

A Terrible Beauty is Born:

The Leadership of James Connolly and Patrick Pearse

And the Controversial Legacy of the Easter Rising

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Group Performance Senior Division

Process Paper: 498 words

PROCESS PAPER

We were initially attracted to our topic by the poem that immortalized it, William Butler Yeats' "Easter 1916." This poem incorporates a multiplicity of themes crucial to Irish nationalism, among them the necessity of enshrining nationalist leadership, the generation of historical legacy, and the inseparable terror and beauty of militant nationalist ideology. We completed background research into the Easter Rising, the subject of Yeats' poem, and discovered that it fit well with the annual theme. When Irish nationalists seized Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916 and declared an Irish republic, they set in motion events that led to the creation of an Irish free state and invigorated a tradition of nationalist bloodshed that was to shape Irish memory and politics for 100 years. Narrowing our topic, we focused on the most visible of the Rising leaders, James Connolly and Patrick Pearse, the former a military leader, the latter a political one. These men exhibited complementary leadership styles, in distinct but necessary spheres of influence.

We began by studying secondary sources, especially books, scholarly articles, and interviews with experts. We encountered primary sources, including articles, diary entries of Rising rebels, letters, and poems, at the archives of the New York Public Library. At the Boston Public Library, we pored over microfilm records of Connolly's publications and political advertisements documenting the Rising and its aftermath. We examined witness statements catalogued by the Irish Bureau of Military History, and investigated the 1966 Rising commemoration and the Troubles through sources digitized by the National Library of Ireland. Our favorite sources were interviews with individuals, Irish and English, who experienced and shaped the Rising's legacy.

We chose the performance category because it allows us to bring historical events to life for an audience. Our topic lends itself well to this category. The Rising leaders imbued their insurrection with an inherent theatricality, choosing a headquarters that was impossible to defend but romantically columned, passionately reading their Proclamation, and crafting poems on their deathbeds. In our performance, we play characters diverse in perspective: Connolly, Pearse, General Maxwell, a female soldier, Irish citizens, a British soldier, and Irish Republican Army paramilitaries. We designed a set that transitions from 1916 Dublin to 1970 Northern Ireland and interspersed performance with original analysis, quotations, poetry and song.

Our project strongly relates to the theme, “Leadership and Legacy.” The Rising was shaped by the leadership of Pearse, a skilled linguist with superior visionary capabilities, and Connolly, a labor leader who believed in the integrity and equality of every individual. Albeit a military failure, the Rising legitimized violence as a political tool in Ireland. Immediately following the Rising, nationalist unrest sparked the Irish Revolutionary Period and precipitated the Partition of Ireland; fifty years later, commemoration revitalized Rising ideology among terrorists who wreaked havoc on an innocent Irish and English populace in Northern Ireland for the next three decades. As the 100th anniversary of the Rising approaches, investigation of violence as political influence remains crucial to historians, to Ireland, and to the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1. Adams, Gerry. "Introduction, The Good Friday Agreement, Epilogue." *A Farther Shore: Ireland's Long Road to Peace*. New York: Random House, 2003. Xxvii+. Print.

Adams, president of the Sinn Fein organization, addresses his experience during The Troubles in as he chronologically explores the events leading up to the Good Friday Agreement. Due to his in-depth involvement, he is able to speculate the future of Ireland and share his hopes of how Ireland will truly gain peace.

2. Agnew, Arthur P. *Witness Statement: Member of the I.R.B. and I.V. Liverpool and F/Coy Dublin Brigade*. 1948. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

This particular source revealed to us the strengths and weaknesses of guerrilla warfare and how the IRA conducted this type of warfare during the Easter Rising. The witness also revealed his conditions during the surrender and his time as a P.O.W; his relatively good time in an English prison showed that some rebels were treated as proper citizens of the British Empire. Furthermore, the witness described how the Irish people responded positively to his heroism when he finally was released.

3. Aghas, Nora. *Witness Statement: Sister of Thomas Ashe*. 1952. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

This witness report helped us to understand the firsthand effect of the Irish War of Independence. The witness described her loss through the recollection of her fallen brother's life. She also revealed that some war documentation was not accurate and had altered the truth about her brother's life.

4. Aughney, Ellis. *Witness Statement: Member of Executive of Cumann na mBan, 1920*. 1954. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

This witness report helped us to understand the auxiliary efforts of the Cumann na Mban. The witness illustrated how propaganda was made ubiquitous through the Cumann na Mban. She also depicts some facets of her daily life, emphasizing how life draining the rising was. Towards the end of the statement, she begins to question war itself, proving that the Irish were often ideologically divided.

5. Austin, John. *Witness Statement: Eye-Witness of the Battle 28 April 1916, Subject of Ashbourne*. 1953. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

This witness report was particularly interesting. This civilian bystander of the battle that occurred on April 28th, 1916, argued that some of the warfare was particularly civilized, a view that contrasted with those of other witnesses and secondary researchers. There were two belligerents: the police department and the rebels lead by Thomas Ashe. Though the

rebels were defeated, the police department praised them for the conduct, and both sides appropriately honored the dead.

6. Casement, Sir Roger. "Credo of the Irish Volunteers." 2 August 1914. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

The credo of the Irish Volunteers contained within this article provides justification for the maintenance of an armed Irish people. Because of the centrality of poetry to Irish nationalism, this source, like many others, concludes with a poem. The poem underscores the importance of women to the nationalist movement; written by a female nationalist, it pleads women to rise from their knees and support their Mother (Ireland).

7. Casement, Sir Roger. *Diary Entry*. 17 May 1916. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

This diary entry, penned by Easter Rising leader Sir Roger Casement in the days leading up to the insurrection, provided us with compelling evidence of the stark divisions within the Rising leadership itself. After reading numerous publications by Casement in which he extolled the bravery and moral ascendancy of the men willing to fight for Irish independence, we were surprised to find that Casement's private writings asserted his intense opposition to the Rising's timing. Casement claimed to have been tricked into helping coordinate the Rising by being deprived of the most significant details of the violence he was facilitating.

8. Casement, Sir Roger. *Diary Entry*. 27 March 1916. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

Writing in his diary just weeks before the Easter Rising, insider Roger Casement expressed doubts about the motivations of the Rising's leaders. Claiming that men such as John Devoy, James Connolly, and Patrick Pearse were seeking one last heroic battle to solidify their own martyrdom, he provides a strong argument that the 1916 rebels did not truly have the interests of the Irish nation at heart. We noted that numerous revisionist historians have also questioned whether the impracticality of the Rising's military strategy and timing may demonstrate the leaders' lack of regard for the success (or lack thereof) of their foredoomed endeavor.

9. Casement, Sir Roger. "Draft and Notes on the Arming of the Irish Volunteers." 27 July 1914. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

This manuscript discusses the first attempt made to arm the Irish Volunteers, a militant nationalist group that would fight alongside several others in the Easter Rising. Roger Casement, who was involved in the organization of the Volunteers and in later arms negotiations leading up to the Rising, describes the "hypocrisy" and "lawless violence" that ensued when the English army shot down the Volunteers for arming in the same way as the Ulster Volunteers (a militant Loyalist group), which did not receive a similar punishment. The hypocritical English violence describe here is a harbinger of later strict punishments implemented by English forces in the wake of the Rising, which would alienate the Irish public and strengthen the nationalist coalition.

10. Casement, Sir Roger. *The Language of the Outlaw*. Dublin: 1904. Print.

This rich document provides a strong argument for a nationalist revival of Irish language, claiming that, when a people's language is stolen, "every other stronghold of nationality must inevitably fall." Vehemently rejecting the common argument that Irish language is useless, obsolete, and irrelevant to nationalism, the author makes use of biblical comparison (claiming that Irish under the English is akin to Hebrew under the Egyptians) and lists affronts to the linguistic dignity of the Irish people, including harsh fines and penalties enacted for the use of the Irish language in public service.

11. Casement, Sir Roger. "Letter to the Editor: Communications, Irishry of Ulster." *The Nation* [London] 1915. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

This letter to the editor of an English newspaper describes the usage of the Irish language in the Irish province of Ulster. The people of Ulster used Irish language stamps until the postmaster general banned such postage, and even Ulster Hall, the so-called mecca of Unionist devotion to England, bore an Irish inscription. The author's larger argument is in support of a revival of the oppressed Irish language, and a claim that those who speak English destroy any remnants of the Irish nation.

12. Casement, Sir Roger. "Motto." Ca. 1914. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

Roger Casement, like many other leading nationalists, was a poet. This poetic motto gave insight on his character, providing a lens through which we could more effectively view other sources. In this short poem, Casement shows that he is “never a man of action quite” and “never a dreamer lost to sight” but rather a pragmatic man who consequently has kept his “mind in the darkness half interred.” This poem explains Casement’s opposition to the Easter Rising as rash and ill-timed idiocy, despite his obvious endorsement of nationalist aims.

13. Casement, Sir Roger. *Notes on an Interview with Unnamed Easter Rebel*. 1916. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

This interview with an unnamed soldier who participated in the Easter Rising details orders given to the participants just before the insurrection took place. Telegraph and telephone wires were to be cut, the Dublin Railroad and Cork line were to be disrupted, all traffic was to be stopped, and police were to be offered the options of death or of joining the fight on the side of the rebels. Interestingly, the manuscript describes the lack of instructional clarity and the prevailing uncertainty over whether the Rising would be called off even as late as the day before the fighting began.

14. Casement, Sir Roger. “Quo Vadis.” Ca. 1916. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

The Latin title “Quo Vadis?” which translates as “Where are you going?” encapsulates the uncertainty embedded in this brief poem. Roger Casement’s poem expresses fear that

the oppression of Ireland will never end, in tension with deeply felt dubiety of the efficacy of rebellious political violence. It was clear from this poem that the author, while certain of his nationalist convictions, was unable to grapple with the disruption of peace and law that such political goals seemed to mandate.

15. Casement, Sir Roger. "Sinn Fein." Ca. 1914. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

Appropriately titled, this poem gives credence to the ideological underpinnings of the Sinn Fein party. While acknowledging the current hopelessness of the Sinn Fein struggle, given that the "night shows yet no margin," the author expresses the hope that, ultimately, "the old self-trusting Celt" will stand alone, "the Land he lost by alien-trust, re-won." The preeminence of poetry such as this differentiates the Irish nationalist movement from most other nationalisms.

16. Casement, Sir Roger. *Some of the Causes That Lead to the Blow Being Struck*. 1915. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

This source paraphrases a speech delivered by Patrick Pearse on Easter Sunday 1916 in Dublin. This source, like many other primary sources, gave us insight into Pearse's strong conviction that the only way to save the Irish nation was to spill blood and lay down the lives of brave men. We concluded that Pearse's ability to articulate an ideology that would remain entrenched in Irish thought for the next century is a demonstration of his leadership.

