

Irish Independent 

# 1916

## COLLECTION

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### TERENCE MacSWINEY AND THE LEGACY OF THE RISING

+ De Valera and the politics of the new State



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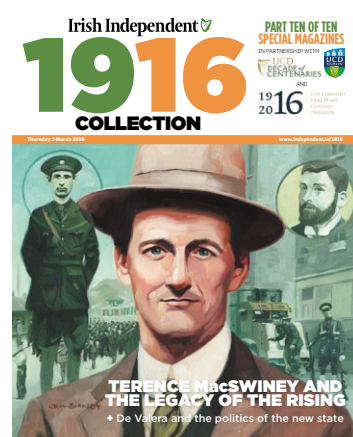
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Cover, by Jon Berkeley, shows Terence MacSwiney, Eamon De Valera and Thomas Kent

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# Burial grounds at Arbour Hill now a place of pilgrimage

ARBOUR Hill is the last resting place of the 14 men who were shot in Kilmainham Gaol after the Rising. Following their executions, their bodies were taken the short distance across the Liffey to the military prison and cemetery and buried in quicklime in an exercise yard. The chemical was used at the time to accelerate decomposition and was seen as part of the punishment for those condemned.

The way the men were buried added to the anger which was beginning to find voice, and Bishop Thomas O'Dwyer condemned the British for burying the men in unconsecrated ground. Some years later a prison official later assured the Irish government that although they had been buried outside the existing cemetery, the ground had been consecrated when the prison was built in 1848.

The cemetery lies just to the north of the National Museum site at Collins Barracks, where a major



A flag-bearer at the annual Arbour Hill commemorations.

exhibition on the Rising opens today, March 3.

Where the 14 men lie has been turned into a place of pilgrimage and their names are inscribed in Wicklow granite in Irish and English.

The site is open from 8am-4pm weekdays, 11-4pm on Saturdays and 9.30am-4pm on Sundays.

Roger Casement's body was treated with great disrespect, British government papers revealed in 2003. Immediately after his hanging in Pentonville Prison in London he was thrown naked into a pit and covered in quicklime. Two murderers were later buried on top of him.

In 1965 his remains were repatriated and after lying in state at Arbour Hill, where half a million people filed past his coffin, he was buried in Glasnevin.

Thomas Kent was buried in Cork Prison, which lies at the rear of what is now Collins Barracks. In September 2015 he was given a state funeral and reinterred at Castlelyons, Co Cork. **LS**



## FROM THE UCD ARCHIVES



The Peace Conference cartoon from 1919.

## Postcard from the edge of global affairs

HIGH on the agenda of the first Dáil was international recognition: "The Nation of Ireland having proclaimed her national independence, calls through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled in the Irish Capital on January 21, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognising Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication at the Peace Congress."

The Paris Peace Conference, also known as the Versailles

Peace Conference, was organised by the Allied victors of the First World War to set the peace terms for the defeated Central Powers — Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. Ireland was not recognised at the Paris conference, but Seán T O'Kelly and George Gavan Duffy, joined later by Erskine Childers, were sent as envoys and set up a diplomatic mission in the Grand Hotel.

A propaganda postcard drawing, titled 'Peace Conference' points to a strategy

of achieving recognition through the diplomatic intervention of the United States.

It depicts a table with caricatures of delegates named England, France, Russia and Belgium on one side, and Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria on the other. A vacant seat at the head of the table is marked Ireland. Behind that, America, dressed as Uncle Sam, is ushering a uniformed Irish soldier to the seat. The postcard can be viewed in the UCD Archives at: <http://url.ie/za1b>. **FC**

## STING IN THE TALE

## Writers take fly at the 1916 legacy

NOVELIST Lia Mills insists the latest issue of *The Stinging Fly* is far more than a literary journal: "It's a book, an anthology."

The magazine has gone bumper — *The Wake of the Rising* sees 43 writers tackle the legacy of 1916 over 288 pages.

Kevin Barry, Jimmy Murphy, Mills, Paul Lynch and Gavin Corbett are some of the established names included, while the issue also features Lauren Lawler's debut in poetry 'Grace Gifford's Wedding'.

Guest issue editor Seán O'Reilly says there was no big plan when putting the issue together, he said. What has emerged, however, is an issue that shows why Ireland is what Lynch calls "the Brazil of the short story".

In his editorial, O'Reilly asks, "Do writers today have any interest in social change, any belief at all in the transformative role of literary culture in the life of the national or is the feeling of a shared reality crumbling with the ice-caps?" You will have to read *The Stinging Fly* to find out. Visit [www.stingingfly.org](http://www.stingingfly.org). **AM**





**President Michael D Higgins at the annual Arbour Hill 1916 Commemoration ceremony in 2014.**  
MARK CONDREN



## Watch more online at [independent.ie/1916](http://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' and from 'The Centenary Papers'.

The [independent.ie/1916](http://independent.ie/1916) site will continue to build into a brilliant resource for students in years to come.

## ROTUNDA EXHIBITION



**Above: A plaque in memory of the 1916 Rising inside the grounds of the Rotunda Hospital where prisoners were held.**  
DAMIEN EAGERS

**Left: Countess Markievicz with Kathleen Lynn.**  
IRISH INDEPENDENT/NPA

## Hospital's role in difficult birth of nation

LIKE other hospitals, the Rotunda played an important role in 1916. This will be marked this month in the exhibition 'The Birth of a Nation', which showcases five extraordinary women.

The hospital has gathered a series of rarely seen images, diaries and film footage of the women who went on to become important figures in Irish medical history; Bridget Lyons Thornton, Kathleen Lynn, Dorothy Stopford Price, Mary O'Shea and The Hon

Albinia Brodrick.

The exhibition will offer intriguing insight into women such as Lynn, a member of the Irish Citizen Army who described herself to an arresting officer as "a Red Cross doctor and a belligerent". Or midwife Mary O'Shea who witnessed the surrender of the leaders of the Rising as they were held on the grounds of the Rotunda.

Learn, too, about the dire social conditions of the time and the pre-natal and medical services available in 1916 and the

remarkable staff who cared for the inner-city Dublin women of this time.

Another highlight of the exhibition will be an exploration of the Rotunda's links with 'The Taking of Christ' by the Italian Baroque master Caravaggio that was once thought to be lost and itself has a grim connection to 1916.

The Rotunda – Birth of a Nation is open to the public until the end of March (10am-4pm weekdays, 10am-5pm weekends).

**LS**

## THE LOST CHILDREN

## Member of Na Fianna died in a hail of bullets during battle at Stephen's Green

FIANNA Éireann was founded in Belfast by Bulmer Hobson (inset) in 1904, originally as a junior hurling league to promote the study of the Irish language. When he moved to Dublin he met with Constance Markievicz who had founded a nationalist scout troop called the Red Branch Knights and together with others they set up Na Fianna in 1909.

They played a big role in the Howth gun-running, and during the Rising members were present in each garrison where they acted as messengers and scouts. Seven members of Na Fianna were killed in the Rising, including James Fox of Cabra Park.

In Joe Duffy's book *Children of the Rising*, he reprints a 1966 RTE radio interview with Frank Robbins, who fought with the Citizen Army.

Robbins tells of meeting an old friend from Meath, Pat Fox, on Easter Monday. Fox told him

that he was too old to fight, but went on, "here is my son, I give him into your charge. He wants to fight for Ireland. Look after him, he's all I have".

Without any training, James Fox didn't survive the fighting in St Stephen's Green. Stationed in a trench near the top of Grafton Street, he was among a group who came under heavy fire.

He was trying to climb over the railings when he was hit several times by machine-gun fire as it swept around the street from the direction of the Shelbourne Hotel.

James tried to crawl to safety but was hit by a second burst and died soon after.

"He was killed inside of 20 hours," recalled Mr Robbins. James was aged 16.

Some months later Robbins and Fox senior met again, with the bereaved father crying: "My poor boy".

Robbins replied "Don't worry, Pat, he died bravely." **LS**







UCD Professor Mary Daly in Dublin's City Hall. STEVE HUMPHREYS

# After the shooting stopped...

**Mary Daly** on how Irish politics was transformed in the Rising's aftermath

**I**N the summer of 1916 it would have been foolhardy to predict that the Easter Rising had transformed the political future of Ireland. Admittedly, many people in Ireland and overseas were horrified by the executions, including some who had been very critical of the Rising when it happened, but there is a very big gulf between an emotional reaction, and generating a successful political and military campaign for independence.

The Rising succeeded in transforming the Irish political landscape, because over the next two or three years, events both in Ireland and internationally ended any prospect of a moderate Home Rule-style solution. By 1919, the legacy of 1916 had been transformed. It now included a mass political movement, and a campaign of guerrilla warfare that was very different to the battle fought in Easter week. International events were also important. US President Woodrow Wilson's commitment to national self-determination created expectations in Ireland and throughout Europe that full independence was both achievable, and a right.

In 1914 Home Rule was shelved for the duration of the war. However, in the summer of 1916 David Lloyd George reopened discussions with Edward Carson and John Redmond. These talks eventually

collapsed over partition; Lloyd George promised Redmond that any partition would be temporary, while giving Carson a commitment that it would be permanent.

There was a further attempt to reach agreement in 1917 when the Irish Convention — a gathering of over 100 delegates representing various strands of Irish society, though it was boycotted by Sinn Féin, met to devise a future form of government for Ireland. However, the Convention collapsed in April 1918 without reaching an agreement.

Britain's efforts to resolve the Irish question were prompted by the war. Britain's military campaign was increasingly dependent on the USA for essential supplies and financial support; the ultimate goal was to persuade the USA to enter the war on their side. But Irish-American opinion was strongly opposed to American intervention, so it was in Britain's interests to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards Ireland.

The horrendous loss of life in the war left Britain with serious shortages of troops, and there were pressures to extend conscription to Ireland. So softening Irish opinion prior to conscription and placating Irish-America were the reasons why the thousands of men and women who were interned or convicted after the Rising — including many who had been given life sentences — were released by the summer of 1917.

British commentators labelled the 1916 Rising "the Sinn Féin rebellion". This was inaccurate, but Sinn Féin was a convenient label for a political movement that would include the veterans and aspirations of the Easter Rising. During 1917, victories in by-elections — for Count Plunkett, whose three sons had fought in the Rising, for political prisoner Joe McGuinness, and, most significantly, for Éamon de Valera and WT Cosgrave — reflected a wave of popular sympathy for the rebels.

These new MPs adopted the long-established Sinn Féin policy of declining to take their seats at Westminster. At the Sinn Féin convention in the autumn of 1917, control of Arthur Griffith's party passed to 1916 veterans and their supporters. Griffith had supported a dual-monarchy; the Rising had proclaimed a Republic. A compromise was agreed that would come back to haunt Griffith, de Valera and many others: their goal was to secure a Republic, and when that happened, the Irish people could decide on what form of government they wanted.

The Irish Party showed some signs of revival in late 1917 and early 1918, winning a number of by-elections, including the Waterford seat held by William Redmond (John's brother), who had died at the battle of Messines. Redmond's death in the spring of 1918, the collapse of the Irish Convention, and British legislation imposing conscription on Ireland

destroyed the party. The surviving MPs withdrew from Westminster — effectively adopting Sinn Féin's policy. The Sinn Féin leaders were re-arrested, accused of being involved in a "German plot"; in truth, they were arrested to weaken any campaign against conscription. Sinn Féin's success in securing the support of the Catholic hierarchy for the anti-conscription campaign radicalised Irish opinion.

The 1918 general election, the first time that all adult men and all women over the age of 30 were given a vote, was a landslide for Sinn Féin. It won 73 out of 105 seats. The convening of Dáil Éireann in January 1919 must be seen in the context of the settlements that were under way in post-war Europe. The Paris Peace Conference was applying the principal of national self-determination; setting boundaries for new nation states. But self-determination only applied to the defeated powers, so it did not extend to Ireland. Sinn Féin made unsuccessful efforts to have Ireland included in the post-war settlement, lobbying delegates to the Paris Conference. Éamon de Valera was despatched to America as part of this campaign; although he failed to gain the support of the 1920 Republican and Democratic conventions, the mass meetings that he addressed across the United States put pressure on Britain and helped to raise essential funding for Dáil Éireann.

The Dáil set out to establish an

1916







1919



Left: Firemen survey a ruined Dublin building in the aftermath of the 1916 Rising. IRISH INDEPENDENT/NPA

Above: Sinn Féin leaders at the first Dáil Éireann in 1919 and (below) Dublin children with toy weapons in the year after the War of Independence in 1922. GETTY IMAGES

1922



alternative government for Ireland — with Dáil courts, an alternative local government system and economic ministries. The military campaign — which is generally seen as beginning with the Soloheadbeg ambush, which coincided with the first meeting of Dáil Éireann, was designed to break down British government in Ireland. It targeted Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) barracks, because they were the most obvious evidence of British presence, and the barracks also held guns.

Homes of the Anglo-Irish gentry were also targeted — because they too held guns, but also because they were seen as symbols of British presence in Ireland, and potential sources of British intelligence. Pent-up land hunger — purchase and distribution came to a halt during the war — was also a factor in the targeting of ‘Big Houses’. The decentralised, guerrilla warfare gave scope for local feuds, venting of sectarian pressures, opportunistic land seizures and some atrocities.

Throughout 1919, Britain was preoccupied with the Paris Peace Conference, and it devoted little attention to Ireland. It refused to recognise the Volunteers/IRA campaign as a war, describing the combatants as a “murder gang”, claiming that suppression was a matter for the police, not for an army. As increasing numbers of RIC men resigned rather than face attacks and possible

death, they were replaced by former members of the British army — Auxiliaries and Black and Tans. Lack of training and discipline, plus the fact that their attackers were dressed in civilian clothing, prompted a disregard for normal rules of war.

Incidents such as the burning of Balbriggan and Cork city, the callous murder of innocent civilians and raids on houses served to further alienate Irish nationalist opinion. The Dáil had a very sophisticated publicity unit, and stories of British atrocities in Ireland were widely covered in the British and international press — increasing the pressure on Britain to reach a solution to the Irish question.

The 1920 Government of Ireland Act, passed by a parliament that included no sitting Irish nationalist MPs, established two Home Rule parliaments in Ireland — one in Belfast responsible for six counties, and another in Dublin.

The Belfast parliament duly opened in the summer of 1921, but the limited powers offered by Home Rule fell far short of the wishes of Dáil Éireann. However, compromise was inevitable. Dáil Éireann could never have secured a military victory over British forces in Ireland

— especially if Britain had mounted a full military campaign. But it did make the price of a British victory too high.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty signed on December 6, 1921 granted Ireland Dominion status — a status equivalent to Canada.

This was not a Republic: the king — represented by a governor-general — was head of state; elected politicians had to take an oath of allegiance to the crown; and Britain retained three naval bases in Ireland. Northern Ireland remained as a distinct entity, though a boundary commission would be established to review the extent of its territory.

The Treaty split Sinn Féin and the IRA; the divisions were almost entirely because of the oath, and the failure to achieve a Republic, not about Northern Ireland, and the ensuing civil war resulted in 927 deaths and bitter divisions among families and former friends.

