Dress, Masculinities and Memory: Commemorating the Revolutionary Body in Ireland

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PhD in History of Design

Signed Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the commemoration of the Revolutionary Period (1912–1923) in Ireland during the current Decade of Centenaries (2012–2023) by exploring the embodiment of national memory through dress and the body. I question the impact of the commemoration of conflict on constructions of masculine and national identity. I analyse how conflict is interpreted, remembered, and re-enacted on and through the male body as part of the practice of remembrance. Finally, I demonstrate how an analysis of dress and the body can destabilise the history and memory of conflict and force new perspectives on the continual reshaping of material culture through remembrance.

The Revolutionary Period saw a series of violent conflicts and political crises erupt across Ireland, which led to the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 and, eventually, the Republic of Ireland in 1949. As of 2012, Ireland entered a period of successive centenary commemorations that have enabled a re-examination of national memory and the re-enactment of history. Throughout this research, I engage ideas of authenticity, myth, and the making of history to analyse how bodies – living and dead, dressed and undressed – move through the time and space of conflict. This research reconciles the history of the Revolutionary Period with the history of commemoration, with a particular focus on how Irish masculinities and nationhood are articulated in history-making and the relationship between embodied memory and dress.

Through an interdisciplinary methodological framework, this thesis engages dress as an embodiment of history and memory to analyse how the Revolutionary Period has been and is being commemorated in museum exhibitions, plays, performances, digital media and as living history. Dress and the body constitute my primary source materials. They complicate Irish national memory and demonstrate the significance of the materiality of war, conflict, and crisis in the process of commemoration and in the cultivation of a national and collective memory.

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Abbreviations

BMH – Bureau of Military History

GPO – General Post Office

ICA – Irish Citizen Army

IRA – Irish Republican Army

ITGWU – Irish Transport and General Workers Union

IWM – Imperial War Museum

NMI – National Museum of Ireland

PSNI – Police Service of Northern Ireland

RDS – Royal Dublin Society

RIC – Royal Irish Constabulary

RTÉ - Raidió Teilifís Éireann

Introduction

In 2016 the widow of a Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) officer who was shot dead by dissident republicans in County Armagh in 2009 complained to the *Belfast Telegraph* about the re-enactment of the shooting of a Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) officer outside Dublin Castle by an Irish Volunteer in Easter 1916. 'It's terrible that because someone wears a uniform, they are targeted.' Kate Carroll went on to say:

> '[…] down through the years there have been re-enactments like this, which is silly and stupid because in this day and age you think we would have the mentality to move on and leave the past in the past […] It beggars belief that people are so far behind in their thinking that they want to kill a person in a uniform, which is disgusting […] Another generation is going to be indoctrinated into this by seeing those images.'[1]

Carroll's public complaint underlines the relationship between the history and memory of conflict, and how re-enactment of conflict, war, and violence is shaped by experiences of the present and our expectations for the future. What this example also makes clear is that historical uniform situates the historic body in the present and the present body in the past. Carroll was associating the death of her husband as a police officer in 2006 with the death of an officer from a conflict 90 years previously. The commemoration of an act of violence from Easter 1916 created a point of connection between past and present bodies; an encounter between national history and personal memory which exposes the implications of remembering for all lives in the present. This thesis is an investigation of this point of connectedness between past and present bodies through an analysis of how dress re-imagines and re-enacts history as commemoration.

Commemoration is the act of remembering what happened in the past in the context of the present. Nataliya Danilova suggests that: 'war is not over when the politicians sign truces and weapons are set aside. Instead, society re-imagines the experience of war during annual ceremonies of war commemoration.'[2] It is the re-imagining of conflict as commemoration which is the concern of this thesis; how 'the story' of history creates a myth at a moment of crisis through which national and masculine identities are formed.[3] Commemoration and re-enactment of traumatic history demonstrate that history never simply resides in the past, but that history, in