17. Casement, Sir Roger. "Ulster and Ireland." Ed. W. L. Courtney. *Fortnightly Review* [London] November 1913. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

This article from the *Fortnightly Review*, one of the most important and influential British magazines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, discusses the tense relationship between Irish Catholics and English Protestants at the time of its writing, and implicates the Union of England and Ireland in counterintuitively exacerbating the divisions between these groups. Claiming that the Protestant Church in Ireland is unable to "divest itself of the phraseology of conquest," the Catholic author calls Protestantism in Ireland artificial and assimilation impossible for the duration of the maintenance of contemporary policies of conquest. This source also reminded readers that British domination depended on restricting freedom of the mind, and was intended to garner support for Irish religious, linguistic, and cultural revivalism.

18. Casement, Sir Roger. "Untitled Poem Commemorating Fallen Rebels." Ca. 1914. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

Roger Casement shows, through this poem, that the Irish needed to remember and redeem the deaths of his fellow Irish nationalists. We found its allusions to martyrdom particularly revealing; a willingness to die for the cause of Ireland was seen as the highest virtue by many. The trend of idealizing fallen rebels was to continue and grow following the Rising.

19. Casement, Sir Roger. "Why Casement Went to Germany." 10 October 1916. *Evening Mail* [New York]. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

The decision of the Irish rebels to involve Germany in the Easter Rising is a controversial one, because it took place in the midst of World War I. In this article, Casement justifies his decision to go to Germany, arguing that in the long history of British rule in Ireland, no English government was capable of treating Ireland as anything but a hostile and foreign state, and thus he believed it appropriate for the Irish to be armed, not to foment a rebellion, but to protect the Irish from police violence and conscription into World War I. That the arms he negotiated were actually to be used for the Easter Rising, Casement claims, was unknown to him at the time and was the cause of his deepest regret.

20. Clan-na-Gael and Irish Republican Army Veterans of America. *Easter Week Commemoration Concert*. Clan-na-Gael and Irish Republican Army Veterans of America, 1952. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

In 1952, a commemoration concert of the Easter Rising was held in New York. This program asks the public to, "Re-arm the IRA and enthrone the Republic." The holding of this concert in the United States speaks to the reach of the Rising's legacy, and thus we viewed this as a primary source.

21. Connolly, James. "Arouse!" Ed. James Connolly. 1898. *The Worker's Republic Dublin*.

Print. Boston Public Library Microfilm Collection.

Connolly's involvement in poetry began as a mimicking of the literary tactics used by his nationalist cohorts. This poem seeks to instill a sense of urgency in potential nationalist militants.

22. Connolly, James. "Be Moderate." Ed. James Connolly. 1907. *The Worker's Republic Dublin*.

Print. Boston Public Library Microfilm Collection.

This sarcastic poem articulates Connolly's adherence to a vision of eventual proletarian ascendancy, rather than a desire to rectify the situation of the lower class only in the instance of Ireland. Connolly's working class followers, this poem claims, "only want the earth"--and even this is a moderate goal for those to whom the earth ought to have been given as a birthright.

23. Connolly, James. "Labour in Irish History." Ed. James Connolly. 1898. *The Worker's Republic Dublin*. Print.

This series of articles, detailing the history of Ireland with special attention to the role of the working class in that narrative, appeared in *The Worker's Republic*, a periodical edited by Connolly. Connolly's history is an example a nationalist paradox: a subjective belief in the antiquity of a nation exists in the hearts and rhetoric of those who espouse nationalism, despite the relatively modern development of nation as a legitimate geo-

political force. The ability to develop nationalist subjectivity was key to the leadership of Connolly and Pearse.

24. Connolly, James. "Last Statement." Interview by Nora Connolly. 1916: *Marxist Internet Archive*. Web.

In this statement, taken by his own daughter immediately before his death, Connolly reiterates his vision for an independent Ireland, claiming that the nationalist cause will be safe as long as young Irish boys and girls are willing to kill and die for freedom. We were primarily interested in this statement because we found it chilling in light of its accurate assertion of a continuing metanarrative of recurring Irish nationalist violence.

25. Connolly, James. "The Liberty of Language." Ed. James Connolly. 1898. *The Worker's Republic* [Dublin]. Print.

In our script, we pay especial attention to the Irish linguistic revival championed by to-be leaders of the Easter Rising at the turn of the twentieth century. We were excited to uncover this gem of an article within microfilm records housed at the Boston Public Library. Here, Connolly uses colorful language to proclaim that the use of Gaelic constitutes freedom itself, and that the acceptance of English is nothing more than cowardice and betrayal.

26. Connolly, James. "Saoirse, A Ruin!" Ed. James Connolly. 1907. *The Worker's Republic* [Dublin]. Print.

This poem shows a connection between the adulation of Gaelic language revivalism in Connolly's persuasive prose, and the deliberate integration of a Gaelic refrain in certain poetic works. Connolly describes in English a "weary road" and a "hard travail," and this description is intermixed with the Gaelic refrain "Saoirse, A Ruin!" which translates to "Freedom, my own!" In this way, Connolly implicitly associates oppression with English and freedom with Gaelic. This was only one of many poems that incorporated Gaelic as a prominent nationalist motif.

27. Connolly, James. "Woman." *The Re-Conquest of Ireland*. Dublin: 1915. Print.

Through our analysis of sources such as this one, we concluded that the defining characteristic of Connolly's leadership was his welcoming of previously subjugated groups into the national consciousness he envisioned. Connolly famously championed the working class, but also firmly believed in feminism. This pamphlet describes the "slavery" of working women in Ireland and announces women's suffrage as key to the nationalist agenda of equality. It is quoted in our script.

28. "Criminal Madness." *Irish Independent* [Dublin] 4 May 1916: *BBC Newspaper Archive*.

Web.

This article, written a week after the Easter Rising, claims that Connolly and Pearse displayed poor leadership and steered impressionable young men in a horrific direction through incendiary rhetoric. Claiming that words alone are insufficient to describe the momentous guilt of the Rising leaders, this author could only express hope they would be

severely dealt with. We found that most papers written just after the Rising provided a similar opinion, but that after the martyrdom of the Rising leaders, the tide of opinion took a dramatic turn.

29. Cumann Na MBan. *Wear an Easter Lily*. 1932. *National Library of Ireland*.

As an act of remembrance, this poster implores the 1932 public to wear an Easter lily. The Easter lily was a symbol of the desired unification of the north and south and of the honor attributed to those who died during the Rising. Characters in our play wear the symbol of the lily during the dramatic portrayal of the Rising's legacy in the 1970s.

30. Curley, Malachy. "Ninety-Two-Year-Old Citizen of the Republic of Ireland." Telephone interview. 5 Feb. 2015.

Malachy Curley was born in the Republic of Ireland shortly after the Partition of Ireland. Thus, his insight into the Easter Rising is shaped by ninety-two years of directly witnessing its evolving legacy. Curley spoke in detail of his parents' experiences during the Revolutionary Period as well as his personal opinions on the Northern Irish Troubles; he concluded by calling the Good Friday Agreement transient and ineffectual, a belief that directly contrasted the perspective of Sir Albert Duffy, another interviewee who resides in England.

31. Curley, Mary. "Citizen of the Republic of Ireland." Personal interview. 26 Jan. 2015.

Mary Curley, who grew up in the Republic of Ireland during the period when the Troubles were brewing in the north, allowed us to interview her and edited drafts of our work, ensuring that we accurately presented Irish public opinions during the Troubles and helping us to decipher Gaelic. Curley told us about her personal experience with the pervasive memory of the Easter Rising, and described to us the reading the Proclamation of the Easter Rising, from its position on the wall, every day in elementary school. She noted that she learned about the concept of nationalism that the Rising rebels espoused from an early age. We considered her a primary source for the legacy aspect of our project.

32. Devoy, John. "Some Facts about Easter Week 1916: Revelations Made Necessary by Erroneous Statements, Made in Good Faith." 23 September 1922. *Gaelic American*. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

John Devoy, this article's author, was one of the leaders of the Easter Rising involved with raising funds and carrying out negotiations with the intent of attaining arms from Germany. This article is noteworthy in that Devoy seeks to distance himself, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and the Irish Volunteers from Sir Roger Casement's efforts to convince the Germans to follow through with the arms shipment, claiming that the entire thing was Casement's unendorsed pet project. The article makes sense given the international unpopularity of the rebels' decision to work with Germany against England during wartime.

33. *Dublin During the Rising*. 1916. Photograph. *The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives*. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

The rubble photographically captured here shows how terrifying the Easter Rising must have been. With many buildings and structures overturned, Dublin no longer seemed like a modern city, but a warzone.

34. *Dublin Ruins Following the 1916 Rising*. 1916. Photograph. Independent Newspapers Firm. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

This picture shows the destruction left by the Rising. Firemen assess the damage in the Dublin streets.

35. Duffy, Seamus. "Former Republic of Ireland Primary School Teacher." Telephone interview. 7 Feb. 2015.

Seamus Duffy lived in Ireland during the Troubles. His previous occupation as a National School Principal and his experience with literature and music allowed us to understand the impact the Rising has had on Irish culture and the overall effects of the Rising. His views on the Easter Rising and the Troubles and those of his cousin, interviewee Sir Albert Duffy, contrasted sharply. While Seamus is a true Irish nationalist who believes in the reunification of Ireland, Albert lives in England and helped to negotiate a British response to the Troubles from his government position in London. These men refuse to speak to each other to this day, a striking demonstration of the legacy of bitterness that still permeates Anglo-Irish relations.

36. Duffy, Sir Albert. "Former United Kingdom Minister During Troubles." Telephone interview. 7 Feb. 2015.

This was our favorite interview and one of our most useful sources. Sir Albert Duffy grew up in England to Irish parents, and thus maintained a lifelong determination to resolve the tension between the two nations. After serving in World War II, he went on to become president of NATO and United Kingdom Defense Minister and confidant of Margaret Thatcher during the Troubles. Because of his mixed heritage, Duffy was equipped to challenge Thatcher's hardline Northern Irish policy during a particularly exciting meeting of the House of Commons, citing prevailing Northern Irish sentiment and psyche of nationality, and credits himself with her eventual political softening. Duffy called the Good Friday Agreement and subsequent improvement in Anglo-Irish relations a "great consolation" to mark the culmination of his ninety-four years of dedication to a resolution.

