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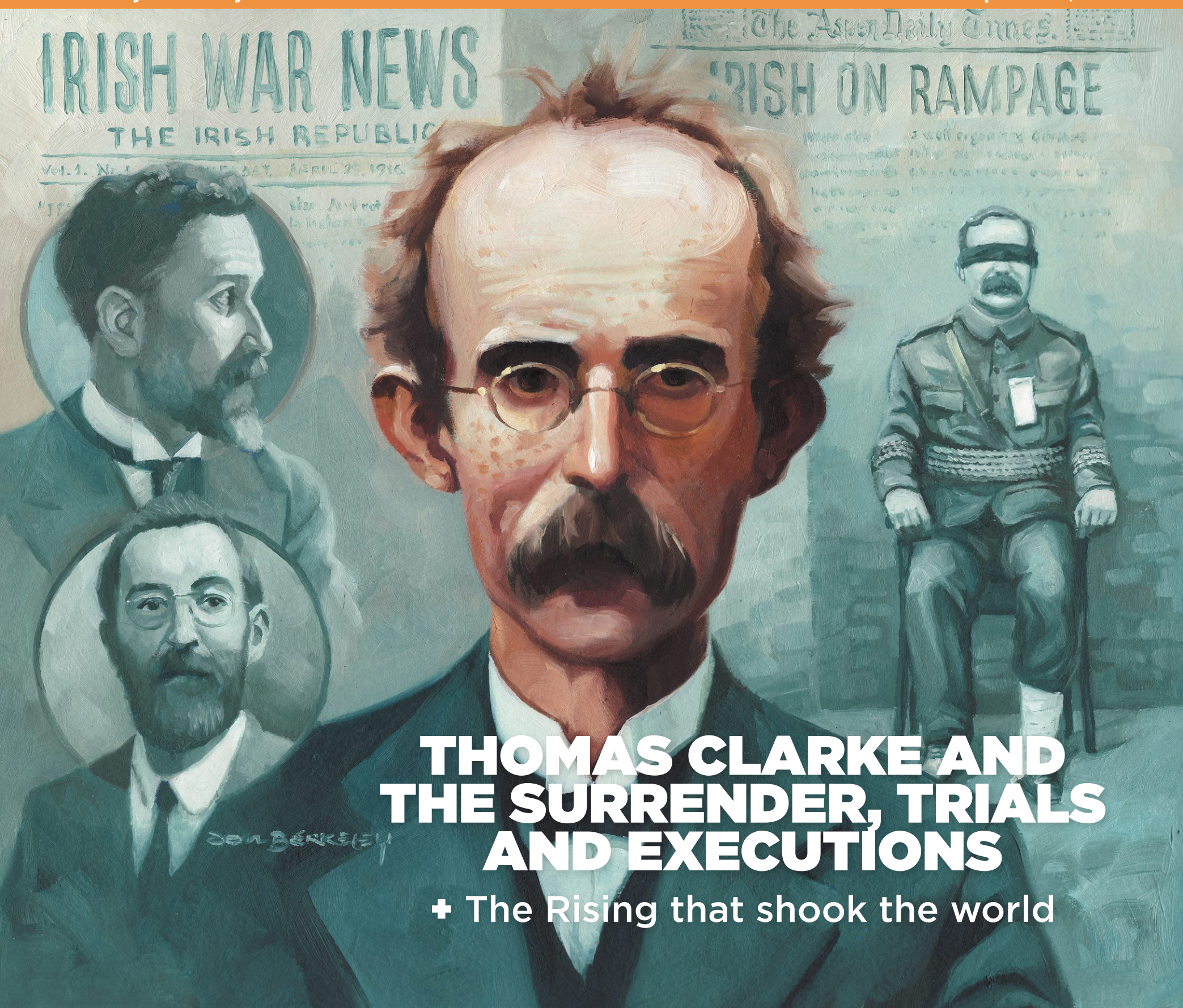
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Clár Comórtha
Céad Bliain
Centenary
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THOMAS CLARKE AND THE SURRENDER, TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS

✦ The Rising that shook the world

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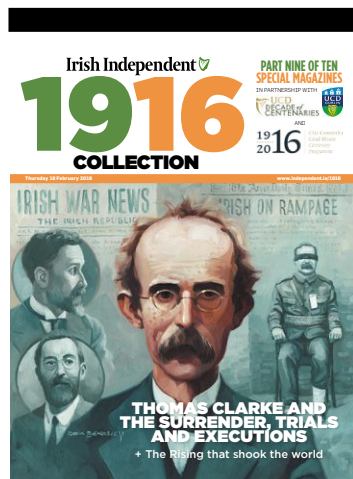
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Cover, by Jon Berkeley, shows Thomas Clarke, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, Roger Casement and James Connolly

An INM Publication



Richmond Barracks finally recognised

IT is rightly referred to as the "lost chapter" in the 1916 story.

Many people may not know of its existence, but in the narrative of the dramatic events of the Easter Rising in Dublin, Richmond Barracks, Inchicore played a significant role.

Now, a century on, it is getting ready to take its place as one of the State's seven "permanent reminders" of 1916, alongside the likes of its near neighbour, Kilmainham Gaol, the GPO, and Patrick Pearse's cottage in Rosmuc, Co Galway.

Richmond Barracks is where more than 3,000 suspected rebels, including Rising leaders and 77 women, were imprisoned before they were sent for execution or to prison camps in England and Wales.

The Richmond gymnasium was where Rising leaders were singled out and where the court martials were held before they were brought down the road to Kilmainham to be shot.

British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith visited Richmond Barracks in the middle of May 1916, following which there were no further executions.

The gymnasium is one of three barracks' buildings that remain and it and a former recreation room standing alongside it are



Restoration work underway at Richmond Barracks gymnasium. GERRY MOONEY

being restored as part of the State's 1916 legacy project, in a partnership that also involves Dublin City Council and the local community.

The third surviving building, also a former recreation room, standing on the other side of the gymnasium, is in use by the HSE.

Richmond Barracks is about more than 1916. Built in early to the mid-1800s, soldiers departed from here for conflicts including the Crimean War, the Boer War and First World War.

One of its regiments was the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, a well-known member of which was the poet Francis Ledwidge, whose work includes Lament for Thomas McDonagh, in honour

of his friend who was one of the executed 1916 leaders.

Ledwidge's friend, mentor and fellow Meath man, Lord Dunsany was a captain in the Royal Inniskilling and it was to him that the poet gave the manuscript of Lament for Thomas McDonagh.

The barracks was converted to housing in the 1920s and renamed Keogh Square, which declined into a slum and was demolished in the 1960s to make way for St Michael's Estate, an equally notorious flats complex which was razed in recent years as part of a regeneration project, now boosted by the restoration of historic buildings.

Éadaoin Ní Chléirigh, one of the tireless campaigners for its preservation, is now executive chair of the Richmond Barracks project.

When the restored buildings open on May 2, the gymnasium will be home to an immersive audio-visual experience evoking the atmosphere in this space following the Rising and stories of some of those involved

Surrounded by gardens, the restored buildings will also house a tea room and archives, and classrooms from the 1929 school building will become a venue for community, educational and artistic purposes. **KD**

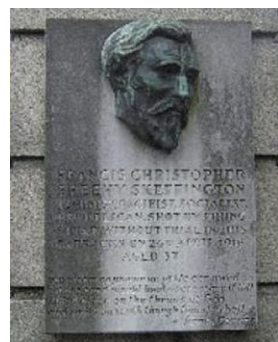
NATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES



SOUTH DUBLIN LIBRARIES LOCAL STUDIES



IN MEMORIAM



Francis Sheehy-Skeffington with his wife Hannah (above) and the plaque in Cathal Brugha Barracks (left).

Sheehy-Skeffington killing was an act of insanity

TUCKED away in Cathal Brugha Barracks in Portobello is a fine memorial to a victim of 1916. Described on the plaque as 'feminist, pacifist, socialist, republican', Francis Sheehy-Skeffington was shot there on the Wednesday of Easter week.

A friend of James Joyce at UCD, Skeffington was involved with the Irish Citizen Army but left because it conflicted with his pacifist beliefs. He married the celebrated feminist Hanna Sheehy in 1912 and they both took each other's name.

Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested without charge, and held with two other journalists, Patrick McIntyre and Thomas Dickson in Portobello. The commanding officer, Major

Bowen-Colthurst, had them shot. The officer was later charged with murder and court-martialed. He pleaded insanity and was sent to hospital but by 1921 he was found to be cured and released on an army pension.

Seán O'Casey wrote, "In Sheehy-Skeffington, and not in Connolly, fell the first martyr to Irish Socialism, for he linked Ireland not only with the little nations struggling for self-expression, but with the world's Humanity struggling for a higher life."

The plaque was unveiled in 1970 by Nora Connolly O'Brien, daughter of James Connolly. Also present was the Sheehy-Skeffingtons' son Owen, a long-serving Trinity senator. **LS**

PUBLIC EVENTS

UCD conference explores the language and culture

TORTHAÍ na Réabhlóide 1913-1923 / The Revolutionary Period 1913-1923: Results and Reappraisal is an international, bilingual conference and exhibition at UCD this weekend.

Its focus will be a reappraisal of language and cultural revival, while at the same time assessing the impact of the Revolutionary Period on national and diasporic Irish-language communities.

Their vision triggered a revival in Irish-language literature as well as the promotion of the arts, cinema, and education in the Irish language and cultural festivals, all of which ensured that the Irish language itself became an integral part of Irish society and identity which extended beyond the shores of Ireland.

Themes to be addressed in this bilingual conference include: lexicography, literature, language, place-names research, biography, print and broadcast journalism, film, and the digital humanities with keynote speakers Professor Jerry White, Canadian Research Chair in European Studies, Dalhousie University, Canada, and An Dr Eilis Ní Dhuibhne, Writer and Lecturer, UCD.

Déanfar athbhreithniú ar spriocanna athbheochan

na Gaeilge agus an chultúir in Éirinn sa chomhdháil idirnáisiúnta, dhátheangach agus sa taispeántas seo. Déanfar measúnú ar anáil Thréimhse na Réabhlóide 1913-1923 ar phobail na Gaeilge i gcomhthéacs náisiúnta agus idirnáisiúnta.

Mar thoradh ar an bhfís a léirigh na hAthbheochanóirí tháinig litríocht na Gaeilge, na hEalaíona, cúrsaí scannánaíochta, cúrsaí oideachais, féilte Gaeilge agus athruithe eile i sochaí na hÉireann chun tosaigh, a chinntigh láithreach agus infheictheacht na Gaeilge mar ghné lárnach de shochaí agus d'fhéiniúlacht na hÉireann.

Sháraigh sé seo teorainneacha an oileáin agus bhí cuid mhaith de dhul chun cinn na Athbheochana ag brath ar ionchur ón diaspóra Éireannach. Sa chomhdháil seo déanfar iniúchadh ar na naisc a cruthaíodh agus déanfar anailís ar dhúshláin agus ar bhuanna na gluaisceachta i gcomhthéacs náisiúnta agus idirnáisiúnta.