[1] Cate McCurry, 'Widow of PSNI Man Carroll Raps Easter Rising Re-Enactment of Police Man Murder', *Belfast Telegraph*, March 29 2016 <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/republic-of-ireland/widow-of-psni-man-carroll-raps-easter-rising-reenactment-of-police-man-murder-34579605.html> [accessed 18 March 2019].
[2] Nataliya Danilova, *The Politics of War Commemoration in the UK and Russia* (New York: Springer, 2016), p. i.
[3] Paul A. Cohen, *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 196.

particular the historic conflict, is never really 'over'. Conflict persists in national memory through these commemorative practices.[4] This research explores that intersection between the past and the present, where history and memory become blurred in the act of 'doing history' and re-imagining the experiences of historic conflict through the body. Specifically, this thesis is focussed on commemoration of the Revolutionary Period in Ireland and examines how commemorative practices shape interpretations of masculine and national identities in the making of history. A series of consecutive conflicts and political crises, the Revolutionary Period is widely defined as beginning in 1912 with the introduction of Home Rule and concluded in 1923 with the end of the Civil War. The history of the Revolutionary Period became part of the national story after the crisis of identity following the Civil War.[5] According to historian Paul Cohen, at a moment of national crisis, history becomes mythologised and these 'stories' become foundational to national identity.[6] This research is positioned at the centenary of the Revolutionary Period, a point when living memory is fading and narrative history begins to blur the boundaries of history, memory and myth.

Dress and its proximity to the body has the potential to act as a record of the lived experience of history, bearing witness to how bodies lived and died. Coats, shirts, caps, trousers, and tunics are among some of the objects that I analyse throughout this thesis in an investigation of dead, living, and re-enacted bodies. Dress is intrinsic to the material culture of conflict and acts as a witness to the historic male body and the changing interpretation of masculinities in conflict and commemoration. I analyse dress in different forms as costume, clothing, and uniform both on and off bodies in the commemorations that have taken place across Ireland throughout the current Decade of Centenaries from 2012 into 2023. State ceremonials, museum exhibitions and collections, re-enactments, theatre productions, performances, and digital media, including film and television, provide primary evidence for my investigation into the role of dress and the body in shaping the history and memory of conflict in Ireland. With this research, I aim to cultivate a new understanding of the impact of the culture of commemoration on the relationship between national identity and Irish revolutionary masculinities.

According to George Mosse: 'the importance of the actual structure of the human body became equal to - if not greater than - the importance of its adornments. The stereotype of masculinity was conceived as a totality based upon the nature of man's body.'[7] Histories of

[4] Rebecca Schneider *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Re-enactment* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 33.
[5] Anne Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1-5.
[6] Cohen, *History and Popular Memory,* p. 195.
[7] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 5.

masculinities and conflict have focussed on the recruiting, drilling, unforming, wounding, killing, and burying of men's bodies.[8] When arms are laid down historians take up their pens to make sense of violence performed and endured, securing the body as a consistent element in the justifying or condemning conflict in the historical record. Masculine identity is shaped by these records and representations of the men who suffered and died for the nation, and those who died at its hands. It is because of this that bodies, history, and formation of a collective national identity are drawn together in the depiction of military or revolutionary masculinities. Masculinity during the Revolutionary Period focussed on the ideals of strength, courage and sacrifice of the body, these ideals were imagined in conflict and are being re-imagined through commemoration.

Each of the four chapters of this thesis deal with a specific aspect of commemoration: state commemoration; museum collections and exhibitions; performance and theatre and, popular and living history. I analyse how the history of conflict is interpreted, remembered and re-enacted, on and through the male body. I investigate how Irish revolutionary masculinities were imagined in the past and are re-enacted in the present to construct national identity and reveal changing relationships between nationhood and manhood. I use an analysis of dress and the body to challenge linear histories and to question how memory practices, from state ceremonies to everyday remembering, continually reshape history in relation to the present. Across these four chapters, I engage an interdisciplinary methodology to examine the impact of the commemoration of conflict on constructions of masculine and national identity.

In this introduction, I explain how my methodology and theoretical framework addresses these questions and outline my key primary sources and archives. I contextualise my research within the historiography of the Revolutionary Period, paying particular attention to new research emerging since the commencement of the Decade of Centenaries. It is important, however, to begin with an explanation of the Revolutionary Period and the Decade of Centenaries and some of the challenges they present for historians.

