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IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

UCD DECADE of CENTENARIES

UCD DUBLIN

AND

1916 2016 Clár Comórtha Céad Bliain Centenary Programme

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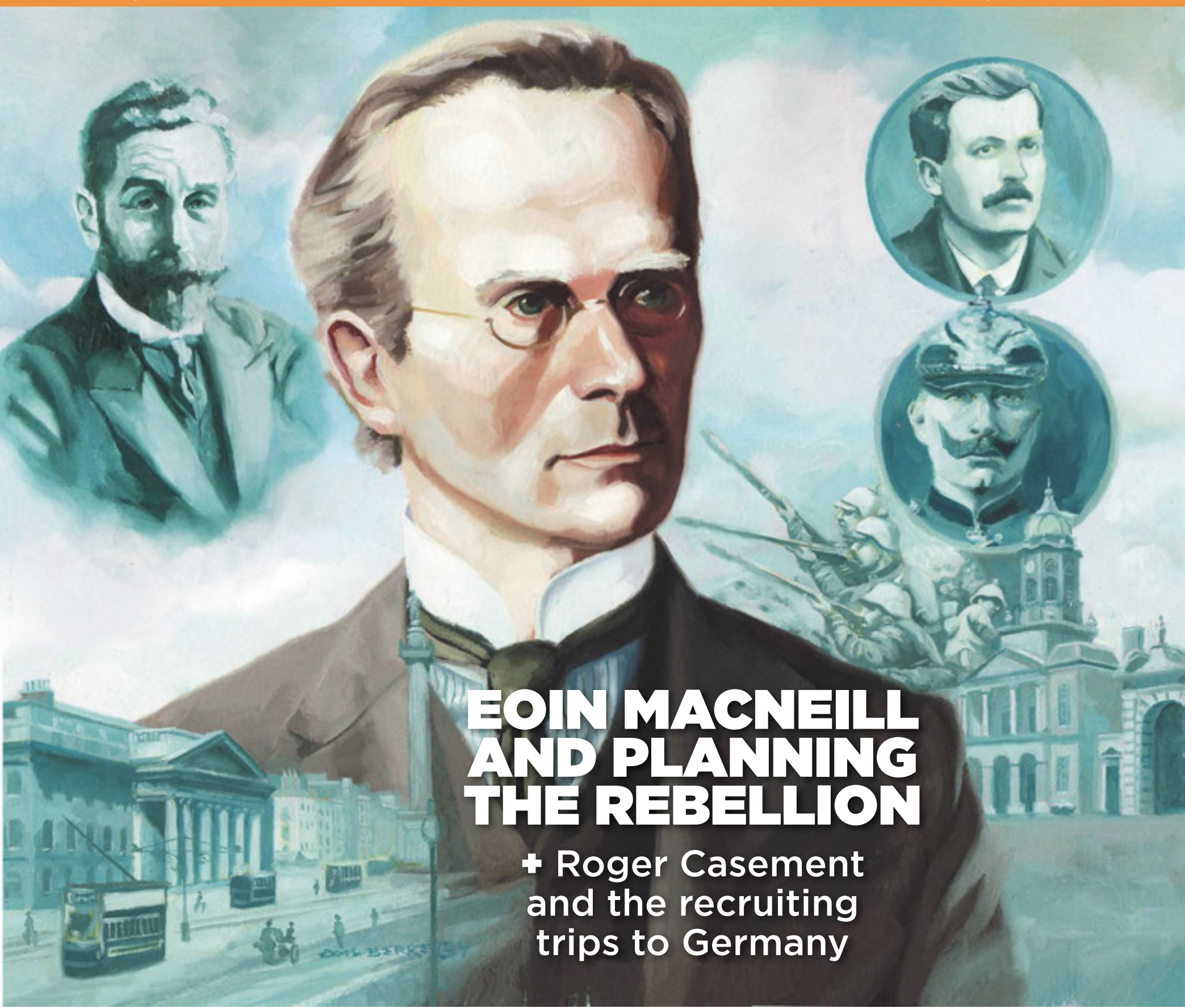

EOIN MACNEILL AND PLANNING THE REBELLION

+ Roger Casement and the recruiting trips to Germany

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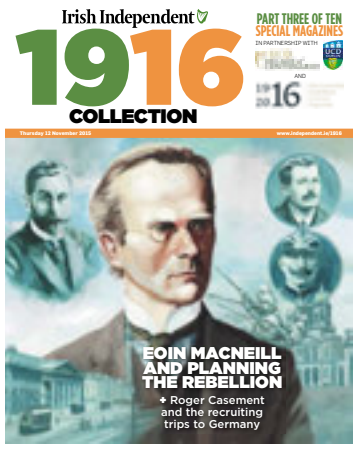

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Cover illustration by Jon Berkeley, shows Eoin MacNeill and to his right, Roger Casement. On his left are Michael O'Hanrahan and Kaiser Wilhelm

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UCD DECADE of CENTENARIES
AND
1916 2016 Clár Comórtha Céad Bliain Centenary Programme

Abbey aims to wake the nation

'PLAYS have the power to ask questions that resonate for generations', according to Abbey director Fiach Mac Conghail. And so, the theatre is among those planning an extensive programme for 2016.

Commemorating one of the leading dramatic voices of the time, The Gate and The Abbey are both planning Seán O'Casey classics.

Mark O'Rowe will direct *Juno And The Paycock* at The Gate from February, while *The Plough And The Stars* will run from March 9 to April 23 at The Abbey, directed by Seán Holmes and starring Kate Stanley Brennan. It will then tour the country and the US.

Smock Alley Theatre will also stage *Proclamation*, a new Commedia Dell'arte play written and directed by Ronan Dempsey in June. This play is an indictment of Ireland's health service as the nation marks 100 years since the Rising.

The Abbey's 'Waking the Nation' 1916 programme also honours the staff who left their jobs to fight. The 'Abbey rebels' were actors Arthur Shields and Seán Connolly (Connolly was killed); actresses Máire nic Shiubhlaigh and Helena Molony, usher Ellen Bushell, stage hand Barney Murphy and prop-man Peadar Kearney, who also wrote the national anthem.

The famous bar scene in Sean O'Casey's 'The Plough and the Stars' in a 1964 Abbey Theatre production
IRISH INDEPENDENT

A plaque is to be unveiled next year to honour the workers who, according to Mr Mac Conghail, 'did not distinguish between the role of culture and independence, theatre and politics'.

Indeed, like its iconic foyer mirror, the Abbey hopes to reflect the past. Frank McGuinness's *Observe The Sons Of Ulster Marching Towards The Somme* returns in summer — 31 years after its premiere.

Meanwhile, Sean P Summers, Philip McMahon and Raymond Scannell, and David Ireland have been commissioned to write new plays: *Tina's Idea Of Fun*, *Town Is Dead* and *Cyprus Avenue*.

Each is a reflection on 1916's legacy; an issue which will be explored further in '1916 In Irish Theatre'; a conference at NUI Galway on May 20 and May 21. Organised by Professor Patrick Lonergan, it will look at the links between theatre and the Rising, and the playwriting of Pearse, Connolly and MacDonagh. See www.nuigalway.ie for details.
Alison Martin

FROM THE UCD ARCHIVES

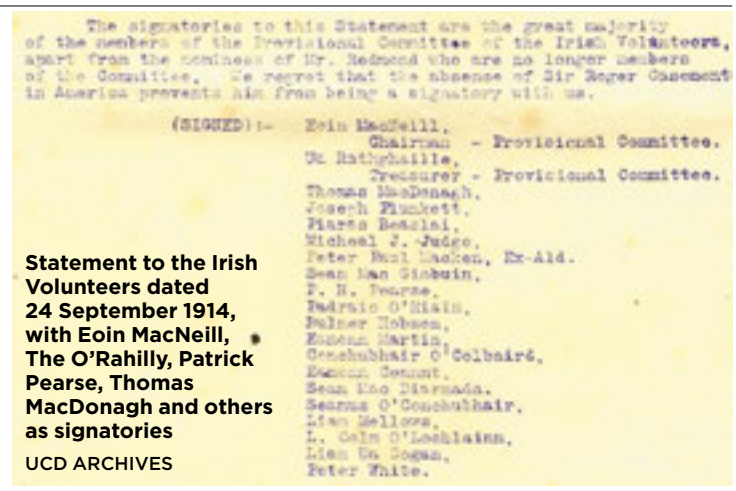
MacNeill letter issued weeks before Irish Volunteers split

IN the Autumn of 1914 the relationship between John Redmond and the Irish Volunteers took a turn which ultimately led to rupture in that organisation. Redmond had previously delivered an ultimatum to the provisional committee that it must accept 25 nominees of his choosing.

This would have given him majority control of the 100,000-strong organisation. Then on 3 August, the day before Britain declared war on Germany, Redmond said in parliament: "I say to the Government that they may tomorrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. I say that the coast of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons..."

At a meeting addressed by Redmond in Woodenbridge, Co Wicklow on 20 September, the tensions in the Irish Volunteers reached breaking point when he pledged his support to the Allied cause and urged members to fight in the war.

Four days later, Eoin MacNeill, as chairman of the Irish Volunteers Provisional Committee, issued a statement addressed 'TO THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS'. It said Redmond was risking "another disruption and the wreck of the cause entrusted to him".



The signatories to this Statement are the great majority of the members of the Provisional Committee of the Irish Volunteers, apart from the omission of Mr. Redmond who are no longer members of the Committee. We regret that the absence of Sir Roger Casement in America prevents him from being a signatory with us.

(SIGNED):- Eoin MacNeill, Chairman - Provisional Committee.
Th. Rathghaille, Treasurer - Provisional Committee.
Thomas MacDonagh.
Joseph Plunkett.
Piarás Beaslaí.
Michael J. Judge.
Peter Paul Macken, Ex-Ald.
Sean Mac Giobuin.
P. H. Pearse.
Padraic O'Riain.
Padraic Pearse.
Eamonn Martin.
Conchubhair O'Colbaird.
Eamonn Cowan.
Sean Mac Diarmada.
Seamus O'Conchubhair.
Liam Mellows.
L. Colm O'Lochlainn.
Liam Mac Cosgair.
Peter White.

Statement to the Irish Volunteers dated 24 September 1914, with Eoin MacNeill, The O'Rahilly, Patrick Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and others as signatories
UCD ARCHIVES

And that "Mr Redmond is no longer entitled, through his nominees, to any place in the administration and guidance of the Irish Volunteer Organisation". Within weeks of the statement the organisation split.