The events take place tomorrow and Saturday (Feb 19-20) at the Pearse Museum and Newman Building in Belfield.

For more information, go to www.ucd.ie/icsf/



Clockwise from above: Michael O'Hanrahan being escorted into his court martial at Richmond Barracks on May 3 1916; prisoners under escort in the Barracks; the married quarters where the women prisoners were held in 1916; Major John MacBride is escorted through the Barracks.

RICHMOND BARRACKS

SOUTH DUBLIN LIBRARIES LOCAL STUDIES



Watch more online at independent.ie/1916

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

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

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

THE LOST CHILDREN

Two-year-old Seán Foster shot as he lay in his pram

SEÁN FRANCIS FOSTER had already lost his father to war when his own short life was ended on Easter Monday morning.

Private John Foster, a cooper (barrel-maker) with Guinness, was a rifleman when he died at Aubert's Ridge in France in May 1915.

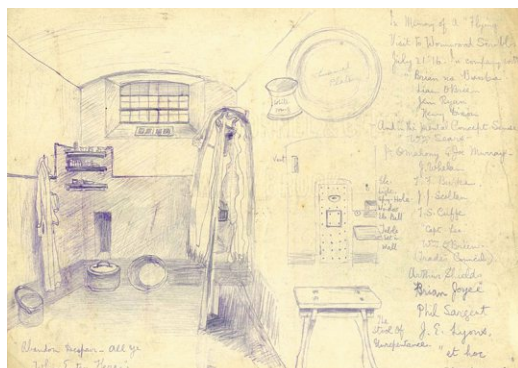
Less than a year later his widow, Katie, was pushing Seán in a pram from their home in Stoneybatter towards Church Street when she came across a barricade and was surprised to see one of those manning it was her brother, Joseph O'Neill.

While they chatted, firing broke out as the Volunteers came upon a party of Lancers riding up the quays on horseback.

Katie rushed for cover towards the Father Mathew Hall but she and Seán were caught in crossfire. "They've killed my baby", she screamed as she reached the hall.

Seán, who was two years and 10 months old, was killed by a single bullet which hit him under his left ear. **LS**

FROM THE UCD ARCHIVES



'In Memory of a Flying Visit to Wormwood Scrubs'.

UCD ARCHIVES

Wormwood drawing gives insight to prison cell life

THE internment of thousands of prisoners in camps like Knutsford, Lewes and Frongoch was carried out under the Defence of the Realm Act. An Advisory Committee, chaired by Sir John Sankey, was set up under that act to hear prisoner appeals against their detention. Prisoners were brought to London to appear before the committee, and spent the night in either Pentonville Prison or Wormwood Scrubs before being returned to the camps.

While being held in Wormwood Scrubs on July 21 1916, one prisoner used the time to compose an illustration of his cell and titled the drawing 'In Memory of a Flying Visit to Wormwood

Scrubs'. While the illustrator is not named his companions are. They included Liam O'Brien, John Ryan, Henry Dixon and Brian na Banban. The latter was the pen name of Brian O'Higgins, who wrote and published poems and ballads.

The pencil drawing provides details of the layout and contents of the cell, including eating utensils and furnishings. Beside a small stool, the illustrator indicates a stoic sense of humour labelling it as "The Stool of Unrepentance". And in the bottom corner of the drawing: "Abandon Despair — All Ye Who Enter Here".

It can be viewed in the UCD Archives at: <http://url.ie/z9ir>. **FC**

THE IRISH CAPUCHIN ARCHIVES

Brothers in arms: the Capuchins' role

IN 2016, Brother Kevin Crowley keeps the Capuchin spirit shining in Dublin's Church Street with the free shelter, food and other caring services his Day Centre provides to thousands of homeless and needy people every week.

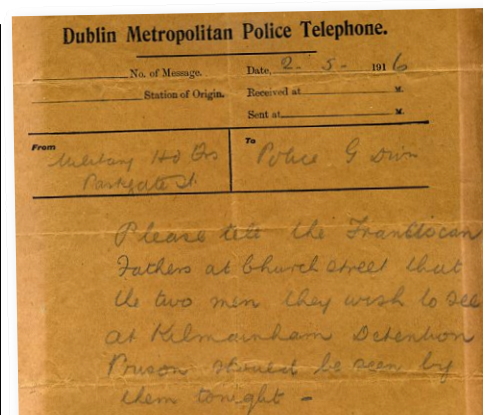
In 1916, the friars played a similarly special role in the life of the capital, and of those caught up in the events of the Rising.

When shots rang out in Church Street shortly after noon on Easter Monday the Capuchins found themselves in the thick of the fighting.

The Irish Capuchin Archives holds a wealth of documents attesting to the work they did throughout that week, tending the wounded, hearing confessions of combatants, negotiating with the British and assisting in the surrender.

It was the Capuchins who heard the last confessions of the executed leaders, attended their executions and relayed last messages to their relations.

Among them was Fr Columbus Murphy, who accompanied nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell, when she brought Patrick Pearse's surrender note to Edward Daly in the Four Courts and convinced him it was genuine. Fr Columbus later attended to Daly and Thomas Clarke before their execution in Kilmainham.



Fr Columbus Murphy (right) and (above) a note from Military Headquarters to Dublin Metropolitan Police advising them to tell the Capuchins that the men they had wished to see should be seen by them that very night. The following morning, Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh were executed.

Other friars who attended the condemned men included Fr Aloysius Travers (Patrick Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and James Connolly), Fr Augustine Hayden (Joseph Plunkett), Michael O'Hanrahan, William Pearse, John MacBride, Eamonn Ceannt, Con Colbert and Michael Mallin), while Fr Albert Bibby attended at the execution of Seán Heuston. On May 12, Fr Eugene McCarthy, chaplain to Kilmainham, attended Seán Mac Diarmada.

As part of the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the arrivals of the Capuchin Franciscan Friars in Ireland, the Irish Capuchin Archives, in conjunction with the Michael Ó Cléirigh Institute, UCD will hold a one-day conference at St Mary of the Angels, Church Street on Saturday, February 27. It will include a lecture by Dr Conor Mulvagh, UCD, on Fr Columbus Murphy and his personal narrative of 1916. All are welcome.



CAPUCHIN ARCHIVES



Sixteen nails

With the GPO ablaze, the end of the insurrection came swiftly —

THE 'blood sacrifice' dimension of the Rising — the idea that a Christ-like act of sacrifice was necessary in order to 'save' Ireland — has always been emphasised. But was this really the case? Certainly the chief protagonists, in particular Patrick Pearse and Tom Clarke, were convinced in the weeks leading up to the Rising that it would probably end in defeat and death for most of its participants.

Famously, at a meeting convened for the officers of the Dublin Brigade of the Volunteers, a few weeks prior to the Rising, Pearse apparently asked those assembled if they were ready 'to meet... God?' Allegedly, only a handful of the audience members were unnerved by his implication. Tales of Éamonn Ceannt preparing his will and

Thomas Ashe's last act as Principal of Corduff National School in instructing his assistant to take flowers from the school garden and place them on the local church altar in front of the Blessed Sacrament, further imply that many of the leaders involved in the Rising were also aware that their actions would result in their deaths. Yet, as with so many other aspects of the Rising, it would be contentious to argue that death was the accepted — and expected — outcome for all those involved in staging the Rising.

Indeed, observation of witness statements recorded by the Bureau of Military History in the late 1940s and early 1950s demonstrate that many of the participants in the rebellion were wholly unprepared for the realities of battle. Their naivety can be attributed to two things. Firstly, their age. Typically, the Volunteers were comprised of young men and women,

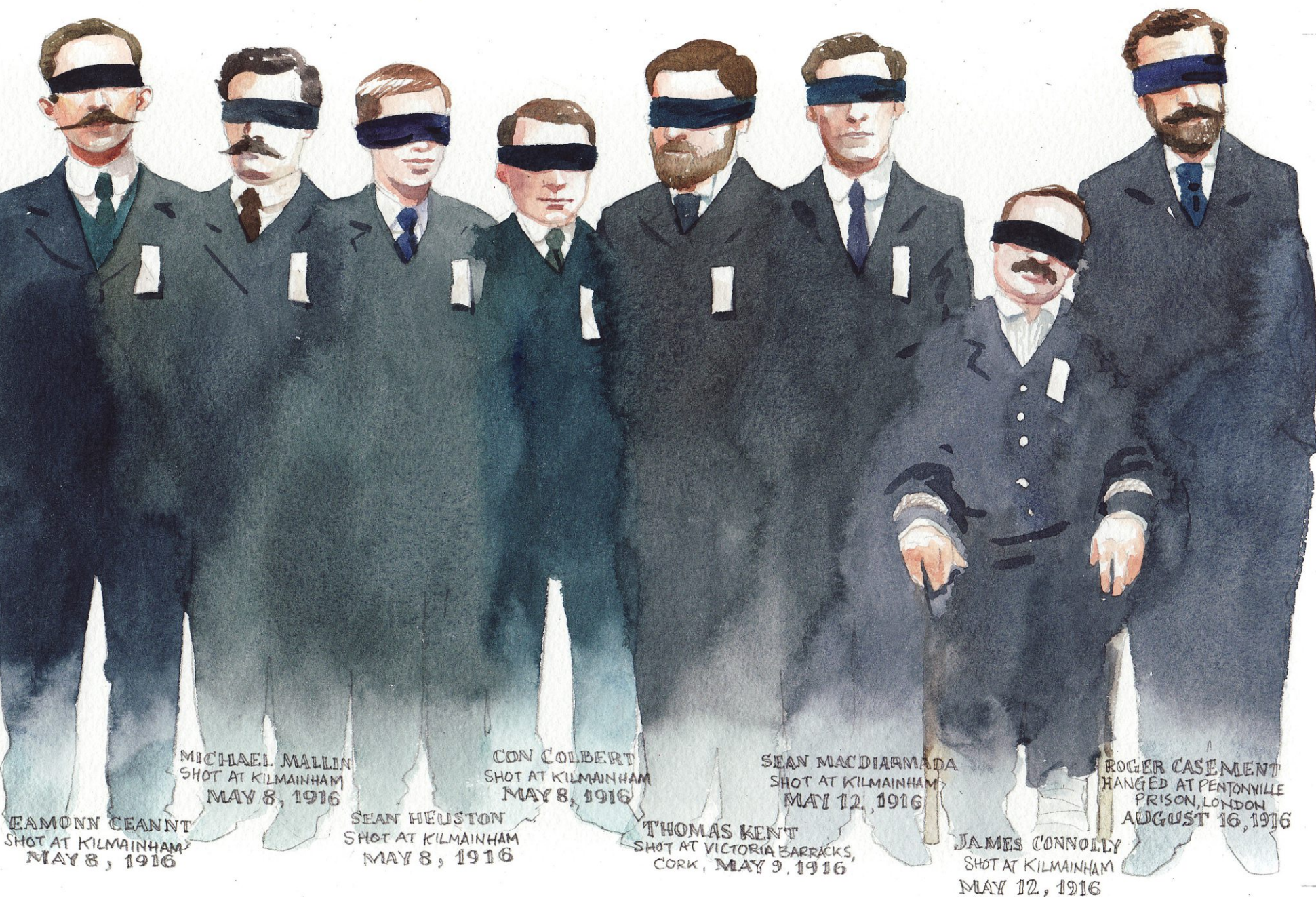
many of them teenagers or in their early twenties who had come to join the Volunteers having previously been active within the GAA, Na Fianna, Cumann na mBan or had family associations with the Fenians. Secondly, owing to the confusion and secrecy surrounding the organisation of the Rising, very few of the 'foot-soldiers' within the Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) comprehended the difficulties that they and their comrades faced.