The Revolutionary Period and The Decade of Centenaries

The term Revolutionary Period can be viewed as problematic since this demarcation of time risks ignoring the complexities of the events of 1912 to 1923 as a product of long term social and political changes. The short timeframe suggests in fact that it somehow has a tidy beginning and

[8] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1996); Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Lois S. Bibbings, *Telling Tales about Men: Conceptions of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service During the First World War*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Jane Tynan, *British Army Uniform and the First World War: Men in Khaki* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

end.[9] I adhere to this timeframe (1912 – 1923) and the term Revolutionary Period, however, because of its prominence within modern Irish history and its use as a narrative construct for the purposes of national commemoration.[10] Throughout this thesis, the temporality of commemoration is considered as both fluid (changing in response to the agenda of the community or nation) and fixed (as it is perceived as part of a calendar of remembrance). Thus, commemoration is not considered as a practice that started in 2012, or indeed 1923, but part of the process of national building, to which the dates of 1912 to 1923 have become central.

Of course, the history of revolution in Ireland also predates the events of 1912. Ireland's long and complex colonial history began with the Anglo-Norman invasions of 1169 and has been punctuated by revolutions and uprisings against British rule from as early as 1534. From 1534, insurrections, uprisings and revolutions have punctuated Anglo-Irish history including battles such as the Nine Years War (1593–1603), the Rebellion of 1641 and the Rebellion of 1789. It is the Revolutionary Period (1912-1923) however, which has had a lasting impact on how anti-colonial resistance is framed in modern Irish history and continues to be drawn into debates concerning contemporary conflict such as the Troubles (1969-1998). The Revolutionary Period began with the impending introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1910. This bill meant that Ireland would have a separate government but remain a dominion of the United Kingdom. When the Third Home Rule Bill was finally introduced under John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1912, it faced opposition from both Unionist and Nationalist sides. The same year The Ulster Covenant was signed by almost 500,000 people in opposition to the Home Rule Bill and the Ulster Volunteer Force was founded to resist the bill and protect the union with Britain by force.[11] In turn, the Irish Volunteers were established by Irish nationalists in 1913 as violent tensions began to mount.[12] There followed the 1913 Dublin Strike and Lockout in which workers under the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) protested their pay and working conditions at the hands of their British employers.[13] The Lockout (in which the employers 'locked out' their Irish workers and brought in blackleg labour from elsewhere to replace them) also led to the founding of the Irish Citizen Army by Jim Larkin who had been instrumental in carrying out the Lockout strikes. The outbreak of the First World War across

[9] Aidan Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884-1938* (New York: Springer, 2016), p. 3.
[10] Kenan Van De Mieroop, 'The "Age of Commemoration" as a Narrative Construct: A Critique of the Discourse on the Contemporary Crisis of Memory in France', *Rethinking History*, 20.2 (2016), 172–91, (p. 179).
[11] James Doherty, *Irish Liberty, British Democracy: The Third Irish Home Rule Crisis, 1909-14* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2019).
[12] Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913–23* (Dublin: Profile Books, 2015), p. 5.
[13] Eugenio F. Biagini and Mary E. Daly, *The Cambridge Social History of Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 148.

Europe in 1914 resulted in devastating losses for a generation of Irish men and women.[14] However, the distraction of a World War provided militant nationalists with the opportunity to stage an insurrection in Dublin city in 1916, which has become known as the Easter Rising. The Rising ended in failure after just six days of fighting and the seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic and leaders of the Rising were executed by the British authorities. The executions of Tom Clarke, Seán MacDiarmada, Thomas MacDonagh, Patrick Pearse, Éamonn Ceannt, James Connolly, and Joseph Plunkett rekindled nationalist sentiments across Ireland. Roger Casement, who had been in Germany attempting to secure arms for the nationalist movement, was also executed in 1916 upon his return to Ireland. Growing militant tensions and opposition to the enlistment of Irishmen into the British Army split the Irish Volunteers and led to the formation of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who began a guerrilla war to resist British rule in 1919.[15] In 1921, the War of Independence ended in a ceasefire and the partition of the island of Ireland.[16] The Anglo-Irish Treaty created the Catholic majority Irish Free State in the 26 southern counties of Ireland which became a self-governing dominion of the British Empire in 1922. As a result of the Treaty, nationalists divided along pro- and anti-treaty sides leading to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1922.[17] The Civil War ended in 1923 and left in its wake bitter division and lasting scars on both sides of the border.