37. Figgis, Darrell. *Recollections of the Irish War*. Ca. 1928. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

Decisively pro-Rising, this pamphlet describes Eoin MacNeill, Sir Roger Casement, Patrick Pearse, and James Connolly, among others, as selfless leaders. We classified this as a primary source because it elucidated how the public remembered the 1916 leaders during the aftermath of the Rising. We found that the martyrdom of the leaders was a significant factor in the upswing in Sinn Fein supporters during the twenties.

38. "The Genesis of a Rebellion." *The Belfast News-Letter* 2 May 1916. *BBC Newspaper Archive*. Web.

This article reports on the surrender of the Easter Rising leaders, calling General Maxwell's success in cutting of the rebellion, "good news." Many Irish citizens were opposed to the Rising during and immediately after its events, and a surge in positive opinion of the rebels only occurred with time. The character in our script who symbolizes public opinion takes the anti-rebel stance articulated in this article until she alters her views in the post-revolutionary period.

39. Gerrard, E. *British Army Officer in Dublin, 1916-1921*. 1950. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

E. Gerrard soldiered in the British army for seven years during the Rising, and his written account of his involvement in the Rising granted our team an insightful angle on the life and role of British soldiers in the brief uprising. We learned that the English militants were not much better off than those of Ireland, as Gerrard stressed that his men had gone without food for days, and even had to employ 25 untrained foresters, armed with outdated ammunition, in order to combat a Sinn Fein attack. Gerrard praised the elusive, gallant, and brave nature of the insurgents, adding to the volunteers' character of ferocity and desire to be free.

40. Great Britain. *Bill to Suspend the Operation of the Government of Ireland Act, 1914.*

1914. *Enhanced British Parliamentary Papers on Ireland.* Web.

The suspension of the Government of Ireland Act, which would have provided provisional "Home Rule" for an independent Irish parliament at the mercy of the British parliament, was a contentious issue in the years prior to the Rising. The British suspended Home Rule out of desperation for soldiers to fight in World War I; they felt that, if they did not grant Irish Home Rule, they could coerce Irish conscription. This led many to lament that Ireland would never attain a political solution to her problems, invigorating doctrines of violence. Reading this bill helped us to understand this historical context.

41. Great Britain. Royal Commission. *Rebellion in Ireland: Report of Commission.*

1916. *Enhanced British Parliamentary Papers on Ireland.* Web.

In the interest of completing broad and balanced research, we consulted not only Irish sources both for and against nationalism, but also British reports on the Easter Rising, such as this one. Through interviews and meetings, the Royal Commission concluded that the Easter Rising was a result of backwards hatred for England, and falsely blamed the Rising on the separatist Sinn Fein party. This report advises revocation of Irish policing powers, prohibition of public militant organization, and imposition of punitive and preemptive martial law.

42. Harris, Mary. *Political Handkerchiefs: Prison Art*. 1975. Northern Ireland Political Ephemera. Comp. Martin Melaugh. N.p.: U of Ulster, n.d. N. pag. *Conflict Archive on the Internet*. Web.

During the Troubles, incarcerated members of the IRA created protest art on handkerchiefs. They painted images of Pearse and Connolly, excerpts from Pearse's poetry, and motifs symbolic of the 1916 insurrection. Viewing photographs of these handkerchiefs allowed us to infer that, more than fifty years after its culmination, the Easter Rising truly was at the forefront of the minds of IRA paramilitaries. We included images from these handkerchiefs in our set by integrating them into a poster that appears during our depiction of 1970 Northern Ireland.

43. Henderson, Frank. *Frank Henderson's Easter Rising: Recollections of a Dublin Volunteer*. Ed. Michael Hopkinson and David Fitzpatrick. Cork, Ireland: Cork UP, 1998. Print.

Frank Henderson's Easter Rising offered a view of the Rising from someone who witnessed and lived through the circumstances and consequences of the rebellion. Although he did not document his experiences until 1948-1950, his writing shows that he indubitably remembers what life was like surrounding the Easter Rising. This is a primary source because it represents the unfiltered experiences and opinions of a Rising participant.

44. Ireland. Census Office. *Census of Ireland, 1911: Area, Houses, and Population: Also the Ages, Civil or Conjugal Condition, Occupations, Birthplaces, Religion, and Education of the People*. London: Published by H.M.S.O., 1912. Print.

To draw a link between literature and emerging national consciousness in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century, we needed to know the literacy rate in Ireland at the time. Census information from 1911 revealed that, due to mandatory education requirements and free public education, about 73% of Irish citizens could both read and write in 1911, with the illiterate mostly coming from older generations. Our thesis that Patrick Pearse led through linguistic assertions of nationalism was supported by this data.

45. Ireland, United Kingdom of Great Britain. *The Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland*. Arthur Griffith and David Lloyd George. December: 1921. *National Archives of Ireland*. Web.

This treaty, more informally known as the Anglo-Irish Treaty, set up the creation of the Irish Free State, a profoundly important legacy of the leadership of Pearse and Connolly. We felt it was important to read all major political acts and treaties firsthand before discussing them.

46. *Irish Citizen Army Outside Liberty Hall*. 1916. The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

This photo shows the Irish Citizen Army, which Connolly co-founded and commanded during the Rising. The Rising demonstrated that even a small political force, such as this one, can have a huge impact.

47. Irish Labour. "Britain's Disgrace: What the World Thinks of British Rule in Ireland." 1921.

TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

Admittedly a biased source, this pamphlet, which argues that Britain's treatment of Ireland following the Rising led to the empire's international disgrace and chastisement, illuminates the goal of Irish nationalists to garner support from countries beyond Britain. Reprintings within of sympathetic press publications from Belgium, France, Italy, the United States, and British Dominions provoked curiosity and convinced us to investigate the claim that the international press increasingly sided with Ireland during the Rising's aftermath.

48. Irish Labour. "Civil Liberty in Ireland: Under Martial Law and Otherwise." 1921. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This pamphlet, issued during the Irish Revolutionary Period, argues for the triviality of the martial law imposed upon Ireland by Britain in the aftermath of the Easter Rising, on the basis that all Anglo-Irish law is *de facto* martial law. The pamphlet criticizes British imposition of sudden arrest and deportation, trial by court martial (even for young children), impunity for arsonists and looters, and the death penalty for those convicted of

harboring Irish arms or rebels. Many historians argue that these retaliatory policies caused greater changes in Irish public opinion.

49. Irish Labour. "From Irish Labour to British Labour: An Open Letter." 8 January, 1921. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

James Connolly was a committed Socialist who envisioned an Ireland free not only of English political ties, but also of the capitalist shackles inhibiting the enormous and surging Irish underclasses. This open letter from Irish to British Labour affirmed the entanglement of Irish nationalism and economic freedom for the laboring class as it was perceived by Irish Socialists. That the Labour Movement was motivated to dedicate itself so vehemently to Irish freedoms speaks to the inclusion of the Irish lower classes in the national community, an inclusion that Connolly was instrumental in creating.

50. Irish Labour. "The Road to Peace: The Cessation of Violence and the Opening up of Negotiations." 1921. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This pamphlet was one of many highly interesting documents that we were privileged to view the incredible archives of the Boston Public Library. This source identifies the Irish with peace, and the British, by contrast, with an unwillingness to negotiate a cessation of violence. While external historians often criticize Irish revolutionaries for the unchecked violence that intermittently marks Irish history, it is important to consider the Irish

argument that political violence was unwanted but absolutely necessary in the absence of an acceptable British conciliation.

51. Irish Labour. "The Strangling of Ireland: An Appeal to Irish Women." 1921. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

A riveting call to activism can be found in publications such as this one, which resolutely argues that "There must be no question of women filling men's places, or taking any part, active or passive in this Crime against the Irish nation." Based in ideology and necessity, the inclusion of women defined Irish nationalism and contributed to the expansion and therefore strengthening of Ireland's horizontal comradeship.

52. Irish Labour. "Then and Now! Mr. Lloyd George Answers the Prime Minister." 1921. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

British Prime Minister Lloyd George was a hypocrite whose statements about the importance of human rights diverged from his unjust actions during the Irish Revolutionary Period. This is the central argument of this pamphlet. We found this source helpful as a guide to comprehending how British politicians were viewed by the nationalist Irish.

53. *Irish Rebel Army*. 1916. *Anarchist International*. Web.

This photo of the IRA paramilitary bears striking resemblance to images of international terrorists today. Rather than glorious fighters, IRA members appear to be armed thugs

perpetuating violence. This is a primary source because a major component of our script is a documentation of Irish nationalist terrorism in the Troubles of the late twentieth century. We used this photograph as a guide as we designed costumes.

54. *Irish War News* 1. 25 Apr. 1916. Ireland Union to Free State Collection, Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This was one of the most interesting sources we viewed over the course of our archival visits. This issue of *Irish War News* was the only one printed. As the official newspaper of the Provisional Irish Republic, it was distributed by the Easter rebels in the midst of the Rising's action; when the republic was overthrown a mere few days later, this publication was lost with the rebels' hopes for Irish freedom.

55. Join Sinn Fein. *Irish Times* [Dublin] 6 Nov. 1923. Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collection. Print.

Over the course of our research, we viewed many Sinn Fein political advertisements dating from the late 1910s and early 1920s, with the intention of understanding Sinn Fein's upward trajectory during this period and how a surge in the popularity of Ireland's main separatist party could be attributed to the Easter Rising. This *Irish Times* advertisement, pleading "every class and every creed" to join or rejoin Sinn Fein, is only one of many similar sources that collectively spoke to the growing visibility of the formerly marginal party.

56. Joynes, J. J., Francis Adams, Gerald Massey, and Assorted Anonymous Authors. "Socialist Nationalist Poetry Collection." Ed. James Connolly. 1898. *The Worker's Republic Dublin*. Print.

We decided to collectively cite these poems found in microfilm records of Connolly's publication *The Worker's Republic* because these poems developed similar themes and made similar claims. Many of the poems cited a subjective understanding of Irish nationalism as a phenomenon deeply rooted in history, referenced Irish culture, literature, and religion, and asserted a foremost role for the working class.

57. Kearney, Peadar, and Patrick Heeney. "National Anthem of Ireland: "A Soldier's Song," English Version." *YouTube*. DeroVolk National Anthems, 9 Dec. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2015.

References to "A Soldier's Song" were pervasive in both primary and secondary sources that we consulted. Nationalists sang this song as they trained in paramilitary groups in the days leading up to the Rising, hummed it as they marched into battle, and made it the official national anthem of the Irish Free State and unofficial anthem of Northern Ireland following the Irish Revolutionary and Civil Wars. In an attempt to portray the significance of this song and of song in general to the Irish nationalist movement, we incorporated an English version into the scene of our play in which the Easter Rising begins.