Yet Dominion status gave Ireland a seat at the League of Nations; and the possibility to remove all residual constitutional links with Britain, which would not have been possible under Home Rule.

On Easter Monday 1949 — a symbolic date chosen because it was the

“*The 1918 general election, the first time that all adult men and all women over the age of 30 were given a vote, was a landslide for Sinn Féin, which won 73 out of 105 seats*”

anniversary of the 1916 Rising — Ireland became a Republic.

The legacy of 1916 is complex. Ireland can be included among those new nation states that were created in the immediate aftermath of World War I, but it is unique among them — the only one to survive over the past century as an independent democracy.

This democratic legacy reflects the successful transition from the military campaign of Easter 1916 into the Sinn Féin party with its commitment to electoral politics. The strength of Irish electoral politics in 1917 and later owes much to O’Connell, Parnell and the Irish Party.

While the Rising can be seen as a continuation of a tradition that includes 1798, 1848 and the Fenians, it should also be seen as a response to Ulster Unionist paramilitarism and the erosion of normal political negotiation to resolve Irish self-government, plus the impact on Ireland of the Great War. The 1916 Rising did not create partition; that was effectively determined by the summer of 1914.

The complex legacy of 1916 is evident in the continuing debate over its significance — 100 years after it happened.

Professor Mary E Daly is President of the Royal Irish Academy and Emeritus Professor of the UCD School of History





# How Dev escaped execution in 1916

**Ronan Fanning** on the series of lucky breaks that spared the life of future President



**E**AMON DE VALERA'S heroic image as the most senior Irish Volunteer officer to survive 1916 has obscured the reality of his minimal role in planning the Rising. He had reluctantly joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1915, an oath-bound secret society which was the real driving force behind the Rising, only when he realised that some of the subordinates in his battalion who were also in the IRB knew more about what was being planned than he did.

Although he took the IRB's oath, his commitment was conditional: he attended no meetings and did not want to know the names of other members or any of the organisation's other secrets other than those he thought essential for his role as battalion commander.

De Valera was not a signatory of the Easter Proclamation, which he had no part whatsoever in drafting. He saw himself not as a leader but as a follower, as a soldier obedient to the orders of his senior officers.

"He was glad that he [had] no responsibility for deciding anything and that he had simply obeyed orders", De Valera told William O'Brien, the Labour leader, when they were imprisoned together after the Rising.

This political anonymity goes a long way towards explaining why Éamon de Valera escaped execution in 1916. Another reason was that the delivery of Patrick Pearse's surrender order to De Valera at Boland's Mill, on the south-eastern outskirts of the city, was delayed by 24 hours. Two more days elapsed before De Valera and his men, who were then temporarily imprisoned in the RDS grounds in Ballsbridge, were marched across Dublin to join the main body of the prisoners in Richmond Barracks in the west of the city.

The screening and court martial of the leaders of the

## SNAPSHOT

### ÉAMON DE VALERA

**Born:** New York, October 14, 1882

**Educated:** Bruree NS, Charleville CBS, French College (Blackrock), Royal University (UCD)

**Affiliation:** Irish Volunteers

**Career:** Teacher, politician (Taoiseach 1932-48, 1951-54, 1957-59; President 1959-73)

**Died:** Dublin, August 29, 1975

Rising had already begun while De Valera was apart from the main body of prisoners and isolated in Ballsbridge. On his first morning in Richmond Barracks, many prisoners were awoken at 3.45am by the volleys signalling the earliest executions: Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and Thomas Clarke. The shots did not wake De Valera, always a sound sleeper, but he expected to share their fate.

There were four more executions the next day, May 4, including that of Edward Daly whose case resembled De Valera's on two counts: he was not a signatory of the proclamation and he was a commandant of one of the Volunteer battalions in Dublin. But he had the misfortune to have been among the first of those court martialed – on May 2, when De Valera was still in Ballsbridge.



*De Valera was not a signatory to the Easter proclamation, which he had no part whatsoever in drafting. He saw himself not as a leader but as a follower, as a soldier obedient to the orders of his senior officers*

Another execution, of John MacBride, took place on May 5 and a weekend lull followed; De Valera's court martial did not take place until the afternoon of May 8, a day that had begun with another four executions. Between May 2 and 17, convictions were recorded in 149 of the 160 cases of prisoners who were tried by Field General Court Martial; but only 15 of the 90 death sentences passed were carried out.



Before De Valera's court martial, his wife Sinéad had already made representations to the American Consul in Dublin that he was a US citizen and the Consul had written to that effect to the most senior official in Dublin Castle, the Under Secretary, Sir Matthew Nathan. His relations in New York – notably his half-brother, Father Thomas Wainwright, a Redemptorist priest – did likewise.

But, under questioning at his court martial, De Valera made no such representations on his own behalf; he said that he had been born in New York but did not know "whether his father was a Spanish subject or a naturalised American." He also said that "he always regarded himself as an Irishman and not as a British subject."

De Valera was transferred to Kilmainham Gaol – those executed were shot by firing squad in the prison yard – to await the decision of General

Maxwell, Britain's newly appointed general-officer-commanding in Ireland, on the confirmation of his conviction and sentence.

But Herbert Asquith's government were already taking fright at the political repercussions of the executions and on the same day as De Valera's court martial John Redmond warned the House of Commons that such a draconian policy was already alienating many who had no sympathy with the insurrection. John Dillon made an even stronger speech when the Commons debated the Irish crisis on May 11 and when Asquith began a weeklong visit to Ireland next day Maxwell immediately assured him there would be no more executions.

In the meantime, on May 10, an officer had already come to De Valera's cell and read him the verdict of his court-martial: guilty and sentenced to death. But he then read a second document, commuting the





A uniformed Éamon de Valera c 1914 (left) and at a rally in America in 1919 (above). GETTY IMAGES



President Éamon de Valera with his wife Sinéad Ní Flannagain, children and grandchildren (above); with Sinéad at a state function in Dublin in the 1960s (left); and with senior members of Sinn Féin in 1919 (below). IRISH INDEPENDENT



# ‘It’s the women left behind who will suffer most’

The fate of his family troubled the leader ahead of the Rising, writes **Kim Bielenberg**

**H**E was called Edward, and she had been born Jane. They formed a bond that was to endure through revolution, imprisonment, long separation and civil war.

Edward de Valera, who soon became Éamon, met Jane Flanagan at Gaelic League Irish language classes, where she was his teacher. Steeped in the language, she had changed her name to Sinéad Ní Fhlannagáin.

At Christmas in 1908, he sent her a “nice plant”, on which was inscribed ‘O Chára’ (from a friend). Sinéad was not sure who had sent the present, but she suspected it might have been the tall, earnest man with the long nose and spectacles.

Dev did not delay before proposing to her, and according to her account, they hardly knew each other before they were engaged.

In a family memoir, Sinéad observed one of her husband’s character traits: “In small things, Dev is very much given to weighing up things; he sees all the difficulties. On the other hand, when a big matter is at stake, he will go boldly forward.”

The couple married on January 8, 1910, and by the time of the Rising, they already

had four children – Vivion, Máirín, Éamon, and Brian.

De Valera had initially been drawn to the Irish language to further his teaching career, but gradually, he became more immersed in the language movement and nationalist politics, before eventually joining the Irish Volunteers.

His historical reputation is one of an austere, puritanical figure, but his letters to Sinéad early in his marriage were passionate. He quotes erotic Irish poetry about the “perfectly rounded breast”, and writes longingly of “nectar-lipped” and “wild” kisses.

De Valera was already heavily involved in the Volunteers by the summer of 1914 and helped to pick up guns when they were landed in Howth. He travelled around the city on a motorcycle with a side car. The couple lived on Morehampton Terrace, in Donnybrook.

In the run-up to the Rising, he was told he would have to command the area around Beggars’ Bush Barracks to the south of the city. He reconnoitred the area by taking walks through the streets holding the hand of his five-year-old son Vivion.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8 >>>

sentence to penal servitude for life.

In the last analysis, De Valera owed his survival more to luck than to Asquith or America. He was lucky that Boland’s Mill was isolated on the city’s south-eastern periphery. Lucky that he was first imprisoned in Ballsbridge and not with the other leaders. Lucky that he was not transferred to Richmond Barracks for 48 hours and that his trial was delayed until May 8. Lucky that General Maxwell had already been summoned to London on May 5 by a government so alarmed at the impact on Irish public opinion that it urged him to bring the executions to an end.

The last of the executions – of Seán Mac Diarmada and James Connolly, both signatories of the Proclamation, took place on May 12 – Asquith arrived in Dublin later on the same day. Having confirmed Connolly’s fate after a discussion with William Wylie, the prosecuting officer at the trials, Maxwell had asked who was

next. De Valera, Wylie replied, stumbling like so many others over the strange name. “Is he someone important”, asked Maxwell, and Wylie made what Tim Pat Coogan has described as “the immortal reply: ‘No. He is a school-master who was taken at Boland’s Mill’” and so de Valera escaped death.

With the benefit of hindsight and in the light of all De Valera made of the life thus spared, Wylie’s reply may indeed seem immortal; but in the context of the time it reveals a more mundane reality: Éamon de Valera survived in 1916 because he was then unknown.

*This article is an extract, edited by the author, Professor Ronan Fanning, Professor Emeritus of Modern History at UCD, from his biography ‘Eamon de Valera: A Will to Power’ (Faber & Faber, 2015)*





# Family's fate troubled de Valera

>>> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Before the rebellion, the fate of his family weighed heavily on De Valera, who had risen up the ranks of the Volunteers to become a Commandant.

On Easter Saturday, he told a fellow Volunteer Joseph O'Connor: "We'll be all right. It's the women who will suffer. The worst they can do is kill us but the women will have to remain behind to rear the children."

De Valera told his wife little or nothing about the impending Rising, but by Easter weekend she began to suspect that something serious was up.

Sinéad recalled: "On Holy Thursday, 20 April 1916, Dev did not undress that night but lay down with a revolver by his side. On Good Friday, we knelt down in the little kitchen at three o'clock and prayed that we would all be left together."

On Easter Sunday, the eve of the Rising, De Valera came home to say goodbye to his family, aware that it could be a final farewell.

He had taken an insurance policy out on his life and had made his will.

It was only on the following day when Bridget, the maid, returned from town and reported that Volunteers were digging trenches in St Stephen's Green that Sinéad realised what was happening.

Most of Dev's battalion joined him in occupying Boland's Mill, which was not a scene of heavy fighting during Easter Week, but a much smaller group nearby at Mount Street Bridge inflicted heavy casualties on British troops.

His battalion was the last to surrender on Sunday April 30, as the Rising came to an end, and as a Commandant it seemed likely that he would be executed.

The following days were anxious ones for Sinéad as she waited to find out about her husband.

Every morning brought news of more death sentences and executions.

The military raided her home searching for documents, and they were followed by the "G-men" from police special branch; a kindly English neighbour looked after the children as the authorities searched her home from top to bottom.

Sinéad's sister Bee berated the G-men for their poorer manners: "You didn't remove your hat when you came in."

Sinéad was keen to underline to the authorities that Éamon was a US citizen, and went to the American Consulate.

She was greeted warmly by one of the officials: "You are as welcome as the flowers in May."

In these fraught days, the couple's toddler son Éamon dispelled the gloom when he remarked prophetically: "Tá Daidi imithe, ach tiocfaidh sé ar ais arís" (Daddy is gone but he will return).

De Valera was sentenced to death, but this was commuted to penal servitude. Afterwards, Sinéad visited him in Kilmainham Jail with Vivion and Máirín. She recalled: "We were brought in and poor Dev appeared at the grating wearing prison dress... I promised to be a mother and father to the children until his return."

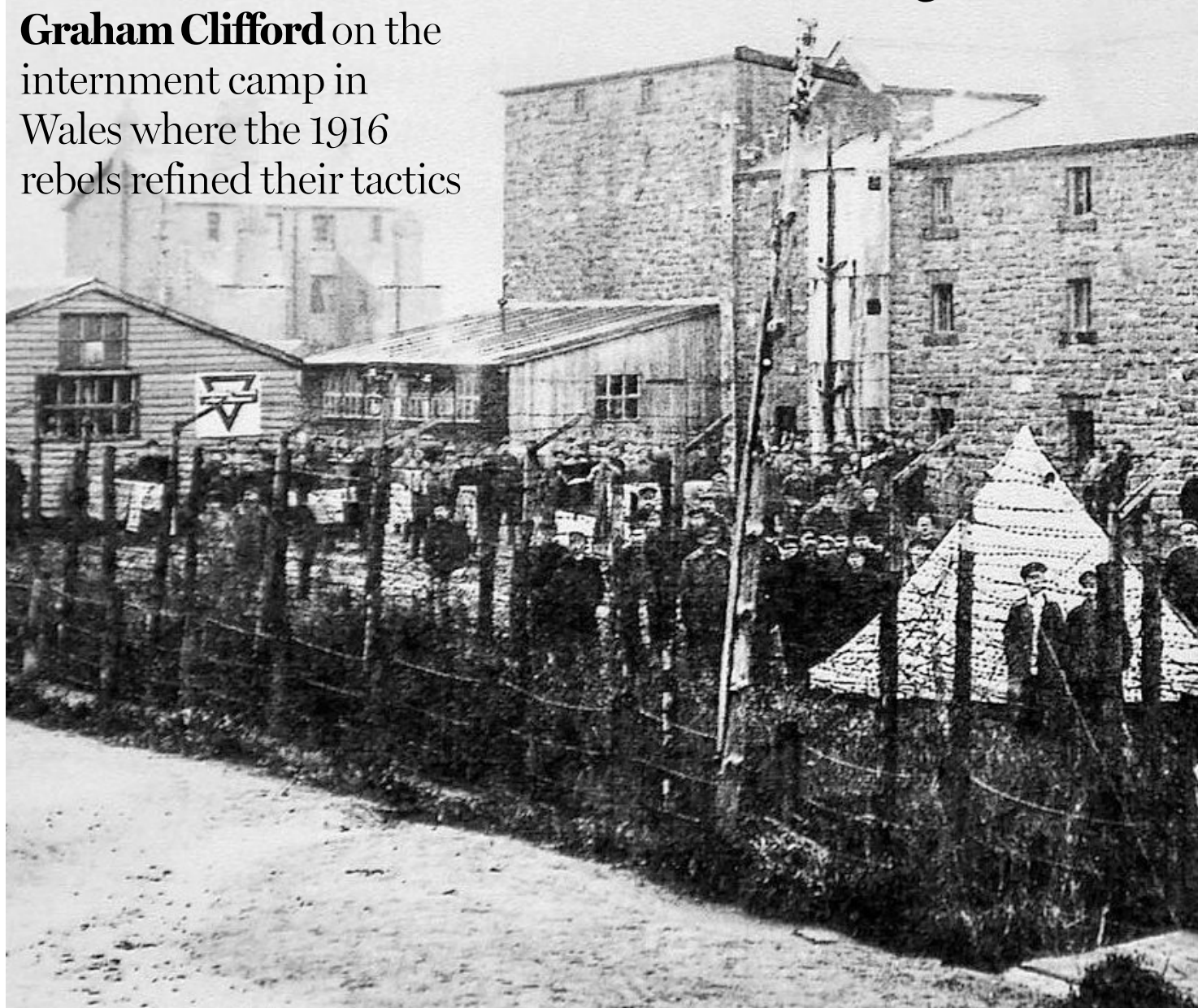
She fulfilled that promise for most of the time during the following decade, as he was frequently in jail, on the run or trying to drum up support for the cause in America.