The statement, and further information, can be accessed at: http://historyhub.ie/statement-to-the-irish-volunteers. **FC**

IN MEMORIAM

Funding sought for 'Roger Casement Way' at Banna

TWELVE kilometres north-west of Tralee lies Banna Strand, bounded by the wild Atlantic on one side and dunes that rise up to 12 metres on the other.

There, on 21 April — Good Friday in Easter Week — Roger Casement came ashore in a small boat having transferred there from a German U-boat. The shipment of arms went to the bottom of the sea in the Aud.

Casement was sick and hid out in nearby McKenna's Fort while his companions, Robert Monteith and Daniel Beverley, tried to make contact with local IRB members. The police were tipped off and they were arrested immediately.

A memorial was erected in 1966 but locals say it is in need of repair. A committee has been formed to re-enact the landing in 2016 and to open the Roger Casement Way, a 5km walk from the monument to McKenna's Fort. GS

Actors, politicians and Abbey members at the launch of the theatre's 1916 'Waking The Nation' programme

1916 ONLINE

Watch more online at independent.ie/1916

AS part of the *Irish Independent*'s unrivalled coverage of the centenary of the Easter Rising, a dedicated website is now online. The site uses words, pictures and video to enhance understanding of a defining moment in our nation's history.

Read excerpts from important books, watch Ryan Tubridy talk about his grandfather, and marvel at the stunning photos of Dublin in 1916. The site also carries all the articles in our ongoing series 'My 1916'.

The independent.ie/1916 site will continue to build into a brilliant resource for students in years to come.

REBEL TALES

Michael O'Hanrahan novel described as 'a healthy story of the Gael by a Gael'

MICHAEL O'HANRAHAN was one of the 15 men executed in the immediate aftermath of the Rising. And while several of the leaders were notable poets and playwrights, O'Hanrahan, a journalist, found his artistic outlet as a novelist.

He had one novel published before his death, *A Swordsman of the Brigade* (1914), which was a dashing tale of the Irish Brigades in France set in the early 18th century. He had been working on the tale for several years while submitting journalism and creative writing to several journals under the pen-names 'Art' and 'Irish Reader'.

The critic Stephen Brown described *A Swordsman of the Brigade* as "a fine stirring adventure story of the doings of one of the Wild Geese: in Sheldon's Division of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. Scene; Flanders, Bavaria, Italy and Dublin circa 1693. Told in a breezy way and thoroughly Irish in spirit."

His great friend Thomas MacDonagh generously reviewed the book, writing "the author knows his history and has caught the atmosphere of life at the time. The book is full of military adventure; a healthy story of the Gael by a Gael."

Before his execution he wrote a letter to his mother granting her copyright to his work. His family gathered copies of his debut novel together and sold them from their shop and by post. In 1920 a second historical novel, *When the Norman Came*, was published under the name Micheál O hAnnracháin by the Dublin house Maunsel. *When the Norman Came* was quite a success and was featured on the school curriculum for many years.

Michael O'Hanrahan: novelist

The manuscript of a third novel, *My Sword, My Fortune*, was destroyed during a raid on his home in the aftermath of the Rising.

***A Swordsman of the Brigade* has been out of copyright for many years but there are several copies still available online. Both his first novel, and *When the Norman Came*, can be read for free on the Internet Archive at https://archive.org. LS**

GELDOF'S GRANDFATHER COOKED UP A STORM

Zenon Geldof (left), grandfather of Bob (above), was such a renowned chef he was given special permit to pass through the military checkpoints in 1916 Dublin

Rock star's grandfather dodged bullets

TWO days into the Rising Martial Law was declared for one month and the city centre cordoned off. One of the conditions laid down in the declaration was that 'all persons in Dublin City and County shall keep within their houses between the hours of 7.30pm in the evening and 5.30am on the next morning on all days till further notices; unless provided with the written permission of the Military Authorities'.

One of the people who had written exemption from the curfew was Zenon Geldof, grandfather of musician Bob Geldof.

Zenon was born in Belgium in 1882 and trained as a confectioner in Bruges. He moved to London in 1903 where he was appointed grill cook and pastry chef in a Piccadilly restaurant.

He met Amelia Falk and the couple married and moved to Ireland in 1907, where he started work in the Bray Head Hotel, Co Wicklow. Zenon won many prizes including a Diploma of Merit at the 1912 Irish Food and Cookery Exhibition held in the Rotunda.

He moved to the Royal Marine Hotel, Dun Laoghaire, and was chef de cuisine in the Central Hotel Dublin. Between 1913 and 1917 he was the head chef in Jury's Hotel, College Green. During the Rising bullets whizzed through the hotel's kitchens. Because he was such a renowned chef, he was given a special permit enabling him to pass through the military checkpoints and get home from work at night.

In 1921 Zenon and Amelia opened the Café Belge in Dame Street, Dublin, and also the Patisserie Belge in Leinster Street. He was presented with the Chevalier de L'Orde de Leopold by the King of Belgium in 1929 in recognition of his work in restaurants abroad and for representing Belgian firms in Ireland.

He died in 1939 following a car crash in Waterford. **FC**

THE LOST CHILDREN

The 13-year-old girl who was mistaken for a rebel

THE area to the south of the former Boland's Mills is now one of the most prosperous parts of Dublin city. The arrival of the biggest names in technology has transformed the district, with thriving restaurants and the only two eateries in the capital named in the 2015 *Michelin Eating Out In Pubs Guide*.

A century ago it was the scene of some of the bloodiest skirmishes of the Rising on Northumberland Road and Mount Street Bridge.

On 24 April a small group of rebels fired on a group of army veterans who were returning from manoeuvres in the Dublin mountains, and several other incidents occurred around the barracks at Beggars Bush.

The excitement of this must have got to 13-year-old Margaret Veale, whose family home still stands on the corner of Lower Grand Canal Street and Haddington Road, overlooking the barracks and a busy, five-way intersection.

That Easter Monday afternoon, Maggie peeped out of her bedroom window at the back of No. 103, hoping to catch a glimpse of the action. Some reports say she was using binoculars, others that she was wearing a green jersey and thus mistaken for a rebel.

Soldiers were brewing tea in the lane behind the house and one let loose with a Gatling gun, an early type of machine gun. The youngster was hit by a spray of bullets — 10 were counted — and mortally wounded.

Her family laid her on a mattress which they carried upon a ladder up to the hospital a kilometre away on Baggot Street where she was declared dead. A newspaper on 29 April records her passing but her grave in Glasnevin gives her date of death as 30 April. **LS**

Left: Special Section of Old 'A' Company, 4th Battalion, Dublin Brigade, Irish Volunteers, top row: Sean Treacy, Padraig O Broinn, Gabriel Murray, Brian McCormack, Seán O Broinn and Henry S Murray. Bottom Row: Gerald Murray, Fred Schweppe, Pat Mason, Ed McNamara, Louis McDermott and Denis R Dunne.
IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

Planning the Rebellion

RICHARD McELLIGOTT PHOTOGRAPHED BY MARK CONDREN

Just what the overall aims of the IRB's Military Council were are not clear, but their mistakes in the planning meant the 1916 Rising was unlikely to succeed, writes **Dr Richard McElligott**

THE 1916 Rising was the most serious revolt to British rule in Ireland in over a century. It represented an unprecedented explosion of violence for a society that had been remarkably peaceful since the bloodletting of the 1798 rebellion.

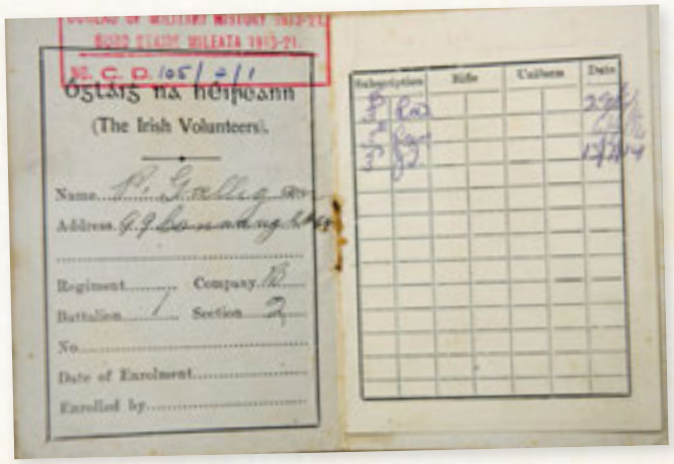
Militarily, the Rising was an utter failure. Considering what transpired, the events of Easter week seemed to be the consummation of Patrick Pearse's rhetoric: an epic blood-sacrifice given on the altar of Irish nationalism which would one day inspire the next generation to wage a full blown national war of liberation. Yet this perception of 1916 is coloured by how events subsequently transpired rather than what may have initially been planned or desired.

What were the original intentions of the Rising's leaders before Eoin MacNeill's fateful intervention on the eve of the rebellion? Was 1916 meant to be a simple blood-sacrifice or a viable hammer blow to British control in Ireland? Was it orchestrated as a localised revolt or was Dublin the planned centrepiece of a national insurrection?

Like so much else about the Irish revolutionary period, the answers are never straightforward.

The genesis of the 1916 Rising can be traced to a conference organised among Irish separatists which took place on 9 September 1914 in Dublin. Thomas Clarke chaired the proceedings which decided to use the opportunity the Great War presented to mount a rebellion against British rule. When the Volunteers acrimoniously split later that month, the IRB looked to the faction that remained loyal to MacNeill to provide the army for this rebellion.

However there was intense disagreement among the Irish Volunteers' leaders as to how the force should be utilised. Pearse, its Director of Military Organisation, argued that this smaller body would be much more militarily valuable than the large, unwieldly and loosely held together organisation it had split from. He believed that 150 Dublin-based companies; 'small, compact, perfectly disciplined, and determinedly separatist would be ready to act with tremendous effect if war brings us the moment' and if



Left and far right: A membership card for The Irish Volunteers (Oglaigh na hÉireann) from 1915.
IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

Inset: Patrick Pearse identified the vital strategic importance of Dublin as the epicentre for any new armed action.

Irish Volunteers officers at a training camp in summer, 1915. Left to right: Terence MacSwiney, Richard Mulcahy, Michael O'Buachalla, John Brennan, JJ O'Connell, Peter Paul Galligan, Mick Spillane, Dick Fitzgerald, Gardner and Mick Cremen.
IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

supplied with adequate weapons the Dublin men 'would rise tomorrow if we gave the word'.