The more recent cross-border Northern Ireland conflict (1960s – 1998) has played a significant role in shaping the commemoration of the Revolutionary Period on both sides of the Irish border. The Troubles, as this period is also known, broke out after a protracted period of political and social tension in Northern Ireland between Protestant unionists and Catholic nationalists over the status of Northern Ireland and the ongoing discrimination of the Catholic minority in the north. The conflict saw bloody and violent clashes between nationalist and unionist paramilitary forces as well as the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, ending with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Since the outbreak of the conflict in the 1960s, the legacy of Civil War violence has shaped the memory of revolution for an entire generation. In Northern Ireland, the contested history of 1916 manifested in oppositional commemorations of the 1916 Rising and the Battle of the Somme, one of the deadliest battles of the First World War, which took place between July and November 1916. The 'ghosts' of the Ulster Volunteers who fought and died at the Somme, according to Jonathan

[14] Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[15] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble*, p. 186.
[16] Liam Weeks and Mícheál Ó Fathartaigh, *The Treaty: Debating and Establishing the Irish State* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2018), pp. 7-8.
[17] Gavin Foster, *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class, and Conflict* (New York: Springer, 2015), pp. 4-7.

Evershed, are '*agents provocateurs*, at work in justifications for Loyalist violence, or in murals that demarcate territory on Belfast's divided streets.'[18] South of the border, the actions of the IRA and other nationalist paramilitaries throughout the Troubles destabilised the Irish governments attempts to reframe commemoration of the Revolutionary Period as reconciliatory. Margaret O'Callaghan argues that the murder of the British Ambassador to Ireland by the IRA in 1976 strengthened the resolve of the Irish government to disassociate the Irish state's commemorations of the 1916 Rising with the actions of militant republicans.[19] The impact of the conflict on public commemoration was a campaign by the Irish state to reclaim the narrative of revolutionary heroism. Jim Smyth suggests that following the outbreak of the Troubles commemoration in the Republic of Ireland entailed 'either confronting the past in the name of resolution and reconciliation or a continuation of the conflict by other means.'[20] The contestation of revolutionary history has and continues to shape the practice of remembrance on both sides of the border. In the run-up to the 2016 UK referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (Brexit), for example, the issue of the border between the north and south of Ireland further complicated the rhetoric of reconciliation, and the conditions for commemoration once again became a site of contestation.

The historical context set out above lays the foundations for an examination of the changing nature of commemoration since 1923 and the timeframe set for the Decade of Centenaries which commenced in 2012. As discussed throughout this thesis, the memory of conflict and its commemoration have implications beyond the end of war. Conflict was not confined to an eleven-year period from 1912 to 1923, and as this thesis argues, conflict lives on through acts of remembering. To demonstrate the ways in which the past inhabits the present, this research contextualises Irish revolutionary masculinities in the light of more recent crises such as the Troubles. This research is happening at a crucial moment in Ireland's history because how a nation remembers its shared past informs its collective vision for the future.

The Decade of Centenaries, coined by the Irish government as the period of commemoration from 2012 to 2023, presents an opportunity to reassess this period of history through a new lens.[21] According to the official Decade of Centenaries website, commissioned by the Irish government, the official start of commemorations in Ireland began in 2012 with the

[18] Jonathan Evershed, 'Ghosts of the Somme: the state of Ulster loyalism, memory work and the 'other' 1916', (pp. 241-259) in Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry, *Remembering 1916* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 242.
[19] Margaret O'Callaghan, 'Reframing 1916 after 1969: Irish governments, a National Day of Commemoration, and the politics of commemoration in the 1970s', (pp. 207-223), in Grayson and McGarry, *Remembering 1916*, p. 222.
[20] Jim Smyth, *Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the Recent Past in Northern Ireland* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), p. 4.
[21] Van De Mieroop, 'The "Age of Commemoration" as a Narrative Construct', p. 175.