The couple went on to have three more children and died in the same year, 1975, after his long career in office as Taoiseach and President.

# Frongoch

## The university of

Graham Clifford on the internment camp in Wales where the 1916 rebels refined their tactics



**I**N the weeks and months which followed the Easter Rising, British officials in Ireland scrambled to find a way of quelling Republican support and of showing the world they would not allow insurrection in their nearest colony.

The executions of the leaders of the Rising led to an international outcry, especially from across the Atlantic, and the British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith, desperately requiring American support in the Great War, sought another way.

A Welsh prisoner of war camp in the rural area of Frongoch which housed around 1,000 German internees was all but evacuated (a number of German prisoners in poor health remained behind) to make way for an influx of some 1,800 Irish prisoners.

Those who were involved in the Rising, or who were suspected of supporting or sympathising with the rebels, were rounded up and brought to the damp and cold camps at Frongoch – outside the town of Bala in North Wales. They were held without trial.

Some were transported from English prisons, where they had already spent time for their involvement in the Rising or connection to the Republican cause.

On the site of a former whisky distillery, the Frongoch camp consisted of two main sections. At one end of a large field stood the distillery itself, which was converted into cramped dormitories while a series of long wooden cabins were built at the other end.

Irish internees started to arrive by rail into a specially built station in isolated Frongoch – which still stands to this day. The first group of Irish prisoners reached the camp on June 9, 1916.

Many from the west of Ireland compared the rugged scenery to Connemara on arrival. And though surrounded by open countryside, the camp was almost 20 miles from the nearest large town and so escape was deemed futile.

Amongst those to arrive into the station at Frongoch in the summer of 1916 were high-profile republicans such as William T Cosgrave, Terence MacSwiney, Seán T

O'Kelly, Richard Mulcahy, Gerry Boland and Michael Collins.

Within days of the first Irish men arriving, a committee structure of sorts was arranged with classes in Irish history and language, reading, writing and crafts taking place. The more senior republicans lectured younger volunteers of how and why the struggle to achieve freedom from the crown should continue once they returned to Ireland. In time Frongoch became known as 'Ollscoil na Réabhlóide' or 'The University of Revolution' and many young men who arrived with mild republican views would return home with their political opinions far more entrenched.

Collins, who attempted to learn the Welsh language from a local tradesman, said Frongoch was where the guerilla tactics which would lead to the War of Independence were first discussed and teased out "at English expense".

Republicans from across Ireland, who would otherwise have found it difficult to meet in such great numbers, suddenly had



# revolution



the freedom to discuss and plot together.

Another notable prisoner in Frongoch was Arthur Shields, who would go on to become a popular Hollywood actor starring in films such as 'The Quiet Man'.

The prison guards at Frongoch, soldiers who were deemed too old or infirm to fight on the front during World War I, were helpless to prevent political discussion.

A recreation field which the inmates used was named 'Croke Park' and here Collins, then aged 26, and others would play Gaelic football matches – often a team from the North Camp facing a team from the South Camp. Hurling was banned in the camp, as prison officers feared the men might turn the hurls on them. Wrestling too was popular amongst the prisoners.

But though they did their best to keep fit and stay upbeat, the damp and cramped conditions proved difficult, especially during the winter months of 1916.

The South Camp became rat-infested and some believe the Irish word for rat – 'francach' – may have derived from here.

First-hand accounts and diary entries

by inmates tell how some found breathing difficult while others struggled within the confined living spaces. Collins wrote in a letter home that 30 men had to sleep in each wooden hut.

By the end of 1916 it became clear that the British used the mass exodus of Irish prisoners to Frongoch as nothing more than a PR exercise. As a military ploy, it would dramatically back-fire within just two years.

Indeed, David Lloyd George, having succeeded Asquith as British prime minister, closed the camp just before Christmas 1916, as it had clearly become a source of national embarrassment to the British government.

Today the camp sits idle with the old distillery totally demolished and sheep grazing in the field that separated South Camp from North Camp. The old train platform stands at the rear of a private home out of public view and only a small plaque attached to a rock by the roadside marks the spot of the former camp – the University of Revolution.

## WB Yeats tops readers' poll

READERS of the 1916 Collection have voted WB Yeats' Easter 1916 as their favourite of the ten 'Rising Poems' featured in the magazine series. Conducted in conjunction

with Independent.ie, Yeats' poem claimed more than a quarter of the preferences of almost 1,000 readers who voted.

The voting went as follows:



POEM	POET	%
Easter, 1916	WB Yeats	25.7
The Foggy Dew	Canon Charles O'Neill	17.3
The Mother	Patrick Pearse	13.4
I See His Blood Upon the Rose	Joseph Plunkett	11.3
Connolly	Liam Mac Gabhann	9.4
The Wayfarer	Patrick Pearse	7.8
Imperial Measure	Vona Groarke	5.5
Comrades	Eva Gore-Booth	3.6
Wishes for my Son	Thomas MacDonagh	3.5
Sixteen Dead Men	WB Yeats	2.5

### 'Imperial Measure'

By Vona Groarke

*The kitchens of the Metropole and Imperial hotels yielded up to the Irish Republic  
their armory of fillet, brisket, flank.  
Though destined for more palatable tongues,  
it was pressed to service in an Irish stew  
and served on fine bone china  
with bread that turned to powder  
in their mouths. Brioche, artichokes, tomatoes  
tasted for the first time: staunch and sweet on Monday, but by Thursday,  
they had overstretched to spill their livid plenitude on the fires of Sackville Street.*

*A cow and her two calves were commandeered. One calf was killed,  
its harnessed blood clotting the morning like news that wasn't welcome  
when, eventually, it came. The women managed the blood into black puddings  
washed down with milk from the cow in the yard who smelt smoke on the wind  
and fire on the skin of her calf. Whose fear they took for loss and fretted with her  
until daylight crept between crossfire and the sights of Marrowbone Lane.*

*Brownies, Simnel cake, biscuits slumped under royal icing. Éclairs with their cream  
already turned. Crackers, tonnes of them: the floor of Jacobs' studded with crumbs,  
so every footfall was a recoil from a gunshot across town, and the flakes  
a constant needling in mouths already seared by the one drink – a gross  
or two of cooking chocolate, stewed and taken without sweetener or milk.  
Its skin was riven every time the ladle dipped but, just as quickly, it seized up again.*

*Nellie Gifford magicked oatmeal and a half-crowned loaf to make porridge  
in a grate in the College of Surgeons where drawings of field surgery  
had spilled from Ypres to drench in wounds the whitewashed walls  
of the lecture hall. When the porridge gave out, there was rice:  
a biscuit-tin of it for fourteen men, a ladleful each that scarcely knocked  
the corners off their undiminished appetites; their vast, undaunted thirst.*

*The sacks of flour ballasting the garrison gave up their downy protest under fire.  
It might have been a fall of Easter snow sent to muffle the rifles or to deaden the aim.*

*Every blow was a flurry that thickened the air of Boland's Mill, so breath was ghosted by its own white consequence. The men's clothes were talced with it,  
as though they were newborns, palmed and swathed, their foreheads kissed,  
their grip unclenched, their fists and arms first blessed and, then, made much of.*

*The cellars of the Four Courts were intact at the surrender, but the hock had been agitated, the Reisling set astir. For years, the wines were sullied with a leaden aftertaste, although the champagne had as full a throat as ever, and the spirits kept their heady confidence, for all the stockpiled bottles had chimed with every hit, and the calculating scales above it all had had the measure of nothing, or nothing if not smoke, and then wildfire.*

*\* From Flight (2002) by kind permission of the author and The Gallery Press.*

### AN ASSESSMENT DR LUCY COLLINS

In this poem, published in 2001, Groarke creates a new narrative of the events of 1916 – one in which the domestic background to the Rising becomes its foreground. In this poem of long lines and vivid images, the practical, yet sensory, power of food gives expression to complex social and political interactions.

The title of the poem plays on Ireland's position within the British Empire, indicating the significant, yet unpredictable, consequences of rebellion against this power. Idealism must soon yield to traumatic action, just as the choice cuts of meat and exotic vegetables commandeered at the start of the rebellion turn to waste.

The brutal killing of a calf suggests that the folk representation of Ireland as a cow must now be sacrificed to more practical ends. With the sweetness of daring comes bitterness: luxurious foods

become unpalatable when taken to excess, as the highest aims are compromised by reality.

Contingency also shapes the survival strategies dramatised here: when one opportunity is exhausted, another is tried; yet the hunger that first motivated the rebels cannot be satisfied. Even after the surrender, the full measure of Rising's effects can only be imagined.

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





TERENCE MacSWINEY

# Triumph of blood sacrifice

**Cathal Billings** on how the Cork republican's martyrdom inspired revolutionaries around the world

*"If I die I know the fruit will exceed the cost a thousand fold. The thought of it makes me happy. I thank God for it. Ah, Cathal, the pain of Easter week is properly dead at last."*

**T**ERENCE MacSwiney wrote these words in a letter to Cathal Brughá on September 30, 1920, the 39th day of his hunger strike. The pain he refers to is that caused by his failure to partake in the 1916 Easter Rising. Contradictory orders from Dublin and the failure of the arms ship, the Aud, to land arms in Tralee left the Volunteers in Cork unprepared for insurrection.

Instead, they heeded Eoin MacNeill's countermand and called off Easter manoeuvres. Only later on Easter Monday did MacSwiney learn of the Rising in Dublin and was haunted by guilt, resolving to make his own blood sacrifice for Ireland.

His poem A Prayer, written while in prison in July 1916, reveals this determination:

*Because I have endured the pain  
Of waiting when my comrades die  
Let me be swept in war's red rain  
And friends and foes be justified.*

Terence MacSwiney was born into a staunchly nationalist, Cork Catholic family. His father emigrated to Australia in 1885 leaving behind eight children with their mother. To help support his family, Terence, or Terry, left school at 15 and found employment as an accountancy clerk.

He continued to study in his free time, matriculating in 1899 and gaining a degree in mental and moral sciences from the Royal University, Cork in 1907.

In 1899 he joined the Gaelic League and remained an active supporter of the Irish language throughout his life.

In 1901, he co-founded the Cork Celtic Literary

## SNAPSHOT

TERENCE MacSWINEY

**Born:** Cork, March 28, 1879

**Educated:** North Mon, Royal University (UCC)

**Affiliation:** IRB, Irish Volunteers

**Career:** TD, Lord Mayor

**Died:** Brixton Prison, London, October 25, 1920

Society which adopted a broad nationalist programme. In 1908, with his friend Daniel Corkery, he co-founded the Cork Dramatic Society for which he wrote five plays. They were not written for art's sake but, as Corkery put it, "for the sake of Ireland".

MacSwiney was opposed to Home Rule, describing it as a "half-measure" and instead pursued the republican ideal. He did not join the Irish Republican Brotherhood until just prior to the Rising but wrote a series of articles for *Irish Freedom* between 1911 and 1912. He believed that secret societies such as the IRB were divisive, preferring to keep the fight for independence "straight and consistent".

He explored this theme in his play, *The Revolutionist*, written in 1914 but not produced until after his death; also evident is MacSwiney's fascination with martyrdom, even prior to Easter 1916. Set in a fictional Ireland after the enactment of Home Rule, the protagonist, Hugh O'Neill, is an idealistic separatist who pursues a more radical form of nationalism, stating the need for "soldiers, not conspirators."

“  
MacSwiney's  
determination to  
martyr himself was  
apparent from the  
outset, declaring  
during his hearing:  
“I shall be free,  
alive or dead,  
within the month”

Attempting to unite his revolutionary colleagues, he works himself to death. Hugh's last words are prophetic: "What's the good of being alive if we give in?"

MacSwiney was among the founders of the Cork Brigade of the Volunteers



**Above: the graduation photograph of Terence MacSwiney.**

UCD ARCHIVES

**Inset above: Cathal Billings of UCD.**

**Left: Irish priests outside Brixton Prison during the inquest into Terence MacSwiney's death**

GETTY IMAGES

in late 1913. His own publication *Fianna Fáil*, 'A Journal for Militant Ireland,' was suppressed in December 1914 after only 11 issues due to its extreme republican and anti-British content. Throughout this time he worked tirelessly recruiting and organising Volunteer companies all over the county in preparation for the Rising in which he would take no active part.

He was interned in its aftermath, in May 1916, and would spend the remaining four years of his life in and out of jail. He was imprisoned in Wakefield, moved to Frongoch, known as 'The University of Revolution,' and finally to Reading, remaining there until December 1916.

On his return to Ireland he again became active with the Volunteers and was interned from February to June 1917, during which time he married Muriel Murphy, of the famous Cork brewing family. He was arrested in November 1917 for wearing an IRA uniform in public and

immediately began his first hunger strike. He was released four days later. This action was inspired by Thomas Ashe who became the first republican prisoner to die while on hunger strike that September in Mountjoy, after being forcibly fed by prison officials.

MacSwiney's internment in March 1918 caused him to miss two major life events – the birth of his daughter, Máire, in June, and his election to the first Dáil as TD for Mid Cork, in December. Released in Spring 1919, he took his seat. He served on the Foreign Affairs committee and was active in areas of education, forestry and commerce. He also played a significant role in organising the Dáil loan, a key source of finance for the republican government.

MacSwiney's friend and comrade Tomás Mac Curtain was elected as Lord-Mayor of Cork in January 1920 after Sinn Féin's success in local elections, but three





**LE MARTYR IRLANDAIS**  
M. Terence Mac-Swiney, lord-maire de Cork, accusé d'intelligences avec les Sinn-Feiners, refuse, dans sa prison, toute nourriture, et se laisse mourir de faim pour servir la cause de l'indépendance de l'Irlande

**Above: The front page of French newspaper *Le Petit Journal* from September 1920 showing MacSwiney on hunger strike. Below: MacSwiney's funeral procession through London drew huge crowds. GETTY IMAGES**  
**Right: Typed extracts from *The Principles of Freedom* written by Terence MacSwiney, printed in 1912. UCD ARCHIVES**



months later was murdered by disguised Royal Irish Constabulary men in his home. MacSwiney succeeded him as mayor and also assumed command of the 1st Cork Brigade of the IRA. He was arrested after a meeting in Cork City Hall on August 12 along with 10 others, on charges of sedition and for allegedly possessing an RIC cipher.

MacSwiney immediately began his fateful hunger strike, protesting the authority of the British court in the Republic.

Four days later he was sentenced by court martial to two years in prison. The 1913 Prisoners Act, or 'the Cat-and-Mouse Act', set a precedent for the release of gravely ill prisoners, but the British government was determined to stand their ground with MacSwiney, fearing mutiny in Ireland. This despite requests by King George V for his release.