58. Kent, William. *Brother of Thomas Kent, Executed in Cork 1916*. 1947. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

William Kent was a leading member of a prominent family that preached and defended Irish Nationalism, eventually leading to the death of his brothers. Kent intended to fight during Easter 1916, while his brother was a commandant in the Galtee Battalion, but no official communication reached the family. The British Police raided his home and threatened to arrest the entire Kent family, but inspired by the nationalist doctrine invigorated through the words of Pearse and the leadership of Connolly, the family used three guns and fought to the death. Kent's first person retelling of his involvement in the Rising and acts that followed demonstrated to our team the importance of the nationalist ideology to Irish nationalists, which sometimes superseded the Volunteers' own lives.

59. Leslie, Shane. "Letter Collection." Letter to Joseph Cyrillus Walsh. 1916-1917. MS, Joseph C. Walsh Papers. New York Public Library Special Collections.

Joseph C. Walsh was an American editor and journalist who actively participated in Irish affairs, while Shane Leslie was a notable author living in Ireland and working as associate editor of the weekly *Ireland*. Sorting through this handwritten letter collection, we noticed the despair of Leslie, who was privy to the diminishing hope of Irish sovereignty during the post-Rising period.

60. "Madmen Make History." 18 June 1916. *Kansas City MO Journal*. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives. Print.

Throughout our research, we found it important to investigate how the Easter Rising was viewed by the foreign press and public, because garnering the support of other nations

was a goal of the Irish nationalist movement. This article shows that some in the United States in 1916 believed that the Rising leaders should have been acquitted and locked in a lunatic asylum, claiming that any man must be insane who believes that a few men, even charismatic, courageous ones, can establish a republic.

61. *Man on Stretcher*. 1916. *The Irish Times*. Web.

This is perhaps the only photograph of James Connolly during the Easter Rising.

Historians suggest that Connolly, whose grievous injury during the Rising helped make his leadership famous, is the man in the corner of the photograph on the white stretcher.

62. *Manifesto and Constitution of the Dungannon Club*. 1905. TS, *The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives*. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

While republican tradition in Ireland waxed and waned throughout the nineteenth century, it was more dormant than dead in its periods of stagnation. Revitalization of republicanism accompanied Irish cultural and linguistic revivalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Dungannon Clubs, focusing on the distinctiveness of the Irish national identity, were one of many politico-cultural organizations that were centrally important in the rebirth of republicanism.

63. Massingham, Henry W. "Ireland, 1916 and Beyond." *Atlantic Monthly* Dec. 1916: 839-45. *The Atlantic Online*. Web. 16 Nov. 2014.

Henry Massingham, a prominent English journalist, offered one English perspective on the Easter Rising. Massingham indicts the Anglo-Irish policy as one of neglect; England neglected to recognize the seriousness of Irish political demands in every period of Irish crisis, including 1916. Yet Massingham also resolutely condemns Irish militarism, so we found his position to be a very balanced one, aware of the strength of Irish nationalism but also assertive of the need to recognize the rights of those in Ireland who were bitterly opposed to splitting from England.

64. Maxwell, John. *General Maxwell on the Easter Rising*. April 1916. *First World War: A Multimedia History*. Web.

In our performance, we decided to depict General Maxwell because his controversial policy was instrumental in motivating a sanctification of the Rising's violence and of its leaders in the aftermath of the insurrection. General Maxwell also described the British position, allowing us to present multiple voices and to showcase our broad research. We were excited to uncover this primary report that directly informed our characterization of Maxwell and provided quotation material.

65. McArthur, Patrick. "Maloney Irish Papers." Letter to Doctor. 31 Jan. 1922. MS. Ireland, Dublin. Maloney Collection Irish Historical Papers, New York Public Library. New York, NY.

In post-Rising Ireland, Patrick McArthur explains the complicated social and political state of the nation. His discussion of his concerns and opinions allowed an insightful look

into what the public was feeling in the wake of the momentous event around which our project centers.

66. McArthur, Patrick. "Maloney Irish Papers." Letter to Your Excellency. 28 Dec. 1918. MS. Ireland, Dublin. Maloney Collection Irish Historical Papers, New York Public Library. New York, NY.

Following the Rising it was made quite clear that many of Irish people did not endorse the British king, emblematic of their increasing opposition to British rule itself. This is shown quite apparently in Patrick McArthur's letter.

67. McGlennon, Felix. *Songs of the Emerald Isle*. Ca. 1920. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

Poetry and song was an large part of Ireland's republican movement, a fact crucial to our thesis about the leadership of Patrick Pearse and to the structure of our performance. This source and others provided access to Irish poems and ballads, the spirit (and sometimes explicit wording) of which we incorporated into our script.

68. *Members of the 1916 Four Courts Garrison*. Independent Newspapers Firm. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

Depicting the Four Courts Garrison, this photograph shows the entire group who protected this structure during the Easter Rising. This building was later partially destroyed in the Irish Civil War of 1922.

69. Monteith, Robert. "Status Update about Easter Rising." Letter to Sir Roger Casement. 9 Apr. 1916. MS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

What made this correspondence between Rising leaders interesting was its surreptitious reliance on encoded phrases, clearly a cautionary measure. Originally, we dismissed this source as trivial, since it appeared to refer merely to a series of sporting events in "the homeland" that were to begin on the upcoming Easter. A closer look revealed that all of the individuals referenced in the letter were pseudonymous, and that "sporting events" was code for the upcoming Rising. This source displayed the secrecy with which the Rising was set up.

70. National Museum of Ireland. "Guide to the Historical Exhibition Commemorative of the Rising of 1916." *National Library of Ireland*. National Museum of Ireland, 1966. Web.

This guide to the "Historical Exhibition Commemorating the Easter Rising of 1916" was used in the National Museum of Ireland for the fiftieth anniversary, in 1966. By honoring this infamous event, the guide and exhibit act as illustrations of remembrance and education, as well as direct evidence of a continuing legacy. This informed our portrayal of 1970s Ireland in our performance.

71. Northern Ireland, United Kingdom of Great Britain. *Good Friday Agreement*. 1998. *United Kingdom Government Publication Records*. Web.

The Good Friday Agreement, which provided a negotiated end to the Troubles, is controversial. Sir Albert Duffy, who helped shape British policy in Northern Ireland as Minister of Defense and confidant of Margaret Thatcher, told us that the Good Friday Agreement was a golden ticket to improved Anglo-Irish relations, and secondary sources describe the use of this agreement as a model for other seemingly impossible resolutions. However, outbreaks of political terrorism occur in Northern Ireland to this day, and other interviewees who reside in Ireland call the peace tenuous at best. We read this agreement so that we could assess it as we drew conclusions about the legacy of the Easter Rising.

72. O'Boye, Manus. *Member IV, London 1913-1916; IRB and IRA, Belfast 1916-1921*. 1949.

Irish Bureau of Military History. Web.

A longtime Irish Nationalist and participant in rebel groups, Manus Boyle provided our Team with a perspective on not only the strong leadership of the Rising, but also the strong legacy it left behind. While marching into Dublin with the Volunteers, Boyle pointed out that “we were being led into a death trap”, but a senior member of the Volunteers, Dinny McCullough, replied that “orders were orders”. Boyle did manage to escape the Rising unscathed, but McCullough was arrested in Sydenham, now a part of Northern Ireland. Boyle also discussed the violence between “orange” men and the Protestants multiple years after the rising, further contributing to the idea that while the Rising failed militarily, it ideologically transformed Ireland and left a profound legacy on the country.

73. O'Reilly, John Boyle, J. F. O'Donnell, and Assorted Anonymous Authors. "Socialist Nationalist Poetry Collection." Ed. James Connolly. 1910. *The Harp: A Monthly Progressive Irish Review*. Print. Boston Public Library Microfilm Collection.

This citation collectively refers to an assortment of poems by multiple authors that appeared in microfilm records of *The Harp*, an Irish socialist nationalist publication edited by James Connolly. We noted a trend towards the sanctification of heroism and violence in these eloquent poems, some of which we chose to directly quote in our performance.

74. O'Rourke, Mary. "Former Fianna Fail Politician." Telephone interview. 7 Feb. 2015.

Mary O'Rourke is a former politician for the Irish Fianna Fail party, a Republican party whose name translates as "Soldiers of Destiny." She served the positions of Minister for Health, Minister for Public Enterprise, and Minister for Education during the Troubles. We were able to ask her about the stances of politicians in the Republic of Ireland regarding the Troubles and about how her decisions as Minister for Education were impacted by her simultaneous desires to educate the Irish free state about its history as a legacy of the Easter Rising and to refrain from the sanctification of political violence in light of the Troubles.

75. Parry, G. Uma. "Maloney Irish Papers." Letter to William Maloney. 4 Aug. 1932. MS. Ireland, Dublin. Maloney Collection Irish Historical Papers, New York Public Library. New York, NY.

This letter details the feelings of Parry's acquaintance on the Rising. Noting that the country stills "feels it" in 1932, the author shows the legacy and lasting effect of the Easter Rising. We considered this a primary source because it is a direct argument about the legacy of the Rising made by one who was experiencing this legacy at the time.

76. Pearse, Padraic H. "The Coming Revolution." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, n.d. 91-99. *Internet Archive*. MSN. Web. 07 May 2015.

Written in 1913, Patrick Pearse focuses on what needs to be done in preparation for the "coming revolution." He realizes that the Irish need to become more comfortable with action, and violent action at that. Taking arms "requires work," which should be put forth by every Irish citizen to defend their rights.

77. Pearse, Patrick. "I Have Not Garnered Gold." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, 1998 (1913). Web.

In his poem, "I have not garnered gold", Pearse explains that while he may not have widespread fame or riches after his death, his memory will live on "in the heart of a child." It is important to note that the Irish people are often metaphorically referred to as "a child" in texts we've read. This poem was especially interesting because it demonstrated that the leaders of the Rising were well aware that, while they would not live on after their actions, the legacy of the Rising would have a lasting impact.

78. Pearse, Patrick. "The Mother." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, 1998 (1913). Web.

Pearse tells his mother that young men who will die in the Rising, including himself will not die in vain. Once again, the Irish poet references the long-lasting impact of the Rising: "Generations shall remember them and call them blessed."

79. Pearse, Padraic H. "The Murder Machine." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, 1916. 5-50. *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. MSN. Web. 7 May 2015.

In "The Murder Machine," Padraic Pearse, also known as Patrick Pearse, explained his stance on the education system in Ireland, which was put in place by the English government. Showing how his ideal education system would work in contrast to the English system allowed for him to emphasize the idea of the manipulation through education as Irish youths were being raised to act as "slaves" under their English masters.