As the week progressed and the Dublin rebels learned of their harsh reality, that there would be no German support nor had any of the planned provincial rebellions been successful, the rebels began to prepare for the worst — especially as the fighting intensified.

Thus when Father John Flanagan, a priest in the Pro-Cathedral (who had heard confessions in the GPO on Easter Monday and had spent the subsequent

days anointing the wounded lying on the Dublin streets and in Jervis Street Hospital), returned to the GPO on Thursday to tend the wounded, he was besieged by requests from various rebels to deliver notes to their wives and mothers. Aware that there was a strong likelihood that they would not be returning home following the end of the insurgency, the rebels chose to put their affairs in order on any available scraps of paper. By the time Fr Flanagan left on the Friday morning, his pockets were full of scraps of paper and envelopes (pinched from the Post Office supplies) spelling out final instructions and parting messages for various loved ones.

While hopes of a victory were diminished by the Friday of Easter Week, few would have suspected that the official surrender was only a matter of hours away. With the exception of the GPO, most of the



in the coffin

with deadly consequences for its leaders, writes **Leanne Blaney**

garrisons had managed to avoid coming under direct assault and serious artillery bombardment. However the Volunteers had been forced out of their Headquarters in the GPO on the Friday evening on account of the building being ablaze. Even then, Louise Gavan Duffy was convinced that the plan was for the remaining Volunteers to join other garrisons. Including the one at Jameson's Distillery on Marrowbone Lane, where spirits remained high following the capture of a load of cabbages and preparations were underway for Mass to be held within the garrison on the Sunday.

Instead on the Saturday morning, having held a council of war in the backroom of 16 Moore Street, where James Connolly lay injured in bed, the assembled members of the Provisional Government — Pearse, Connolly, Joseph Plunkett, Tom Clarke and Seán MacDiarmada — chose to

send Elizabeth O'Farrell to meet with the Commander of the British Forces, General William Lowe, and express the Irish Republican Army's desire to agree terms of surrender. Within three hours, Pearse (accompanied by Elizabeth O'Farrell) officially surrendered unconditionally to General Lowe at the top of Moore Street.

While the moment of surrender captured by a British army photographer appears peaceful and reserved, in reality it was very different. O'Farrell delivered the order signed by Pearse and countersigned by Connolly lying in his Red Cross bed in Dublin Castle, to the various garrisons around Dublin during the next 24 hours. High emotions ranging from sorrow to great anger were

evident among the rebels as they learned of their leaders' decision. Some such as the Moore Street fighters, had to be talked out of disobeying orders and continuing the fight by (ironically) the two most strident leaders, Clarke and Mac Diarmada.

Justification for the leaders' decision to surrender has often been attributed to their concern for the lives of ordinary Dublin civilians. Unfortunately, these civilians did not universally acknowledge the rebels' noble intentions. Instead as the army rounded up the surrendering rebels and marched them towards the Rotunda Hospital and later Richmond Barracks, large crowds gathered along the route and gave the rebels what Bridget Lyons, niece of

Joseph McGuinness, described as 'a mixed reception, cheering, jeering, booing and making remarks, mostly uncomplimentary'.

By the May 1, the rebellion was over and the military's investigations were underway. General Sir John Maxwell, the newly arrived British commander-in-chief, lived up to his military credentials and by May 5, 3,430 men and 79 women were arrested on suspicion of being 'Sinn Féiners'. Confusion persisted among Dubliners who assumed the Rising was lead by Sinn Féin owing to the similarity between the Volunteers and Sinn Féin's rhetoric as well as the public knowledge that a number of the prominent rebels were members of Sinn Féin.

However, Arthur Griffith's political organisation was not behind the Rising, and instead only in 1917 would Sinn Féin formally join with republicans to form

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6 >>>

“
High emotions
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Sixteen nails in the coffin

>>> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

a new political party. Consequently, following inquiry, 1,424 men and 73 women imprisoned on suspicion had to be released without charge — after their homes had been ransacked and many had lost their jobs due to their association with the rebellion. The court martial trials began immediately, as General Maxwell continued to impose martial law.

The first batch of rebels to be tried and sentenced to death by Brigadier Charles Blackader on a charge of ‘waging war against His Majesty the King, with the intention and for the purpose of assisting the enemy’ were Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh. The three were shot in the disused prison yard of Kilmainham Gaol at dawn on May 3. The executions of Edward ‘Ned’ Daly, Willie Pearse, Joseph Plunkett and Michael O’Hanrahan followed on the May 4. John MacBride was executed on May 5 while Éamonn Ceannt, Michael Mallin, Sean Heuston and Con Colbert were executed on May 8.

Thomas Kent was the only individual executed outside of Dublin and who did not participate in the Dublin Rising. Found guilty of shooting dead a Royal Irish Constabulary officer, his execution occurred on May 9 in the yard of Cork Detention Barracks. Séan Mac Diarmada and the injured James Connolly were the last of the two rebel leaders to be executed in Kilmainham on May 12. By then the British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith had arrived in Dublin and insisted on suspending further executions.

Learning of the sympathetic romanticism developing around the dead leaders, as well as the controversial shooting of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and the journalists Thomas Dickson and Patrick MacIntyre on the orders of Captain JC Bowen-Colthurst, the remaining male prisoners were deported to prison camps in England and Wales. Though many received lengthy prison sentences they would all be released by the end of 1917.

Choosing a suitable punishment for the female prisoners perplexed the authorities, as they had no precedent for punishment of female prisoners of war. Held in Richmond Barracks, the women were all interviewed by the barrister William Wylie.

On his recommendation, Maxwell released 62 of them but held on to 18 ‘prominent and dangerous’ women who were placed in Mountjoy Prison. Of this number, eight were deported to Britain, including Countess Markievicz who, as the only one of the Rising’s leaders witnessed shooting dead a British soldier, should have received the death penalty. Instead ‘owing to her sex’, she was eventually sentenced to penal servitude for life. She remained in Aylesbury Prison until her release in 1917.

Roger Casement was the final individual linked to the Rising to be executed. Following a lengthy trial, his hanging was carried out on August 3 in Pentonville Prison, London. Eventually his body would be repatriated back to Ireland in 1965, by which time the legacy of the Rising was assured.



Dr Leanne Blaney is a social and transport historian who recently completed her PhD in the School of History (UCD). Her research focuses on 20th century Irish and Northern Irish history with a particular focus on cross-border relations during the early





The Rising that

Tremors from the momentous Easter 1916 events in Dublin were felt on the other side of the globe, sparking anger — and action, writes Eoin Hahessy

PAUSE and think of life in 1916. A world two years etched into a weary world war. The one superpower being challenged as it grappled to assert its influence across its Empire. A social struggle, as a heaving mass of working class resentment and frustration simmered under a dominant social order nervous of its position.

In such a world where embers of disaffection flickered, information was controlled and constrained by those who held power. The leaders of the Easter Rising knew that in this historical window of opportunity they had to make the case for freedom to the world and they put a plan into action.

On the corner of O’Connell Street and Abbey Street in Dublin sits the Grand Central. Striking yet easily missed in a Dublin throng, in 1916 it was the site of the Reis building, and on its top floor was occupied by the Dublin Wireless School of Telegraphy. Closed by the British upon the outbreak of the First World War, in Easter week

Joseph Plunkett ordered seven men to occupy that building and to restore the radio equipment. Setting up the antenna on the roof, the rebels came under sniper fire from McBirney’s Department Store on Aston Quay. Their perseverance paid off and in what is considered the world’s first pirate broadcast, they sent the following Morse code: ‘Irish Republic declared in Dublin today. Irish troops have captured city and are in full possession. Enemy cannot move in city. The whole country rising.’

Meanwhile in Kerry, two Valentia Island brothers under British noses in a heavily

guarded cable station provided a coded tip off to American and German Irish sympathisers that the Rising had begun. These actions propelled a small uprising into global front page news.

Ireland’s Rising would occupy the front page of *The New York Times* for 14 days. A fact owing largely to New Jersey-born Joyce Kilmer, whose contribution has been traced elegantly by Robert Schmuhl. A poet and staff writer with the *Sunday Magazine* of *The New York Times*, Kilmer had converted to Catholicism in 1913 and despite his American lineage declared himself to be ‘half-Irish’.

On May 7 1916, as the Irish rebels were being executed, Kilmer published ‘Poets March in the Van of Irish Revolt’ that stressed the involvement of writers in the Rising noting with flurry that ‘the Leaders of the revolutionary forces were almost without exception men of literary tastes and training, who went into battle, as one of the dispatches phrased it, ‘with a revolver in one hand and a copy of Sophocles in the other.’ Kilmer’s reporting was joined by a slew of journalism throughout the year, the first 20th century challenge to British imperial power was news, as were the tales of courage and sacrifice. The British grew fearful that faith in the Empire would be shaken.

A press censor’s office was established in Dublin to swat any international reporting that could have an impact in surly Ireland or across the Empire. One notable missive that got through was Kilmer’s vividly descriptive article





Left: Patrick Pearse, with Elizabeth O'Farrell by his side, surrenders to General Lowe on Moore Street.

Far left: soldiers survey the shell of the GPO after the insurrection.

Above: prisoners being marched through Dublin's streets in the aftermath of the Rising.

Right: Cork-born Daniel Maddix (circled), then president of St Patrick's College in Maynooth and later Archbishop of Melbourne, photographed in July 1911 with King George V, Cardinal Michael Logue and Queen Mary during a royal visit to the college.

Inset below left: the *Evening Herald* reports on Major John MacBride's execution. GETTY IMAGES



'Sixteen Dead Men'

William Butler Yeats

*O but we talked at large before
The sixteen men were shot,
But who can talk of give and take,
What should be and what not
While those dead men are loitering there
To stir the boiling pot?*

*You say that we should still the land
Till Germany's overcome;
But who is there to argue that
Now Pearse is deaf and dumb?
And is their logic to outweigh
MacDonagh's bony thumb?*

*How could you dream they'd listen
That have an ear alone
For those new comrades they have found,
Lord Edward and Wolfe Tone,
Or meddle with our give and take
That converse bone to bone?*



AN ASSESSMENT DR LUCY COLLINS

A MUCH simpler poem than the iconic 'Easter, 1916', this text contemplates the influence of the revolutionaries on the renewed political life of Ireland.