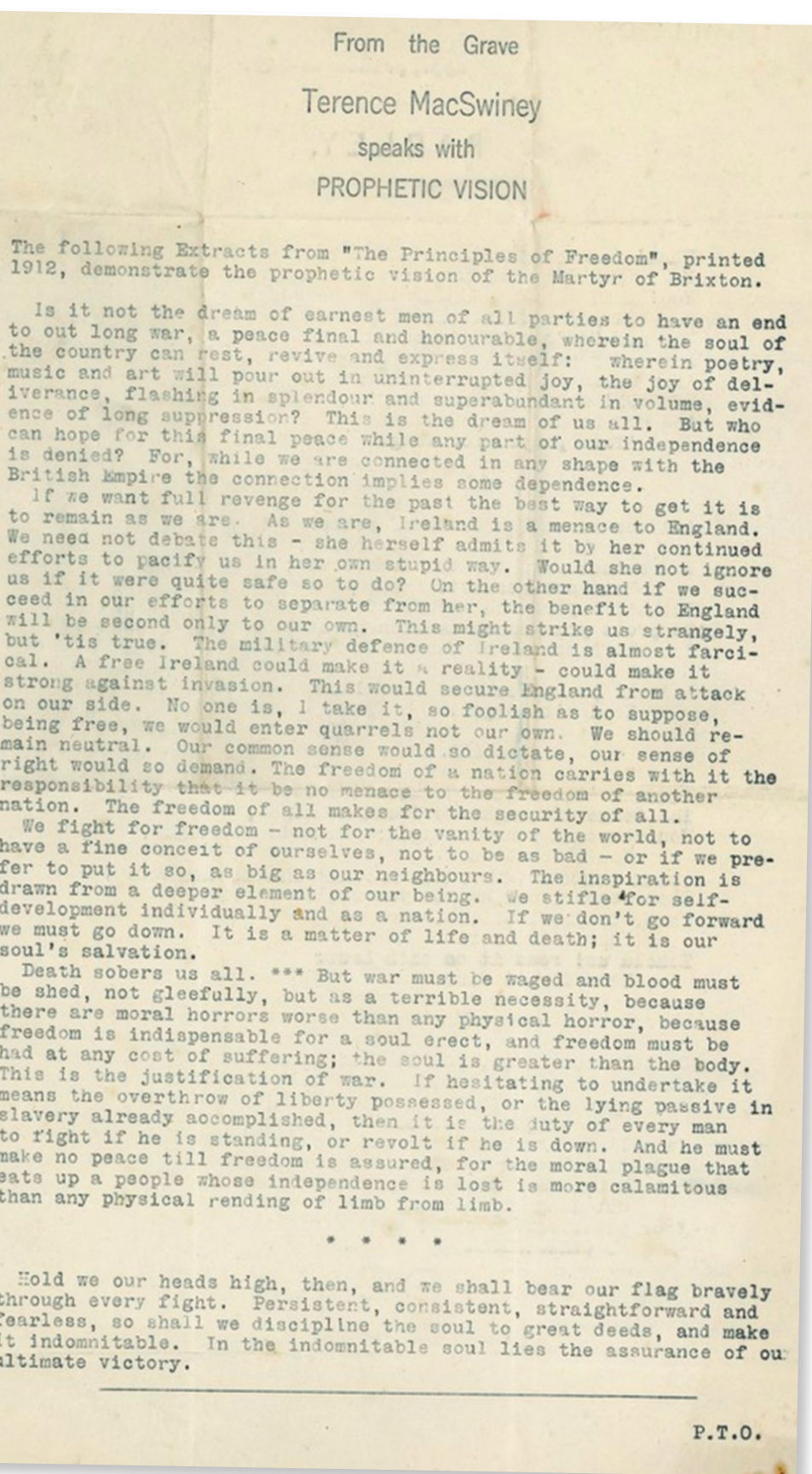
MacSwiney's determination to martyr

himself was apparent from the outset, declaring during his hearing: "I shall be free, alive or dead, within the month." He died 74 days later, on October 25, 1920.

MacSwiney's status as an elected official and as Lord-Mayor ensured his hunger strike reverberated in international press, playing out like a poignant drama; the *New York Times* described it as "a gesture of deep tragedy on a stage where all mankind looks on".

His ordeal fixed international attention on the fight for Irish independence and cast "a stain on the name of England". Demonstrations were held in Boston and Buenos Aires, demanding his release. Longshoremen in New York downed tools. Trade unions and youth groups rioted in Catalonia. British parliament was divided and public opinion quickly turned against their government's Irish policy.

MacSwiney's martyrdom took on religious connotations. Described as



"deeply religious", he received daily communion and a papal blessing before his death; it was even suggested that supernatural forces sustained him through his ordeal when death seemed imminent. Though the nature of his death raised moral issues for the Church, he was granted a full Catholic funeral and burial – his death was not perceived as a suicide, but a tragedy caused by the cruelty of the English oppressor.

As many as 30,000 passed his coffin on October 27 in Southwark before his body was brought home to his native Cork. The hanging of 18-year-old Kevin Barry one week later added fuel to the fire. The period immediately after their deaths saw violence throughout Ireland reach its climax, finally culminating in a truce in July 1921.

When *The Revolutionist* was shown for the first time on stage, at the Abbey in February 1921, it was a smash-hit.

Terence MacSwiney was by no means the only republican hunger striker of his time to die, yet it was his 'triumph' that brought hunger striking to the forefront of public consciousness and proved an exemplar for others.

In 1923, approximately 8,000 anti-treaty prisoners began a hunger strike lasting, in the longest case, more than 40 days, resulting in two deaths. Indian anti-colonialist Bhagat Singh quoted MacSwiney when faced with his own execution in 1931: "I am confident that my death will do more to smash the British Empire than my release."

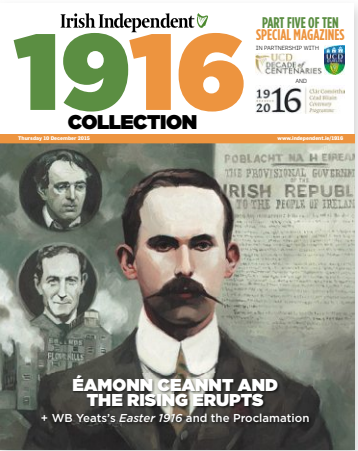
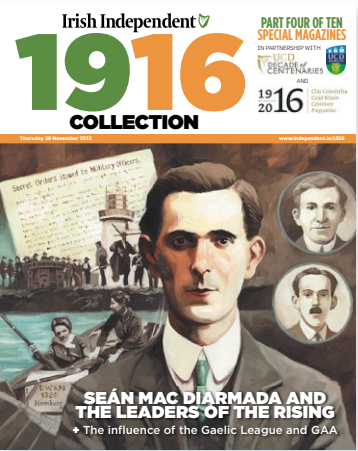
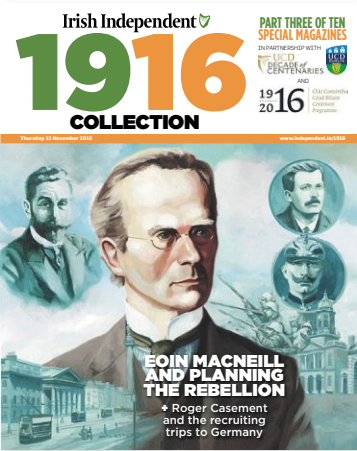
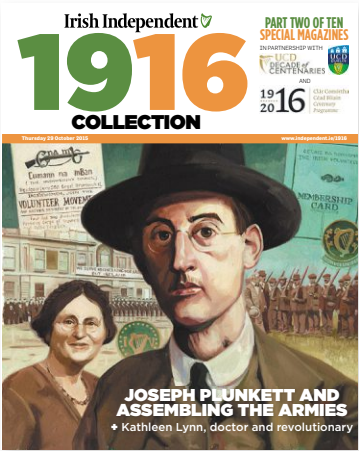
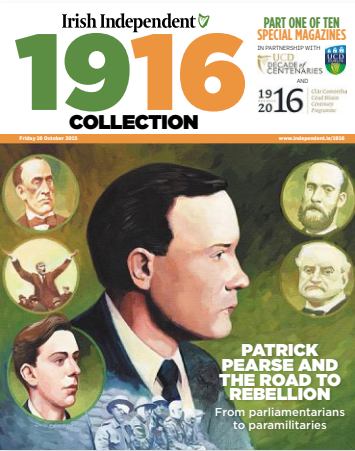
MacSwiney's symbolic personal stand against the empire was also cited as inspirational by Mahatma Gandhi, Ho Chi Minh and Nelson Mandela.

*Dr Cathal Billings is a lecturer in modern Irish in the UCD School of Irish, Celtic and Folklore*





THE 1916 COLLECTION



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BRIDGET ALLEN ● JOSEPH CHRISTOPHER ANDREWS  
JOHN HERBERT ARMSTRONG ● JOHN BALLANTYNE  
ALICE BAMBRICK ● ARTHUR BANKS  
FREDERICK CHARLES BANTING ● GEORGE WILLIAM BARKS  
GEORGE WILLIAM BARNETT ● HAROLD BARRATT  
JOHN BARRATT ● BRIDGET BARRY ● WILLIAM BARTER  
PATRICK BEALIN ● JOHN BEIRNES ● OSCAR BENTLEY  
JAMES BLAYNEY ● JOHN SAMUEL BLISSETT ● JAMES BLUNDELL  
HENRY BOND ● HAROLD BOURNE ● JOHN REGINALD BOWCOTT  
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FRANCIS A BRENNAN ● MALACHY BRENNAN ● JOHN BRENNAN  
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GEORGE BROWN ● MONTAGUE BERNARD BROWNE  
FRANCIS HENRY BROWNING  
JULIA BRUNELL ● MARY BRUNSWICK  
LUCY BUCKLEY ● WILLIAM FRANCIS BURKE  
FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERT BURKE  
RICHARD BUTLER ● LOUIS BYRNE  
JOHN BYRNE ● PATRICK BYRNE  
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ROGER CASEMENT  
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EAMONN CEANNT  
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JAMES JOSEPH COADE ● ARTHUR ELIAS COBBOLD  
CORNELIUS COLBERT ● MARY ANNE COLE  
THOMAS ALBERT COLLINS ● JULIA CONDRON  
JOHN CONNOLLY ● WILLIAM CONNOLLY  
PETER CONNOLLY  
JAMES CONNOLLY  
MARY CONNOLLY ● CHRISTOPHER CONNOR  
JOHN COOKE ● CORBIN ● JAMES CORCORAN  
HERBERT JOHN CORDWELL ● JAMES HAMLET CORNWELL  
MARYANNE CORRIGAN ● EDWARD COSGRAVE  
EDWARD JOSEPH COSTELLO ● JOHN COSTELLO

JOHN COSTELLO  
JANE COSTELLO ● THOMAS COUGHLAN  
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CECIL EUSTACE DOCKERAY  
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THOMAS DONNELLY  
DOMINICK THOMAS DONOHOE  
JOSEPH DONOHOE  
JAMES DOOLEY ● DENIS DORGAN  
MOSES DOYLE ● JOHN DOYLE  
PATRICK DOYLE ● JOHN DOYLE  
JEREMIAH FARRELL ● PATRICK FARRELL ● JOHN FARRELLY ● PAUL FEENEY ● JOHN JOSEPH FENNELL  
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JOHN FLYNN ● MICHAEL FLYNN ● THOMAS FORAN ● JOHN ROBERT FORTH ● JOHN FRANCIS FOSTER  
WILLIAM FOX ● JAMES FOX ● ERNEST FOX ● JAMES FRAZER ● PATRICK FRIEL  
WILLIAM FRITH ● NEVILLE NICHOLAS FRYDAY ● ROBERT GAMBLE  
GEORGE GEORGHEGAN  
PATRICK JOSEPH GERAGHTY  
JOSEPH GERAGHTY  
HENRY HARE  
ABRAHAM HARRIS  
PATRICK HARRIS  
THOMAS HARRISON ● WILLIAM VICTOR HAWKEN ● MORGAN HAYES  
CHARLES HAYTER ● JAMES DAVID ARTHUR HEADLAND ● JOHN HEALY  
JAMES PATRICK HEALY ● WILLIAM HEAVEY ● ROBERT PATRICK HEENEY  
SEAN HEUSTON ● HENRY MEYRICK HEWETT ● JAMES HICKEY ● THOMAS HICKEY  
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JEREMIAH HOGAN ● JAMES HOGAN ● ARTHUR HOLBROOK ● LUKE HOLLAND  
JOSEPH HOSFORD ● JOHN BERNARD HOWARD ● CHARLES HOYLE  
FREDERICK JOHN HUGHES ● MICHAEL HUGHES ● JOHN WILLIAM HUMFREY HUMPHREYS  
WILLIAM HENRY HUMPHRIES ● GODFREY JACKSON HUNTER ● JOHN HURLEY  
SÉAN HURLEY ● CHARLES HACHETTE HYLAND ● PATRICK IVORS  
WILLIAM EDGAR MOY JAMES ● PERCY JEFFS  
JAMES JESSOP ● FRANK JOBBER  
ROBERT JOHNSTON

How we told the story behind the 485 lives lost in 1916 in a simple logo

Joe Coyle

WE have known for some time that the 100th anniversary of the Easter Rising was going to be a seismic occasion, and early last year I began to think about a way of telling the story with a single image.

I trawled archives looking for the photograph that would spark the creative process, but it was when I saw the results of pains-

taking research from the Glasnevin Trust ([www.glasnevintrust.ie](http://www.glasnevintrust.ie)) that I knew what I was going to do.

The research is, essentially, a simple list of names, but I found it so very powerful. It's a list of the men, women and children who were killed during and immediately after Easter 1916, from both sides of the conflict, collated definitively for the very first time. Many of the 485 are buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.