80. Pearse, Patrick. "O Little Bird." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, 1998 (1913). Web.

Pearse uses a bird to represent the innocent people of Ireland. He writes that he found a cold, innocent bird lying dead on the flag. This is a clear metaphor for the innocent Irish people who have and will die in political crossfire. Despite the somber tone of this poem, Pearse's actions and corpus of poetry show that he believed the deaths were worth the cost of freedom.

81. Pearse, Padraic H. "Peace and the Gael." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, n.d. 215-18. *Internet Archive*. MSN. Web. 07 May 2015.

As Pearse acknowledges the horror of war he draws upon religion. He recognizes that Ireland needs to follow God throughout this journey while maintaining strength, which God will undeniably grant the Irish.

82. Pearse, Padraic H. "Psychology of a Volunteer." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, n.d. 103-07. *Internet Archive*. MSN. Web. 07 May 2015.

Pearse comments on the change in mental state due to the transition of men of words to men of action, Gaelic League members to volunteers in the rebellion, as a standard impact on one's mindset.

83. Pearse, Patrick. *Proclamation of the Irish Republic*. 1916. TS, *The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives*. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

This is one of the most important sources we read. The Proclamation of the Irish Republic is directly demonstrative of Patrick Pearse's skill at articulating a nationalist vision. This Proclamation still hangs in the parliament of the Irish Free State and in every primary school, a testament of the role of the signatories in securing the legacy of partial Irish liberation. A team member acting the part of Pearse states excerpts from the Proclamation, in Gaelic and English, during our performance.

84. Pearse, Patrick. "The Rebel." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, 1998 (1913). Web.

Predictably, given his vision of a rebirth of Ireland predicated on cleansing bloodshed, Patrick Pearse's poems are colored with adulation of active and violent rebellion. In "The Rebel," retrospectively apparent as a frightening harbinger of the Rising to come, Pearse claims violence to be a force stronger and even more legitimate than law—a dangerous and impactful claim. We used this poem to dramatically introduce our performance.

85. Pearse, Patrick. "To a Beloved Child." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, 1998 (1913). Web.

Pearse describes a beautiful young child who does not appear to understand the world. Every positive line about the child's beauty is countered by a dooming phrase about his future. Here, Pearse seems to be using a common metaphor of his: the youthful child is the combined Irish populace who will one day understand the plight of an England-owned Ireland.

86. Pearse, Padraic H. "To the Boys of Ireland." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, n.d. 111-16. *Internet Archive*. MSN. Web. 07 May 2015.

Pearse addresses the boys and men of Ireland as "Na Fianna Eirann," convincing them to join the cause and help save Ireland from slavery to English masters.

87. Pearse, Padraic H. "Why We Want Recruits." *Collected Works of Padraic H. Pearse*. N.p.: Dublin Phoenix, n.d. 119-23. *Internet Archive*. MSN. Web. 07 May 2015.

Explaining the need for recruits, Pearse draws upon the identity of the Irish populace and the obligation they have to serve their country.

88. *People Viewing 'Proclamation,' Easter Rising Memorial, Arbour Hill, Dublin*. 1966. Wiltshire Photographic Collection. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

This photograph, showing a woman honoring the Easter Rising, reveals how, even fifty years after the occurrence, the Irish kept the memory strong. The cross in the midst of this memorial, which features the words of the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic, also shows that although the Rising was a violent event, religion played and continues to play a major role in its memorializing. We consider this to be a primary source of the legacy of the Easter Rising, which makes up a segment of our performance.

89. *Plough and the Stars*. Dir. John Ford. By Sean O'Casey. RKO Radio Pictures, 1936. *YouTube*.

Web. O'Casey's "The Plough and the Stars" is the most famous theatrical depiction of the Easter Rising. We watched the 1936 film adaptation of this play to gain inspiration as we sought to create our own performance. We considered this a primary source because the play was written soon after the Rising, and reflects the opinions of many in the Irish nationalist literary community at the time.

90. *Programme, Song of Freedom: Tralee's Commemoration of the 1916 Rising*. 1966. TS, Ephemera. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

The fiftieth anniversary Easter Rising pageant recreated the occurrences of the six days that forever changed Irish history. This program outlines the actors and supporters of this production. It informed us of one type of event inspired by the memory of the Rising.

91. Redmond, Laurence. *Member of IRB, Enniscorthy, 1912; Captain IRA, Wexford, 1921*. 1954. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

As a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood during the Easter Rising and a captain of the Wexford IRA branch in 1921, Lauren Redmond gave us specific details on life as a prominent member of the insurrection and Irish Nationalist. He spoke specifically about the communication problems of the rebels, as he only heard that a rising began in Dublin on the Wednesday of Easter week. He also stated that his group would not surrender its hold on the town Enniscorthy unless it had specific orders from Pearse, which speaks to the immense leadership of the linguistic genius.

92. *Rex vs. Sir Roger Casement, Trial Notes*. 26 June 1916. TS, Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers. New York Public Library Archives.

The story of Sir Roger Casement's involvement in the Easter Rising is a tragic one, which we reconstructed through archival evidence including his publications, letters, and private diary entries, as well as these trial notes. Casement was a prominent nationalist who negotiated with the Germans to obtain a supply of arms for the Rising. In both his diary

entries and in these trial notes, Casement claims that he was kept in the dark about the true plan for the Rising until it was too late for him to renege on his contribution; he bitterly regrets his role in the rebellion, which he believes was fundamentally foredoomed. Nonetheless, trial notes reveal that Casement was executed as a traitor. His example is illustrative of divisions within Rising leadership, and his testimony raises issues with the Rising's violent methods and desperation.

93. Roger Casement Sinn Fein Club. *The Annual Easter Week Commemoration*. London: Roger Casement Sinn Fein Club, 1933. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

This handbill, created by the “Roger Casement Sinn Fein Club,” advertises their annual commemoration ceremony. Annually honoring the Rising kept the insurrection’s memory alive. We considered many source to be primary which documented how the legacy of the Easter Rising shifted and continued over time.

94. Sinn Fein Party. "Anti-Parliamentarianism Pamphlets." 1930. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

A core policy of the Sinn Fein party, which has been abandoned today but which was still in effect during the Irish Revolutionary Period, was refusal to recognize the validity of the decisions of the British parliament with respect to Ireland, and consequent abstinence from parliamentary politics. Sinn Fein's anti-parliamentarianism is described in these advertisement pamphlets. After analyzing the policy of anti-parliamentarianism, we concluded that it is distinctly indicative of the intractability of Irish nationalist ideology.

95. Sinn Fein Party. "A Call to Irishwomen." 1918. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

Given historical context, Irish women played a relatively large role in the Easter Rising, an interesting fact that we desired to incorporate into our performance by including a character of an Irish female nationalist. This pamphlet, which claims that women can stand alongside men in the fight for independence, contributed to an expansion of the national consciousness to a traditionally marginalized group.

96. Sinn Fein Party. "Christmas Greeting Cards." 1918. Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

When we came across these Sinn Fein Christmas cards, we found the juxtaposition of militant nationalist phraseology and poetry with uplifting holiday greetings to be almost as humorous as it was chilling. This source provided evidence of the pervasiveness of political concerns in Ireland following the Rising; the debate over Irish sovereignty was so all encompassing as to enter into every part of Irish life during the period.

97. Sinn Fein Party. "Collection of Eamon De Valera Sinn Fein Election Advertisements." 1918. Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

These archival primary sources conveyed information about the main arguments made by those who advocated the election of Eamon De Valera of the previously inconspicuous Sinn Fein party in 1918. The Irish General Election of 1918 was incredibly significant, in

that it resolutely demonstrated the transformational impact the Rising had on Ireland: Sinn Fein surprisingly overthrew the established moderate Irish parliamentary party and gained control of Ireland, afterwards refusing to comply with British parliamentary procedure and claiming allegiance only to an elusive Irish republic.

98. Sinn Fein Party. "Economics of Imperialism." 1918. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This series of pamphlets highlights the supposed economic benefits to the Irish people of supporting Sinn Fein's separatist policies, thereby ridding themselves of high wartime taxes to England and of the socioeconomic oppression inflicted by the entrenched Anglo-Irish Protestant ascendant class. We noted that Sinn Fein's campaigns were hard-hitting and multi-tactical during the post-Rising period.

99. Sinn Fein Party. "Vote for an Independent Ireland Pamphlet Collection." 1918. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

Simplistic (often humorously so) in their style of argumentation, these pamphlets vigorously support Irish independence on the basis of the Irish nation's moral superiority, historical continuity, and culturo-linguistic vivacity. For example, one pamphlet declares, "Look at the Map! God Made Ireland Separate!" while another makes the dubious claim that if the insignificant Czecho-Slovaks can request independence, surely the mighty Irish must do so also.

100. Sinn Fein Party. "You Cannot Free Ireland Without Wading through Seas of Blood."

1918. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

We considered this pamphlet's problematic assertion that "you cannot free Ireland without wading through seas of blood." Part of our mission was to understand and respond to the claim that violence was either regrettably necessary to the Irish nationalist movement or, decidedly more controversially, that it was ideologically if not pragmatically mandated.

Sources such as this one helped us to classify nuanced articulations of the interplay between violence and Irish nationalism prior to and after the Rising.

101. *Sinn Fein Rebellion Handbook*. 1st ed. Dublin: Irish Times, 1917. Print. *Boston Public Library Online Archive*. Web.

This source, published just a year after the Easter Rising, was one of the most valuable and comprehensive that we investigated. Within this compilation of Easter Rising materials, we found information on Connolly and Pearse and statements about their leadership, claims about Irish nationalist feminism, reprintings of such significant documents as the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, and a plethora of photos of Dublin under siege.

102. Sinn Fein Standing Committee. "Ireland's Claim to Freedom." 1920. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This statement, written and drafted by the Sinn Fein Standing Committee, conflates antiquity with political legitimacy, arguing that since Ireland had ostensibly already

"fashioned for herself a complete national type of education...when the rest of Europe was a series of warring fragments" her subjugation constituted morally bereft annihilation of a pre-established nation that the world could not condone.

103. Sinn Fein Standing Committee. *Sinn Fein and the Local Government Elections Press Release*. 1928. TS, Ireland Union to Free State Collection. Boston Public Library Special Collections.

This Sinn Fein press release explains the lack of utility of Irish self-governmental measures, including local assemblies and parliamentary representation. According to Sinn Fein, because of the marginal sway Irish representatives held relative to English politicians, and because Irish representatives more often came from the Anglo-Irish Protestant ascendancy, rather than the working class Catholic masses of purely Irish blood, Sinn Fein participation in government would serve only to legitimize English policy, but not to shape it

104. "Sir John Maxwell's Position." *The Irish Times* [Dublin] 10 May 1916. *BBC Newspaper Archive*. Web.