Yeats's choice of the ballad form emphasises the power of public events to capture the popular imagination. In the wake of the Rising, talk has been overtaken by action, and the energies of debate and moderation have been dispersed by the compelling sacrifice of the rebel leaders.

The haunting presence of 'MacDonagh's bony thumb' continues to tip the balance towards violent resistance, evoking the image of the weighing scales and its connotations of justice.

The repetition of the word 'bone' reinforces the essential nature of rebellion against oppression.

This new political narrative is in dialogue with the legendary revolutionaries of the past — Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone — and here Yeats recalls his own idealisation of those men in an earlier poem, 'September 1913'. Irish political life, he suggests, is changed forever by the events of 1916.

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



shook the world

'Irish Girl Rebel Tells of Dublin Fighting' republished by the *Roscommon Herald*, which drew the wrath of the censor to its doorstep in Boyle.

The Irish diaspora, in particular the Irish-American diaspora, played a highly influential role in the plans and support for the Rising. "Mother operated on successfully today, signed Kathleen", was the coded message that the aforementioned King brothers from Kerry sent to the housekeeper of the leader of Clan na Gael in the US, John Devoy. It was the equivalent of a 'heads up' to an Irish community Stateside that was close to the heart of Irish republicanism.

Five of the seven signatories of the Proclamation spent time in America, and it is no coincidence that the Proclamation that Patrick Pearse read on the steps of the GPO includes the phrase 'supported by her exiled children in America'. The equivalent of \$2.5million (€2.3m) in today's money was raised by Clan na Gael. A stunning sum that allowed Kevin Kenny to argue in *The American Irish* that it was largely Devoy's fund-raising and organisational efforts in the United States that the Easter rebellion of 1916 became possible.

Often forgotten in the narrative of Easter 1916 is the impact this Rising had on the social and political trajectory of other nations. The most popular recounting is its inspiration for a rising in Bengal, India yet its lasting impact in another great centre of Irish emigration, Australia, has received scant focus.

Prior to 1916 the leaders of the Irish community in Australia followed

fastidiously the footprints of John Redmond's Home Rule movement. This was an Irish community a generation removed from the harrows of the Irish famine. A generation that savoured a different flavour to English rule, striving in a colony where rigid social classes, while defined, could be punctured by following the social playbook of the time.

The events of 1916 changed the mood of the Irish-Australian community and through the Archbishop of Melbourne, Cork-born Daniel Mannix, a potent force of Irish nationalism was awakened and a Catholic force in Australian politics was unleashed that still leaves a bitter taste in a generation of Australian mouths today.

"Michael, they have shot them", wept Archbishop Mannix to his caretaker in Melbourne upon hearing the news of the execution of the leaders of Easter Rising. Just as the execution of these leaders helped turn the public tide of opinion back home, it stirred the leader of a slumbering Catholic flock into political action in the capital of a freshly-formed modern nation.

"Something in Daniel Mannix was released in the aftermath of the Easter Rising", asides biographer Brenda Niall in a recent and welcomingly fresh insight of an Irishman who loomed over Australian politics for nearly 50 years. Mannix was alone in taking the side of the rebels among the Australian archbishops. He linked the Rising with World War I and mobilised a Catholic community on a national question that tested the allegiance to the Empire of this new-born nation.

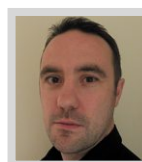
Twice the subject of conscription was

defeated in Australia, in 1916 and again in 1917, and Mannix's colourful public duel with the Australian Prime Minister Billy Hughes both contributed to its defeat and led to the first split in Australia's Labor party. The Irish have "killed conscription", lamented Hughes in a cable to British Prime Minister Lloyd George. Ireland's Easter Rising was the charge that shaped a political force on the other side of the world.

This was the Rising that inconveniently challenged the entire concept of Empire and provoked a superpower to rash reaction.

"If you tell your Empire in India, in Egypt, and all over the world that you have not got the men, the money, the pluck, the inclination and the backing to restore order in a country within 20 miles of your own shore, you may as well begin to abandon the attempt to make British rule prevail throughout the Empire at all," warned Edward Carson in 1916 to a nervous British establishment. This British reaction deepened the cracks in the edifice of their Empire.

"Even though a rebellion in Dublin might seem relatively minor in the grand scheme of things," summarised Declan Kiberd, "it would actually be the pin piercing the heart of the imperial giant."



Eoin Hahessy is an Irish writer working at the University of Melbourne and commentator on the Irish Diaspora on flightofthecubs.com

THOMAS CLARKE

Quiet man made noise *with crackle of dynamite*

Fires burned for years in tobacconist and activist, the eldest signatory of Proclamation, writes **Helen Litton**

HISTORIAN Desmond Ryan, who had fought as a Volunteer in the GPO, once wrote: “In a sense, Tom Clarke is a man of one small book, a few letters, and his signature in the 1916 Proclamation”. This is certainly the public image of Clarke, still one of the least well-known of the 1916 leaders. But there is little doubt that this apparently meek, quietly-spoken shopkeeper was one of the driving spirits behind the rebellion.

Thomas James Clarke was born in England on March 11, 1858. His father, James, of Carrigallen, Co Leitrim, was a British soldier, and his mother, Mary Palmer, came from Clogheen, Co Tipperary. In 1859 James was moved to South Africa, but the family returned to Ireland in 1865 when he was appointed Sergeant of the Ulster Militia.

They settled in Dungannon, Co Tyrone, and here Tom grew up, becoming an assistant teacher. Appalled by the poverty of the local Catholic population, and Dungannon’s strong sectarian discrimination, he was sworn into the Irish Republican Brotherhood by John Daly of Limerick in 1879.

In 1880 he emigrated to New York and joined Clan na Gael, the American counterpart of the IRB. He was instructed in the use of explosives, and in early 1883 was sent to Britain as part of a dynamite campaign. Jeremiah O’Donovan Rossa had started this campaign, hoping that it would cause the British authorities to harass the Irish community in Britain, and encourage Irish nationalism.

Leaving his job as an assistant hotel manager, Tom set off for England (surviving shipwreck on the way) under the name of ‘Henry Hammond Wilson’. Landing in Liverpool, he made contact with other members of his group, but an informer had made sure that they were shadowed by police at every step. In Birmingham, Tom collected a portmanteau full of nitroglycerin and brought it to London, where he was arrested.

SNAPSHOT

THOMAS CLARKE

Born: Hurst Castle, England; March 11, 1858

Educated: St Patrick’s NS, Dungannon,

Affiliation: IRB/Irish Volunteers

Career: Tobacconist, activist

Died: May 3, 1916, Kilmainham Gaol



In June 1883, aged 25, Tom Clarke was sentenced to penal servitude for life for conspiracy to murder, and was sent to Chatham Prison, one of the toughest prisons in England, as Prisoner J464. The Fenian prisoners were kept in a separate wing, under particularly severe conditions. Any contact between prisoners was forbidden, and absolute silence was kept all the time. Punishments ranged from solitary confinement, on a bread and water diet, to beating with a birch or a whip, depending on the ‘crime’. The grille cover of the cell door was slammed back every hour at night, so sleep was impossible. Many of the Fenian prisoners ultimately went mad, or were released with their health shattered.

Tom’s account of his prison years, *Glimpses of an Irish Felon’s Prison Life*, describes how he kept himself sane by endless calculations – estimating the number of bolts in the doors, the number of bricks in the prison, the length of hair cut over the years.

He worked variously as an iron-moulder, a darning and a printer. He developed a slight heart murmur, and his eyesight deteriorated. His family had no idea where he was for months, until an old friend recognised ‘Wilson’ from a newspaper sketch. Visits were few and far between, because of cost and distance, and were often cancelled abruptly for a perceived breach of discipline.

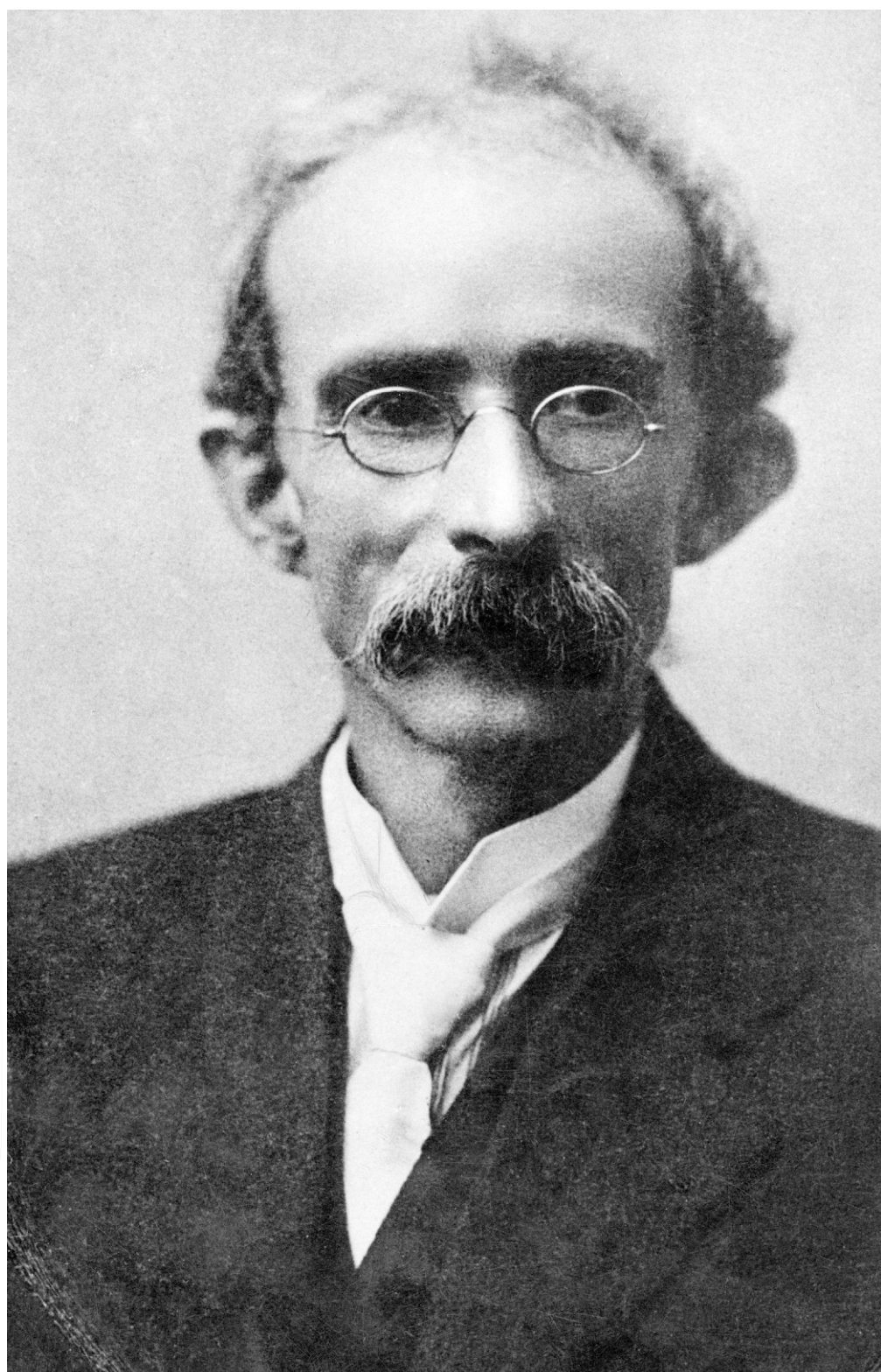
In 1884 John Daly, who had sworn Tom into the IRB, was arrested for conspiracy to use dynamite, along with James Egan, and sent to Chatham. Here Clarke, Daly and Egan formed a strong friendship, which helped them to defy the physical conditions of their imprisonment. After an enquiry into conditions in Chatham, triggered by a vigorous amnesty campaign in Ireland, the Fenian prisoners were moved in 1891 to Portland Prison, where the regime was slightly easier.

