo or they're just an escape valve. But I think that's pretty well always been the case. The medium is capable of much more but commercial cinema and the people who run it are not concerned with that. On the other hand, films can make connections, ask questions, challenge received opinions. At the very least, films can give value to the experience of ordinary people. It is through the drama of everyday life, its conflicts, struggles and joys, that we may glimpse the possibilities for the future.

Crew

Director Ken Loach
Producer Rebecca O'Brien
Screenplay Paul Laverty

Executive Producers Pascal Caucheteux and Grégoire Sorlat, Vincent Maraval, Andrew

Lowe and Ed Guiney

Production Designer Fergus Clegg
Photography Robbie Ryan
Recordist Ray Beckett
Sound Editor Kevin Brazier
Casting Kahleen Crawford

Costume Designer Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh
Assistant Directors David Gilchrist, Michael Queen

Production Manager Eimhear McMahon Editor Jonathan Morris Music George Fenton

Production Companies Sixteen Films, Why Not Productions, Wild Bunch, Element Pictures

Funders BFI, Film4, Bord Scannán na hÉireann/Irish Film Board, France 2

Cinéma, Canal +, Cine +, Le Pacte,

Les Films du Fleuve, Longride Inc., France Télévisions



Cast

Jimmy **Barry Ward** Mossie Francis Magee Alice Aileen Henry Oonagh Simone Kirby Stella Stella McGirl Molly Sorcha Fox Dessie Martin Lucey Tommy Mikel Murfi Finn Shane O'Brien Tess Denise Gough **Father Sheridan** Jim Norton Marie Aisling Franciosi Seán T. Ó Meallaigh Journalist

Sean Karl Geary
Commander O'Keefe Brían F. O'Byrne
Doherty Conor McDermottroe

Seamus Clarke
Ruari
Seamus Hughes
Father Seamus
Andrew Scott
Fintan
Mrs. O'Keefe
Mossie's wife
John Cronogue
Reamus Hughes
Andrew Scott
Michael Sheridan
Rebecca O'Mara
Diane Parkes

Roscommon IRA Padraig Fallon, Chris MacManus, Donal O'Kelly

Steward John O'Dowd
Young Dancer Anna Crossley
Young Violinist Róisín Judge
Mayor John McCarrick
Senior Guard Hugh Gallagher

Guards Colm Gormley, John Colleary, Shane Cullen, Joe Lafferty, Tom Colsh

Jimmy Gralton - Timeline

1886

James (Jimmy) Gralton is born in Effernagh, County Leitrim.

His father Michael and mother Alice work a small farm of 25 acres of poor land. He has four sisters and two brothers, one who dies young. Two sisters emigrate to the US, two marry locally. His brother Charles stays at home on the farm. Emigration is a central fact of life in Leitrim in this era. The population more than halves through emigration in the second half of the 19th century. 'Remittances', the money sent back by emigrants, help to alleviate the widespread poverty in the area.

1900-10

Aged 14, Jimmy leaves school and becomes a shop boy. He moves to Dublin and works as a barman before joining the British Army. Based in Scotland and later Cork. Refuses to go to India to defend 'British imperialist interests' and serves a year in prison. Deserts following his release and goes to England. Works as a docker in Liverpool and a miner in Wales. Then travels the world as a stoker on a steamer. Returns briefly to Ireland in 1907, before emigrating to New York, aged 21. Having worked at various jobs, Jimmy briefly joins the US Navy.

1910-18

Gralton becomes politically active in New York. He is a member of Clan na Gael, the Irish-American support organisation for republicans in Ireland. He is influenced by the writings of James Connolly, the Irish socialist and republican who is executed for his role in the 1916 Easter Rising. Becomes active in the James Connolly Club in New York, established by Jim Larkin, a trade union leader and comrade of Connolly's who moved to the US in 1914. Campaigns against the First World War and in support of an Irish Republic. He is an active trade unionist. In 1915 he applies for, and gets, US citizenship.