This source wholeheartedly supports General Maxwell's response to "the gathering of a storm" in Ireland, reporting in the aftermath of the Easter Rising. It condemns those who called for leniency for the rebels as ignorant, and seeks to downplay any characterization of Maxwell as cruel and punitive; he is depicted rather as a savior of Ireland and of the

United Kingdom, taking the necessary steps to abate the flow of blood. Martial law, says the author, is "a blessing to us all."

105. *Two Little Girls, Easter Rising Memorial, Arbour Hill, Dublin*. 1966. Wiltshire Photographic Collection. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

The photograph of these two children symbolizes the generations after the Rising, still honoring the occasion. In our performance, we describe the impact of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Rising on children, who grew up to join the Provisional IRA and attempt to prove their successorship to the Rising leaders through decades of political terrorism in Northern Ireland. This was a primary source because it helped us shape our argument about the legacy of the Rising and its continuation through the education of children

106. Van Voch, Shan. "Ireland, Germany, and the Next War." 1913. *Irish Review of Dublin*. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Papers, New York Public Library Archives. Print.

This source helped us to place the Anglo-Irish crisis in the days preceding the Easter Rising in the historical context of World War I. Voch took issue with the claim that World War I was Ireland's struggle, asserting that Ireland actually stood to gain substantially in the wake of England's potential defeat, either attaining freedom due to the weakening of her captor, or else falling under the yoke of another master, Germany, who could not possibly treat her worse.

107. Walker, Charles. *Printer, "Irish War News," Easter 1916*. 1949. *Irish Bureau of Military History*. Web.

As a printer at the "Gaelic Press", Walker offered unique insight on lack of organization that ultimately failed the Rising. While his printing press supported the national ideology of the Easter leaders, Walker wrote that he and those working at the press went without food from midday Thursday, and "were glad to get out and go home" after the British reclaimed Dublin.

108. Walker, Michael S. *President Eamon De Valera Inspecting Troops at a 1916 Anniversary Event at Arbour Hill, Dublin*. 1966. *National Library of Ireland*. Web.

As President Eamon de Valera inspects veterans of the Easter Rising on the fiftieth anniversary of the rebellion, the Volunteers stand resolute, yet again. The moment was captured in this photograph.

109. Williams, Oswalds Garrison. "Maloney Irish Papers." Letter to Billy. 14 June 1918. MS. Maloney Collection of Irish Historical Paper. New York Public Library Archives.

Williams shows that aftermath of the Rising left devastating affects and sweeping changes. The development of the Irish people's thoughts and feelings is shown throughout this letter.

110. Yeats, William Butler. "Easter 1916." *The Atlantic Online*. Atlantic Media Company, Web.

Yeats' "Easter 1916" is the most remembered poetic immortalization of the Easter Rising, and was, in fact, what originally attracted us to this topic. Our titular reference to this poem joins a tradition of continually evoking Yeats' refrain "A terrible beauty is born" to describe the simultaneously beautiful and terrible legacy of the Rising. We knew, due to the power of this poem, that it should conclude our performance.

Secondary Sources

111. Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print.

Anderson's exegesis on nationalist theory, innovative in its time, remains formative to a definitional characterization of nationalism today through its influence on numerous nationalist theorists and its continuing descriptive relevance. We found Anderson's universal definition of nation as an imagined community to be helpful as we analyzed how Pearse and Connolly were able to garner nationalist fervor prior to and after the Easter Rising, and why this was indicative of successful leadership.

112. Beiner, Guy. "Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme, and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland." *Journal of British Studies* 46.2 (2007): 366-89. *JSTOR*. Web. 18 Feb. 2015.

This fascinating article looked at the Easter Rising in comparison with the Battle of the Somme. These two events are still very much in the forefront of Irish memory: The

Somme was as important for the Ulstermen as the Easter Rising was for Dubliners. Beiner proposes that the memories of both events constitute a 'historical trauma,' engrained in a group of people through frequent commemoration. Not only does this article look back at the two events in 1916, but it also analyzes Irish commemorations that led to public outcry as recently as 2005.

113. Bew, Paul. *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity, 1789-2006*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Bew provides a history of Ireland, focusing on the tensions between England and Ireland. This book was useful for contextualizing the 1916 Rising and the 1970 Troubles within the landscape of Irish and English relations. We also used the quotes provided in the book as springboards to primary source research.

114. Brennan, Cathal. "A TV Pageant: The Golden Jubilee Commemorations of the 1916 Rising." *The Irish Story*. 18 Nov. 2010. Web.

Our research found a direct causal connection, as described by prominent IRA members, between the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the Easter Rising and the rebirth of political terrorism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. We consulted this source to understand what type of commemorations might have incited such a legacy. We found that dramatic films such as the 1966 docudrama "Insurrection," which depicted the events of the Easter Rising, played a large role in reigniting nationalist sentiment.

115. Byrne, Sean. "Consociational and Civic Society Approaches to Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Peace Research* 38.3 (2001): 327-52. *JSTOR*. Web.

While researching the continuing legacy of Irish nationalism, we read this article, which outlined multiple different approaches to building and sustaining peace in contemporary Northern Ireland. Some approaches require governmental structures. Other more liberal approaches focus on educational integration, collaborative storytelling, and sustained intergroup contact.

116. Caulfield, Max. *The Easter Rebellion*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963. Print.

This book contained useful background information on the national consciousness of Ireland, which, it argues, is the oldest of any national consciousness on earth. Mainly anecdotal, this book proves an overarching narrative of the Easter Rising that is patched together from the individual stories of numerous trivial characters. Although the storytelling style occasionally makes the large-scale narrative difficult to discern, the vivid scenes of Pearse and Connolly placed in compromising situations allowed us to evaluate the leadership of these two figures.

117. "Chronology of James Connolly." *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. University College Cork, Web.

James Connolly was one of the major figures whose leadership and poetry we explored.

We referred to this bare bones chronology of his life for convenience, but attained

additional details about his personal qualities and leadership abilities through a myriad of more comprehensive primary and secondary sources.

118. Coogan, Tim Pat. *The IRA: A History*. Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart, 1994. Print.

Impressively exhaustive, this history of the Irish Republican Army combines years of dedicated research, large numbers of intensive interviews with power players and everyday Irish people alike, visits to Ireland and stays at the homes of families involved in the IRA, over fifty photographs, and meticulous compilation and analysis of statistics. We referred to this book throughout the creation of our project, and referenced its description of IRA initiation ceremonies and statistics on the casualties of the Troubles directly in the portion of our performance where we considered the Easter Rising's legacy.

119. "Cumann Na mBan: Forgotten Women of Revolution." *RTE News*. Raidio Teilifis Eireann, 31 Mar. 2014. Web.

This article discusses the Cumann na mBan, bringing a didactic tone to bear upon a sometimes controversial, often forgotten feminist nationalist Irish political faction that played a major role in the Easter Rising. The inclusion of women in the nationalist movement, evident in the writings of the Rising leaders and poets and in the nationalist demand for women's suffrage, lead to the expansion of Ireland's imagined community. However, the mostly auxiliary status of the Cumann na mBan was subject to derision from contemporary feminists.

120. Curtis, L. Perry Jr. "Moral and Physical Force: The Language of Violence in Irish Nationalism." *Journal of British Studies* 27.2 (1988): 150. *JSTOR*. Web.

This article presents a comprehensive linguistic historical analysis of the logical incoherency, despite pedagogical favorability, of the concept of Irish nationalism as composed of two dichotomous traditions, peaceful government on the one hand and violent rebellion on the other. By tackling the semantic difficulty of what constitutes "violence," Curtis reveals that the definition of violence must go beyond "the infliction of injury on people or property" to encompass threat, notably threat that involves language, or rhetorical violence. Through analysis of pre-Easter Rising Irish nationalist poetry and prose, Curtis demonstrates that rhetorical violence, prevalent in the discourse even of those who sought political resolution of Ireland's ills, unites Ireland's seemingly distinct nationalist approaches

121. Dangerfield, George. *The Damnable Question: A Study in Anglo-Irish Relations*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976. Print.

This book provided crucial information on the history of Anglo-Irish tension, from the Norman Conquest through the Troubles. Writing before the Good Friday Agreement, Dangerfield explores the past as an unhealed wound in the heart of a troubled Ireland. Although his perspective is English, Dangerfield eloquently describes a protracted history of Irish oppression and unspeakable tragedy.

122. De Rosa, Peter. *Rebels: The Irish Rising of 1916*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1992.

Print.

This relatively short volume was of interest to us because of its vivid descriptions of the leadership qualities and final moments of the rebels involved in the Easter Rising, among whom were our figures of study. This book convinced us, while writing our script, that a dramatic portrayal of Pearse and Connolly's final words and executions was necessary, as the deaths of these men, perhaps more than their lives, live on in the national consciousness.

123. "Did Telefis Eireann Overlook the Catholic Inspiration of the 1916 Heroes?" *The Catholic Standard* [Dublin] 29 Apr. 1966: *BBC Newspaper Archive*. Web.

This 1966 *Catholic Standard* article states that the televised Easter Rising commemorations and the docudrama "Insurrection," which motivated many young men to join the IRA in the late 1960s, downplayed the role of Catholicism in the Easter Rising. Indeed, Pearse's rhetoric was infused with Catholic religiosity, centered as it was on sacrificial rebirth, and even the Easter Rising's date was planned to dramatically symbolize a religious resurrection of the Irish nation. In our performance, we make both explicit and subtle reference to religious motivations.

124. "Education: Ireland in the Early Twentieth Century." *Census of Ireland 1901/1911*. National Archives of Ireland. Web.

This brief background statement about education levels in Dublin and in the rest of Ireland just before the turn of the twentieth centuries was important, because, in order to draw a causal link between literature and nationalism, we had to ensure that the population of Ireland was generally literate during our period of study. This source cited several laws that, along with free public education, ensured a basic level of literacy among most of the Irish populace, although education levels varied and poorer children often left school early in life to enter the workforce.

125. Edwards, Ruth Dudley. "Immoral, Illegal, and the Catalyst to Mayhem." *Daily Mail* [London] 15 Apr. 2006. Print.

In unequivocal terms, this English article chastises those who implicitly condone violence and illegality through commemorations of the Easter Rising's ninetieth anniversary. Evidently, the legacy of the Rising remains disputed in the twenty-first century.

126. English, Richard. *Part Three: The Long Twentieth Century. Irish Freedom: The History of Nationalism in Ireland*. London: Macmillan, 2006. 235-427. Print.