For MacNeill and JJ O'Connell (its Chief of Inspection), the Irish Volunteers were essentially a defensive rather than a revolutionary force which should only be utilised to resist the possible introduction of conscription in Ireland by means of engaging in a guerrilla campaign against British forces there. If it then proved opportune, an independence struggle could be launched through a combined strategy of guerrilla warfare and mass public resistance. O'Connell, in particular, was a strong advocate of training the Volunteers to be an effective guerrilla army.

Yet, the Volunteers increasingly came under the influence of its more radical IRB members. Pearse's position allowed him to place trusted IRB men in key positons throughout the Volunteers leadership, bypassing MacNeill's official chain of command. Because of this, the guerrilla tactics promoted by O'Connell were increasingly spurned by the Rising's planners.

The separatist conference in September 1914 had established an advisory military committee which asked Joseph Plunkett to draft an embryonic plan for a potential insurrection in Dublin. Quite why Plunkett was given this responsibility is hard to ascertain. He had a lifelong fascination with military tactics and history. But was this qualification enough to justify the faith placed in him? It seems to have been when one considers that the usually dispassionate James Connolly would later hail Plunkett 'a brilliant military man'.

Desperate to preserve maximum secrecy, Clarke disbanded the larger advisory committee and formed an IRB Military Council in the spring of 1915 to confine preparations to a small, trusted cohort. In September Clarke formally joined the Military Council, after which it quickly become the real power within both the IRB and the Irish Volunteers. By April 1916, the Council would consist of all seven signatories of the 1916 Proclamation. Given the clandestine nature of the Rising's final planning, the Council left no written record of their deliberations and historians have therefore been forced to conjecture the objectives of their strategy. Similarly, although we know that a small number of copies of the physical battle plan for the original Easter Sunday rebellion existed, they were subsequently lost. However we know the Military Council sought to work from Plunkett's plan. This entailed seizing a ring of fortified positions in Dublin city which could be defended against a full-force British attack.

> *"Militarily, the Rising was an utter failure... Yet there is a perception of 1916 which is coloured by how events subsequently transpired rather than what may have initially been planned or desired*

The GPO was chosen to be the central headquarters. Physically one of the most imposing buildings in the capital, it seemed to provide the perfect theatrical stage for the bloody drama about to be unleashed. Both Plunkett and Pearse concluded that the reason so many previous Irish rebellions had failed was that their conspirators had never comprehended the vital strategic importance of the capital. As the seat of British rule in Ireland, Dublin, they maintained, had to be the epicentre for any new armed action.

In this view they were both heavily influenced by their study of Robert Emmet's failed uprising of 1803 and at odds with the successful, and largely rural, war the IRA would fight from 1919. Yet it was only natural that the leaders of 1916 looked to Dublin, given that the Volunteers there were the strongest and most organised. They drew inspiration from the trench warfare of the Western Front which continually demonstrated the superiority of holding a defensive position. Given the military inexperience of the force asked to take on the might of the British army, it also made practical sense for the Volunteers to adopt a defensive posture.

So far so apparently logical, except that this original plan for the Easter Sunday rebellion (which assumed the rebels could rely on a far larger force then those actually mobilised) was inherently flawed. We know nothing about the reasoning for selecting the positions which were to be occupied and they were far too isolated from one another to provide mutual communication and reinforcement.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6 >>>

Planning the Rebellion

>>> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

While the GPO was seized, other key buildings such as Trinity College and Dublin Castle, the very centre of British rule in Ireland, were seemingly omitted from the original plans. It also appears that the Military Council had chosen its positions with the extremely naive assumption that the British would not respond by using their key advantage: artillery. Most damningly of all, in the weeks before the Rising the Irish Volunteers undertook no systematic reconnaissance of the buildings they would garrison. The 1916 rebels therefore failed to grasp the one advantage available to them: local knowledge.

Given the glaring defects outlined above, many have been inclined to argue that the Rising was always intended to be what it became, a bloody protest inspired by Pearse's martyrdom complex. Yet this reading of history is based on the distortion caused by the events that ensued rather than what may originally have been intended.

As detailed elsewhere in this magazine, Pearse and the Military Council sought desperately to secure large quantities of modern military grade weapons and explosives from Germany to give the Volunteers at least a fighting chance. The intended rebellion would also have involved at least three times as many Volunteers as those who were eventually mustered. Pearse may have dreamt of martyrdom, but there is little evidence that the other members of the Military Council shared his enthusiasm for death. One must be careful of confusing willingness to die with self-sacrifice. Connolly held out hope that a revolt in Dublin would spark a national revolution. In 1915 he stated: 'You never know if the time for revolution is ripe until you try.'

THIS brings us to another vexed question about the intentions of the leaders: whether the original revolt was meant to be confined to Dublin or was to form an integral part of a national insurrection. Most of those who claim to have seen the original plan for the aborted Easter Sunday rebellion asserted that it did not extend outside the capital. The Military Council appeared to leave the provincial Volunteers to their own devices, seemingly allowing them the liberty to react, rather than asking them to work in concert with events unfolding in Dublin.

However one veteran, Liam Ó Briain, was convinced its leaders had originally planned a national rebellion. From interviews conducted with survivors, Ó Briain claimed that the Military Council had organised for the planned German arms shipment to be transported from Kerry to Athenry, which would become an 'all Ireland base' to arm the provincial Volunteers. It appeared the River Shannon was envisioned to act as a bulwark behind which Volunteers from Ulster and provincial Leinster could withdraw.

Ó Briain also claimed that the Dublin rebels were never intended to be left cooped up in the city, surrounded and overwhelmed. He asserted that if, after a couple of days the tide turned against them, the original plan was for the Dublin Volunteers to disengage from the capital and make a fighting retreat westward to link up with their comrades behind the Shannon. Yet it remains impossible to verify Ó Briain's claims. After all, the Rising launched on Easter Monday was, by necessity, a different animal from that which had originally been envisioned.

Dr Richard McElligott lectures in Modern Irish History in UCD. His study of the role of the GAA in the 1916 Rising is included in Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh (ed.), 'The GAA and Revolution in Ireland: 1913-1923' published by the Collins Press

UCD's Dr Lucy Collins in the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin. MARK CONDREN

'The Foggy Dew'

Canon Charles O'Neill

As down the glen one Easter morn to a city fair rode I
There armed lines of marching men in squadrons passed me by
No fife did hum nor battle drum did sound its dread tattoo
But the Angelus bell o'er the Liffey swell rang out through the foggy dew

Right proudly high over Dublin town they hung out the flag of war
'Twas better to die 'neath an Irish sky than at Suvla or Sedd El Bahr
And from the plains of Royal Meath strong men came hurrying through
While Britannia's Huns, with their long-range guns sailed in through the foggy dew

'Twas Britannia bade our Wild Geese go that small nations might be free
But their lonely graves are by Suvla's waves or the shore of the Great North Sea
Oh, had they died by Pearse's side or fought with Cathal Brugha
Their names we will keep where the Fenians sleep 'neath the shroud of the foggy dew

But the bravest fell, and the requiem bell rang mournfully and clear
For those who died that Eastertide in the springing of the year
And the world did gaze, in deep amaze, at those fearless men, but few
Who bore the fight that freedom's light might shine through the foggy dew

Ah, back through the glen I rode again and my heart with grief was sore
For I parted then with valiant men whom I never shall see more
But to and fro in my dreams I go and I'd kneel and pray for you,
For slavery fled, O glorious dead, When you fell in the foggy dew

AN ASSESSMENT
DR LUCY COLLINS

The power of song to capture, as well as to instil, political conviction is clear in 'The Foggy Dew'. Set to the tune of an existing lament, this text expresses personal grief for the dead revolutionaries of 1916 by situating them in a long verse tradition of devotion to beloved and country. The 'strong men' of Meath are pitted here against the British long-range guns, showing mechanised warfare to be morally defeated by the integrity of individual action.

Written just three years after the Rising, the song articulates a vision for the rebels' lasting renown, in keeping with the deification of key revolutionary figures by this time.

Easter imagery combines religious and natural force in support of the song's argument: that the heroes of 1916 will live again through the sacrificial power of their actions, while those who fought in the Great War will remain buried in foreign fields, forever lost in the anonymity of false allegiance.

Dr Lucy Collins is a lecturer in English at University College Dublin (UCD). She is the curator of 'Reading 1916', a forthcoming exhibition at UCD Special Collections

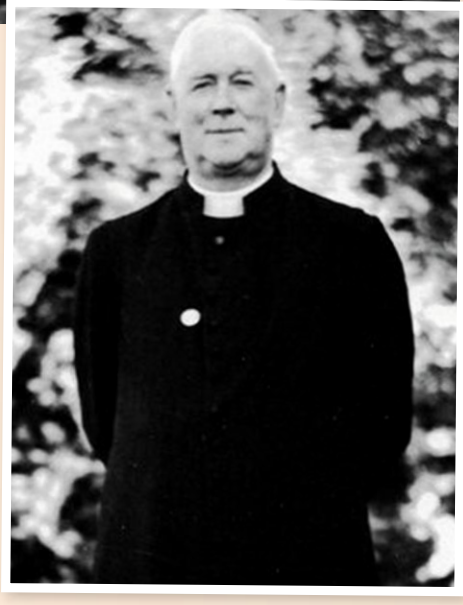
OPENING SESSION OF DÁIL ÉIREANN IN THE MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, JANUARY 1919

Why this County Down priest wrote 'The Foggy Dew'

The Foggy Dew was written by Canon Charles O'Neill, parish priest of Kilcoo, Co Down. He attended the historic opening session of the First Dail in the Mansion House in January 1919.

As ceann comhairle Cathal Brugha called out the names of the TDs, 34 (including Eamon De Valera, Constance Markievicz and Terence MacSwiney) were marked absent as they were still in British jails. Each name was answered by "faoi ghlas ag na Gaill", or "locked up by the foreigner." The Canon was reputedly so moved by this scene that he wrote 'The Foggy Dew' in tribute to the 1916 rebels.

GS



Canon Charles O'Neill (above) wrote 'The Foggy Dew' reputedly after attending the historic opening session of Dáil Éireann.

IRELAND IN 1916

Communication key in 1916

Fergus Cassidy on how Irish people kept in touch across counties, and across oceans

AT the beginning of the 20th century paper and ink were the bedrock of personal and commercial communication. Whether written by hand or typed, in envelopes or on the back of cards, vast quantities of mail circulated through the Irish postal system. Passing in and out of a network of post and sorting offices, with the GPO as a central hub, were letters, postcards, parcels and small packets.