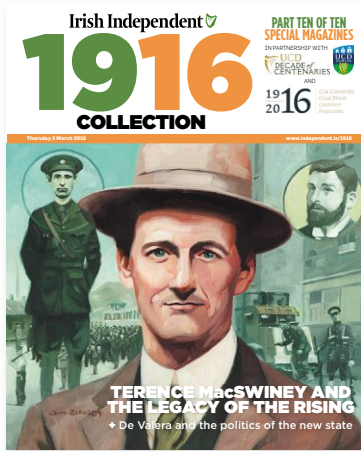
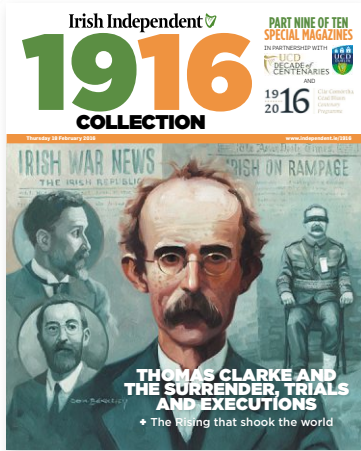
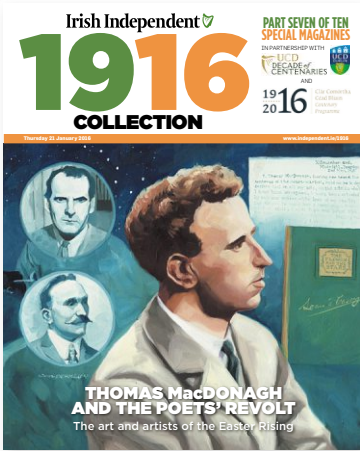
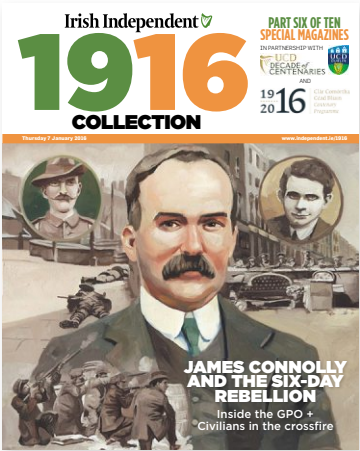
More than half of those killed were civilians, caught in the crossfire. Just under a fifth were under 20 years old. And the thing that got me — the nugget that somehow brought it all home — was the inclusion of the deceased person's middle name, where available. *Joseph Mary Plunkett. Died 4 May, 1916; Affiliation: Irish Volunteers.*

So, armed with this new information, I set out to create something 'big' made up of

small details (the poster for the movie *The Truman Show* is an outstanding example of this kind of design).

When the people at Ireland 2016, the *Irish Independent* and UCD saw the logo you see above, I received three very fast thumbs-up. And since then, it has been my great pleasure to design the pages of the *Irish Independent 1916 Collection* which you now hold in your hands.





CHRISTOPHER JORDAN  
THOMAS MORAN JOZÉ ● JANE KANE  
ERNEST KAVANAGH ● CHARLES KAVANAGH  
MICHAEL KAVANAGH ● ALEXANDER KEANE ● JOHANNA KEARNS  
CORNELIUS KEATING ● FRANCIS KEEGAN ● JOHN KEELY ● ALBERT KEEP  
MARGARET KEHOE ● LAURENCE KELLY ● JAMES KELLY ● DENIS KELLY  
PATRICK KELLY ● MARY KELLY ● MARY KENNY ● RICHARD KENT  
THOMAS KENT ● THOMAS KENYON ● MICHAEL KEOGH ● GERALD KEOGH  
JOHN KIRWAN ● ALBERT JAMES KITCHEN  
HENRY KNOWLES ● FRANCIS WILLIAM WHITE KNOX  
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# As dust settled, whose

Building a nation from the rubble of 1916 was a process replicated on the pathway to freedom in several other countries, writes **Conor Mulvagh**

**T**HE Easter Proclamation was by no means the only vision for an Irish future to have been circulating a century ago. It is interesting to study the history of failed projects.

One such project was that of creating a new Irish identity during the First World War. Championed by Irish party leader John Redmond, the intention was to move beyond the racial and religious constructs of Irish identity which had dominated 19th century thinking. Redmond's wish was that orange and green could come together in the trenches to forge a new civic form of Irish identity.

Like Pearse's vision of a new Ireland, Redmond's relied on blood sacrifice. This should come as no surprise. Australia likewise established a modern identity through the blood sacrifice and mateship with the invention of an idealised Australian masculinity in the 'digger'. This is analogous to the wartime reinvention of the British 'Tommy' and the 'Poilu' in France.

Whereas modern national identities were successfully shaped through British, French, and especially Australian service and sacrifice, in the Irish case, the vision of a non-sectarian new Irish identity failed.

The greatest hope for this new Irishness was encapsulated in the 10th (Irish) Division. Comprised of Catholics and Protestants from all four corners of the island of Ireland, John Redmond hoped that this, the pride of Irish manhood would become the foundation stone of a civic and non-partitioned Home Rule nation.

The 10th served alongside British and ANZAC forces at Gallipoli. Despite the bravery of its soldiers, the division failed to turn the crippling losses

suffered into a triumph of failure. In the words of Bryan Ricco Cooper, sometime Unionist MP for south Dublin and Major of the 10th (Irish) Division, '[Suvla] is a name which has brought sorrow to many homes, and which will be perpetually associated with failure, but there are many glorious memories associated with it.'

Cooper wrote the official history of the 10th (Irish) Division at Gallipoli in 1917. The book in itself was an attempt to salvage the 'glorious memories' of the action there. In a passionate and heartfelt introduction to the book, written on St Patrick's Day 1917, John Redmond struggled to vindicate the sacrifices of his beloved 10th Division.

Redmond's words, along with Cooper's book itself, represent one of the firmest articulations of this project for a new Ireland. Redmond hoped in vain that the carnage of Suvla Bay, rather than the Paschal sacrifice of the rebels, could heal the sectarian divide in Irish society and avert partition. In this regard, Redmond and Pearse shared an improbable ideal.

Redmond's introduction claimed that: 'No Division in any theatre of the War suffered more severely or showed greater self-sacrifices and gallantry. And yet, largely, I fancy, by reason of the

fact that its operations were in a distant theatre, comparatively little has been heard of its achievements.'

Trying to salvage the political project behind the then decimated 10th Division, Redmond continued: 'The men who had differed in religion and politics, and their whole outlook on life, became brothers in the 10th Division. Unionist and Nationalist, Catholic and Protestant, as Major Bryan Cooper says — "lived and fought and died side by side, like brothers." They combined for a common

**“**  
*If this was Redmond's failed project for a united Ireland won in the trenches, what of the simultaneous Ulster unionist project to ensure regional exclusion from any Home Rule settlement through their wartime sacrifices?*  
*Where Redmond failed, Carson succeeded*



purpose: to fight the good fight for liberty and civilisation, and, in a special way, for the future liberty and honour of their own country.'

If this was Redmond's failed project for a united Ireland won in the trenches, what of the simultaneous Ulster unionist project to ensure regional exclusion from any Home Rule settlement through their wartime sacrifices?

Where Redmond failed, Carson succeeded. The 36th (Ulster) Division found its showdown not on the Turkish periphery but at the Somme. Buttressed by the Boyne narrative, the Somme reinforced a powerful Ulster Protestant identity for unionists. The fusion of community ties and imperial loyalty were perfect in articulating Ulster unionist identity when James Craig's Northern Irish cabinet

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# Ireland was it anyway?



**Above: A Royal Irish Fusilier from the 10th Division teases a Turkish sniper from the World War One trenches in 1917.**

**Left: John Redmond in 1910.**  
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**Main: Conor Mulvagh outside the GPO.**  
MARK CONDREN

India was famously partitioned in 1947 and this parallel is easily the closest to the Irish case. Two-state or multi-state solutions form part of the histories of Germany, Korea, Cyprus, Yugoslavia, Nigeria/Biafra, Congo/Katanga, Israel/Palestine, and Czechoslovakia. More recently, new borders saw the birth of new states in East Timor, Kosovo, and South Sudan.

Secession is an unresolved phenomenon across the modern world. Independence movements of all types can be found everywhere from the disputed oblasts of former Soviet republics, to the Balkans, Catalonia, Scotland, and the Kurdish territories.

It seems as if the corollary of increasing supranational integration — through entities such as the European Union, NATO, and the African Union — is that calls for greater regional autonomy have increased rather than subsided.

Returning from the present to the past, what of those different visions of Irishness being articulated a century ago? Is it worth wondering why Redmond's vision for a new Ireland failed whereas the foundation narratives of the GPO and the Somme succeeded in different communities.

However admirable Redmond's vision for a shared history was, it did not receive a mandate. The war service upon which it was based was unpopular even in 1915; by 1918 it had become toxic among Irish nationalists. Equally, despite Redmond's rhetorical appeasement of unionist concerns, elements of the Home Rule movement remained deeply clerical, overtly sectarian, and unsupportive of an industrialised economic model such as existed in the northeast.

History is important but imagination can be even more powerful. The two Irelands created in the 1920s both found their mythologised origin points in 1916, one in the rubble of Dublin and one in the mud of the Somme.

As important as these events were in fact, they became colossal in collective memory. It is not so much a question of whose Ireland, but of which Ireland. Even today, history must compete with rival mythologies.

*Dr Conor Mulvagh is a lecturer in Irish History at the School of History at University College Dublin (UCD) with special responsibility for the Decade of Commemorations*



established the only true 'Home Rule' government ever seen on this island in 1921.

Ireland's transition from empire to independence is one for which broad parallels can be found in other regions of the globe. Two closely aligned processes: self-determination and decolonisation occurred in the 20th century and raise the question — to which of these does Ireland

more closely conform?

If the Wilsonian self-determination was the vision the rebels saw for themselves, the other global parallel was decolonisation. In the way Ireland developed both internally and internationally during the 20th century, it demonstrated many post-colonial traits. The development of its political system, the incrementally achieved sovereignty of the state, and

the contested definition of the national territory were experiences shared by post-1945 'nation-states' such as India, Nigeria, and Tanzania to name but a few.

One aspect of Ireland's independence that is often spoken about, as if it is somehow unique, is partition. However, partition was in fact more the rule than the exception for many countries during the 20th century.

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Countess Markievicz arrives at Liberty Hall in Dublin marking the return of Irish Republican prisoners from England in June 1917. UCD ARCHIVES PETER PAUL GALLIGAN PAPERS

# ‘Carry yourself as soldiers’

‘YOU are soldiers, and bear yourself as such. Hold your heads up and march as smartly as if you were on parade – taking no notice of anyone, and looking neither to right or left’.

These words of advice were offered by Michael Mallin, commandant of the garrison occupying St Stephen’s Green, to the Irish Citizen Army women attached to the garrison, having received the order to surrender. As they left the Royal College of Surgeons, they received “great ovation” from the crowd who had gathered.

Their comrades, members of the Inghinidhe na hÉireann branch of Cumann na mBan stationed at the distillery at Marrowbone Lane with Éamonn Ceannt’s battalion, also marched alongside the Volunteer soldiers. However, the 22 women under their officer in charge, Rose McNamara, chose to surrender alongside the men, the only group of women who did so.

McNamara “presented herself to the British officer in charge, announcing they were part of the garrison and were therefore surrendering with the others”, thus ensuring that they would be arrested. The women were held at Kilmainham Gaol for a week and comprised the majority of the 77 women arrested and detained following the Rising.

Nell Gifford explained the thinking of many of the women who were arrested: “The Republic promised us equality without sex distinction, so we were all adjudged soldiers, women and men, whether we worked as dispatch carriers or Red Cross units”. The women did not view their arrest as shameful. Indeed, the



## Emma Lyons on the fate that met the female rebels after the surrender in 1916

opposite was very much the case. Helena Molony’s friends joked that her relatively brief imprisonment had been “specially hard on her” as she had “looked forward to it all her life”.

Those arrested as a result of their activities in the Rising maintained that they were prisoners of war, not convicts, and therefore not like ordinary criminals. Senia Paseta has argued that the women’s social background may have contributed to, what she has termed, “their sense of their own elevated status”.

One such example was Brigid Lyons, who “refused to share a cell with an ‘undesirable person’ (a prostitute) and was subsequently moved to a room of her own, thus suggesting that the gaolers likewise “endorsed the existence of social segregation within the prison”.

Similarly, Dr Kathleen Lynn maintained that when she and three others were transported to Mountjoy, they were “hailed rather with joy by the wardresses because we were interesting prisoners. We were not like ordinary criminals”.

While the majority of the women were treated well

during their internment, the execution of the leaders of the Rising greatly affected them, as they could hear the shots from their cells. Winifred Carney recalled that early on the morning of May 3 she was: “awakened by the sound of firing and, in the after stillness, a low clear voice gives the order to quick march. They must be below our cell window ... My heart sinks, for I know the first of the executions has begun ... but for many mornings to come we shall awake to that close noise of rifle firing and the crisp voice of the officer in command”.

In an effort to keep up their spirit, the women sang songs, including ‘Die Wacht am Rhein’ and ‘Deutschland über Alles’, and danced Irish dances during exercise in the yard, which was soon banned by the prison authorities.

The majority of the 77 women arrested during the Rising were released within a week; 56 were released on May 8, with a further seven released by May 10. On June 26, five women – Winifred Carney, Brigid Foley, Helena Molony, Ellen O’Ryan and Maria Perolz – were transported to Lewes

Prison in England under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) “on the ground that she is of hostile association and is reasonably suspected of having favoured, promoted or assisted an armed insurrection against his majesty”. Countess Plunkett and Dr Lynn were also deported to England under DORA, and were to reside at specific addresses at Oxford and Bath respectively, to be agreed with authorities.

Following an announcement by the Home Secretary, Herbert Samuel, in which he stated that it was likely that many of those who had taken part in the Rising “were kept in ignorance by their leaders and thought they were being called up for a route march on Easter Monday”, Foley and Perolz, along with 860 men, were released in July 1916. Carney, Molony and O’Ryan were not released, instead being transferred to Aylesbury Prison. Countess Markievicz was subsequently transferred to the same location from Mountjoy on August 7. O’Ryan was released on October 17 and Carney and Molony on December 23, in a general release of female prisoners.

Countess Markievicz was not released at that point due to her life sentence, her death sentence having been commuted on account of her being a woman. The last female prisoner, she was released in June 1917.

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





## IRELAND IN 1916

# Crubeens, tripe and cabbage

Feeding your family in 1916 took hard work and resourcefulness, writes **Fergus Cassidy**

**I**T took hard work and resourcefulness to source the daily sustenance to satisfy hunger and thirst in 1916. Whether it was growing vegetables, raising livestock or working for a wage, most food had to be prepared and cooked. For the majority of people, boiling, frying and baking were the main methods of cooking and all required fire. A large gable hearth, using self-cut turf, allowed a number of pots to be hung over the heat, while a small open fireplace, using coal in urban areas, limited the size of the cooking vessel. In wealthier homes, cooking took place in the basement staffed by domestic servants.

As a predominantly agricultural country, meat formed an important part of the diet. With no refrigeration, it was essential to cook meat as soon as possible. There was little waste and the whole animal was consumed 'nose to tail'. Drisheen, for example, was a blood (or black) pudding, and a crubeen the boiled foot of a pig. Kidneys, liver and tripe (the stomach lining of a cow or pig) were popular, along with brawn (jellied meat) and hazlett (a meatloaf). Mutton was tougher than lamb, but it was cheaper. In dwellings with a single fireplace, one-pot cooking led to the inventiveness of coddle (boiled rashers, onions and potatoes), and various kinds of stews and broths.

Oatmeal, buttermilk and potatoes were a constant in rural areas and versatility was applied to baking. The ingredients could be mixed with flour to make farls, boxty (thin pancake) and fadge (a type of bread). Oatcakes were produced by mixing hot water and salt and cooked over the fire.

The main meal times were breakfast, dinner — eaten in the middle of the day — and tea. The morning meal included porridge, tea and bread, buttered for those who could afford it.