Following the 1916 Rising there is rapid political change in Ireland as radical nationalism and trade unionism grow. Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers are organised countrywide, including Leitrim. The attempted extension of conscription into the British Army to Ireland in 1918 is successfully resisted, in a campaign led by Sinn Féin and the labour movement. Sinn Féin sweeps the boards in most of Ireland in the 1918 general election following the end of the First World War. The labour movement is stronger than ever at the war's end, but the Labour Party stands aside in the election to allow Sinn Féin a clear run. Meanwhile, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 offers hope to revolutionaries world-wide, and leads Gralton toward communism.

1919

Sinn Féin establishes Dáil Eireann, an independent Irish parliament, and declares an Irish Republic. The British refuse to recognise it and the War of Independence commences. The Volunteers become the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Jimmy is involved in support work for the republican cause in New York. Meets President of the Irish Republic, Eamon de Valera, who travels to the US on a fundraising and propaganda mission. Joins the newly formed Communist Party in New York

1920

Black and Tans burn the Gowel Parochial Hall, the local, church-run 'community centre', to the ground.

The Black and Tans and Auxiliaries are sent by the British to take the war to the IRA and terrorise the communities that are seen to be supporting them. They attack civilians, trade unions, burn creameries and halls, towns and villages, and close down fairs and markets. The guerilla war of the IRA intensifies, mainly involving ambushes by 'flying columns'. Meanwhile, a counter-state structure

is created by the Dáil, including a court system. There is significant class conflict in town and country, and the republican leadership attempts to minimise it in pursuit of the single aim of driving out the British. Many court decisions favour the status quo.

1921

Gralton returns to Leitrim in late June 1921 and joins the local IRA. He brings money for the cause and trains volunteers. A truce is declared weeks later on 11 July. Taking advantage of the temporary peace, Jimmy offers to establish a new community hall on his father's land. It is built by voluntary local labour. The Pearse-Connolly Hall, named after two of the prominent executed leaders of the 1916 Rising, is opened on New Year's Eve 1921. It is run by an elected committee, including Gralton, who is one of three trustees.

In 1920 the British government pass the Government of Ireland Act, which divides the island into Northern Ireland (the six north-eastern counties) and a twenty-six county Home Rule state called Southern Ireland.

The independence movement rejects the act and fights on for a united independent republic, but the state of Northern Ireland is established in the summer of 1921. On 6 December representatives of the Dáil sign the Anglo- Irish Treaty with the British. This creates an Irish Free State as a British dominion. It consolidates partition and maintains an overseeing British presence in the southern state. This divides the independence movement and lead to civil war seven months later. In May-June 1921 the miners at Arigna just over the border in Roscommon take over and work the mines for two months – the so-called 'Arigna Soviet'. There are hundreds of 'soviets' in Ireland in these years, in creameries, factories, etc, but the conservative Labour leadership refuses to coordinate and lead workers' rank-and-file militancy. In the countryside, the conservative republican leadership tries to minimise class conflict, as small farmers and rural labourers engage in land agitation.

1922

Jimmy throws himself into land agitation. Courts are held in the Pearse- Connolly Hall to settle land disputes. A Direct Action Committee gives effect to court decisions and organises land seizures from landlords on behalf of tenants. Their actions lead to the area being dubbed the 'Gowel Soviet'. The hall is also used for dances. Because it is outside the control of the church, it meets with extreme hostility from that powerful quarter. Gralton is condemned from the pulpit and rumours that the hall is frequented by prostitutes are circulated. Music and education classes are also held at the hall, which further infuriates the local Catholic Church, which seeks to monopolise schooling.² The hall is a direct challenge to its power. Gralton describes it as 'a sort of revolutionary community centre.' In May 1922 Jimmy and the Direct Action Committee are confronted by Free State soldiers, supported by conservative anti-Treatyites and the local priest, as they reinstate an evicted tenant. They draw guns and the Free Staters back down.³ Church and state are united in their determination to drive out this 'troublemaker'. Both the pro-Treaty Free Staters and conservative local anti-Treaty IRA leaders⁴ oppose the actions of Gralton and his committee. For landlords, large farmers and business people he represents a serious threat to their position. He is condemned from the altar and is arrested by Free State troops. Protests lead to his release. Troops come to arrest him again at the hall on 24 May 1922. Gralton escapes,⁵ is later caught and briefly jailed, but escapes and flees back to New York weeks before the outbreak of civil war.