More than five million letters were handled in 1851. By 1914 the amount increased to 20m, with 3.5m postcards and almost 9m parcels, delivered six times a day, including Sunday mornings. An advertisement in 1915 was headlined 'The Post-Office as Career', with jobs such as Male and Female Learners, and Boy Messengers — "must be under 14½ years of age".

More than 21,000 people were employed by the post office throughout Ireland in 1914, the majority working in the collection and delivery of mail. Separately, there was another group of 1,000 who worked on the contruction and maintenance of telegraph and telephone lines.

From the 1850s attempts to lay a trans-Atlantic cable continued. In an initial success in August 1858, a message was relayed from Valentia Island in Kerry to Newfoundland. Queen Victoria sent congratulations to the US President James Buchanan, a 98-word message which took 16 hours to complete. Buchanan responded: "It is a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by conqueror on the field of battle".

Dublin's first telephone exchange was opened in 1880. Run from a switchboard in Dame Street, it had five subscribers. Eight years later 500 trunk lines were connected between Dublin and Belfast. In 1893 the first submarine cable was laid between Port Patrick, Scotland, and Donaghadee, Co Down. By 1895 the National Telephone Company had networks in Belfast, Cork, Derry, Dublin and Limerick, with 3,300 subscribers. Lines reached Armagh, Portadown and Waterford in 1898. By 1900 Dublin had 4,562 miles of underground cable. At a meeting of the Pembroke Urban District Roads Committee in 1906, a request to erect telegraph posts on Sandymount Avenue and Gilford Road was agreed, even though the committee "were of opinion that the telegraph wires should be laid underground".

NEW YORK, 1858


INISMAAN, 1900s

Above: Boys outside Inismaan Post Office in Galway in the early 20th century. Left: A procession up Broadway in New York to celebrate the laying of 1,016 miles of transatlantic telegraph cable between the US and Ireland in September 1858. The cable ruptured a month later. GETTY IMAGES

By 1912 the post office took over the private telephone companies, creating a unified state-controlled network across Ireland and Britain. An underwater cable from the Welsh coast to Howth Head, Dublin, was tested successfully in 1914.

In preparation for the Rising, control over those links was crucial. Late in 1915, Martin King, a member of the Irish Citizen Army, was working as a cable joiner with the Post Office, and "was familiar with the lay-out of all telephone and telegraph cables". In his statement to the Bureau of Military History, he said: "James Connolly asked me if he wanted to cut communications with England, how would he set about it? He told me to pick up all the information I could about this matter".

On Good Friday morning 1916, King and his foreman Andy Fitzpatrick, "...toured the principal trunk line centres, with a view to the disruption of communications on Easter Sunday".

While Connolly organised efforts to gain control of telegraph communications during the Rising, he also sought to inform the international press about it. What he called "our wireless station" was located in the Atlantic School of Wireless, across the road from the GPO above a jeweller's shop. Fergus O'Kelly, Dublin Brigade, was in the GPO on Easter Monday: "I was called aside by Joseph Plunkett and instructed to take a few men and take possession of the Wireless School... and do everything possible to get the transmitting plant and receiving apparatus into working order. A message was sent over by James Connolly for broadcast transmission... It was not possible to get in direct touch with any station or ship but the message was sent out on the normal commercial wavelength in the hope some ship would receive it and relay it as interesting news. As far as I can remember, the first message announced the proclaiming of the Irish Republic and the taking over of Dublin by the Republican Army."

Not being aimed at any single ship, the radio transmission was broadcast, perhaps the first of its kind to carry news of an event. Such broadcast technology would go on to dominate global communications throughout the 20th century.

THE TIPPERARY PIGEON

ON 22 March 1915 James Leahy was brought before Cashel Petty Sessions court in Tipperary. He was charged with keeping homing pigeons without a permit, in breach of the Defence of the Realm Act. During the First World War homing pigeons were an important method of carrying messages, especially for communicating with the front lines. Leahy told that court that he didn't know about the regulation and would have obtained a permit if he did. The case was dismissed but he was cautioned.

A postcard from the era shows Grafton Street.

Oh to be from Rathmines

Joseph Brady outlines the social and physical landscape of Dublin on the eve of the Rising

A MINOR character in Seán O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars* is the fashionably-dressed middle-aged stout woman from Rathmines. As the Rising begins to affect the city and the trams are stopped, she meets Fluther, the Covey and Peter and asks 'For Gawd's sake, will one of you kind men show any safe way for me to get to Wrathmines?' She is not treated sympathetically, for to be from Rathmines was to be far removed from the reality of life in the tenements.

Dublin in 1916 was a city of great social contrasts even though it was a small place in geographical terms. It was not a single urban area but rather a city and a collection of adjacent independent towns bound by economic ties. To be from Rathmines, was not just to be of elevated social status, it was also not to be from Dublin but from an entirely different legal urban entity, a suburban township with its own council, water supply, rates — and its own view of the world.

Despite the efforts of Dublin Corporation in the latter years of the 19th century to absorb the townships — and so get their ratebooks — Pembroke, Rathmines and the coastal townships of Blackrock, Kingstown, Dalkey and Killiney were still independent in 1916. Though the townships were relatively small compared to the city — 29,294 people in Pembroke and 37,840 in Rathmines/Rathgar in 1911 compared to 304,802 — they were middle-class in character and were important to the business and commercial life of the city. For example, though there were 2,090 civil service officers and clerks in the city, there were 303 in Rathmines and 566 in Pembroke alone. It was to the city that they came to work, to shop and to enjoy themselves.

In the evening they went home, insulated from the lives of the poor whose streets they shared during the day, for even in the best street the tenements were only a stone's throw distant. They also avoided having to support the work of Dublin Corporation in addressing the housing crisis — there were 21,133 one-room tenements alone in the city in 1911 — though the 1913 Housing Inquiry suggested that Dublin Corporation's commitment to that project was not what it might be.

The main business area was around College Green where many insurance and financial institutions had built impressively while the legal profession had offices along the quays between O'Connell Bridge and the Four Courts.

Sackville Street, for all its impressive scale, was not a major business street but directed more to tourism with some shopping and the Metropole, Hamman, Imperial and Gresham hotels provided a high level of service with all of the facilities that wealthy people might expect. These were international standard hotels with separate accommodation and dining facilities for the servants who accompanied visitors. In fact, it was these visitors who were most immediately discommoded by the events of the Rising, given the location of the hotels.

The city centre was pre-eminent as a shopping destination for the people in the townships. While they enjoyed good quality local shopping, nothing could compete with downtown. Travel was easy and efficient with good train and tram services. A minority could afford to travel by carriage and the best shops provided liveried attendants to ensure that these customers were treated as they expected.

It was suggested that the more elegant suburbanites did not cross the Liffey when they came to Dublin. That is an exaggeration because the north city had excellent shopping facilities and there were middle-class areas in Clontarf and Drumcondra which had been absorbed into the city after 1900. It is equally true that the needs of most southsiders could be met south of the Liffey.

Then, as now, there were two main quality shopping districts — one bounded by Grafton Street and South Great Georges Street and a more linear area on the northside with Henry Street as its core, flanked by Mary Street and Talbot Street. Grafton Street had pretentions to pre-eminence long before 1916 and a 1904 shopping guide for visitors advised that it was there that one would see the 'wealth, fashion and beauty of Dublin' engaged in shopping in the morning and in promenade in the afternoon.

Status was important and many shops boasted royal warrants, though some took care to feature the Irishness of their products. London, Paris and St Petersburg led fashion and Dubliners were kept up to date on trends by magazines such as *The Lady of the House* which also offered practical advice. Women's clothing dominated the shopping landscape and smaller boutique shops vied with the larger warehouses (department stores) such as Brown Thomas and Switzer's.

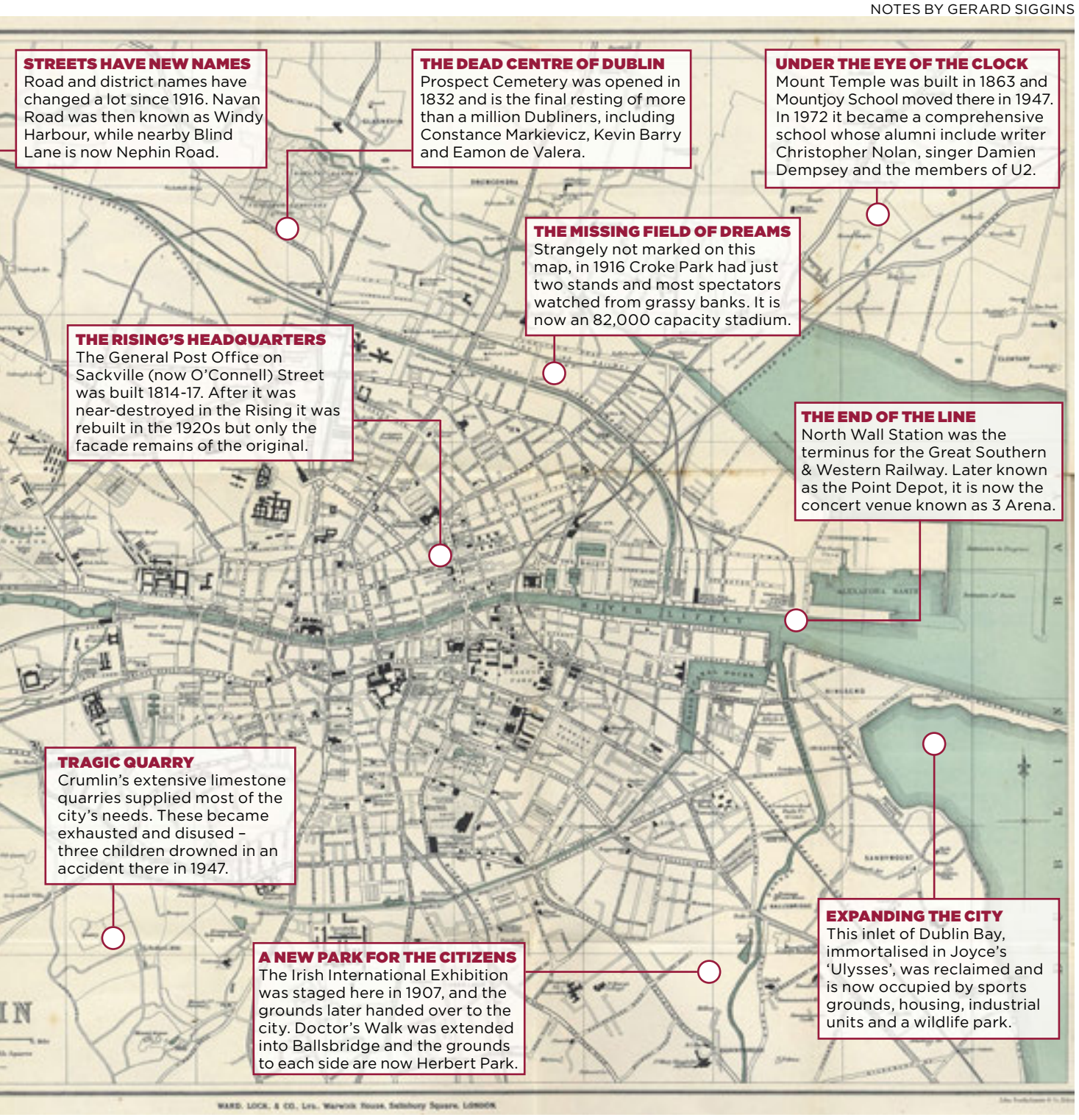
Made-to-measure clothing was easily available and stores often maintained a manufacturing component on the upper floors or to the rear of the premises. For those who preferred an even more personal experience, there were many dressmakers who had rooms on the upper floors.