The staple breakfast for the well-off was bacon and eggs, or boiled eggs and toast. In 1913, however, the medical journal 'The Lancet', suggested that a bacon and eggs breakfast was "bad and quite unnecessary" because it "slowed down thought processes". It suggested adopting a continental breakfast of coffee and a roll. 'The Irish Times' disagreed, proposing it would "leave workers hungry by mid-morning, and that the result would be Dublin restaurants full at 11am with businessmen indulging in four-course meals."

Dinner was made up of, in varying forms, boiled meat, potatoes and vegetables, which were mainly carrots, turnips, peas and cabbage. An Irish doctor asserted at the time that the poor "have nothing except cabbage and Swedish turnips, and they hardly ever use peas or beans or celery, or any of those things. It is always cabbage. In fact, for the Sunday dinner, very often, the meal consists of bacon and cabbage. I do not know any country in the world where so much bacon and cabbage is eaten".

For Catholics, meat was not allowed to be eaten on Fridays and was substituted by herring or mackerel. Burdock's fish and chip shop opened in 1911 near Christchurch in Dublin and business was brisk on Fridays. An evening meal consisted of bread, maybe with jam, or fried in dripping (animal fat) for taste. Processed white bread was cheaper than



British troops searching a bread van for arms in 1916. IRISH INDEPENDENT/NPA

home made, but less nutritious. Drinking tea made with leaves became popular from the turn of the century (see panel).

Getting water for cooking and drinking could mean a short walk. A well or spring might be close to a dwelling, but it needed to be found and excavated in the first place.

Some towns had communal hand pumps

and in the cities one pump might service many buildings. Rain water was harvested and used for washing and cleaning. In the well-off parts of Dublin, water was available on tap, piped from a reservoir in Roundwood, Co Wicklow.

Piped water coming in meant that waste water could be flushed into the sewerage system. Others used dry closets, a small,

covered outhouse containing a wooden plank with a hole, and emptied into what was called an ash pit.

For an alternative, the writer Maura Lavery wrote about a visiting relative who asked for the toilet in a Kildare farmhouse in 1915: "M'Cabe took him to the back door... 'There you are now a mhic. The whole Bog of Allen is wide open to you!'"

## TEA WRECKS?

A headline in 'The New York Times' in May 1910 declared: 'Tea is Ireland's Evil — Ranks before Alcohol as an Enemy of Public Health'. The paper reported that the "teapot stewing on the hearth all day long is literally on tap; the members of the family, young as well as old, resorting to it at discretion."

This was an example of fears about the effects of tea which had been brewing for the previous 30 years. It was estimated in 1904 that tea consumption in rural Ireland averaged 9oz per person, and 12oz in urban areas. Moral panic over tea included the dangers of excitability, overstimulation of body and mind, that it



A family settles down for a festive tea at the turn of the century.

GETTY IMAGES

was being drunk for "sensory stimulation", and that it was addictive, leading to physical cravings. "Tea drunkards" was one of the terms used to warn of the threat, with consequences which included headache, insomnia,

mental confusion, hallucinations and morbid depression of spirits.

The 1901 census records a patient in the Ennis Public Asylum who was there because of "excessive tea drinking". An article

by the superintendent of Enniscorthy District Asylum in the medical journal 'The Lancet' warned that "... we see its [tea] effects in the number of pale-faced children, who are brought up on it instead of the old time-honoured,

but now nearly abandoned, porridge and milk".

In 1883 'The Irish Times' reported that "tea was an unsuitable principal food for adults and was harming the physical well-being of young children forced to subsist upon nothing else, as was suspected to be too often the case among Ireland's lower classes. Tea-making to excess among this class is a form of laziness which produces — there can be no doubt about it — mischievous results...".

The paper went on to predict "little less than our general physical and moral decadence as a people and nation if we persevere in our addiction to the pleasures of the teapot".





Left: Thomas Murray  
CAROLINE QUINN

Right: the Irish delegation, including Éamon de Valera and Sinn Féin founder Arthur Griffith, in London for the Treaty negotiations in 1921. Far right: Darrell Figgis, who helped frame the 1922 Free State Constitution.  
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# Igniting fire in minds of Irish men and women

Thomas Murray explores how revolutionary ideals were watered down in the 1922 Constitution

**W**HAT ideas inspired the men and women who rose up in 1916? How did those ideas fare in the Irish Free State founded in 1922?

In his book, *Fire in the Minds of Men*, the historian James Billington traces an almost invisible thread of incendiary ideas that inspired faith in revolutionary social transformation across Europe from the 1700s to the early 1900s. All had a common genesis in the motto of the French Revolution, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'.

In Ireland, too, the 1916 rebels shared common ideological roots in the Enlightenment-era republicanism of the United Irishmen, and the romantic nationalism of Young Ireland. In particular, the alliance of nationalists and socialists, notably Patrick Pearse and James Connolly, found common ground in the writings of the mid-19th century agrarian agitator, James Fintan Lalor.

At the height of the Great Famine in Ireland and the 1848 Revolutions in Europe, Lalor advanced a dangerous idea: the principle "that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland; that they, and none but they, are the landowners and lawmakers of this island".

Of course, the men and women of 1916 had different understandings of who exactly should own Ireland in the event of their success. In a curious inversion of the European Enlightenment tradition, Irish republicanism in the early 1900s

accentuated the role of Catholicism in defining 'the people'.

Mother Church's self-appointed role as mediator between peasant and landlord, nation and empire, had all but ensured this anomaly. Republicanism thus involved the spiritual work of undoing Holy Ireland's confiscation and anglicisation by a materialist superpower. Conversely, the Irish Citizen Army, admittedly a much smaller grouping in the GPO, drew inspiration from the recent upsurge in labour movements internationally.

Advocating syndicalism (or 'Larkin-ism' in a Dublin accent), the ICA claimed that the fields and factories belonged to those who worked them, a right that could be realised through forming one big union and mounting a general strike of all workers. Naturally, the owners of those fields and factories, the Catholic hierarchy and Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin party were staunchly opposed to socialist ideas of redistribution as 'godless', 'alien', and even 'anti-national'.

Remarkably, for a brief period after the Rising, ordinary men and women made the principle of the popular ownership a living reality. A mass boycott campaign broke the threat of conscription in 1918. Organised labour was notably resurgent thereafter. Between 1918 and 1923, five general strikes and 18 local strikes



occurred. Irish workers refused to handle weapons for the British military, a factor crucial to the IRA's success. Workers also took over the running of more than 80 workplaces and established soviets at the Cleaves factory in Limerick, at the foundry in Drogheda, Co Louth and in the coal mines of Castlecomer, Co Kilkenny.

The West was particularly awake. Farmers and labourers revived midnight campaigns of intimidation to expropriate and redistribute land. A network of popularly elected, local arbitration courts sprung up, sometimes to decide the terms of land redistribution. For the first time in Ireland, landlords were forcibly ousted from their homes. In these circumstances, the country's wealthier land owners eventually turned from Westminster to the Sinn Féin party to put an end to 'agrarian Bolshevism' and restore law and order.

The making of the 1922 Irish Free State Constitution shows how nationalist leaders were already retreating from dangerous ideas of popular ownership. As the Anglo-Irish Treaty split the anti-

colonial movement, Hugh Kennedy, the Provisional Government's senior law officer, argued that popular disorder would have to be overcome by 'utterly ruthless action' such as that used by the Reichswehr-Freikorps in crushing the recent Spartacist uprising in Weimar Germany.

Unsurprisingly, the

1922 Constitution was a conservative instrument. It established a Westminster-style parliamentary system of government under a type of constitutional monarchy. Although it contained guarantees of civil and political rights, substantive judicial review would remain inoperative for a generation.

There were some changes. Provisions for direct democracy notably facilitated a citizen's initiative process to amend the constitution and to draft legislation. Interestingly, Kennedy believed such provisions would have a 'chilling' effect on revolutionary movements. Subsequent governments, however, amended the Constitution to stop these provisions coming into effect. This ultimately conservative Constitution belies the radical proposals advanced during its drafting.

In fact, ideas of popular ownership featured prominently during the early drafting stage at the Shelbourne Hotel and later Constituent Assembly debates at Dáil Éireann. In the spring of 1922, drafters such as James Douglas and Darrell Figgis initially included what they called "the Pearse statement" in the opening articles, explicitly providing for "the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour".

Clement France, a visiting US lawyer, similarly claimed that the private control of natural resources and public utilities "would be subversive of the welfare of the general public". He explained: "The persons who control and own the great



*The country's wealthier landowners turned from Westminster to the Sinn Féin party to put an end to 'agrarian Bolshevism' and restore law and order*





Natural Resources of the Country also control the freedom and wellbeing of the people...The result has been in America that notwithstanding a Republican and Democratic Government, an economic autocracy has developed which controls the Government of the Country and the personal liberties of the people almost as effectively as was ever done by an absolute monarchy".

Later that autumn, Labour party TDs such as TJ O'Connell proposed provisions such as children's rights and welfare supports for citizens.

Proposals associating the popular ownership of Ireland with wealth redistribution soon suffered ignominious erasure. Laissez-faire economist and government adviser, George O'Brien rejected claims that citizens should receive "an adequate share" of the nation's wealth, claiming "I do not know what the last sentence of the present article means".

At Westminster, British Law Officers disliked the "Soviet character" of the opening articles and claimed they were "of communistic tendency". Hugh Kennedy, negotiating on behalf of the Provisional Government, agreed that it was "an unnecessary declaration" and acquiesced in the offending provision's removal.

During the Constituent Assembly debates that autumn, WT Cosgrave claimed the principle of economic sovereignty was unnecessary window-dressing. Echoing the British Law Officers, Kevin O'Higgins similarly declared it would be unwise "to embody in the constitution what certainly looks very

much like a Communistic doctrine".

Buoyed by its recent electoral victory, the Provisional Government only secured its capacity to enforce these decisions in late 1922. Having effectively ended the civil war as a military contest, it thereafter quashed or conciliated residual outbreaks of agrarian or labour militancy.

Today, recent experiences of "democratic deficits" and popularly unaccountable market forces prompt us to return to the question posed by the 1916 rebels: who owns Ireland? Recent anti-austerity protests renew long-standing claims for rights to "an adequate share" of the nation's wealth. Similarly, as evidenced by recent water charges demonstrations, the private control of natural resources and public utilities is not infrequently perceived to be "subversive of the welfare of the general public".

Perhaps the idea of the popular ownership of society remains a dangerous one for the powerful and wealthy. In such circumstances, whether celebrated or commemorated, the 1916 Rising is likely to be remembered so long as men and women believe that Ireland and its future belong to them.

*Dr Thomas Murray is Lecturer in Equality Studies at UCD School of Social Policy, Social Work and Social Justice. His book, 'Contesting Economic and Social Rights in Ireland: Constitution, State and Society: 1848-2016' is in press with Cambridge University Press*



# Political heirs to the rebellion

While many veterans achieved high office, the descendants of the 1916 leaders were less fortunate, writes **Gerard Siggins**

**O**NCE the fighting was done, many participants in the Rising and the subsequent conflicts played important roles in Irish politics. For decades, to have been "out" in 1916 almost seemed a pre-requisite for high office. Presidents Seán T O'Kelly (GPO) and Éamon de Valera (Boland's Mill) saw action, as did taoisigh WT Cosgrave (South Dublin Union), de Valera and Seán Lemass (GPO).

Several of the 16 executed men left behind wives, children and siblings who entered politics after the formation of the Dáil and independence, but surprisingly few were successful.

The son of Major John MacBride and Maud Gonne was the most notable. Seán MacBride had been chief of staff of the IRA for a few months in 1936, but later set up the republican socialist party Clann na Poblachta. He was elected to the Dáil in the Dublin County by-election in 1947 and in three subsequent general elections in Dublin South West. His party won 10 seats in 1948 and joined the Inter-Party Government with MacBride as Minister for External Affairs. In this portfolio he played important roles in the implementation of the European Convention on Human Rights and the declaration of the Irish Republic in 1949.

He lost his seat in 1957 and tried three more times but was never elected again and returned to practise as a barrister. He was awarded the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes in the 1970s.

Patrick Pearse's mother, Margaret Pearse, was elected unopposed to the 2nd Dáil in 1921 but was unseated on the final count the following year when she stood in Dublin County as an anti-treaty Sinn Féin candidate. In 1933, her daughter Margaret Mary Pearse ran for Fianna Fáil and was the last of eight TDs elected in Dublin County. She failed to be returned in 1937 but was elected to the Seanad where she remained until her death in 1968. She still holds the record for the longest unbroken service in the upper house.

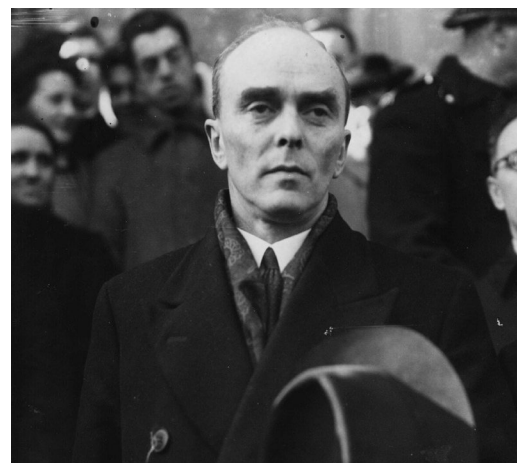
Kathleen Clarke was the widow of Tom Clarke and was a vocal member of the 1st and 2nd Dála where she opposed the Treaty. She failed to win her seat in Dublin Mid County in the 1922 election as an anti-Treaty Sinn Féiner, but was re-elected for Fianna Fáil in Dublin North in June 1927. That Dáil lasted just a few weeks and she lost her seat in November and failed at a by-election in 1928. She served in the Free State Seanad until it was abolished in 1936.

She was also the first female Lord Mayor of Dublin (1939-41) and at the age of 70 contested the 1948 general election for Clann na Poblachta but didn't come close to capturing a seat.

Two of James Connolly's children served in the Oireachtas. Roddy Connolly ran for Labour in five general elections and a by-election in Louth from 1943-54, winning twice. He later ran unsuccessfully in Dublin South Central. Nora Connolly O'Brien had been a founding member of the Young Republicans, the female wing of Na Fianna, and was 23 when her father was shot. She was involved with several far-left groupings and corresponded with Leon Trotsky, but from 1957 to 1969, she served three Seanad terms as a nominee of the Taoiseach.

Michael O'Hanrahan's brother Henry O'Hanrahan was also given a death sentence for his role in the Rising at the Jacob's factory, but it was commuted to life imprisonment. He ran for the Dáil in 1924 but failed to be elected on the Republican ticket in Dublin North when his better-known running-mates Seán T O'Kelly and Ernie O'Malley were returned.

Tom Kent's brother David Kent was a member of the first Dáil and re-elected in 1921 and 1922 as an anti-treaty Sinn Féin candidate. He was elected again as a Republican for Cork East in 1923 and for Sinn Féin in June 1927, which was his last time to stand. His brother, William Kent, was elected for Fianna Fáil in September 1927, and the National Centre Party in 1933 but did not contest in 1937.