- 1. Scene 9.
- 2. Scene 10.
- 3. Scene 10 and 11.
- 4. Such as 'Docherty'.
- 5. Scene 12.

Between January and June 1922 the independence movement is split in two on the issue of the Treaty. The Catholic Church, business leaders and the mainstream press all support the Treaty. The labour movement takes a neutral position, weakening the position of socialists like Gralton within the anti-Treaty movement. The IRA splits irrevocably in March 1922. There is jostling for position across the country as the British leave. In South Leitrim, the pro-Treaty (Free State) faction prevails, but there is little conflict. On 28 June the anti-Treaty IRA HQ in Dublin is shelled with British-supplied artillery by the newly formed National Army and the civil war begins. Though initially numerically stronger, the anti-Treaty IRA lacks strategy and a clear programme to rally support. It holds out in Munster until August 1922, but is eventually defeated by the National Army's superior firepower and effectively surrenders in May 1923.

1922-32

Jimmy spends the next decade back in New York, working at various jobs in an era of high employment. He is active again in Irish socialist-republican solidarity work, supporting campaigns in Ireland such as that by small farmers against the payment of land annuities to Britain. He remains active in the American labour and communist movements, though they are in decline as American capitalism goes through a boom period.

While church and state in an economically stagnant Ireland are creating a closed, repressive and exclusivist culture that frowns on and censors modern dancing, jazz music, Hollywood films and popular culture in general, Jimmy is living in the economically buoyant and culturally vibrant New York of the 'roaring twenties'. New skyscrapers reach to the stars, African-Americans become prominent in the arts and music, especially jazz, which is popularised through the new mass medium of radio and the burgeoning record industry. Dance clubs proliferate and new dances like the Charleston and the Shim Sham are born. In New York and other big cities there is an unprecedented mixing of different ethnic groups, and a loosening of the moral strictures that are being copper-fastened in Ireland.

The roaring twenties come to an abrupt end with the Wall Street Crash of 1929. Mass unemployment and poverty hit the US from 1930. Jimmy and his communist comrades are temporarily energised, believing this to be the beginning of the end of capitalism. They are involved in organising the unemployed, fighting evictions and championing African-American rights. He stays in touch with events in Ireland, and sends regular subscriptions to support the new communist newspaper, the Irish Workers' Voice, and various workers' struggles.

In Ireland the pro-Treaty wing of Sinn Féin, now called Cumann na nGaedheal, is in government from 1922 to 1932. Anti-treaty Sinn Féin and the IRA maintain their organisations and refuse to accept the legitimacy of either the Irish Free State or Northern Ireland. In alliance with the Catholic Church, the right-wing Free State government creates a very conservative society, characterised by censorship and repression. Economic structures remain untouched, policies favour big farmers who export cattle, and the urban working class and rural poor fare badly. The Labour Party is a weak and ineffectual opposition. In 1926 Eamon de Valera and his followers split from Sinn Féin, which refuses to take its seats in parliament, and forms Fianna Fáil, which takes the oath of fidelity to the British crown that had been a major plank of republican opposition to the Treaty and enters the Dáil in 1927. They take advantage of the weakness of the Labour Party and the left and attract the support of workers and small farmers. The IRA begins to shift to the left, but still has a significant conservative, Catholic tendency. Republicans join with the new Irish communist movement in a range of campaigns and groups sponsored by the Comintern (the Soviet-Union backed international communist movement), including a radical campaign against the payment of land annuities to Britain. In the depression following the 1929 Wall Street crash, these radical campaigns gather momentum. In 1931 the IRA adopts a socialist platform called 'Saor Éire'. This sparks a massive red scare and church/state backlash. The IRA and a range of communist and radical groups are banned, the Catholic Church warns people about joining such 'sinful' organisations, and thousands are jailed.