In the nearby streets a range of personal services was available, including language instruction, dancing masters as well as hair and beauty salons. Men were well catered to, even though it was recognised that they did not go 'shopping' with a similar emphasis on made-to-measure clothing including suits and shirts.

Exhausted by shopping, the ladies could repair to a number of fashionable coffee houses, of which Mitchell's was probably the best known, and discuss the business of the day. Perhaps they might have some servant issues and so visit one of the nearby servant registries. Even those on more modest middle-class salaries could afford a daily servant and this was the single most important respectable employment opportunity for women. Some 14,263

DUBLIN IN 1915

NOTES BY GERARD SIGGINS



domestic servants lived in the city in 1911, 85 percent of whom were female. Pembroke had a further 2,600 while Rathmines had almost 4,300.

It was not all hand-made items with personal service. The shops catered to the range of middle-class incomes and but even those with more modest salaries were distant from the lives of the poor. An advertisement for Switzer's appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* in February 1916 for a discounted consignment of tailor-made coats which usually would retail for 2-3 guineas but which they could offer for between 17/6 and 21 shillings. It was estimated that a household income of £1 per week was needed to meet basic needs but many families did not come near this.

Despite the damage caused by the Rising to Sackville Street and the surrounding blocks, quality shopping was back by 5 May. This was much easier on the southside but even Arnott's, who were lucky to have survived, were back in business. Clery's, whose main premises were smoking ruins, announced on 12 May that their postal business was back in action in Earl Place and that their summer stock had missed destruction because it was in transit.

Joseph Brady is a lecturer in the School of Geography, University College Dublin


BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT.

R. TYSON,

Outfitter

To The Lord Lieutenant and H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught.

Practical Shirt Cutter,
Hosier and Hatter, . .

57 · GRAFTON STREET · 57

DUBLIN.

Top of Grafton Street. Two Minutes' Walk from Hotel.

SERVICE DRESS.

Khaki Shirts, Collars, Ties, Blankets, Sleeping Bags, Puttees, Leather Waistcoats, Wolseley Valises, and British Warm worsted.

Agent for AUTO-STROP SAFETY RAZOR and AQUASCUTUM COATS.

Telephone No. 6 DUBLIN.

✱ **TYSON:** Gentlemen were not entirely ignored. (Advertising pamphlet, no date but about 1913).


G. LUCAS,

6, SUFFOLK STREET, DUBLIN.

The Only Hair Specialist in Dublin.

Diplomas, Medallist from Bolxton School of Pharmacy, London.

THE MOST UP-TO-DATE LADIES' AND GENTLEMEN'S HAIRDRESSING SALOONS IN DUBLIN.

MANICURE. CHIROPODY. FACE MASSAGE.

Removal of Superfluous Hairs by entirely new method. No Electricity. The most simple method practised. It is Painless, and absolutely safe. Leaves no mark, and the cure is permanent.

✱ **LUCAS:** An example of the range of hair and beauty services available. Note particularly the beauty services. (Hotel Guide, Gresham Hotel, 1912).


MANNING.

Costumiers to the Royal and Vice-Regal Courts for over 70 years.

OF WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION FOR ELEGANCE AND TASTE.

Irish Tweeds,
Laces, Lingeries,
and Embroideries.

MANTLES, MILLINERY, FURS.

102 & 103 GRAFTON STREET.

✱ **MANNING:** Note the balance between the appeal of a Royal connection and the production of Irish goods. (Hotel Guide, Metropole Hotel, 1914).


Anchovies—		
Lazenby's Essence of Anchovies	per quarter bottle 3½d., half-bottle 9½d., large bottle	1 6
Findlater's		
Lazenby's Finest Gorgona Fish	per ½ lb. bottle 1s. 2d., 1 lb.	2 2
Anchovies in Oil	per bottle	0 11
Lazenby's Anchovy Paste	per tin or glass 6d. and	1 0
Anchovies in Barrels, Norwegian	per barrel	1 6
Apples—		
Whole cored—Best Brands	per gallon tin	1 2
Normandy Pippins—Dried	per lb.	—
Apple Rings—Finest Loose, or in 1 lb. cartons	per lb. 6d. and	0 8
Apricots—Dessert (A. F. & Co.)	per large tin	1 6
Extra Quality (A. F. & Co.'s)	per large tin	1 0
First Standard Quality (Labrador Brand)	per large tin	0 10
Extra Quality in bottle	per bottle, 1s 8d. and	2 0
Dried—Finest	per lb.	0 10
Crystallised and Glace	per lb.	1 10
Apricot Pulp	per gallon tin	2 6
Arrowroot—Findlater's Finest	per lb.	1 6
Finest quality	per lb.	1 2
Genuine	per lb.	0 8
Artex	per 7 lb. bag	1 2
Asparagus—	per tin	1 1

✱ **FINDLATER:** An extract from their catalogue giving an idea of the range of goods available in the quality grocer.


FURS

BEAUTIFULLY CLEANED

BY OUR NEW PROCESS

IN A FEW DAYS.

BY THIS TREATMENT THE FUR IS PRESERVED AND LOOKS LIKE NEW.

PRESCOTTS'

DYE WORKS.

DUBLIN. BELFAST. CORK. LIMERICK.

The Largest Dyeworks in Ireland.

Telephone No. 173. Telegrams—"DYER, DUBLIN."

✱ **PRESCOTT:** People needed to take care of their furs! (*The Lady of the House*, 1913).


By Royal Warrant to H.M. the King.

McCABE'S,

Fish, Poultry, Game, and Ice Merchants.

Patronised by His Majesty the King; the late Queen Victoria; Duke of Connaught; His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; Chief and Under Secretaries; the Nobility, Gentry, principal Clubs, Military Messes, and Hotels.

COUNTRY CUSTOMERS SPECIALLY CATERED FOR. Every Attention Guaranteed.

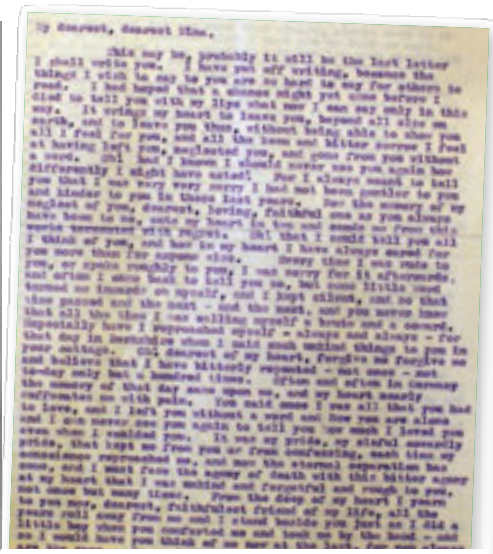
LARGE DAILY ARRIVALS of . . . . .
FISH, POULTRY and GAME, as in Season.

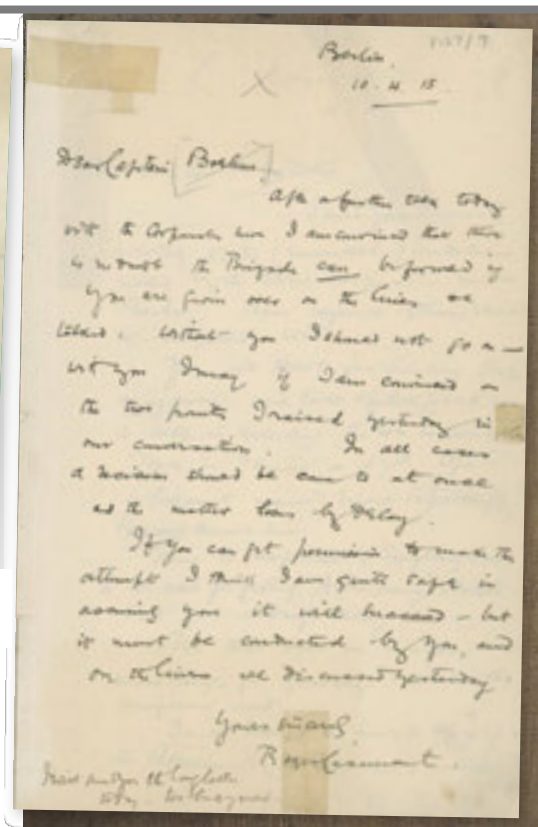
South City Markets, DUBLIN.

also,

11, Rathgar Road, Dublin; 10, Ranelagh, Dublin; 88, Main St., Bray; Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare.

✱ **McCABE'S:** An advertisement for McCabe's, one of the best known poulterers. Note that they list their customers rather than their products. (Hotel Guide, Metropole Hotel, 1911).





Far left: Roger Casement's infamous 'Black Diaries'.

Above left: Casement's last letter to his sister Nina, July 1916. IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

Above: a letter from Casement to Captain Hans Boehm, during Casement's stay in Germany in 1915. UCD ARCHIVES

Main: Roger Casement, by artist Sarah Purser.

ROGER CASEMENT

Single minded

Born in Dublin and schooled in Ballymena, Sir Roger Casement had the history of Ireland at his fingers' ends, writes **Donal Fallon**

OF Roger Casement, Bulmer Hobson would recall that "in over 50 years I have met many of the well-known figures of our time. I have known no one who was more single minded, and more unselfishly devoted to the causes he believed in."