John Daly was released in 1896, and flung himself into the amnesty campaign, appealing particularly for the release of Clarke, now almost the only Fenian prisoner left. Tom, aged 40, was released on licence in September 1898, and received a hero’s welcome in Dublin. He was reunited with his mother and sister Hannah (his father had died in 1894), and was invited to Limerick by his old friend Daly, now first nationalist mayor of the city. He was welcomed by the entire Daly family – John’s sister and mother, his widowed sister-in-law, and her eight daughters and one son. He and John’s niece Kathleen, aged 21, fell in love, and became engaged.

Unable to find work in Ireland, Tom returned to New York. With the help of Clan na Gael he found work in an iron foundry, and became secretary to John Devoy, the Clan leader. He also became editor of the *Gaelic American*, a Clan publication. He and Kathleen married in 1901, and their first son, John Daly, was born a year later.

Kathleen’s health was not good, and they were advised to leave the city, so from 1906 they ran a market garden in Long Island. In 1907, Tom scented the possibility of a European war, in which Britain would be embroiled. This would provide Ireland’s opportunity, and he persuaded Kathleen to return home. She knew this was his life’s ambition, and would not stand in his way, but feared the outcome. By early 1908 Tom was in Dublin setting up a tobacconist’s shop, and Kathleen was in Limerick, awaiting the birth of their second son, Tom. Their third son, Emmet, was born in 1910.

Over the next few years, from his shop in Parnell Street, Clarke pieced together the remains of the IRB, working with such enthusiastic young men as Bulmer Hobson and Seán Mac Diarmada. An important step was the foundation of the





Dear K.
I am in better health & more satisfied than for many a day - all will be well eventually - but this is my good bye & now you are ever before me to cheer me - God bless you & the boys let them be proud to follow same path - Sean is with me & m's, all will - they & all heroes - I'm full of pride my love Tom
Yours
John

Clockwise from main: A portrait of Thomas Clarke in 1910; with John Daly (left) and Seán MacDiarmada (right); Clarke is mentioned in this report produced by the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP) detectives on the movements and associations of pro-independence suspects; Kathleen Clarke with sons John Daly Clarke, Tom Clarke Jnr and Emmet Clarke some time after his execution; and the letter written by Tom to Kathleen on the eve of his death.

Inset far left: Thomas Clarke, by Dublin artist Brian O'Neill.

10015 S. 2027 D.M.P.
DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE.
Detective Department.
Dublin, 29th. November, 1915.
Subject, MOVEMENTS OF DUBLIN - EXTREMISTS.
I beg to report that on the 27th. and 28th. inst. the undermentioned extremists were observed moving about and associating with each other as follows :-
With Thomas J. Clarke, 75, Parnell St. Saturday, C. Colbert and Joseph McGuinness from 12. 30 to 12. 45 p. m. Thomas Byrne, Charles S. Power and Michael Foley for half an hour between 7 & 8 p. m. John McGarry for twenty minutes from 9 p. m. Major John McBride and E. Kent in Dame St. together at 11. 30 a. m. Bulmer Hobson, H. Mellows, M. J. O'Rahilly, M. O'Hanrahan and H. M. Pim in Volunteer Office, 2, Dawson St., between 11 & 12 a. m. John McDermott and H. M. Pim left Kingsbridge by 3 p. m. train, en route to Cork. R. I. C. informed.
J. P. Connolly, Belfast, arrived at Amiens St. at 5. 30 p. m.
E. Kent, C. Colbert, P. Ryan, E. Daly, George Irvine and John Fitzgibbon, in 2, Dawson
The Chief Commissioner.



THE DYNAMITE CAMPAIGN

JAN 1881 Bombs exploded at barracks in Salford and Chester; police station in Liverpool

MAY 1882 Bomb exploded in Mansion House in London

JAN 1883 Bombs exploded at gasworks, coal shed and canal viaduct in Glasgow. 10-12 people were injured

MARCH 1883 Bombs exploded at government buildings in Whitehall and offices of *The Times* newspaper. No injuries

OCT 1883 Two bombs exploded in the London Underground, injuring 70 people

FEB 1884 Bomb exploded in Victoria station, London. No injuries. Bombs at three other stations defused

MAY 1884 Bombs exploded in London at the HQ of the police Special Irish Branch; a gentleman's club, and outside the home of a Tory MP

DEC 1884 Three IRB members were killed when the bomb they were planting on London Bridge prematurely exploded

JAN 1885 Bomb exploded at railway station

JAN 1885 Bombs exploded in the House of Commons chamber (below), in Westminster Hall and in the Tower of London. Two policemen and four civilians injured



Irish Volunteers in 1914, in reaction to the Ulster Volunteers' establishment in the north. Kathleen's brother, Ned Daly, joined the Volunteers on the first night, and subsequently became Commandant of the First Battalion. Kathleen herself was a founder member of Cumann na mBan in 1914, running the organisation's Central Branch. Gun-running from Germany supplied some arms for the Volunteers; others were bought illicitly from British soldiers needing cash. Money was pouring in from Clan na Gael, and Tom controlled its distribution.

Clarke was devastated by the 1914 split in the Volunteers, caused by MP John Redmond's appeal to them to join Britain in the First World War, but refused to let go of his revolutionary aims. Redmond had pinned his hopes on the new Home Rule Bill as a step forward, but at the outbreak of war it was suspended, and the Unionists in the north would anyway never accept it.

Tom's hopes grew that a majority of the Irish population would back a rebellion, and in 1915 the death of O'Donovan Rossa in New York provided an opportunity for a display of Volunteer strength, as thousands followed the coffin. Tom, one of the chief

organisers, chose Patrick Pearse, a teacher and writer, to give the oration at the graveside, telling him to make it "as hot as hell". Pearse obliged, and his heartfelt oratory attracted many more to join.

The Irish Volunteer commander, Eoin MacNeill, was not aware that the IRB were controlling the organisation behind the scenes. Clarke established a secret military council of Pearse, Éamonn Ceannt and Joseph Plunkett, and plans for a rebellion were laid. The leaders gathered to sign the Proclamation on April 18, and insisted that Tom sign it first, a token of the respect in which they held him.

When MacNeill realised what was to happen on Easter Sunday, April 23, he issued a countermanding order. Despite this, the Rising went ahead the following day, but with fewer participants because of the confusion over orders. Clarke himself entered the General Post Office with Pearse, Mac Diarmada and James Connolly, and spent the

week there.

He often chatted to younger people, encouraging them to carry on the fight afterwards — he obviously expected that he and the other leaders would die. When the fires in the GPO drove its defenders to retreat to Moore Street, Tom was one of the last to leave.

After the final surrender in Moore Street, on 29 April, everyone was herded into the Rotunda Gardens and kept there overnight. Tom Clarke was treated badly by Captain Lea Wilson; he is said to have been stripped in front of the nurses at the hospital windows, and verbally abused.

At his court-martial he said little apart from "not guilty", and was sentenced to death. Kathleen was brought to visit him in Kilmainham the night before his execution; the following night she came back to say goodbye to her brother Ned. Tom Clarke was executed at dawn on May 3, 1916, with Patrick Pearse and Thomas

"The death of O'Donovan Rossa provided an opportunity for a display of strength and Tom Clarke chose Patrick Pearse to give the graveside oration, telling him to make it 'as hot as hell'

MacDonagh. Recent research implies that his execution did not go smoothly, and he had to be shot a second time.

Kathleen, who had been sworn into the IRB to maintain continuity, started a Volunteers' dependants' fund with money left by Tom. She lost a baby shortly after the Rising, and her uncle, Tom's closest friend, died in June aged 70. Kathleen carried on Tom's work, becoming a TD and a Senator, and was elected Dublin's first woman lord mayor in 1939. She died in 1972, aged 94.

Tom Clarke had achieved his ambition of a blow against the British Empire, and hoped that his sacrifice would encourage others. This dedicated, reclusive man had engaged the loyalty and commitment of hundreds of idealistic younger men, and knew in his heart that his death would not be the end of the fight.



Helen Litton has written biographies of both Edward Daly and Thomas Clarke. She also edited Kathleen Clarke's memoir, 'Revolutionary Woman'



In the line of fire: The ruins of the Freeman Press and Telegraph, Princes Street, Dublin home to the 'Freeman's Journal' in 1916. IRISH INDEPENDENT/NPA ARCHIVE
Right: British soldiers fire shots at protestors following the 1916 insurrection. GETTY

Out of step



Felix M Larkin on the
Dublin newspapers'
reaction to the Rising

THERE were four daily newspapers in Dublin in 1916: the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Irish Independent*, *The Irish Times* and the *Daily Express*. The first two had moderate nationalist sympathies, while the other pair were staunchly unionist. All four roundly condemned the Easter Rising, but they rapidly found themselves out of step with the growing tide of feeling in favour of the rebels.

The *Freeman's Journal* was the oldest of them, dating back to 1763. It was also the most eloquent in commenting on the Rising. In its first editorial on the subject, on 5 May, it spoke of the "stunning horror of the past ten days" and pointed out that "the insurrection was not more an insurrection against the connection with the Empire than it was an armed assault against the will and decision of the Irish nation itself, constitutionally ascertained through its proper representatives".

Those representatives were the elected members of the Irish Party at Westminster, committed since before Parnell's time to achieving Home Rule. The *Freeman* was the semi-official organ of the Irish Party, and it was only natural that it should

defend the party's interests against the rebels.

The effect of the Government's reaction to the Rising was of immediate concern to the *Freeman*. On May 9, in its first overt reference to the death sentences passed on the leaders, the *Freeman* protested that "sympathy is being aroused with the victims [i.e. the executed leaders] where nothing but indignant condemnation of their criminal enterprise previously existed", and on May 12 it warned that "the military dictatorship" has produced "a lamentable revulsion of feeling".

The *Freeman's* nationalist competitor, the *Irish Independent*, was not so troubled. In the first of two notorious editorials, on May 10, it stated that "we do not think that extreme severity should be generally applied... When, however, we come to some of the ringleaders, instigators and fomenters not yet dealt with, we must make an exception". Two days later, on May 12, it called again for the execution of those leaders who "remain undealt with". The leaders in question, James

Connolly and Seán Mac Diarmada, were shot early on 12 May, a few hours after that second editorial had gone to press; they were already dead when most people read it.