Richard English's book proved a valuable resource, as it offered the history, ideals and opinions behind the Easter Rising. Due to the incorporation of affecting pre-1916 ideas and actions of Ireland's nationalists, we were able to fully understand the perspectives of those involved in the rebellion.

127. Feeney, Brian. *Sinn Fein: A Hundred Turbulent Years*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin, 2003. Print.

While Sinn Fein was not directly responsible for the events of the Easter Rising, this political party has been irremediably intertwined with the Rising and its legacy ever since the first British reports fallaciously titled the insurrection "The Sinn Fein Rising." The rise of Sinn Fein as a legitimate political force following the Rising, the fluctuation between absenteeism and direct political involvement as party policy, and the modern-day controversial affiliation of Sinn Fein and the IRA are charted in this comprehensive volume.

128. Foster, R. F. "Yeats at War: Poetic Strategies and Political Reconstruction From the Easter Rising to the Free State." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6.11 (2001): 125-45. Web.

W.B. Yeats is a founding father figure of the Irish free state whose poem "Easter 1916" simultaneously immortalized the author himself and the nationalist compatriots he described therein. This article considers Yeats's constantly reiterated thesis that the artist's influence must be pure and untinged by the world, yet contact the world through its radicalization of others. An understanding of the role of the arts in the Easter Rising, prominently poetry and theater, motivated the format and content of our performance.

129. Golway, Terry. *For the Cause of Liberty: A Thousand Years of Ireland's Heroes*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000. Print.

Irish historians including Golway, as well as James Connolly himself, are wont to impose a metanarrative of Irish history as consisting of periods of nationalist hibernation punctuated by periodic heroic rebellion. This understanding of Irish history stands in tension with the claim of the Easter Rising as a unique insurrection with its own impact on the nationalist pattern. Golway makes clear that Pearse and Connolly both drew on and left an extensive legacy, reconciling the two conceptions of the role of the Rising in greater historical context.

130. Griffith, Kenneth. "Curious Journey - The 1916 Easter Rising." *YouTube*. YouTube, 1973. Web. 08 May 2015.

Through Kenneth Griffith's film, our team was able to observe detailed interviews with soldiers, both men and women, generals, and politicians involved in the Easter Rising of 1916. Former IRA and IRB members revealed the common hatred for the English and particularly the English soldiers. Further, the interviewees also demonstrated their inherent desires to learn about their nation and live in a world governed under its own rule.

131. Hadden, Peter. "The Real Ideas of James Connolly." *Socialism Today Magazine*. Socialist Party, May 2006. Web.

This article frames Connolly's ideology in the context of a dogmatic socialist agenda, explaining why it is significant to remember that Connolly advocated not simply Irish freedom from imperialism, but from the equally oppressive institution of capitalism. We

argued that the fundamental characteristic of Connolly's leadership was the integration of the traditionally marginalized laboring classes into the national community. Because of Connolly's conviction, the Socialist party continues to review and quote his writing today.

132. Hammer, Joshua. "In Northern Ireland, Getting Past the Troubles." *Smithsonian Magazine*. American Smithsonian Institution, Mar. 2009. Web.

Ten years after the Good Friday Agreement provided a negotiated end to the Troubles, this article reflects on the tentative creation of peace in Northern Ireland in the intervening decade, the use of the agreement, still in its embryonic stage, as a model of political resolution, and the security, or lack thereof, of peace. Conceding tension, the author nonetheless maintains a hopeful tone, providing anecdotal evidence of former English and Irish combatants exchanging stories and emotions, and outlining the baby steps that have been made towards the securing of a bright future for Northern Ireland.

133. Hancock, Landon E. "Peace From the People: Identity Salience and the Northern Irish Peace Process." *Lessons from the Northern Ireland Peace Process*. Madison: U of Wisconsin, 2013. N. pag. Print.

Many authors who investigated the Northern Ireland peace process claimed that a dilution of alienating group identity (whether Protestant, Catholic, nationalist, or unionist) facilitated the resolution of violence. In contradiction to the established historiographical view, Hancock claims in this essay that the Northern Ireland peace process was correlated with increased identity salience, because as individuals came to feel safe and secure, they

were able to devote more time to cultivating previously ignored group affiliations. While we were not ultimately in agreement with Hancock, his analysis of his enormous interview pool was intriguing and unexpected.

134. Hart, Peter. *The IRA at War: 1916-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Print.

This book helped properly introduce the Easter Rising. It covered the foundations of the rebellion and the conditions under which the Irish Republican Army was able to stand up to the largest empire in history. Peter Hart uses this book to introduce new possible explanations and theories of why certain events occurred, but more importantly to bring proper recognition to a world-changing event.

135. Hutchinson, John. "The Gaelic Revival (c. 1890- 1921): Its Socio-Political Articulation."

The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987. 151-96. Print.

The beginning of John Hutchinson's history, "The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State," offers a background into of Irish culture and history. As the book continues, it takes those points, relating them to the cultural nationalism and the politics of the 1900s. This book offers an in depth perspective of the Easter Rising and the culture and politics surrounding it.

136. "James Connolly (1868 - 1916)." *IWW Biography*. Industrial Workers of the World. Web.

We read this biography because, unlike others, it was written with the express aim of demonstrating Connolly's proficiency as a labor leader by one of the most prominent American worker's unions, of which Connolly was a part during his brief time living in the United States. This biography shows that Connolly died for beliefs grounded in his witness of the tragedies inflicted on the working class, not in theoretical abstractions.

137. *James Connolly: Ireland's Greatest*. By Joe Duffy. Raidio Teilifis Eireann, 2009. RTE Archive. Web.

Although this documentary about the life and legacy of James Connolly was overtly biased and adulatory, we nonetheless found it a good source of simple background information. It also shows the popularity of celebrating Connolly as a leadership figure that endures across Ireland today.

138. Kiberd, Declan. "The Easter Rebellion: Poetry or Drama?" *Institiúio Na HEireann*. The Ireland Institute for Historical and Cultural Studies, 22 Apr. 2006. Web.

Kiberd explains that, not only was the Rising leadership almost entirely composed of literary men, everyone involved acted as though they were acting out the last act in a dramatic tragedy--from choosing a headquarters that was impossible to defend but romantically columned and centrally located to crafting poignant poems on their deathbeds. We decided that what made the Rising so transformative was this eerie element of poetic historical performance, which created a striking vision that could be invoked for decades after its perpetrators had been martyred, with appropriate drama.

Indeed, our creation of a project centering on the Easter Rising in the performance category is a tribute to the drama of the actual event.

139. Kissane, Noel, PhD. "The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives." *1916: An Online Exhibition*. National Library of Ireland, n.d. Web.

Selected primary sources digitized from the National Library of Ireland collection and interspersed with historical analysis rendered this online exhibition a useful source. We consulted it during the preliminary phase of my research, when we were focusing on attaining foundational background information from reputable sources.

140. Laffan, Michael. *The Partition of Ireland, 1911-25*. Dundalk: Dundalgan, 1983. Print.

Michael Laffan's book provided us with much needed background context. Delving into the history of Ulster and religion in the context of explaining the Easter Rising allowed a more in depth look at the issues surrounding the central event in our performance.

141. Longley, Edna. "'Altering the Past': Northern Irish Poetry and Modern Canons." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 35. Irish Writing since 1950 (2005): 1-17. *JSTOR*. Web.

This article analyzes modern Northern Irish poetry in dialogue with Yeats as both a poet and a critic. The author explores the pros and cons of divergent strategies for analyzing Irish poetry and informs about how modern poetry is derived of, and apart from, the legacy of Irish poetic forbears from the Revolutionary Period and prior. This article was

helpful in that it enabled us to understand the role of poetry in Irish nationalism through time, which informed our decision to integrate poetry into our performance.

142. Malins, Edward. "Yeats and the Easter Rising." *The Massachusetts Review* 7.2 (1966): 271-84. *JSTOR*. Web.

Not incidentally penned fifty years after the Easter Rising, when conspicuous commemoration events brought the memory of the insurrection to the forefront of the world's mind, this review provides useful background information on Yeats more than it advocates a completely unique thesis. Nonetheless, its cogent analysis of Yeats's fluctuating but eloquent endorsement of nationalist heroism over pragmatism, interspersed with representative poetry, was informative and helpful as I sought to describe Yeats accurately in my own work.

143. Mayhew, George. "A Corrected Typescript of Yeats's 'Easter 1916'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 27.1 (1963): 53-71. Web.

This article contrasts the modern printing of "Easter, 1916" with a discovered prior typescript, riddled with errors and handwritten corrections. Mostly developed through a close-reading of minutiae, the article strives to create connections between deliberate editing and Yeats' implicit vision for his poem. For instance, was a title change from "Easter" to "Easter, 1916" intended to ground the poem historically and renounce sacrilegious parallelism and assertions of timelessness? This helped us to better understand Yeats' iconic poem, which is referenced several times in our performance.

144. McCourt, Malachy. *History of Ireland*. Philadelphia: Running, 2004. Print.

This overview of Irish history lacks some argumentative depth and detail, but nonetheless provided an accessible reference. Of particular interest to us were biographical chapters on Irish figures that McCourt considered worthy of especial consideration, among them James Connolly, Patrick Pearse, Maud Gonne, and William Butler Yeats.

145. McBride, Ian. *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2001. Print.

McBride's selection of essays on the effect of social memory throughout Irish history offered a wealth of information on how the Irish people related to their past. The essays trace memory through all of Irish history, beginning from martyrs in the 15th century to the Troubles in Northern Ireland. While forming a thesis on how legacy affects historical events, it was important to remember whom that the legacy lives on with the people of Ireland. Human response, to uprisings, commemorative events, statues, and death are all experienced through the framework of social memory, and the essays on social memory in this book allowed us to construct a more realistic portrayal of human experience during tumultuous times.

146. McGarry, Fearghal. *The Rising: Ireland--Easter 1916*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010. Print.

This was among the first sources we consulted in our research, and it provided a solid foundation of knowledge. It references, in particular, an enormous bulk of witness statements, culled from the collection recently made accessible by the Irish Bureau of Military History. While the references to such a quantity of witnesses sometimes renders the writing tedious, on the whole the successful commitment to emphasis of the experience of the rank and file is commendable.

147. McGreevy, Ronan. "Government 'Embarrassed' by 1916 Rising, Adams Says." *Irish Times News*. Irish Times, 6 Jan. 2015. Web.