Fianna Fáil, promising to stop paying land annuities to Britain and to release the prisoners, among a range of other policies that appeal to the working class and rural poor, wins power in the February 1932 general election. Cumann na nGaedheal has tried to tar them with the red scare brush, but the party makes clear its Catholic credentials and reassures Irish capitalists about its intentions. Its economic protectionist policies are a major boon to Irish business interests. Fianna Fáil remains in government uninterrupted until 1948.

1932

Jimmy's brother Charles, who has been running the farm, dies. In March 1932 Gralton takes advantage of the new era in Ireland, with its short- lived atmosphere of hope, progress and political freedom, including a new communist party in the offing, to return home and help his aged parents. He immediately sets about establishing a Revolutionary Workers' Group in his area, as part of the network of such groups that would form the basis of a new communist party. He briefly joins Fianna Fáil in an apparent effort to force some investment into the area, but is soon expelled. His group attends demonstrations, local and national, and sells copies of the Workers' Voice. Meanwhile, he works the farm.

A number of local youngsters approach him to re-open the hall.⁸ Despite his reluctance to stir up his old enemies –the Church, local big farmers and businessmen and anti-socialist, conservative elements in the IRA, as well as the Special Branch (political police) – he eventually agrees, and forms a committee to run it. Classes and meetings and dances resume. His old enemies revive their demonization campaign. Youngsters are warned to stay away from Jimmy's Hall by the local clergy, who denounce him as a dangerous communist and agent of Satan. Names are taken of those who attend dances.⁹ The leader of the local IRA unit is hostile; stones are thrown at Gralton's house, hay is burnt and Jimmy is physically threatened. The formation of the fascistic Army Comrades Association adds to the menace. 10 The local parish priest demands that the hall be handed over to the Church. The hall committee invite him to join the board of trustees, but he refuses. 11 In August, at the request of progressive IRA men from nearby Roscommon who have taken up the case, Jimmy makes a radical speech at the reinstatement of evicted tenants at the Earl of Kingston's estate. 12 In October, the British communist Thomas Mann, who has come to support the agitation against unemployment, is deported from Northern Ireland. The local parish priest in Gowel says in a sermon that all communists should be deported.¹³ On 27 November 1932 shots are fired into the hall during a dance. Band and dancers hit the floor and no-one is injured. The band play on and the people dance defiantly into the early hours. 14 A landmine explodes near the hall in early December, and on Christmas Eve 1932 it is burnt to the ground. 15

Fianna Fáil witholds the payment of land annuities to Britain in June 1932 and sparks off a tariff war that impacts most heavily on cattle-exporting big farmers. IRA support for Fianna Fáil in the election has led to the formation of the Army Comrades Association (ACA), former Free State Army veterans under the leadership of the deposed head of the Garda Siochána, the fascist Eoin O'Duffy.

```
6. Scene 1.
```

^{7.} Scene 16.

^{8.} Scene 7.

^{9.} Scenes 19 and 21.

^{10.} Scene 27.

^{11.} Scene 26.

^{12.} Scene 33.

^{13.} Scene 39.

^{14.} Scene 32.

^{15.} Scene 37

The ACA grows in strength with the support of the disaffected ranchers, and becomes increasingly fascistic, adopting the blue-shirt uniform by which they will be known in early 1933. Strict censorship of films (1923-) is followed by a draconian Censorship of Publications Act in 1929. Bishops and clergy condemn modern dancing, 'jazz', motor cars and 'immodest fashions'. In 1935 the Dancehalls Act brings dancehalls under strict, usually Catholic Church, supervision and control. The Catholicisation of the new state is crowned in June 1932 when Ireland hosts the Eucharistic Congress, ¹⁶ a huge international event that firmly establishes Fianna Fáil's Catholic credentials. Jimmy's sister Mary Ann, a nun in New York, travels to Ireland with thousands of others for the occasion. The IRA, in the meantime, is in the process of distancing itself from communism and leftwing politics generally, which leads to a split in 1934 with the formation of the left-wing Irish Republican Congress.