Born in Sandycove in Dublin in September 1864, he was the son of Captain Roger Casement, a veteran of the Regiment of Dragoons who had served in the 1842 Afghan campaign. Casement's father would sell his commission in 1848, and biographer Angus Mitchell has noted that "stories relate of how he held strong Fenian sympathies, identified with the Paris communards, and expressed beliefs in the principles of universal republicanism".

By the time Casement was only 13, both of his parents were dead, and from this young age he and his siblings were dependent on supportive relatives such as their uncle John, who lived near Ballycastle, Co Antrim.

Casement was educated at Ballymena Diocesan School, where he excelled as a capable student who developed a keen interest in poetry. But in 1912, when approached by its headmaster for a financial donation, Casement complained of learning little of Ireland there, and outlining a belief that the educational system should be "designed to build up a country from within, by training its youth to know, love and respect their own land before all other lands."

Regardless of school curriculum, his own passions and interests led him to learn all he could of Irish history and culture. Ada MacNeill, a contemporary of the young Casement, remembered walking endlessly among the Glens of Antrim with him, and that "Roger had the history of Ireland at his fingers' ends".

Young Roger's existence was nothing if not nomadic, and from Ulster he was destined for Liverpool, where he secured his first job as a clerk with the Elder Dempster Shipping Company, though as Stephanie Millar has noted, "Office work upset Casement and so he became a purser on board the SS Bonny. It was his short time with Elder Dempster that initiated his consuming love of Africa."

Donal Fallon photographed beside a monument on Parnell Square to mark Rotunda Rink, the place where the Irish Volunteers were formed. DAMIEN EAGERS

From 1884, Casement was working in the Congo for the International African Association, which has been described as an "anti-slave-trade front group" of the Belgian King Leopold II, who envisioned himself as an Empire builder. In spite of this, Casement would later come to detail the "wholesale oppression and shocking mismanagement" in the Congo on the part of King Leopold, having joined the British Foreign Office and being appointed British Consul in the eastern part of French Congo in August 1901.

Casement's report on King Leopold's gross mishandling of the Congo has been described by Michael Laffan as "a formidable indictment of a system based on oppression and cruelty". Published in 1904, the Casement Report proved crucial in mobilising international forces which ultimately forced Leopold to relinquish personal holdings in the region. Casement would later detail abuses against Putumayo Indians in Peru, and he was awarded a Knighthood in 1911, something which "turned him into an internationally respected figure and a household name throughout the empire".

A member of the Gaelic League from 1904, he became increasingly involved in nationalist life in Ireland in the years that followed. He was present in October 1913 at an important meeting in Antrim, which aimed to mobilise Ulster Protestants against the anti-Home Rule sentiment in the northern province, which was being actively fostered by the Ulster Volunteer Force. Several hundred people listened to him denounce that movement, stating that "the enemy they are being led against is no enemy at all; in very truth he is their own brother." Like Alice Milligan, Captain Jack White and other contemporaries, he demonstrated clearly that there was another Ulster Protestant tradition in the politics of the time.

Much of the discourse around Casement, both within academia and in a broader sense, has centred on the so-called 'Black Diaries', copies of which were circulated during his trial to show "sexual degeneracy" on his part. The contested authenticity of these documents has dominated Casement studies.

Yet beyond this, he is also studied as an important critic of Western imperialism. As Colm Tóibín has noted, "While his bones were laid to rest in Glasnevin in 1965... it is likely that his legacy will remain turbulent and open to debate."

SNAPSHOT
ROGER DAVID CASEMENT

Born: Sandycove, Dublin, 1 September 1864

Educated: Diocesan School, Ballymena

Affiliation: Irish Volunteers

Career: Clerk, surveyor, Foreign Office official

Died: Pentonville Prison, London, 3 August 1916

Donal Fallon is an author and historian, currently researching republican commemoration and memory at UCD School of History

The boat (inset) Roger Casement used to come ashore at Banna Strand on Good Friday in April 1916. IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVE

Casement's final voyage

His dalliance with the Germans and the ill-fated journey of the Aud led to the hangman's rope, writes **John de Lacy**

ON All Saints Eve 1914, Sir Roger Casement arrived in Berlin. He had travelled from America, via Kristiania (now Oslo) and has been variously described as an ambassador, emissary and representative of the Revolutionary Directory of Clan na Gael in New York.

He came with a letter of introduction from Heinrich von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, to the Imperial German Chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, and a shopping list.

John Devoy the Clan na Gael leader in the US, claimed the supply of arms and a number of capable officers from Germany would "make a good start", towards an insurrection in Ireland. Official German recognition of the Independence movement in Ireland was also requested, as was the raising of an Irish Brigade from Irish prisoners of war.

Casement was not fully successful in completing these objectives. Germany did finally consent to send an arms shipment to Ireland; it was however, based on the insurrection plans submitted by Joseph Plunkett. Casement's agreement to return to Ireland with the arms is somewhat ambivalent.

On 20 June 1915, Casement wrote to Joseph McGarrity, a senior Irish republican in America, regarding his failure to raise an effective Irish Brigade (of the 2,200 Irishmen in Limburg POW camp, just 56 signed up): "without the Brigade there is nothing between us [Casement and the German government]... I tried all I could... we have failed... let me go back."

However, shortly before he left Germany, Casement wrote to Count Georg von Wedel, claiming he was travelling under duress, the mission was at odds with his, "reason, judgement and intelligence".

To von Wedel, Casement explained: "I had always been greatly opposed to any attempted revolt in Ireland unless backed up with strong foreign military help." Casement did suffer regularly from both physical illness and depression during his stay in Germany, as witnessed by his comrade Robert Monteith in the spring of 1916.

By this time Casement's only attachment to Germany was his concern for the members of the Irish Brigade left behind in Germany; his final letter to the German Chancellor bears witness to his concern. It could be argued that he was privately happy to leave Germany, clandestinely seizing this opportunity to prevent what he considered a futile insurrection. In a letter to his sister after his capture he claimed: "When I landed in Ireland that morning... I was happy for the first time for over a year."

Casement, Monteith and Daniel Julian Bailey, (alias Beverley) departed Wilhelmshaven on 12 April 1916, on the submarine U-20. The SMS Libau, masquerading as the neutral Norwegian ship Aud, sailed on 9 April, from Lubeck, carrying 20,000 rifles, 10 machine guns and over a million rounds of assorted ammunitions.

The objective of the mission was for Casement's party to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12 >>>

Fateful voyage

>>> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

rendezvous with the Aud one sea mile north-west of the most northerly of the Blasket Islands between 20 and 23 April. The Irish Volunteers were to supply a pilot to take the Aud into Fenit and disperse the cargo.

The journey was ill-fated; after 36 hours sailing, the U-20 had to return to Heligoland for repairs and the three Irishmen were transferred to U-19. The tragedy of this enterprise was that due to a combination of circumstances the Irish pilot never made the rendezvous with the Aud or the U-19.

Early on 21 April, Casement and his comrades rowed two miles in a small boat from the U-19 to Banna Strand. They capsized twice, and would have drowned were it not for the foresight of Monteith's request for lifejackets and the strength of Bailey and Monteith in rescuing Casement. The three half-drowned, exhausted and hungry men made their way inland. Bad luck dogged the party; Monteith recalled that they were observed by a local girl, Mary Gorman. Their boat was discovered by farmer John McCarthy and the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) at Ardfert was informed.

The subsequent RIC search resulted in the arrest of Casement at McKenna's Fort with incriminating evidence about his person. Bailey and Monteith had walked into Tralee, trying to get assistance from local volunteers. Bailey was captured and turned King's evidence, but Monteith managed to evade capture and returned to America. The Aud was captured, her captain, Karl Spindler, scuttled her in the approaches to Cork Harbour on 22 April.

The 1916 Proclamation contains the clause: 'supported... by gallant allies in Europe', this oblique reference to Germany was repugnant to millions of British subjects. The manifestation of that indignation would be suffered by Sir Roger Casement as he was hanged for treason on 3 August 1916, in Pentonville jail, the last of those executed following the Easter Rising.

John de Lacy is a retired Irish Defence Forces company sergeant and a recent history graduate (2015) of UCD

John de Lacy photographed in the Military Archives. MARK CONDREN

AMONG PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY, 1914

Roger Casement (white suit) walking freely among Irish prisoners of war in Germany in his attempt to recruit them to come home.

PRENTONVILLE PRISON, LONDON, 1916

Casement is escorted to the gallows of Pentonville Prison in London after he was found guilty of treason. He was later hanged. GETTY

Seeking aid from the Kaiser

Emma Lyons on Roger Casement and Joseph Plunkett's undercover operations in Germany

ON 9 September 1914, the seven men who would ultimately be remembered as the seven signatories of the Proclamation attended a secret meeting at the Gaelic League headquarters at 25 Parnell Square. The seven were among those who determined that an armed rising against Britain would be staged before the end of World War I. Planning began in earnest, with responsibilities for planning being divided amongst the 'leaders'. Joseph Plunkett, the youngest of the signatories at 28, was chief military strategist.

According to his sister Geraldine, who acted as a messenger during the Rising, Plunkett 'probably got more fun out of the action than the others did', perhaps as a result of the chronic ill-health he experienced for much of his life. Somewhat ironically, it was his poor health which assisted Plunkett in playing such a high-profile role in the Rising.

In addition to his role as military strategist, Plunkett also travelled to Germany to join Roger Casement and assist him in his efforts to raise an Irish Brigade and garner German support for the insurrection. Plunkett was chosen as he possessed the necessary credentials for such a trip during wartime. Needing warmer climates for his health, Plunkett travelled widely with his mother in 1911-12, spending time in Italy, Sicily, Malta and Algiers.

With this cover, Plunkett set off in March 1915 on what was a circuitous route to Berlin, travelling through Spain, Italy and Switzerland.

Once in Germany he met with Casement, a former member of the British Foreign Office, who had travelled from America, funded by Clan na Gael under the leadership of John Devoy. Arriving in Berlin on 31 October 1914, Casement's mission to Germany had three basic aims:

1. To secure German help for Ireland;
2. To educate the German people about Ireland's situation so as to gain support for the cause;
3. To raise an Irish Brigade from Irish Prisoners of War who had been captured during the war.

In his bid to achieve these aims, Casement travelled secretly — in the guise of an American, 'Mr Hammond' — to the German headquarters on the Western Front between 17 and 19 November. There, he met with senior representatives, including Count von Lüttichau of the General Staff and Wilhelm von Stumm, head of the Political Department at the German Foreign Office.