The *Independent* had been founded by Parnell after the so-called Parnell Split in 1891, when the *Freeman* defected to the anti-Parnellite side. It was later acquired by William Martin Murphy, who in 1905 transformed it into a mass-circulation newspaper along the lines of Lord Northcliffe's revolutionary *Daily Mail*, launched in London in 1896. It cost a halfpenny, half the price of the other Dublin dailies, and it had a more modern format and a less partisan editorial policy.

It was a resounding success, and quickly superseded the *Freeman* as the more popular nationalist daily newspaper. Its circulation rose from an initial 25,000 to 100,000 in 1915, whereas the *Freeman's* circulation was stuck at between 30,000 and 35,000 copies per day.

William Martin Murphy is often blamed for the

“*William Martin Murphy is often blamed for the Independent's bloodthirsty editorials in 1916. However, they were written by the Independent's editor, TR Harrington, without Murphy's knowledge*”

Independent's bloodthirsty editorials in 1916. They are seen as part of a personal vendetta against Connolly, one of his chief adversaries in the 1913 lock-out. However, they were written by the *Independent's* editor, TR Harrington, without Murphy's knowledge. Murphy was in London at the time for discussions with the Government on compensation for property damaged during the Rising. He repudiated the editorials in private, but never in public — apparently out of loyalty to his editor.

Why did Harrington write them? The probable explanation is that he simply misread the shifting public mood, for he was quoted soon afterwards as saying — somewhat ruefully — that "the crowd cried out for vengeance and when they got it they howled for clemency".

The *Irish Times* was even more vociferous in resisting the calls for clemency. In its first editorial after the Rising, on May 1, it noted that "the surgeon's knife has been put to the corruption in the body of Ireland, and its course must not be stayed until the whole malignant growth has been removed... Sedition must be rooted out of Ireland once for all".

Such sentiments were to be expected from the main unionist organ in Dublin. Its chairman in 1916 was a pillar of the





Extra, extra! The inside story of the 'Irish War News'

Copy for publication was dictated from the GPO frontline, writes **Fergus Cassidy**

THE *Irish War News* was the brainchild of Patrick Pearse, who wanted to get the message about the rebellion out to the public. He recruited printer Joe Stanley, a well-known republican who published several activist papers and edited *The Gael* magazine.

Stanley explained how the newspaper came together. "On the evening of Easter Monday 1916, I went into the GPO to join the military action, which had started by that time. I had some previous acquaintance with James Connolly and in view of my knowledge of printing, he instructed me that I could be of most service by getting official publications and arranging their distribution. At a conference, which took place subsequently, with PH Pearse, James Connolly and myself and at which the commandeering by me — with Military Escort — of the *Irish Independent* works was considered at length — it was finally decided that it would be of better military value if a smaller plant was commandeered".

Armed with a revolver given to them by Connolly, they took possession of James O'Keefe's works at Halston Street.

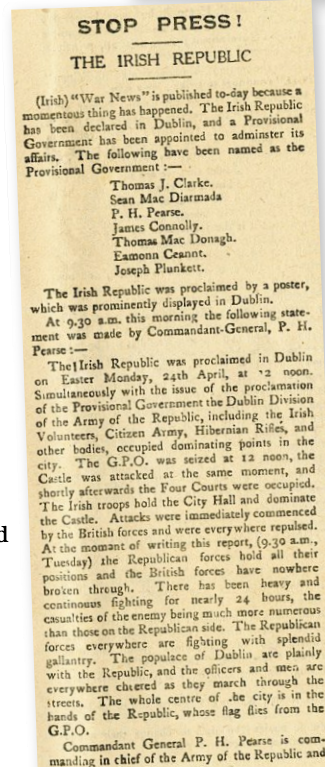
Charles Walker, a young printer at the Gaelic Press, gave an account to the Bureau of Military History.

"We all worked there. Mr Stanley checked and read the proofs. My father, Matthew J Walker, (Thomas) Ryan and (James) O'Sullivan set up type and I printed the jobs. Mr Stanley carried the printed jobs to the GPO and collected extra copy."

Stanley wrote, "We produced and circulated two editions of the *Irish War News* and three issues of the *Official Daily* bulletins. This work involved my attendance at the GPO for two or three hours each day on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday in addition to dangerous penetration through the British cordons which were drawing in around the Post Office from Wednesday.

"Our operations at Halston Street finished on Friday morning when I ordered my staff to disperse and as any further contact with the Post Office was impracticable — in view of the British cordons, I had to 'go on the run'."

Priced at one penny, most of the only issue was taken up with commentary on Irish and world affairs, and some



Patrick Pearse envisaged the 'Irish War News' as a good way to get the message of the rebellion out to the greater public. Left: a 'breaking news' style article announced the events of the Rising on the back of the four-page publication. UCD ARCHIVES

satire, but the most important article came on the last of its four pages. Headlined 'STOP PRESS! THE IRISH REPUBLIC', it begins "(Irish) 'War News' is published to-day because a momentous thing has happened. The Irish Republic has been declared in Dublin, and a Provisional Government has been appointed to administer its affairs."

It went on to detail the signatories to the Proclamation, and reported on where the rebels had seized buildings. It boasted "the populace of Dublin are plainly with the Republic,

and the officers and men are everywhere cheered as they march through the streets."

Twelve thousand copies were produced, with Pearse writing his articles inside the GPO itself before Connolly's secretary Winifred Carney, who entered the post office "with a typewriter in one hand and a Webley revolver in the other", typed it up for the printers.

Copies of *Irish War News* are rare, with one copy selling on the 90th anniversary for €20,000, although in recent years

Irish unionist establishment, Sir John Arnott, and the editor was John E Healy, who also served as Irish correspondent of the *London Times*.

Unlike the other Dublin newspapers, *The Irish Times'* premises were unaffected by the fighting in Easter week. Their reporters were thus in a position to gather the news as it happened, albeit that publication of the newspaper was restricted.

The *Times* published all the contemporary reportage a year later in the *Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook*, together with maps of the battle sites and lists of those killed or taken prisoner. The *Handbook* remains today an important source for the history of the Rising.

The Irish Times' circulation in 1916 was similar in size to that of the *Freeman*, and it attracted readers from the intellectual and commercial worlds in addition to the unionist community whose views it reflected.

The other unionist newspaper, the *Daily Express*, had a narrower base comprising the remnants of the landed gentry and Protestant clergy. There is a reference to it as a 'West Briton' organ in James Joyce's *The Dead*. Since 1915, it had been owned by HL Tivy, a Cork butter merchant who also owned the unionist *Cork Constitution*

newspaper. The *Express* would close in 1917, and be absorbed into its sister publication, the *Evening Mail*, which survived until 1962.

The *Express'* office on Parliament Street, opposite City Hall, was occupied by the rebels during Easter week. Its recapture by troops was recounted in detail in its issue of May 9. The following day's *Express* carried a feature by its racing correspondent bemoaning that the horse-racing form books, the bible for turf correspondents, had been stolen in the commotion.

This is a manifestation of what Conor Cruise O'Brien called "the Fairyhouse tradition" in relation to 1916: in other words, for many people the news from Fairyhouse racecourse on that Easter Monday was more important than the news from Sackville Street.

Felix M Larkin is a former chairman of the Newspaper and Periodical History Forum of Ireland, and he was academic director of the Parnell Summer School 2013-2015. He is pictured (opposite page) at the statue of Sir John Gray in O'Connell Street, Dublin. Gray owned the 'Freeman's Journal' from 1841 until his death in 1875, and it remained in the hands of the Gray family until 1892

CHARLES BLACKADER

Old Black's military court fired volleys



Robert D Marshall on the soldier without legal training who condemned seven rebels

MAJOR General Charles Guinand Blackader was born in Richmond, southwest London in 1869. His father was a teacher, and his mother Charlotte Guinand was German, possibly from Alsace. Charles regarded himself as half French.

A career soldier, Blackader had been commissioned into the Leicestershire regiment in August 1888 and served in Bermuda, Nova Scotia, and West Africa. During the Boer War, Blackader's battalion was besieged at Ladysmith where he won the Distinguished Service Order.

Less heroically, his subsequent administrative responsibilities at Balmoral in the Transvaal, included the railway station and the concentration camp. Promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1912, he was given command of a battalion. In October 1914, Blackader was on rotation in India when his battalion was posted to France as part of the Garhwal Brigade, seeing action for much of 1915.

Known in his regiment as 'Old Black', Blackader — following a recommendation by Lieut-Col Haig — commanded 177 Brigade, 59th (2nd North Midland) Division from January to the end of June 1916. He was also an extra Aide-de-Camp to the King from 1 January 1916 to 31 December 1917.

Blackader's brigade was posted to Ireland to quell the Easter Rising and he was one of the officers chosen by General Maxwell to sit on the military courts. While William Wylie — prosecutor in the trials at which Blackader presided — regarded him as not particularly imaginative, the Countess of Fingall (with whom Blackader dined on 2 May 1916, in the midst of the

trials) considered him dreadfully affected by the work he had to do.

Blackader, like the other judges, had no legal training, although Maxwell who convened the trials, had a lawyer on his staff and informal advice from James Campbell MP, the Irish Attorney General. The courts convened were military courts to try those coming before them under military law. The law of the army was English and applied whether in India, France, or Ireland. The army courts were structured to administer discipline, not necessarily the same as justice, and could not try soldiers for crimes such as murder or assault which were matters for the civil courts.

From the middle of Easter Week, Dublin was a proclaimed area under Defence of the Realm Acts (DORA). Martial law was also declared so that the military could not be restrained by the civil courts. Wimbourne's proclamation declaring DORA operative, made civilians in Dublin subject to military law to the extent that they could be tried by military rather than civil courts for breaches of the DORA code. DORA envisaged an invasion and hostilities within the King's realm when those waging war with the intention of aiding the enemy — broadly, treason — would be exposed to the death penalty before a military court. The insurgents were so charged in trials conducted hastily and in secret, organised by General Aloysius Byrne from Derry.

Initially, no evidence of "intention to aid the enemy" was available. Pearse provided the evidence. A postscript on a letter to his mother from Arbour Hill Prison read: "I understand that the German expedition on which I was counting actually set sail but was defeated by the British." This letter



Charles Blackader photographed at his British Army HQ in Le Sart, France in July 2015.

BRITISH LIBRARY

was produced at the trial presided over by Blackader and relied upon to convict Pearse. MacDonagh and Clarke were charged similarly on the same day before the same judges, and found guilty.

During MacDonagh's trial, Blackader, possibly concerned that the proofs being presented were thin, enquired about the Proclamation which referred to "gallant allies in Europe". Wylie, the prosecutor, conceded he could not rely upon it, as a signed copy could not be found.