1933

On 1 February 1933 Jimmy's father Michael dies. Two days later the police call to Gralton's farm to serve Jimmy with a deportation order; he is given one month to leave the country (he is described as 'an undesirable person' – his US citizenship provides the basis for the order.)¹⁷ Jimmy escapes and goes on the run. A local and national campaign against the deportation - co-ordinated by the Gralton Defence Committee – is launched. 18 It is supported by communists, socialists, republicans, trade unionists and writers. On 5 March a local church-gate meeting in support of Gralton is attacked by a priest-led mob, and the speakers, including prominent novelist and socialist republican Peadar O'Donnell, are driven out of the area. At a meeting of Leitrim County Council in July 1933 Jimmy's mother Alice addresses the councillors, condemning the deportation order and appealing for their support, to no avail.¹⁹ On 10 August 1933, after six months on the run, Jimmy is finally arrested at the house of a poteen-maker near Mohill, County Leitrim. He is taken to Ballinamore barracks²⁰ and the following day to Cork Jail. The next day he is put on board the Britannic at Cobh and sent to New York, with only the clothes he is wearing. His ticket is bought with money that was found on him when arrested. He is greeted by comrades as he disembarks in New York. He will never return to Ireland. Fianna Fáil was initially dependant on the support of the Labour Party to govern, and in late January 1933 called a snap general election and succeeded in gaining an overall majority. The final act of the party's first Minister for Justice James Geoghegan was to sign the deportation order against Gralton. Geoghegan was a barrister and long-time Catholic activist. It is probable that he was a member of the Knights of Columbanus, a network of lay Catholic professionals and businessmen who were vehemently anti-socialist, and that it was through this channel that the plan for Jimmy's deportation was hatched and executed, the idea having been formed following the deportation of Thomas Mann from Northern Ireland in October 1932.

1933-45

Jimmy Gralton immediately throws himself back into political activism in New York. He becomes the main driving force of the Communist Party- backed Irish Workers' Clubs (IWC) and of the Communist Party's (CP) Irish-related activities. The IWC supports left-wing struggles in Ireland and also organises Irish immigrants into unions and around various social and political issues in the US. In October 1933 Gralton stands unsuccessfully as a CP candidate in the New York Borough elections. He works at various jobs, and for a time runs a small food business. His last job is with a local radio station in New York. Jimmy marries Bessie Cronogue, from Drumsna, County Leitrim, shortly before his death on 29 December 1945. He is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in the Bronx.

- 16. Scene 27.
- 17. Scene 40.
- 18. Scene 41.
- 19. Referred to in Scene 42
- 20. Scenes 44, 45 and 47.

Workers' Voice

7 May, 1932

'Live Horse, and . . . !' Farmers and the Annuities

by Jim Gralton

A vivid picture of the worsening condition of the Irish farmers and of the problems they are facing to-day is given in the following article to the WORKERS' VOICE from James Gralton, a Leitrim farmer who recently returned from America

The farms near Leitrim consist mainly of holdings of from three to twenty acres of bad land.

To-day we farmers find ourselves in a position where we are unable to balance our yearly budget, due to the reduced prices for what we have to sell, without a proportionate drop in [the price of] shop goods we are forced to buy.

This is not a new phenomenon. On the contrary, as far back as I remember fathers of families went to Scotland or England during Harvest time, leaving young children that should be attending school, to reap and gather in crops at home. In this way, and through the "Dole" received from relatives in America we were able to pay rent and taxes and help generally in supporting a horde of people who never did a uselful day's work in their lives.

For example, the farm I live on is part of a grant of land given by King Billy to Lord Abermarle for services rendered in the scrap against King James which ended with the fall of Limerick. Since that time my ancestors have been paying rent to the original land thief or one of his descendants for the privilege of cultivating the soil to feed themselves and families.

Nor is this ended yet, for where the Abermarles laid off, the Irish Land Commission stepped in and is bleeding me yet.³

What I want to know from the *Workers' Voice* is how we small farmers will be able to maintain our already low standard of living in the face of the curtailed cheques from the United States due to the crisis there.