While Casement had some success, convincing the German government to declare that, should their forces land in Ireland, they would do so as liberators, much of his time in late 1914 was spent distracted by the British authorities' efforts to discredit and capture him. This led John Devoy to comment on the success of the above aims as follows: 'Casement did his best in all these things, but did the first ineffectively, succeeded admirably in the second, and failed badly in the third'. Casement recruited only 56 of a possible 2,300 Irish prisoners of war for his Irish Brigade.

These views were not unique to Devoy, and it was for that reason that Plunkett travelled to Germany. It was hoped that he could negotiate with the German Foreign Office and convince them to support the planned Rising. Although he disagreed with Casement's belief that an armed German force was necessary for its success, Plunkett nonetheless worked with Casement on 'The Ireland Report', an overly-ambitious plan for the Rising. While the plan was rejected by the Germans, Plunkett did succeed in obtaining agreement to send a small shipment of arms and ammunition in the spring of 1916.

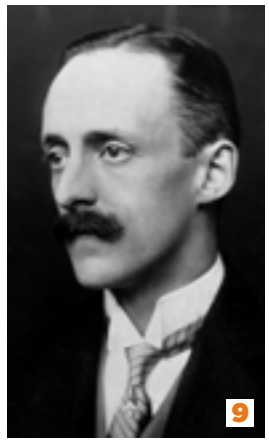
Plunkett travelled to New York to update Devoy on the outcome of the negotiations and preparations for the Rising. When he returned home, Plunkett was based at the recently-purchased family home in Larkfield, Kimmage, which was also a Volunteer training camp and arms store, before falling ill again in April. Indeed, it was his poor health that led to the postponement of his marriage to Grace Gifford, scheduled for Easter Sunday 1916. His ill-health did not prevent him from participating in the Rising, however. Following his capture, Plunkett was executed by firing squad on 4 May, having married his fiancée just hours before his death.

Casement, in contrast, suffered from poor health while still in Germany, disillusioned at what he considered an unsatisfactory commitment to the Irish cause. Realising that the Germans would not provide additional assistance, he decided to travel to Ireland in a bid to stop the Rising. Landing on Banna Strand, Casement was arrested. Unable to contact the leaders, the rebellion went ahead. Casement was found guilty of treason in the Old Bailey and was hanged on 3 August 1916.

Dr Emma Lyons (UCD School of History) was a researcher for the 'World War I Ireland: Exploring the Irish Experience' exhibition currently running at the National Library of Ireland, where she also held the Research Studentship in Irish History. Dr Lyons' research focuses on the experience of Irishwomen during World War One and Catholic landownership and education in 17th and 18th-century Ireland

NINE LIVES

Grainne Coyne on the authors, artists, horse owners, business owners and athletes of the era



1 LADY AUGUSTA GREGORY played an important part in the Irish literary revival and formation of the Abbey Theatre. Born Isabella Augusta Persse in 1852, she grew up in Roxborough, Co Galway. Her estate, Coole Park became a haven for writers such as JM Synge, WB Yeats and George Bernard Shaw. In 1904 she co-founded the Abbey along with Yeats, Edward Martyn and others. Her play, *Twenty Five*, was performed there, the first of 19 original productions from 1904-12. She co-authored Yeats' early plays including *Cathleen Ní Houlihan* (1902). Lady Gregory died aged 80 at Coole Park in 1932.

* * *

2 Although **Richard 'Boss' Croker** was born in Cork in 1843, he migrated with his family to New York when he was two years old. He joined the city's political organisation, Tammany Hall and found success as an alderman (1868-70) and coroner (1873-76). Croker later became leader of Tammany Hall and helped it establish several political careers. His wealth was invested in racehorses and real estate in the US, UK, and Ireland. In 1907 his horse Orby won three prestigious races — the Epsom Derby, Irish Derby and Baldoyle Derby. His home in Leopardstown, Dublin, is now the British Ambassador's residence.

* * *

3 Born in Paris in 1874, **W Somerset Maugham** is most celebrated for his short stories. He qualified as a surgeon and worked in London's East End slums. It was there that he found material for his novels *Liza of Lambeth* (1897) and *Of Human Bondage* (1915). He worked as an ambulance driver in World War One and as a secret agent in Geneva and Russia before the revolution. He went on to write short stories and plays based on his travels and in 1928 he wrote a satirical, literary biography *Cakes and Ale*. He died in France on December 16, 1965.

* * *

4 John Buchan was most famous for his historical novels and biographies as well as having a prominent role in public life. Born in 1875 in Scotland, Buchan studied at Glasgow and Oxford and after a successful career in publishing became Director of Information for the British government during World War One. He later wrote a 24-volume history of the war. Buchan wrote various action novels including *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915) based on the character Richard Hannay. He was elected as a Conservative MP in 1927 and eight years later was appointed Governor-General to Canada, where he died in 1940.

* * *

5 Born in Dublin in 1894, **Evie Hone** suffered a partial paralysis after an accident while decorating a church in 1905, but this did not deter her and she trained at the Westminster School of Art in London. There Hone became friends with Mainie Jellett with whom she travelled to Paris and joined the Abstraction-Creation group. Hone went on to focus on stained-glass and joined Sarah Purser's studio, An Túr Gloine. She later formed her own in Rathfarnham where she created her greatest pieces, the *Crucifixion* and *Last Supper* windows at Eton College Chapel, and *My Four Green Fields*, now located in Government Buildings. She died in Rathfarnham in 1955.

* * *

6&7 From Cregane, Co Limerick, **Cornelius 'Con' Leahy** was born in 1876, and **Patrick Leahy** the following year. Both became celebrated athletes, with Pat breaking the British high jump record in 1898 in Dublin, and two years later at the Paris Olympics won silver (high jump) and bronze (long jump). At the 1906 Olympics in Athens, Con won gold (high jump) and silver (triple jump), and another high jump silver at the London games in 1908. A year later both brothers emigrated to the US. Con Leahy died in Manhattan at the age of 45 in 1921, while Pat was 50 when he died in 1927.

* * *

8 Born in 1885 in Idaho, **Ezra Pound** studied literature and languages before settling in Europe, where he befriended writers such as James Joyce and WB Yeats, becoming the latter's secretary and best man at his wedding. In 1909, Pound found success with *Personae*, *Exultations* and *The Spirit of Romance* and later with *Homage to Sextus Propertius* (1919) and the 18-part *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1921). His early support for Benito Mussolini led to him being tried for treason in the US in 1945. He was found insane and hospitalised, but after a campaign by poet Robert Frost he was released in 1958 and died in Italy in 1972.

* * *

9 Born in Cork in 1875, **Hugh Lane** was raised in England, but regularly visited his aunt Lady Gregory in Ireland. He campaigned for Dublin's own modern art gallery and persuaded artists to donate works. In 1908 he was knighted for services to Irish art, the same year The Municipal Gallery of Modern Art opened in Harcourt Street. In 1914 he was appointed Director of The National Gallery of Ireland. Lane died in 1915 in the Lusitania sinking, leaving his paintings to Dublin but the will was not witnessed and most of the works were held in London. A deal was finally struck in 1959 and Dublin's Modern Art gallery now bears his name.

LEARN MORE

READ...

- *Phases of Irish History* by Eoin MacNeill (Dublin, 1920)
- *Eoin MacNeill: Scholar and Man of Action*, 1867–1945 by Mark Tierney (ed. F.X. Martin) (Oxford, 1980)
- *Roger Casement* by Angus Mitchell (O'Brien Press, 2013)
- *The Mystery Man of Banna Strand* by Florrie Monteith (New York, 1959)
- *A City in Wartime: Dublin 1914-18* by Padraig Yeates (Gill & Macmillan, 2011)

WATCH...

- Eamon de Valera's speech at the funeral of Roger Casement in 1965. http://www.rte.ie/archives/exhibitions/eamon-de-valera/720304-de-valera-speech-at-casements-grave/

LISTEN...

- As part of History Hub's commemorative series, Professor Diarmaid Ferriter of the UCD School of History and Archives looks at the career of Eoin MacNeill. http://centenaries.ucd.ie/events/eoin-macneill/
- In this 1965 RTÉ radio documentary, contemporaries talk about Roger Casement: http://www.rte.ie/radio1/doconone/2013/0930/647530-radio-documentary-roger-casement-contemporaries/

IRISH PRESIDENT EAMON DE VALERA SPEAKING AT ROGER CASEMENT'S FUNERAL AT GLASNEVIN CEMETERY IN DUBLIN IN 1965

- Boss Croker features in this issue's Nine Lives feature — learn more about his remarkable life: http://www.rte.ie/radio1/doconone/2011/0719/646835-radio-documentary-richard-croker-ireland-tammany-hall-new-york/

CHECK OUT...

- More about Eoin MacNeill on History Hub: http://historyhub.ie/eoin-macneill-dib

VISIT...

- The memorial to Roger Casement and his companions at Banna Strand, Co Kerry.

EOIN MacNEILL

UCD's scholar revolutionary

Maurice Manning on Eoin MacNeill, the historian and language activist who made a crucial intervention which hindered the Rising's chances of success

SNAPSHOT

EOIN MacNEILL

Born: Co Antrim, 15 May 1867

Educated: St Malachy's (Belfast), Queen's University Belfast

Affiliation: Irish Volunteers

Career: Clerk; journalist; Professor of Early Irish History, UCD; TD (1918–27); Minister for Finance (1919), Industries (1919–21) and Education (1922–25); Chairman of the Irish Manuscripts Commission

Died: Dublin, 15 October 1945

EOIN MacNEILL was a most unlikely revolutionary. In appearance he presented as a slightly absent-minded scholar and in temperament he was prone to periods of depression and lassitude. For many years in the last century he was best remembered in folk memory as the man who tried to call off the Easter Rising and succeeded in delaying it for a day, and also as the Irish minister who failed in his role on the Boundary Commission in 1926 which set in permanent form the partition of the country.

It is an unfair portrayal, not entirely so, but the passage of time has softened that view and begun to see MacNeill in the totality of his life's work, to see him as a pioneering scholar and a significant formative influence on the shaping of today's Ireland.

MacNeill was a very good example of the newly-emerging Irish Catholic meritocracy which began to emerge at the end of the 19th century. Coming from a merchant background in the Glens of Antrim he was first and foremost a scholar whose reputation in his chosen field of early Irish history has grown rather than diminished over the years.