On the night of their trial, Maxwell confirmed the sentences on Pearse, MacDonagh and Clarke, who were shot at dawn the next morning. He had before him the terse blue forms signed by Blackader which précised the evidence, and, it appears, additional information from the RIC and DMP files not produced to the court.

All those accused denied an intention to aid Germany. While not produced at any other trial, the damage had been done by Pearse's letter, despite his care to confine the admission to himself. There were 160 trials in two weeks, imposing 90 death sentences, of which 75 were commuted.

SNAPSHOT

CHARLES BLACKADER

Born: September 20, 1869, London

Educated: Royal Military College, Sandhurst

Affiliation: British Army

Career: Soldier

Died: April 2, 1921, Millbank Military Hospital

The court Blackader chaired sentenced seven of the 15 executed in Ireland. An aide on Maxwell's staff wrote to Lady Maxwell that General Byrne had been a marvel and the trials would not otherwise have been completed before the civilians intervened.

Controversy surrounds the demeanour of Constance Markievicz at her trial presided over by Blackader. Publicly she was forthright but afterwards Wylie, her prosecutor, alleged she pleaded emotionally at the trial that a woman could not be shot: shrewdly raising the spectre of Nurse Edith Cavell shot by the Germans in Belgium in November 1915. The court recommended the Countess to mercy, solely on account of her sex.

Blackader, on promotion to Major General, left Ireland in June 1916, to command the 38th Welsh Division at the battles of the Somme in July. He was invested with the Order of the Bath (Military Division) in January 1917 for valuable military services in the field and, like many other senior British officers, received decorations from Belgium and France. He contracted lockjaw in May 1918 when licked by his dog and was treated at the Pasteur Clinic in Paris before returning to Ireland in November 1918 to command the southern district.

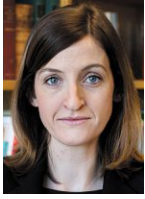
Blackader, who married with two daughters, died on April 2, 1921 and is buried in Putney Vale Cemetery near Richmond.

Robert D Marshall was President of the Irish Legal History Society from 2012-2015. He is the author of Lieutenant WE Wylie KC: the Soldiering Lawyer of 1916 published by Four Courts Press (2013) in Larkin and Dawson eds. Lawyers the Law and History

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A legal travesty?



Dr Niamh Howlin examines the evidence in Roger Casement's London trial — the only full court hearing afforded one of the rebels



AFTER Roger Casement's capture on Banna Strand he was brought to London. During his interrogation on Easter Monday, news of the Rising filtered through, and by the end of the week, English public opinion of Casement had plummeted. He was presumed to have been the instigator of the Rising, although in reality he had come to Ireland to try to prevent it. While their first instinct had been to try him before a court-martial, the British government ultimately opted for the public spectacle of a full civil trial. Casement, however, would have preferred a court-martial like the other rebels.

Solicitor Gavan Duffy offered to arrange the defence. A number of leading barristers, fearing contamination by association, refused to represent Casement. Eventually, Duffy's brother-in-law, Alexander Martin Sullivan agreed to take the case. Well-established as a lawyer in Ireland, he viewed this as his opportunity to make a name for himself in English legal circles. With him was Artemus Jones, Professor JF Morgan, an expert in constitutional law, and American lawyer Michael Francis Doyle. They were pitted against the attorney-general for England and Wales, Frederick Smith (a strong opponent of Irish nationalism); Archibald Bodkin (later the Director of Public Prosecutions) and Travers Humphreys.

The four-day trial at bar took place in the King's Bench, before not one but three senior judges, as well as a jury of high-ranking individuals. A trial at bar was quite the public spectacle, often used in serious cases such as high treason. Many Irish nationalists had been tried in this manner in the past, including Daniel O'Connell and Charles Stewart Parnell.

Casement was charged with high treason, defined under a 1351 statute as "levying war against the King or being adherent to the King's enemies in his realm, giving them aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere." Sullivan's defence was that Casement had not "adhered to the King's enemies" in the realm; all of his treasonable acts had taken place before he had set foot on British soil. In other words, he did not deny the treason, but argued that as it had taken place outside the jurisdiction, the 1351 Act did not apply.

This was a fairly novel argument, and not one with which Casement was particularly comfortable. Helped by George Bernard Shaw, he had intended to use his defence as an opportunity to make a very public declaration of Ireland's cause. His friends, however, did not think he ought to testify at trial at all, and were of the view that he would be unable to stand up to a gruelling cross-examination by the prosecution. Such a cross-examination was also likely to bring squarely into the public domain the personal diaries (known as the Black Diaries) which had been discovered among his possessions. If, however, he went along with Sullivan's more technical argument, he would not have to testify under oath at all.

Sullivan did not, realistically, expect that his defence would actually succeed. It was a highly academic argument and there were legal precedents against it. Casement's best hope, in the view of many, would



Above: Gavan Duffy, with Professor Morgan, at Bow Street, London, for the defence of Roger Casement.



Above right: For the prosecution, Archibald Bodkin and Travers Humphreys.

Right: Roger Casement is escorted to the gallows of Pentonville Prison, London after being found guilty of high treason.

Inset, top left: a drawing of Casement in the dock.

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be a conviction followed by a reprieve.

After the prosecution case consisting of testimony from Limburg POWs and witnesses from Banna Strand, Sullivan set out his argument. His motion to quash the indictment was, predictably, refused. He had staked everything on this line of defence, and could not now change course and call witnesses.

Casement was allowed to make a brief unsworn statement, then both sides addressed the jury in turn. In his speech, Sullivan began to shift his defence towards that which had been suggested by Casement and Shaw, drawing parallels between the actions of Casement and those of the Ulster Volunteers. However, he was rebuked by the bench and could not continue with this line of argument. Chief Justice Reading charged the jury before they retired, and

in less than an hour they returned with the unsurprising verdict of 'Guilty'.

Having been convicted, Casement could then make a speech from the dock. This was his opportunity to explain and justify the Rising, and he read out an eloquent speech, contextualising the events of the previous three years. When he concluded, the judges donned the traditional black caps and passed the sentence of death.

He was sent to Pentonville Prison until his appeal began on July 17, 1916 in the Court of Criminal Appeal. The five senior judges heard more than a day's worth of argument from Sullivan, but it was not considered necessary for the Attorney General to address the court at all. The judges rejected the appeal. Leave to appeal to the House of Lords was refused, because the Attorney General would not certify

that the case concerned a point of law of exceptional public importance.

Even at this late stage in proceedings, Casement and his supporters still had hope: there was the possibility that a reprieve might be granted by the Cabinet. Usually, the more influential individuals and groups that supported a petition for clemency, the more likely it was to be granted. There was significant international pressure brought to bear, and George Bernard Shaw, Arthur Conan Doyle, Douglas Hyde, John Dillon, Eva Gore-Booth, Cardinal Logue, Alice Stopford Green and William Butler Yeats were among those who supported Casement's appeal for clemency.

Many others refused, however, either because of their abhorrence at Casement's betrayal, or because of the rumours of his homosexuality. These were fuelled by the circulation of parts of the Black Diaries. Ernley Blackwell, the Home Office's legal advisor, was largely responsible for the leak, and also prepared a memorandum for the Cabinet referring to the diaries and emphasising that Casement's sentence should be carried out. The stigma of homosexuality had a devastating effect on public support for Casement. No reprieve was granted, and Casement was hanged on August 3.

Was the Casement trial a travesty of justice? There was a certain inevitability about the verdict. It was extremely unlikely that any English jury would have failed to find him guilty. In fact, during his speech from the dock, Casement lamented the fact that he had not been tried before an Irish jury: "With all respect I assert this court is to me, an Irishman, not a jury of my peers... I have a right, an indefeasible right... to be tried in Ireland, before an Irish court and by an Irish jury."

Casement would have had a very strong chance of acquittal by an Irish jury; however, had he been tried in Ireland it is unlikely that the authorities would have been prepared to risk this. He would either have been court-martialled like the other rebels, or tried in a juryless civil court following the suspension of jury trials during Easter week.

One striking omission from the trial was any mention of Casement's real reason for landing in Ireland. The prosecution sidestepped this issue because it would have weakened (or at least complicated) their case; Casement avoided mentioning it because he did not wish to appear disloyal to the rebels, especially in the aftermath of the executions. In any event, it probably would not have helped his defence, because his treasonable acts were said to have been committed while he was in Germany.

There were other dubious aspects to the trial, such as Smith's oblique references to 'a diary' before the jury, and Casement's unhappiness with Sullivan's defence.

Although there were certainly defects in Casement's trial, the fact that he received a full jury trial at least afforded him the opportunity to make his speech from the dock; something denied to those who were summarily convicted in the immediate aftermath of the Rising.

Dr Niamh Howlin is a lecturer at the UCD Sutherland School of Law



Irish agog at moving pictures

First films shown less than year after cinematograph invention, writes **Fergus Cassidy**

In the early 1900s one newspaper referred to the cinematograph as an invention that “is beyond all doubt one of the most marvelous of the century”. Whatever about the rest of the 20th century, the years between 1896 and 1916 saw the new media of silent film projection firmly established in Ireland. It was no passing fad, and it experienced growth and popularity that continued to the present. Moving pictures and film-making initially availed of the plentiful theatres throughout the country, before the emergence of dedicated cinemas. The success also brought regulation, firstly on safety grounds, then classification, followed by censorship.

Ireland didn't lag behind international trends as less than a year after Auguste and Louis Lumière displayed their cinematograph invention in Paris in 1895, the first films were shown in Dan Lowrey's Star of Erin Theatre of Varieties (now the Olympia) in Dame Street, Dublin. These were very short films made by the Lumière brothers themselves. The following year the brothers sent camera crews to film on the streets of Belfast and Dublin, the latter footage lasting less than 30 seconds.

In 1908, a dedicated picture house opened at St George's Hall, High Street, Belfast, and was followed by the Star Picture Palace in that city. The *Evening Mail* pointed out that: “In England there is a growing demand for cinematograph entertainments. Every important town has its permanent ‘picture show’, and the Colonial Picture Combine see no reason why Ireland should not be adequately represented in this respect.” The comment marked the opening of the People's Popular Picture Palace at the former Queen's Theatre in Dublin's Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street) with over 1,000 seats.

Another dedicated cinema opened to the public on 21 December 1909 in 45 Mary Street, Dublin, called the Volta Electric Theatre. It was set up and managed by the writer James Joyce. There was room for 420 people who paid from 3d to 6d (1.5 to 3cent). The opening night featured *La Pourponnière*, *The First Paris Orphanage*, and *Beatrice Cenci*. The Grafton cinema opened its doors in Grafton Street, Dublin in 1911.

In March 1912 Rotunda Pictures, Dublin, showed *Objections Overruled*, a wild west comedy, a drama *Princess of the Hills*, and *Easter Celebrations in Malta*. Music was provided by the Irish Ladies' String Quartet.

Films were initially accompanied by a



US-based movie firm Kalem produced movies based in Ireland such as 'The Lad From Old Ireland' (above) and 'Colleen Bawn' (below).