The reason I ask the *Voice* for this information is because as far as I know it is the only paper that interests itself in the economic problems of the small farmers and workers. All the other press are contenting themselves with advice, to be patient, and with giving vague promises of something in the future.

Live horse and you'll get grass is their motto! It's not mine, nor the motto of my fellow farmers.

³ A reference to the payment of land purchase annuities to the former landlords, collected by this Irish state commission from 1922. The land purchase annuities were a type of mortgage payment, paid each year by Irish tenant farmers against the amounts lent to them to purchase land from the landlords under the land acts, principally those of 1891, 1903 and 1909.

New York City, U.S.A. n.d. (late 1933)

Dear Father,

Some time ago you stated in a sermon that you had gained a "noble victory" in Gowel; that you did not want the credit for that victory, but shared it with Father O'Donoghue of Carrick-on-Shannon.

Now let us analyse this supposed victory of yours, and see what is noble about it. Let us see if there is anything connected with it that a decent minded man might be proud of.

You started out a crusade against Communism by demanding that the Pearse-Connolly Hall be handed over to you. You knew the cash that paid for the material was given to the people of Gowel by P. Rowley, J.P. Farrell and myself. You also know that the labour was furnished free, and that it belonged to all the people of the area, irrespective of religious or political affiliations. But despite this you, with the greedy gall of a treacherous grabber, tried to get it into your own clutches. I put it to you straight, Father: is there anything noble about this? The people answered 'No' when they voted unanimously that you could not have it.

The hall was in my name; you knew from experience that you could not frighten me into transferring it to you, so you organised a gang to murder me. You bullied little children, manhandled old women, lied scandalously about Russia, blathered ignorantly about Mexico and Spain, and incited young lads into becoming criminals by firing into the hall. You did all these things because you could not close it, although you bragged Sunday after Sunday that 95% of the people were behind you. You are a noble man, father; so is Father O'Donoghue for that matter. He went to Dublin but he did not succeed in having me expelled from the Drumsna Fianna Fáil club. Sure, he managed to have a few pounds relief money put at your disposal. By the way, Father, how many lads came to you cap in hand for the job? Answer: none.

The last act (perhaps) in your "noble victory" was the deportation order, but you were only the local stoolpigeon. By this time 95% of the people were with you, if your word is to be taken for it. Still, with all these people behind you, you did not come out in the open, but carried on like a thief in the night, and with the connivance of the government tried to railroad me quietly out of the country. Here again your "noble victory" went astray, for it was only after six months, and after the case had got considerable publicity on two continents, that I was finally placed aboard ship.

You want to share this 'victory' of the Irish capitalists and British imperialists with Father O'Donoghue, but why stop here? Surely you got assistance from other sources? How about the Executive Council, the Knights of Columbanus, the firing squad, the petrol gang, the *Standard*, the gombeen press, the cads like Andrew Mooney and MacMorrow? And why forget the C.I.D. and the spies? In short, the whole motley crew who helped Buckshot Forster, Bloody Balfour, and the Tans to their "noble victory.⁴

Father, another such "victory" and you will be of no further use to the criminal ruling class in Ireland (in Gowel at any rate) - even the cloak of religion can no longer cover the imperialist hooligan that hides behind it.

Yours very sincerely,

James Gralton

⁴ The Executive Council was the cabinet of the Free State government; the Knights of Columbanus were a secret Catholic society that played a part in organising Gralton's deportation order; the *Standard* was a right-wing Catholic newspaper that specialised in red-scaring; Mooney, a Leitrim County Councillor and MacMorrow, a member of the Leitrim Board of Health, both spoke out in favour of the deportation; the C.I.D. was the Garda special branch (political police); 'Buckshot Forster' was William Edward Forster, British Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82) during the Land War; 'Bloody Balfour' was Arthur Balfour, Chief Secretary (1887-91), who oversaw the implementation of the notorious coercion acts; the Tans were the Black and Tans, the infamous police auxiliary force unleashed on Ireland in 1920.