By the time of the Easter Rising MacNeill was 49 years of age and, unlike most of the other Sinn Féin leaders he was already an established figure in Irish life. He was a graduate of the old Royal University (predecessor of the National University of Ireland) and began his working life as a clerk in the law courts. He was essentially self-educated in Irish history and his publications in this area established him to the extent that in 1909 he was appointed foundation Professor of Early Irish History in UCD and was elected to the first Senate of the new NUI where, along with Douglas Hyde, he campaigned to make Irish a compulsory subject for entry to the university.

It was through his efforts to revive the Irish language that he became nationally known. He was one of the founders of the Gaelic League in 1893, acted as its unpaid secretary from 1897 and always saw the struggle for independence as a cultural battle as much as a political one.

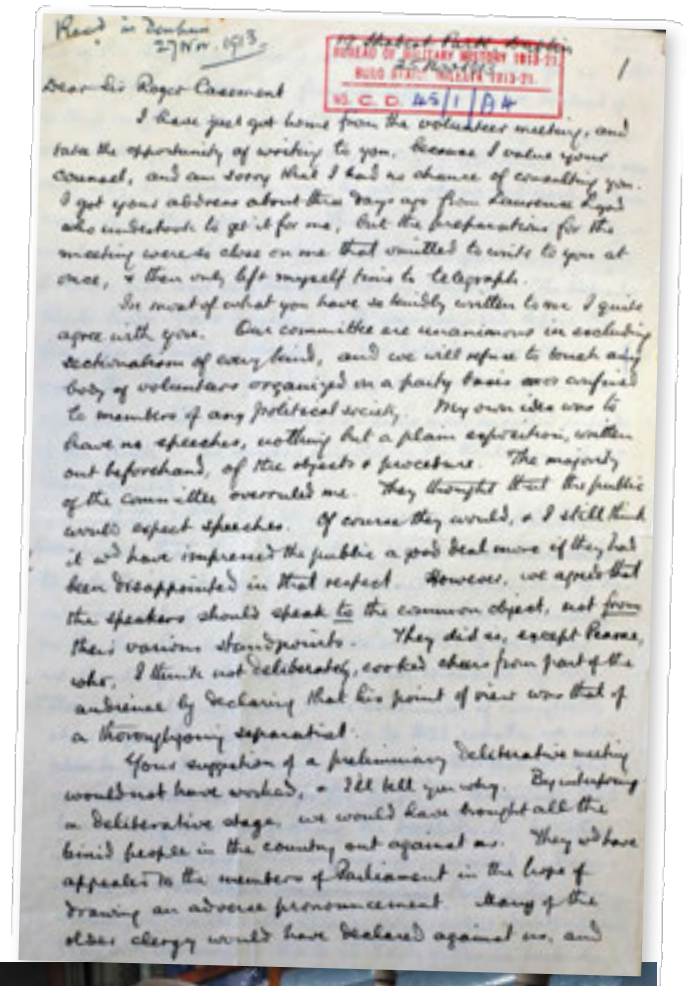
It would be wrong to see MacNeill as some sort of ineffectual academic. He could be practical and energetic, writing endless newspaper articles, publishing pamphlets, speaking at meetings and rallies and engaged in robust public debate. He lost considerable amounts of his own money attempting to establish an Irish language printing business. He was close to Patrick Pearse — a deep and personal friendship with each profoundly influencing the other.

His reaction to the establishment of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1913 was to see it as an opportunity rather than a threat for nationalists and his article *The North Began* called for the formation of the Irish Volunteers. He played a leading part in setting up that organisation which grew rapidly and he became its first leader.

Left: Douglas Hyde with Eoin MacNeill, with whom he formed the Gaelic League.
GETTY IMAGES

Right: One of two letters from Eoin MacNeill to Roger Casement sent on the same day concerning the first meeting of the Irish Volunteers at the Rotunda Rink in 1913.
IRISH MILITARY ARCHIVES

Below: Maurice Manning, Chancellor of the National University of Ireland.
FRANK McGRATH



Read in Dublin
27 Nov. 1913

Dear Sir Roger Casement

I have just got home from the volunteers meeting, and take the opportunity of writing to you. Because I value your counsel, and am sorry that I had no chance of consulting you. I got your address about three days ago from Lawrence Ryan who undertook to get it for me, but the preparations for the meeting were so close on me that I omitted to write to you at once, & then only left myself time to telegraph.

In most of what you have so kindly written to me I quite agree with you. Our committee are unanimous in excluding declamation of every kind, and we will refuse to touch any body of volunteers organized on a party basis or confined to members of any political society. My own idea was to have no speeches, nothing but a plain exposition, written out beforehand, of the objects & procedure. The majority of the committee overruled me. They thought that the public would expect speeches. Of course they would, & I still think it wd have impressed the public a good deal more if they had been disappointed in that respect. However, we agreed that the speakers should speak to the common object, not from their various standpoints. They did so, except Pearse, who, I think not deliberately, evoked cheers from part of the audience by declaring that his point of view was that of a thoroughgoing separatist.

Your suggestion of a preliminary deliberative meeting would not have worked, & I'll tell you why. By inducing a deliberative stage, we would have brought all the timid people in the country out against us. They wd have appealed to the members of Parliament in the hope of drawing an adverse pronouncement. Many of the older clergy would have declared against us, and

MacNeill was not a military figure so the question arises as to why he was made leader. The suspicion — indeed reality — is that he was used by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, by Tom Clarke and MacNeill's own friend Pearse, as a respectable front while they used the Volunteers to secretly prepare for a Rising.

MacNeill was not so naïve as not to suspect that this was so but deluded himself into thinking that the existence of the Irish Volunteers would help John Redmond put pressure on the Liberal Government to grant Home Rule.

When Redmond insisted on taking over the Volunteers he was resisted by MacNeill and Bulmer Hobson and after Redmond's Woodenbridge speech urging recruitment to the British army, the break was total. However, while MacNeill remained leader of the breakaway group the main positions of influence were again held by the IRB.

MacNeill was opposed to the idea of a Rising but was reluctant to provoke a split in the Volunteers. He was largely unaware of the plans for the Rising, mainly because he had been misled by his colleagues, including his friend Pearse. The story is well known of his attempts to halt it and it can be said he had good military reasons for his decision given the sinking of the arms ship sent from Germany. In the event his call for a general demobilisation had the effect of delaying the Rising for a day and largely frustrating it outside Dublin.

Even though he was not involved, MacNeill paid a heavy price. He was arrested after the defeat of the rebels, court-martialed, sentenced to life imprisonment and deprived of his UCD chair.

However, in spite of some recriminations over his actions he remained in Sinn Féin. He was elected to the first Dáil and remained a TD until 1927. He was Minister for Finance in the government of the first Dáil. He was again arrested in November 1920 and remained in jail until June 1921.

He was Speaker of the second Dáil and presided over the debate on the Treaty — which he supported — but as Speaker did not vote.

He took a strong pro-Treaty line and supported the hardline measures of the Cosgrave government including the policy of reprisals. He argued that while the old regime had used force to suppress the will of the people, the government of which he was a member was stern in order to uphold the people's will.

For him and his family it was a time of great personal grief. Two of his sons fought on the Pro-Treaty side but his second son, Brian, joined the Anti-Treaty forces and was killed by government forces during fighting on the Ox Mountains in Sligo.

He was Minister for Education from 1922–25. The Civil War conditions made it difficult for him to achieve much even if he had been temperamentally inclined to do so. His main achievement was the stringent implementation of a policy of compulsory Irish which he had long advocated and which came to be widely resented.

He was appointed in 1924 as the Free State representative on the Boundary Commission to determine the border between Free State and Northern Ireland. By this stage the die was probably already cast in that any major changes or transfer of territory from north to south were unachievable. MacNeill probably knew it was a poisoned chalice but even with that he was a not a good choice. He saw himself as having a judicial rather than an advocacy role, did not keep his colleagues informed of developments and gave in far too easily on key issues.

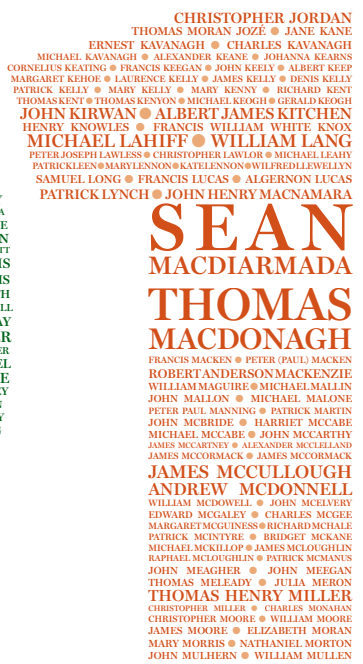
His political career ended in failure. He resigned from the government and lost his Dáil seat in 1927. In the words of Professor FX Martin he 'was too delicate an instrument for so crude a job'.

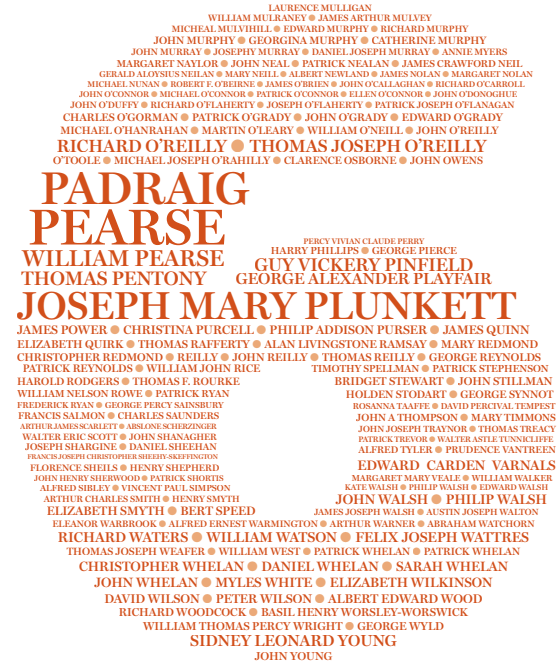
But in some ways MacNeill's most productive days were ahead. He returned to UCD and scholarship. He was first president of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, a body which did extraordinary work in finding and preserving for future generations a range of valuable material which would otherwise have been lost. In some ways this and his founding role in setting up and popularising the Gaelic League will be seen as his most enduring legacies.

Of his scholarship it can be said that much of it has not just stood the test of time but has received favourable reassessment from a new generation of scholars in recent years. He had what Professor Dan Binchy called 'his uncanny sense of communion with a long dead past'.

The final word on MacNeill is well summed up in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*: 'a reputation more likely to rest on his epochal contribution to language revival than on his ambivalent and chequered political career'.

Maurice Manning is Chancellor of the National University of Ireland





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