Right: July 1915 newspaper ads for picture houses in Dublin's Talbot and Dame Streets.



pianist, but many cinemas hired up to ten musicians per show. Local soloists were put on contracts, providing openings for professional players. The *Irish Examiner* carried a tongue-in-cheek article under the heading “A New Profession”, declaring: “Among the new callings which the cinematograph has brought into being is that of ‘film reviewer’.” The trade journal, *The Irish Builder*, reported in 1914 that there were “26 buildings for cinematograph display in Dublin alone”. The total for Britain was 5,000 in that same year.

Following several serious fires, caused by flammable nitrate film stock, the Cinematograph Act came into operation in January 1910. This placed responsibility on local authorities to license cinemas. While limited to the safety aspects of buildings, there were calls to go further and regulate the content of films. Two years later the British Board of Film Censors was established. It offered two certificates, U (suitable for all) and A (adults only).

The Irish Vigilance Association campaigned to stop the spread of “bad and

unsavoury literature”. This was extended to cinemas where films were occasionally disrupted by the group. They weren't alone. Joseph O'Shea, a Fianna na hÉireann member in Cork, recalled a protest against the showing of a British Army recruiting film. “We were to have got rotten eggs but they could not be got and we had to use good ones. About six boys went into the gallery, and when Míceál Ó Cuill blew a whistle signal in the pit we battered the screen with the eggs.”

While films about Ireland were made, they were produced by companies such as the US-based Kalem and aimed at Irish-American audiences. Its first film, *The Lad from Old Ireland* (1910), was shot in Kerry and New York and ran for 12 minutes. The company also made *Colleen Bawn* (1911). The Film Company of Ireland produced the drama *Fun Fair at Finglas* in 1915. It featured the adventures of two escaped prisoners and was shot in Finglas, Westland Row railway station and Blanchardstown. The film was never released as the footage was destroyed during the Rising.



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CRIMES OF THE YOUNG BLAMED ON NEW MEDIA

The popularity of moving pictures, the new media of that time, was linked to the causes of criminality, especially by the young.

In 1913 three Dublin boys appeared in court charged with stealing two dozen tennis balls from Tritonville Tennis Club in Sandymount, Dublin. They were also charged with the theft of biscuits, 2s 6d in coppers, and a football pump from Lansdowne Road Football Club.

They pleaded guilty and their solicitor appealed on their behalf. He said that “it would seem that the boys became excited over some films they had seen at a picture theatre dealing with Broncho Bill.”

Broncho Billy Anderson (1880-1971) was an American, actor, writer, director and producer, who was the first cowboy star, making over 140 short films, including *Broncho Billy's Last Deed* and *Broncho Billy's Last Hold Up*.

In January 1916, two young boys were charged with breaking and entering a Dublin banana store. Their solicitor argued that did it because of watching burglaries at the picture houses which “were the means of leading many a young fellow astray”.

In Mullingar Petty Sessions court two, boys aged 11 were found guilty of stealing 30s from shops. They were arrested in the picture house and money was found in their stockings.

The court was told that the showing of pictures such as *The Clutching Hand* had a very bad effect on them. They were committed to industrial school for five years.



Broncho Billy Anderson (1880-1971).

16 LIVES

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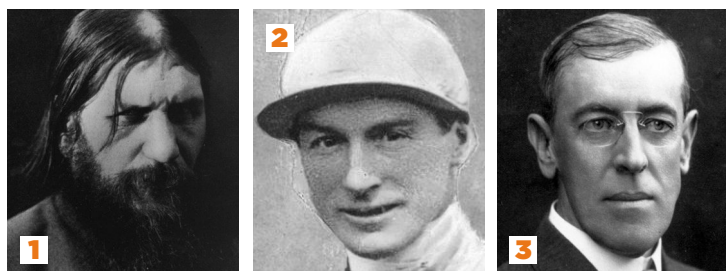
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NINE LIVES

Grainne Coyne on the sports stars politicians and artists of the era

1 BORN **Grigori Yefimovich Rasputin** in Siberia around 1869, he briefly studied at a monastery before becoming known for his alleged healing abilities. He was a favourite of Empress Alexandra after he appeared to help cure her haemophilic son, Alexei, through prayer. The imperial family's opponents used Rasputin to undermine its credibility but the Empress continued to defend Rasputin and dismissed ministers who were said to be suspicious of the "mad monk". Rasputin survived an assassination attempt in 1914 but two years later a group of conspirators fed him wine and cakes laced with cyanide, shot him, and threw him in the Neva River.

2 **Steve Donoghue** was one of the biggest sports stars of the era, winning the British flat jockey championship every year from 1914 to 1923. Born into a steel-worker's family in 1884, he decided to become a jockey after winning a prize for riding a donkey at a circus. He learned his trade with spells in France and, from 1907-11, in Ireland. He won the Epsom Derby on six occasions, including three in succession from 1921-23. One of his famous mounts was Brown Jack, who he rode to six Queen Alexandra Stakes at Ascot.

He took to training with little success and died in 1945.

3 **Woodrow Wilson** was born in Virginia in 1856, and spent his youth in the South, where he lived through the Civil War. He studied at Princeton and became the university's 13th president in 1902 before entering politics where he spent two years as governor of New Jersey. In 1912 he was elected President of the United States, and endorsed women's right to vote, which was ratified in 1920. Wilson also saw America through the First World War, negotiated the Versailles Treaty and crafted the League of Nations. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919 and died in 1924.

4 Born Emmeline Goulden in Manchester in 1858, she became **Emmeline Pankhurst** after marrying in 1879. In 1889, she joined the Women's Franchise League and founded the Women's Social and Political Union (1903). She encouraged the WSPU to use militant tactics, which often led to members being imprisoned, including Pankhurst herself in 1908. She shelved suffragette activism when war broke out, and British women were granted limited rights to vote and stand

for Parliament in 1918. She ran for Westminster as a Conservative, but her campaign was disrupted by ill health and she died in 1928, shortly before women were given full voting rights.

5 Born in Kentucky in 1875, **DW Griffith** began his creative career as a playwright before moving onto acting and directing. He was famous for creating highly innovative filmmaking techniques and started to develop two-reel works which led him to making the four-reel film *Judith of Bethulia* (1914), which meant the movie could play for an hour. He independently directed the feature-length work *Birth of a Nation* (1915), which was very successful but surrounded in controversy. In 1919, Griffith co-founded United Artists with Charlie Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks Sr. and Mary Pickford. He died in Hollywood in 1948.

6 Born in 1878 in Cork, **Daniel Corkery** was an accomplished water-colourist, dramatist and co-founder of the Cork Dramatic Society (1908). He was also an inspiring teacher and mentor to writers Frank O'Connor, Seán Ó Faoláin and Seán Ó Tuama. Corkery's first

collection of short stories *A Munster Twilight* was published in 1916 but perhaps his best-known book is his study of Irish literature, *The Hidden Ireland* (1924). After 1916 he channelled his patriotism into promoting cultural nationalism in the Gaelic League. In 1931 Corkery was appointed UCC Professor of English, and was later nominated to the Seanad by Éamon De Valera. Corkery died in 1964.

7 An Asian circus elephant named **Big Mary**, dubbed 'Murderous Mary', became renowned across the world in 1916. During a circus performance in Kingsport, Tennessee an unqualified handler, Red Eldridge, tried to persuade Mary back on track with a hook, but dug too deep into her skin. She reached him from behind with her trunk, slammed him to the ground and then squashed his head with her foot. Kingsport's magistrate ordered Big Mary's execution and circus owner, Charlie Sparks, reluctantly agreed. More than 2,500 came to witness the lynching but it took two attempts before the elephant died.

8 **Dick 'Drug' Walsh** was one of four Kilkenny players who

made history in 1913 by winning their seventh All-Ireland medal, the others being Dick Doyle, Sim Walton and Jack Rochford. 'Drug' picked up his nickname as a boy when he mispronounced a popular song, 'Clare's Dragoons', growing up in Mooncoin. Walsh made his Kilkenny debut in 1904, helping the county to dominate the next decade. They clinched the three-in-a-row in 1913 with a 2-4 to 1-2 win over Tipperary in the first 15-a-side hurling final. He retired after Kilkenny lost to Laois in the 1914 Leinster final, but the following year took over as trainer of Laois and took them to their only All-Ireland win. He died in 1958.

9 Born in 1874 in Aberdeen, soprano **Mary Garden** was famous for her vivid operatic portrayals. Garden's family emigrated to America when she was seven. She travelled to Paris to train and made her public debut in 1900 in Gustave Charpentier's *Louise* at the Opéra-Comique. She was an immediate success and sang in *La Traviata* (1903). She was chosen by Claude Debussy to sing the female lead in the premiere of his *Pelléas et Mélisande*, which became her most infamous role. She sang with the Chicago Civic Opera from 1910 until she retired in 1931. She died in 1967, aged 93.

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- * *Thomas Clarke*, by Helen Litton (O'Brien Press, 2014)
- * *The Secret Court Martial Records of the Easter Rising*, by Brian Barton (The History Press, 2010)
- * *Grandpa the Sniper: The Remarkable Story of a 1916 Volunteer*, by Frank Shouldice (Liffey Press, 2015)

- * *Years of Turbulence, the Irish Revolution and its Aftermath*, edited by Diarmaid Ferriter and Susannah Riordan (UCD Press, 2015)
- * *Joe Stanley: Printer to the Rising*, by Tom Reilly (Brandon, 2005)

WATCH...

- * RTE three-part documentary series *1916* narrated by Liam Neeson. Now available on the RTE player. <http://bit.ly/23YDRTE>

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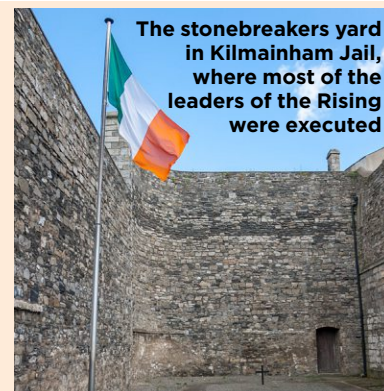
- * 'De Valera and 1916', a lecture by Professor Ronan Fanning in St Mary's Church, Haddington Road, Dublin. Thursday March 10, 7.15pm. Admission free.

LISTEN TO...

- * The Stonebreakers Yard — RTE documentary from 1999 on the executions, www.rte.ie/radio1/

VISIT

- * Kilmainham Jail is open seven



The stonebreakers yard in Kilmainham Jail, where most of the leaders of the Rising were executed

days a week, from 9.30am to 5.30pm, with the last tour leaving at 4.30pm. Access is by guided tour only. Recent building works has meant parts of the prison have been inaccessible but it is expected to open fully next month. Tickets cannot be booked in advance and long queues have been a regular occurrence this year. Admission is €4 for adults, €3 seniors, €2 for children/students, with a €10 family ticket.

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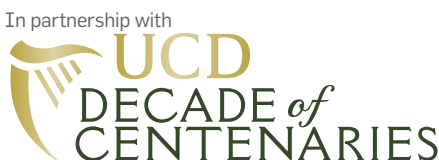
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