**Seán MacBride, former Chief of Staff of the IRA and founder of Clann na Poblachta (above) and Patrick Pearse's mother, Margaret (right).**

GETTY, IRISH INDEPENDENT





THOMAS KENT

# Agrarian agitator to forgotten volunteer

Grassroots protests over land reform ended in bloody siege at Kent family farm, writes **Richard McElligott**

**T**HOMAS KENT was the fourth son born to Mary Kent at Bawnrard House, Castlelyons, near Fermoy, Co Cork. The Kent family were substantial farmers and

Thomas was raised as an Irish speaker who developed a deep affection for Irish music, dance, poetry and drama.

At the age of 19, he emigrated to Boston where he became active in several Irish-American cultural organisations. He returned home in 1889 at a time of significant land agitation. Frustrated by the British government's lack of progress on Irish land reform, several high-profile members of Charles Stewart Parnell's Irish Parliamentary Party launched the Plan of Campaign – where Irish tenant farmers on landlord estates were encouraged to negotiate as a body to secure rent reductions. In 1890, Thomas was arrested and sentenced to two months' hard labour for conspiring to encourage evasion of rent. Local support for Kent's activities was manifest in the huge crowds that assembled in Fermoy to welcome him on his release.

With the political fall of Parnell and the bitter split in the Irish Party that followed, Kent became increasingly disillusioned with the in-fighting which characterised mainstream Irish nationalist politics. He instead began to devote his energies to the Irish cultural nationalist movement, joining the Castlelyons branch of the Gaelic League. He also became an avid supporter of Arthur Griffith's emerging Sinn Féin party. Various studies on the Rising have shown how exposure to cultural nationalism was a

## SNAPSHOT

### THOMAS KENT

**Born:** Castlelyons, Co Cork; August 29, 1865

**Educated:** Castlelyons NS

**Affiliation:** Irish Volunteers

**Career:** Publishing, church furnishing, farmer

**Died:** Cork Barracks, May 9, 1916

radicalising force, with many of the 1916 generation experiencing a sort of natural graduation from cultural nationalism to political violence.

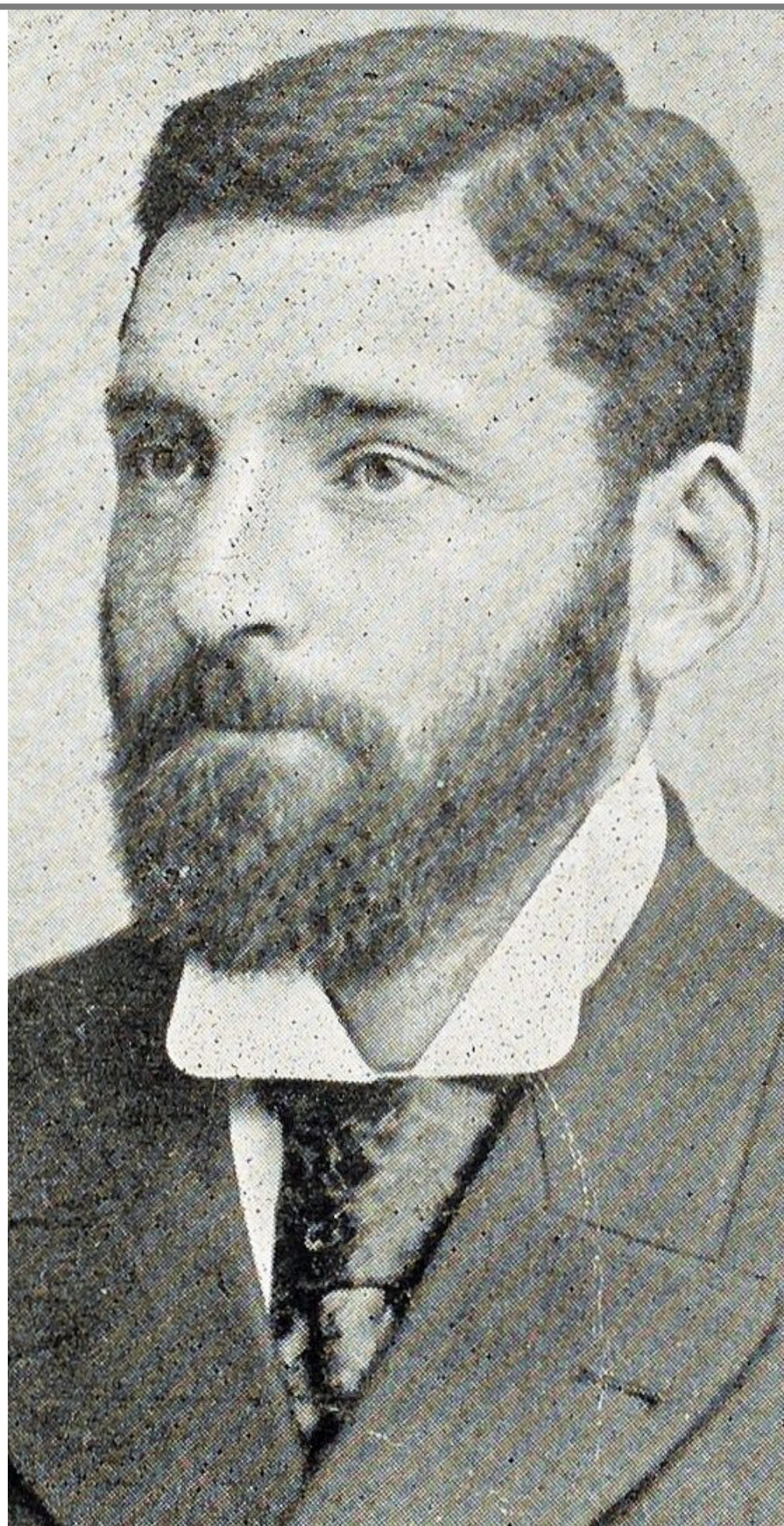
Additionally, evidence suggests that there was a strong link between family traditions of land agitation and subsequent revolutionary activity. Agrarian unrest both reflected and created a tradition of resistance to authority in much of rural Ireland which manifested itself again in enlistment in the Irish Volunteers from 1913 onwards.

Little wonder that Thomas, though now in his late forties, experienced a renewal of the radicalism of his youth. In January

1914, Thomas and his brothers enlisted in the Cork Brigade of Volunteers commanded by Tomás Mac Curtain. The Kent family then helped organise a local Volunteer company in Castlelyons that trained on their farm. It was purported to be the first teetotal unit of the force in Ireland. When the Irish Volunteers split, Thomas, with the aid of Terence MacSwiney, began to reorganise local companies of the Irish Volunteers in Cork who remained loyal



*Various studies on the Rising have shown how exposure to cultural nationalism was a radicalising force, with many of the 1916 generation experiencing a sort of natural graduation from cultural nationalism to political violence*



to Eoin MacNeill. In January 1916, the Royal Irish Constabulary staged a raid on Kent's family home and Thomas was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for the illegal possession of arms found there.

Aware of the Military Council's plans for rebellion, Kent and his brothers spent Easter Sunday in Cork city awaiting orders from Pearse to mobilise. Once news of MacNeill's countermanding order reached Cork, they went into hiding still hoping that MacSwiney would order the Cork Volunteers into action locally in the days

ahead. Once the rebellion in Dublin was defeated, the British authorities ordered the detention of all well-known local sympathisers. On the night of May 1, the Kent brothers returned to their family home but were observed by the RIC who encircled the house in the early morning with orders to arrest the entire family.

The Kent brothers refused to be taken and as the police laid siege they began a firefight which lasted several hours with their 85-year-old mother helping to reload their guns. In the melee, Head Constable





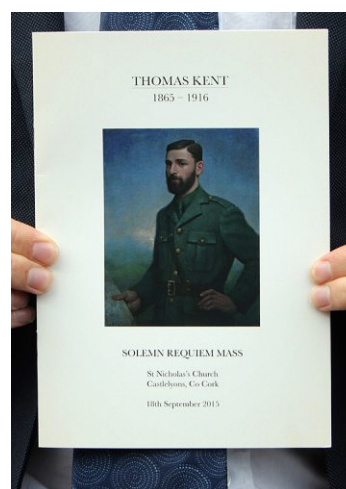
The state funeral of Thomas Kent in Castlelyons, Co Cork, in September 2015. Below: soldiers fire a volley of shots at the funeral. GETTY IMAGES



Thomas Kent, main picture, and above on the left, with William Kent, being marched across the bridge in Fermoy, Co Cork, after their capture in May 1916.

Right: an Order of Service from Thomas Kent's 2015 funeral. GETTY IMAGES

Below: UCD's Richard McElligott.



## Nieces' DNA solves mystery of prison grave

**T**HOMAS Kent was executed on May 9, 1916, and his body placed in an unmarked grave, filled with quicklime, in the grounds of Cork Prison in Victoria Barracks. Almost 99 years later, the remains of a body were exhumed and so began a scientific investigation to ensure that they were indeed the remains of Thomas Kent.

Head of the Garda Forensic Co-ordination Office, John Byrne, approached genetics expert, Dr Jens Carlsson from the University College Dublin School of Biology and Environmental Science, to see if a Mitochondrial DNA test could be used. However, as such a test requires maternal relatedness, and Thomas Kent had no living relatives on the maternal side, this technique would not bear results.

Instead, Dr Carlsson chose another method, a micro-satellite technique, recommended by archaeologists who attempt to retrieve DNA from bones going back thousands of years. The analysis of the bone samples involved the State Pathologist's Office, the National Forensic Co-ordination Office at the Garda Technical Bureau, Forensic Science Ireland and Dr Jens Carlsson's team working in the Pinhasi ERC Ancient DNA Laboratory at UCD.

DNA from blood samples of two of Thomas Kent's nieces were sent to Carlsson to test against the bone samples from the remains. Because of the novelty of this case, the team ran statistical simulations to verify their results – and the conclusion was overwhelming – these were indeed the remains of Thomas Kent.

It is expected that this extraordinary scientific case will help discover the true identities of victims of war crimes abandoned in mass graves.

To hear the full story of how Thomas Kent was identified, go to: <http://bit.ly/1QDh6kt>

WC Rowe had his head blown off while Thomas's brother David was seriously injured. With their ammunition running out and military reinforcements now on the scene, the Kents finally agreed to surrender. Thomas's brother Richard then tried to make a run for the nearby woods but was shot down and fatally wounded. He died the next day.

There were reports that the RIC, enraged over the death of Rowe, wanted to execute Thomas and his brother William on the spot, but they were spared by the intervention of a British army officer.

Thomas and William were marched into Fermoy while a horse and cart carried the wounded David and Richard. On May 4, Thomas and William were tried by court martial. William was acquitted but Thomas was convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. David was later handed the same sentence but it was commuted to five years' imprisonment. Both William and David would later be elected as TDs for Cork.

On May 9, Thomas, clutching a pair of rosary beads, was executed by firing squad in Cork barracks. His body was

placed in an unmarked grave within the grounds. A century-long campaign to identify his remains and repatriate them to the family plot in Castlelyons culminated in Kent's state funeral on September 18, 2015.

*Dr Richard McElligott lectures in Modern Irish History in UCD. He teaches the Uncovering 1916 and the Irish War of Independence courses which are currently being hosted by the National Library of Ireland*





# A day for us all to *make a proclamation*

A new generation is voicing its hopes and values for the next 100 years, writes **Katherine Donnelly**

**W**HEN Patrick Pearse stood outside the GPO shortly after noon on Easter

Monday 1916, a lone voice setting out a vision for a Republic, he probably couldn't be heard on the far side of O'Connell Street (Sackville Street back then).

Almost 100 years on, on March 15, his words will ring through every parish in the country, when the 1916 Proclamation is read out in 4,000 primary and post-primary schools as well as preschools and further and higher education colleges.

Far from the uncertainty, division and impending violence that marked that moment on April 24, 1916, and the weeks and years that followed it, Proclamation Day 2016 will be a celebration of its powerful legacy.

More than that, the day will be an opportunity to encapsulate the values and hopes of the nation for the next 100 years, in the Proclamation for a New Generation that all schools have been invited to draw up as part of the 1916 commemorations.

Proclamation Day is one of the highlights of the Ireland 2016 programme, when schools will showcase not only their Proclamation for a New Generation but the various other projects relating to 1916 that they have worked on in recent months.

Alongside the Proclamation for a New Generation, students have been enthusiastically involved in a variety of activities to mark the centenary, including the 1916 Ancestry Project and drama, film, music and art initiatives. Another is the Schools' Collection 2016, a partnership between the Department of Education and Skills' PDST Technology in Education service, the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, the *Irish Independent* and UCD Decade of Centenaries, where schools were invited to collect family or community history and record it digitally.

There is feverish activity and excitement in schools as they prepare for March 15, when student displays and

performances will be shared and enjoyed not only by pupils and staff but with families and the local community to whom many schools are opening their doors.

Preparations for Proclamation Day in the education sector kicked off last September when members of the Defence Forces, started travelling around the country presenting a national flag to every school, building on the work of the Thomas F Meagher Foundation. It was Thomas Francis Meagher, an Irish patriot, who flew the first Irish Tricolour on March 7, 1848, in Waterford city.

The day will start in schools with the raising of the Tricolour, as it was over the GPO on Easter Monday 1916, followed by a reading of the 1916 Proclamation and then the unveiling of the school's own contributions to the commemorations, including the Proclamation for a New Generation.

The Proclamation project grabbed the imagination of pupils all around the country who have made tremendous efforts to articulate the legacy that they want to create for present and future generations.

In drafting a new Proclamation, schools were asked to reflect the values and hopes of the 2016 generation, starting with an analysis of the ideals, principles and aspirations of the 1916 Proclamation.

A century on, the sentiments expressed in the 1916 Proclamation still resonate, promising, as it did, a Republic that "guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all of its parts, cherishing all of the children of the nation equally".

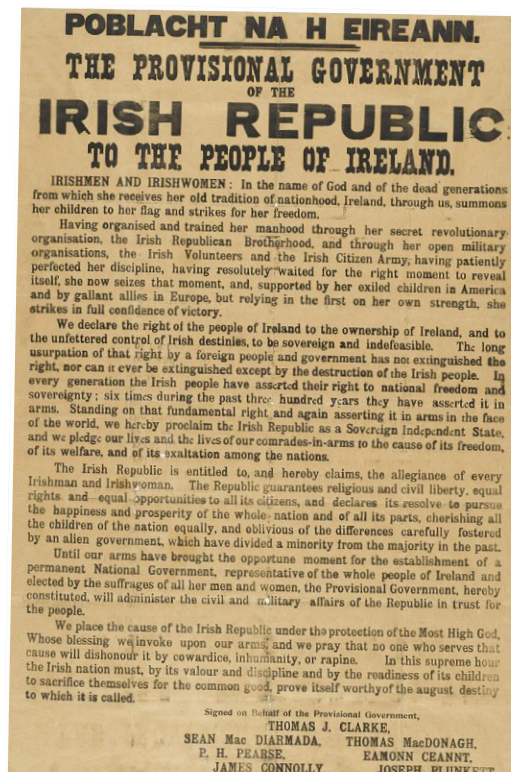
Children and

teenagers in modern Ireland have delivered a ringing endorsement of all of those ideals, but the school proclamations also take account of new challenges and put it up to policy makers and the population to meet those.