This very recent article reports that Gerry Adams, current president of Sinn Fein, made statements disparaging the Irish government for displaying no urgency to commemorate the 1916 martyrs on the 100th anniversary of the insurrection, due to ostensive embarrassment. We reviewed many modern articles from both sides of the fierce commemoration debate in an effort to understand how the Rising's legacy remains disputed today.

148. McKittrick, David, and David McVea. "The Static Society, Descent into Violence." *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: New Amsterdam, 2002. 1+. Print.

The chapters "The Static Society" and "Descent into Violence" from David McKittrick and David McVea's combined account of the Troubles gave our team detailed insight concerning the background history, politics, and religion that ultimately resulted in the

terrorizing violence of the 1970s. Specifically, the use of gerrymandering in order to secure a Protestant majority exacerbated the dissension between Protestants and Catholics in North Ireland.

149. Moran, James. *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre*. Cork: Cork UP, 2005. Print.

As we set out to create a performance centered on the Easter Rising and its extensive legacy, we found it relevant to research previous theatrical portrayals of this event. Moran provided a wealth of information on this previously little investigated historical topic of how the Easter Rising was staged, including analysis of how theatrical representations of the Rising dealt with Connolly and Pearse, with tricky social issues such as gender relationships, and with the overriding horror of the insurrection. Moran also revealed the theatricality implicit in the Rising itself, which made the event compelling as a subject of numerous performances.

150. Newsinger, John. "James Connolly and the Easter Rising." *Science & Society* 47.2 (1983): 152-77. *JSTOR*. Web.

This narrative of Connolly's involvement in the Easter Rising seeks to separate actual leadership from the effects of personal martyrdom on the Irish psyche. This enabled us assess Connolly's leadership in the crafting of our thesis.

151. Niens, Ulrike and Ed Cairns. "Conflict, Contact, and Education in Northern Ireland."

Theory into Practice. 44.4 (2005): 337-344. *JSTOR*. Web.

Niens and Cairns discuss the policy of educational contact, introduced in Northern Ireland to rectify prevalent segregation of Protestant and Catholic children in lower education and the bias and distrust this entrenched system is inclined to breed. They argue that intergroup educational conflict may promote positive social connection under certain optimal conditions. We were intrigued by the argument given our interview with Mary O'Rourke, a former Fianna Fail politician who served as Minister of Education in the Republic of Ireland during the Troubles.

152. O'Brien, Conor Cruise. "The Embers of Easter." *The Massachusetts Review* 7.4 (1966): 621-37. *JSTOR*. Web.

Dramatically asserting that "Pearse died, not for an island, or a part of an island, but for a nation" which was never fully realized, this article paints the Partition of Ireland, and even the structuring of the Republic of Ireland, as fundamental betrayals of Rising ideology. While we took some issue with its speculative historical approach, its perspective on the gap between the ideological and the "real" proved interesting.

153. O'Malley, Padraig. *The Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983. Print.

A chilling narrative of the Troubles, written when the resolution was not even foreseeable, this source is compelling not in spite of, but because of, a lack of historical distance. It also presents an admirable collection of statistics on the not yet concluded Troubles, showing that the Northern Irish losses by the early 1980s were proportional to

the losses sustained by the United States during her entire Civil War. This was a secondary source because, despite the date it was written, it synthesizes a variety of primary and secondary material.

154. O'Shea, James. "Former Irish Leader Slams Easter Rising Commemorations." *Irish Central News*. Irish Central, 4 Aug. 2014. Web.

Numerous works of modern journalism, this one included, divulge the bitter controversy over if, and how, the upcoming Rising centennial should be commemorated. Claiming that Home Rule, albeit suspended with the advent of the Great War, would have been granted had the Irish demonstrated patience, former Irish leader John Bruton lamented the retrospective justification of what he believed was unnecessary violence. A consideration of the modern debate is crucial to a complete understanding of how the Rising's legacy is perceived today.

155. O'Shea, James. "Patrick Pearse Whistled on Way to His Execution -- British Diary." *Irish Central News*. Irish Central, 28 Nov. 2014. Web.

We enjoyed reviewing extracts from the diary of Samuel Lomas, a British soldier who recorded the events of the Easter Rising for two weeks after its culmination, while he was involved in some of the executions. This provided insight into the British position and experience during General Maxwell's post-Rising leadership. We classified this as a secondary source because the primary source quotations were excerpted rather than presented in their entirety.

156. Snyder, Robert S. "Sources of Peace: Decline of Revolutionary Nationalism and the Beginning of the Peace Processes in Northern Ireland and the Middle East." *Lessons from the Northern Ireland Peace Process*. Madison: U of Wisconsin, 2013. N. pag. Print.

Many historians have probed the Northern Ireland peace process, which led to the Good Friday Agreement, to determine why nationalist tensions were sufficiently diluted in 1998 to enable such a resolution. Snyder is one such historian; by juxtaposing Irish and Middle Eastern revolutionary movements, he attempts to reveal an international anti-revolutionary trend, and to advocate for this trend's careful nourishment. We found a comparison of Irish and Middle Eastern violence helpful, as we posed broader concerns about terrorism as a common political tool in our conclusion

157. Stevenson, Jonathan. "Peace in Northern Ireland: Why Now?" *Foreign Policy*. 112 (1998): 41-54. *JSTOR*. Web.

We elected to read this article because the titular inquiry which it resolves is a research question that has been at the forefront of our minds. Stevenson claims that, with the advent of the European Union and accompanying economic, institutional, and social coherence in Europe, national identities can be sufficiently diluted to allow negotiated partial sacrifice of formerly preeminent national affiliation in the interest of peace within a larger overlying group identity. This, asserts Stevenson, is the reason that peace in Northern Ireland, through the Good Friday Agreement, was possible in 1998 and is

possible today, despite a centuries-long tradition of cyclical Irish resistance to ostensive British oppression.

158. Swart, William J. "Constructing the "Self" of Self-Determination: Liberal and Anti-Liberal Tensions in Modern Irish Nationalism." *Social Thought & Research* 22.1/2 (1999): 139-66. *JSTOR*. Web.

Swart provided crucial insights on the liberal and anti-liberal guiding factors in the construction of the Irish imagined community, and on this community's progression from oppressive ascendancy nationalism to a progressively horizontal lower class movement.

159. "The Troubles: 1968 to 1998." *BBC News*. British Broadcasting Company. Web.

These pages thoroughly review the thirty years of tragedy that came to be called the Troubles. The most interesting section was the description of daily life in Northern Ireland during this period, which included primary accounts. After reviewing these pages for background information, we contacted Irish citizens who lived during the Troubles to hear their personal stories.

160. "The Troubles Gallery - 40 Years of Conflict in Northern Ireland from the Belfast Telegraph Archives." *Belfast Telegraph*. 18 Feb. 2014. Web.

Among these striking images are photographs of IRA terrorists, armed and hidden, unbeknownst to endangered nearby civilians, as well as haunting portraits of bomb

victims. This gallery allowed us to picture the true horror of the conflict that ravaged Northern Ireland for thirty years.

161. *Voices from the Grave - The Troubles. Protestant Irish Republican*. Youtube, 28 Nov. 2013. Web. 8 May 2015.

The Irish Republican Army's Brendan Hughes and Ulster Volunteer Force's David Ervine offer unique insights into the motivation, planning, and misery of the Northern Irish populace during The Troubles.

162. "Wars and Conflict: 1916 Easter Rising." *BBC History*. British Broadcasting Company, 24 Sept. 2014. Web.

This website provided a wealth of preliminary background information related to multiple aspects of the Easter Rising. Straightforward and objective, it described key people from both English and Irish sides, events, and included selected archived primary sources.

163. Wheatcroft, Geoffrey. "The Evil Legacy of the Easter Rising." *The Guardian UK*. 8 Apr. 2006. Web.

Vehemently opinionated, this work of journalism by an English writer explains every Irish revolutionary movement as descended from the ideology of the Easter Rising, claiming that the legacy of the Rising has "poisoned Irish life." This source even somewhat melodramatically draws parallels between the illegality of Pearse and

Connolly's insurrection and the genocide and power mongering of World War II-era dictatorships.

164. White, Timothy J., and Meghan E. Clarke. "Extending Peace to the Grassroots: The Need for Reconciliation in Northern Ireland after the Agreement." *Lessons from the Northern Ireland Peace Process*. Ed. Andrew P. Owsiak. Madison: U of Wisconsin, 2013. N. pag. Print.

This essay traces the legacy of the Protestant-Catholic tension in Ireland past the resolution of the Troubles and into the present day. In particular, it advocates grassroots reconciliation processes, including a decrease in social and educational religious segregation, as a means to ultimately abandon a fraught history and enable the nation of Northern Ireland to move forward in a unified manner. We found this essay interesting as we considered the endemic issues in Northern Ireland that have not been sufficiently addressed.

165. White, Timothy Jerome. *Lessons from the Northern Ireland Peace Process*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin, 2013. Print.

This collection of essays provided insight into the Northern Ireland peace process and the ways in which the legacy of the Easter Rising and the Troubles permeate Northern Ireland even in the wake of this resolution. The historians published herein provided nuanced, conflicting, and often interdisciplinary arguments that enabled us to consider all sides of the Good Friday Agreement and contemporary Northern Ireland.

166. Wolf, Nicholas, Ph.D. "Faculty Fellow of Irish Studies, Glucksman Ireland House NYU."

E-mail interview. 6 Oct. 2014.

Wolf is an expert on the cultural history of Ireland, Irish linguistics, and the social history of language. In this personal interview, Dr. Nicholas Wolf elucidated the nature of the relationship between language, literature, and Irish nationalism. This discussion convinced us to integrate both literature and Gaelic into our performance.

167. Wylie, Ken. "Citizenship, Identity and Social Inclusion: Lessons from Northern Ireland." *European Journal of Education* 39.2 (2004): 237-48. *JSTOR*. Web.

This article tackles the issue of cultivating peace in contemporary Northern Ireland. Because social cohesion is strongly linked to national identity, a society like Northern Ireland, composed of conflicting identities, precludes cohesion in the absence of pervasive connecting structures. We read this article to get a sense of how the legacy of bitterness left by the Easter Rising and Troubles affects Ireland to this day.

168. "1916-1991." *The Irish Times* [Dublin] 30 Mar. 1991. *BBC Newspaper Archive*. Web.

"What is this strange phenomenon called 1916 that seems to raise the blood and paralyse the intellect for so many?" The Easter Rising, claims this author writing on its seventy-fifth anniversary, was a calculated conspiracy to kill. While this source applauds the heroism of the Rising leaders, it claims that Irish nationalism, which unlike most other nationalisms is defined by violence as an intrinsic constitutive element, should be purged of the mixed legacy of the Rising in order for Ireland to move forward.