In recent weeks, teachers have started uploading their Proclamations on to the Scoilnet.ie website for all to see. Scoilnet is a Department of Education and Skills online resource for schools, with content tailored specifically to the Irish curriculum.

In addition, as part of the Ireland 2016 programme, young people have been invited to record a video of their Proclamation and to showcase it on the Ireland 2016 YouTube channel.

Scoilnet.ie will also be a digital repository for other 1916-related initiatives, including the ancestry project and the Schools' Collection, providing an invaluable record of the work done in schools to commemorate events of 100 years ago.



Left: A copy of the original Proclamation of the Irish Republic.

Above: the Irish flag flies over Government Buildings.

## Pupils focus on theme in GPO

**W**HEN first year pupils at Hartstown Community School started to analyse the 1916 Proclamation, the first three words stopped them in their tracks: "IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN".

According to history teacher Siobhán Daly, with families from 30 or more countries represented among the 1,100 pupils in the west Dublin school, it prompted a debate and begged the question: "Are we all Irish?" with responses such as: "I am from Ukraine", "I am from The Philippines".

So began the thoughtful and detailed process of writing a Proclamation for a New Generation, on behalf of the school, with the class broken into groups and given the task of rewriting a different





Pupils at St Paul's, Portlaoise, read their new Proclamation  
JAMES FLYNN/APX

## We will stand up to bullies, students vow

**T**HE dangers of social media is a strong theme in the Proclamation for a new Generation written by the boys of St Paul's Primary School, Portlaoise.

They devote one of the seven paragraphs to it and, while recognising its value when used responsibly, they come down hard on those who resort to cyberbullying, something they want stamped out. And they make a vow: "We pledge to be strong enough to say 'enough is enough' to bullies and to treat each other with kindness".

It was the 14-pupil student council, drawn from 5th and 6th class at the 420-pupil school, who were given the job of writing the Proclamation for a New Generation.

Teachers Christine Redmond and Bríd Delaney had a few meetings with the council to explain the project. The pupils came up with key topics they wanted to cover such as acceptance, global warming and crime and then broke up into seven groups, to work on the detail of the different paragraphs.

Like so many other Irish schools, its population is drawn from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and the opening line of the Proclamation extends a welcome to "all that have chosen Ireland as their new home".

It also speaks of their hopes for continuing peace in Ireland and the protection of the environment, through recycling, less use of imported fossil fuels and more sustainable agriculture.

On March 15, members of the council will read both the 1916 Proclamation and their own Proclamation for a New Generation. The day's events at the school will also include older pupils talking to younger classes about 1916 and the Tricolour.

## THE IRELAND WE WANT TO LIVE IN

HOMELESSNESS, the Irish diaspora, refugees, global warming, and animal rights are some of the issues uppermost in the minds of the nation's school-goers who sat down to consider priorities for Ireland as it looks to its future.

Among the first of schools' Proclamation for a New Generation posted on the Scoilnet.ie website, the three Es of equality, education and environment, along with homelessness, received the most mentions.

The new takes on a vision for the country reflect Ireland's journey of the past 100 years, moving beyond the 1916 imperative for independence to its place now in a globalised world and its responsibilities for international issues, including climate change.

While marking Ireland's progress over the century, the proclamations display a strong sense of the work that still needs to be done if the ideals espoused in 1916 are to be realised.

"It is incredible that in this modern era where opulence is rampant among some, simultaneously poverty, homelessness and insecurity proliferate" wrote the pupils of St Theresa's NS, Cashel, Co Galway.

There is much gratitude expressed to the men and women of 1916 and proud boasts about the Irish culture and heritage but also a recognition of the richness that immigrants and multiculturalism bring to Ireland and inclusivity is a recurring theme.

The girls of St Brigid's Convent, Glasnevin, Dublin, "welcome with open arms our friends from other countries, especially refugees who have had to leave their own countries in search of a better life, just as we Irish people were welcomed by other countries when fleeing our homeland during the Famine".

At Scoil Mhuire, Leixlip, Co Kildare, pupils "extend a welcome to those who hope to make a new home in Ireland, who may be fleeing their homeland in search of a better life. We are aware that these individuals will contribute to Irish society with their education, skills and unique culture."

The Irish who have emigrated are also held close to the heart, with a number of proclamations expressing the desire that they should have the option of returning home to a job, while the pupils of Gaelscoil Shliabh Rua, Stepaside, Co Dublin, want the diaspora to have a vote.

Safety, security and peace crop up frequently, not least the need to cherish older people, as expressed by pupils at Lisnafunchin NS, Co Kilkenny: "We think that we must do more to look after our elderly. We want them to be happy and feel safe, valued and loved in our communities. We must make sure that they never feel lonely or alone."

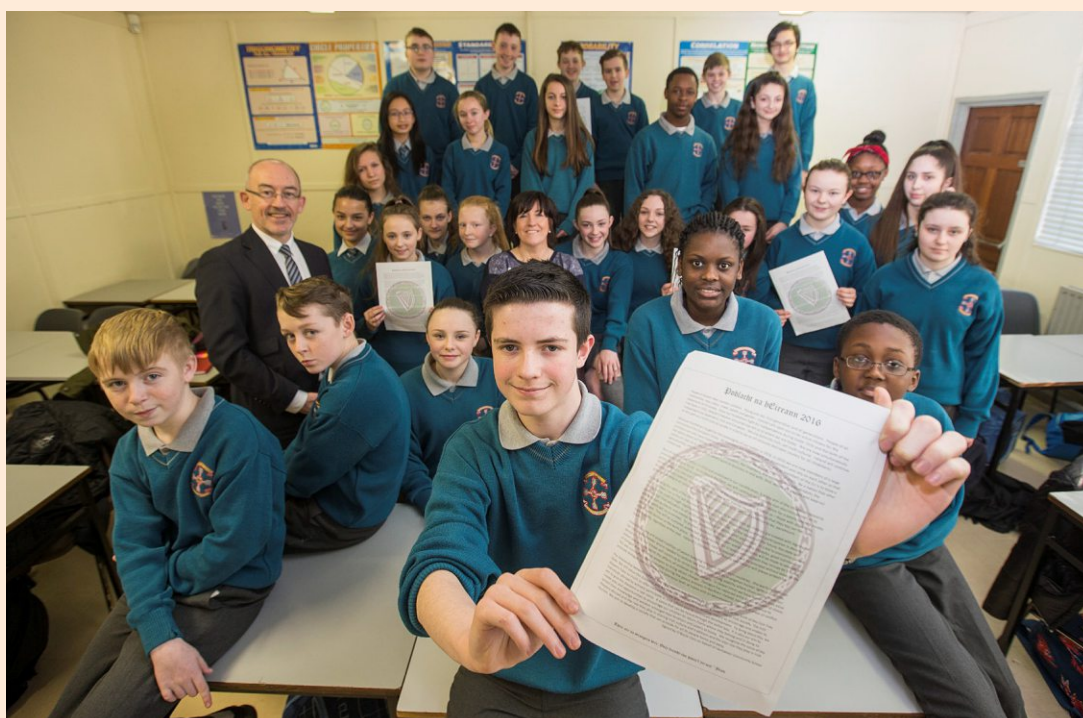
## multicultural speech rewrite

paragraph of the original document.

The opening line led to discussion about multiculturalism, tolerance and acceptance, and then subtle changes in wording for their own document to such as "People of Ireland" and "We are distinctly Irish, yet multicultural".

According to Ms Daly, they "worked really hard on it and only came to me to ask would I help with 'flowery' language".

Other classes pursued different 1916-related projects, all of which will be showcased on Proclamation Day. One teacher has enlisted the help of a professional actress for a re-enactment of material found in documents in the Military Archives relating to the local area.



First-year pupils with their proclamation at Hartstown Community School, Dublin 15. MARK CONDREN





# NINE LIVES

Grainne Coyne on the writers, sportsmen and radicals of the era

**1 Louis Bookman** played on the Ireland team that won the British Championship for the first time in 1914. Born Louis Buchalter in Lithuania, his family moved to Ireland to escape anti-semitism. He came to prominence with the Dublin Jewish club Adelaide, before moving to Belfast Celtic and on to Bradford City, the first of his four English clubs. Bookman won four caps either side of the First World War, and finished his career with Shelbourne. He then concentrated on cricket: first capped in 1920, he played on the team that beat the West Indies in 1928 and won seven caps in all. He died in 1943, aged 52.

**2 Tommy Smyth** was born in 1884 and is best remembered as the first Irish rugby player to captain the British and Irish Lions. A prop, he played with Malone in Belfast, and turned out for Newport when his medical career took him to Wales. He first played for Ireland in 1908, playing 14 games in all. Smyth was selected as captain of the Lions that toured South Africa in 1910, and played in two tests. His finest hour came in 1911 when he was the only scorer in a 3-0 win over England at Lansdowne Road. He died, aged 43, in 1928.

**3 Born in 1883 in Prague, Franz Kafka** went on to study law at the University of Prague and later worked in insurance. His best-selling short story *The Metamorphosis* was published in 1915, and he was forced to leave his job in 1917 after contracting a bout of tuberculosis. He retired five years later. He moved to Berlin in 1923 to focus on his writing, and died in 1924. Despite being asking to destroy any unpublished manuscripts, his literary executor, Max Brod, went on to publish most of his work posthumously. His celebrity as a writer only came after his death with his most famous works including *The Trial* (1925), *The Castle* (1926) and *Amerika* (1927).

**4 Born in 1897 in Kansas, Amelia Earhart** first encountered aviation tending to wounded returning First World War pilots. Her desire to fly was spurred by a plane ride at a 1920 airshow. She took flying lessons and in 1921 purchased 'The Canary'. She set the world altitude record for female pilots, 14,000 feet, the following year and by 1923 was fondly known as 'Lady Lindy'. In 1932, she set off to become the first woman to fly across the Atlantic but was forced to land in



Co Derry instead of Paris due to mechanical difficulties. In 1937, Earhart mysteriously disappeared over the Pacific Ocean during an attempt to circumnavigate the globe.

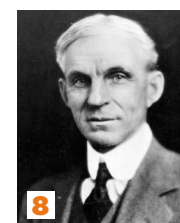
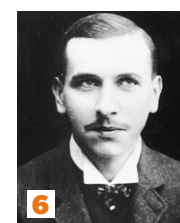
**5 Kaiser Wilhelm II** served as emperor of Germany from 1888 until the end of the First World War. Born Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert near Berlin in 1859, his grandfather, Wilhelm I, died in 1888, and his father Frederick III later that same year, propelling Wilhelm II to the throne aged 29. He planned to turn Germany into a major power and forced the resignation of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1890 so he could take charge of domestic and foreign policy himself. However a series of inept political moves led to strained relations with Britain, France and Russia and eventually war. He abdicated in 1918 and later fled to Holland, where he died in 1941.

**6 Alfred Wegener**, born in 1880 in Berlin, studied physical and Earth sciences at university, but it wasn't until 1910 that he made his most famous discovery. He noticed that the eastern coast of South America and north western coast of Africa looked

like they were once connected. He uncovered documents which showed identical fossils of plants and animals found on each continent, backing his claim that at one time the continents were all connected. Wegener presented his idea of continental drift in 1912. Most of the scientific community ignored his ideas at the time and he died in 1930 on an expedition to Greenland.

**7 Mary Harris Jones** was believed to be born in 1837 in Cork to Helen Cotter and Richard Harris. Victims of the Famine, they moved to America. She lost all her possessions in the great Chicago fire of 1871 and became radicalised as a dressmaker in the struggle for humane wages and working conditions. She became known as Mother Jones and from the 1870s to the 1920s participated in hundreds of strikes across the US supporting workers in the railroad, steel, copper, brewing, textile, and mining industries. Her dynamic speaking skills and radical organising methods helped mobilise thousands of labourers. She died in 1930.

**8 Creator of the Ford Model T car in 1908, Henry Ford** went on to develop the assembly line



mode of production, which revolutionised the industry. As a result, Ford sold millions of cars and became a world-famous industrialist. By 1918 half of all cars in America were Model Ts and Ford became renowned for his mass production methods and keeping workers loyal with high wages. He died of a cerebral haemorrhage in 1947, at the age of 83. Ford's father originally came from Cork and had emigrated to America during the Famine. Subsequently the car-maker opened a factory in Cork in 1917, but it closed in 1984.

**9 Katharine Tynan** was a nationalist writer who was involved in the Irish Literary Revival and a member of the Ladies Land League. Born in Clondalkin, Dublin in 1861 she was educated at the Dominican Convent. She went on to marry a Protestant barrister Henry Albert Hinkson and lived with him in England before moving to Mayo. She became involved with the Literary Revival and wrote a personal account of Easter Week. Through her work she highlighted feminist causes, the poor and the effects of war. She wrote more than 100 novels, 12 collections of short stories, plays and poetry, including *Flower of Youth: Poems in Wartime* (1915). She died in 1931.

## LEARN MORE

### READ...

- \* *De Valera: A Will to Power*, by Ronan Fanning (Faber & Faber, 2015)
- \* *Thomas Kent*, by Meda Ryan (O'Brien Press 16 Lives, 2016)
- \* *A Nation and not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913-23*, by Diarmaid Ferriter (Profile Books, 2015)
- \* *Women of the Irish Revolution* by Liz Gillis (Mercier Press, 2014)
- \* *Easter Widows* by Sinéad

McCoole (Doubleday Ireland, 2014)

- \* *With the Irish in Frongoch* by WJ Brennan-Whitmore (The Talbot Press, 1917; reprinted by Mercier Press 2013)

### CHECK OUT...

- \* If any of your relatives were "out" in 1916 with Lorcan Collins' exhaustive new book *1916: The Easter Rising Handbook* which lists all the facts about the Rising you might wish to know, including names of all the participants, those jailed,

killed, and given medals. (O'Brien Press, 2016)

### LISTEN TO...

- \* *Death of a Lord Mayor*, 1960 RTÉ radio documentary on Terence MacSwiney's the execution, <http://bit.ly/1KqOKsl>
- \* *The 1916 Room*, RTÉ round-table from 2009 on the 1966 anniversary; participants include former Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald (*inset*), whose father was in the GPO, <http://bit.ly/1VnuVKn>



- \* *Reluctant Surrender*, In a 1972 RTÉ documentary, Donncha Ó Dúlaing explores events at Boland's Mill, where the rebels were led by Eamon de Valera. <http://www.rte.ie/radio1/docoone/2011/0712/646775-radio-documentary-reluctant-surrender/>
- \* *The Age of de Valera*. Recorded at the Merriman Summer school in 1973, this is a documentary discussion on

Éamon de Valera the politician, <http://www.rte.ie/radio1/docoone/2011/0714/646794-radio-documentary-eamon-de-valera/>

### VISIT...

- \* Dublin city centre on March 28, when there will be dozens of events including talks, walking tours, street art, dance, theatre and music to celebrate the centenary. Make sure to spend some time in the newly renovated GPO which reopens to the public on March 25.