one-hundred-year anniversary of the Home Rule Crisis. The Decade of Centenaries therefore highlights events from 1912 to 1923 and the end of the Civil War. The advisory group for the Decade of Centenaries sets out the mission that:

> As the national commemorative programme will be comprised of official events and the complementary initiatives of state and local authorities, institutions, national associations and community groups in Ireland and abroad, the Group will provide advice to ensure that the general development of the programme and the provision of official support are directed towards commemorations which are historically authentic, relating to events, issues and processes of significance.[22]

The end of the Civil War was fixed by the Decade of Centenaries Advisory Committee as the end of the centenaries. It is, however, problematic to suggest that history and memory reach an end point, and that both start anew. Memory of the Civil War has been 'manipulated, underestimated, but most of all, ignored', according to Anne Dolan, but in reality 'there could be no forgetting'.[23] This pattern of memory suppression is reflected in secondary and primary material written and collected after 1923. The Bureau of Military History is an archive of witness statements collected by the state between 1947 and 1957. Of the 1,773 witness statements collected from people who were witnesses to or participants in the revolution, almost all refused to talk about the Civil War. Comparing how personal reminiscences and individual accounts of the period adhere to or contest official histories of the conflict, enables me to challenge how history is made through remembering and forgetting. I analyse how inconsistencies and discontinuities in national memory are established and perpetuated through commemoration. Examining dress and the body in the act of commemoration not only addresses these omissions but, as I demonstrate, can lead to better understanding of their impact on shaping the historical record. Rather than follow the official historical timeline, this thesis follows a commemorative timeline, one that is often re-shaped and re-framed in response to a changing relationship between past and present.

Histories of the Revolutionary Period

The history of the Revolutionary Period has seen countless revisions and re-examinations since the end of the Civil War in 1923 with many taking the form of historical surveys or broad histories of conflict. Some of these early works were concerned with charting the chronology of

[22]' Initial Statement by Advisory Group on Centenary Commemorations, *Decade of Centenaries*, <https://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/initial-statement-by-advisory-group-on-centenary-commemorations/> [accessed 22 July 2018].
[23] Anne Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 2.

events such as Ulick O'Connor's 1975 *A Terrible Beauty Is Born: The Irish Troubles, 1912-1922* and Padraic O'Farrell's *Who's Who in the Irish War of Independence and Civil War, 1916-1923* published in 1980.[24] Prominent historians such as J. C. Beckett, David Fitzpatrick, Roy Foster, and Ian McBride have made major contributions to Irish history from the 1600s to the present day.[25] Works of this nature often seek to chart the evolution of conflict in a linear form with a focus on the key protagonists. The cult of personality has provided ample material for publications including many on Patrick Pearse, such as Ruth Dudley Edwards's *Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure* and Joost Augusteijn's *Patrick Pearse: The Making of a Revolutionary*.[26] Other biographies include David Fitzpatricks's *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* and Anne Marreco's *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz*.[27] Literature concerning this period of Irish history has followed the trend of commemorative narratives by focusing on key events and personalities.

More recently, however, Marie Coleman's *The Irish Revolution, 1916–1923* published in 2013 sought to foreground the role of women and labour within the broader chronology of the period, rather than focussing solely on key events and personalities.[28] The advent of the Decade of Centenaries has seen a rise in research seeking out the stories of people and events that may have been excluded from the works mentioned above including Linda Connolly's *Women and the Irish Revolution Feminism, Activism, Violence* published in 2020 and *The Dead of the Irish Revolution* written by Eunan O'Halpin and Daithi Ó Corráin which sets out a comprehensive account of all men, women, and children who died during this period.[29] Other works such as Diarmaid Ferriter's *A National and Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution, 1913-1923* published in 2015 was written in response to the release of the Bureau of Military History's digitised witness statements, providing a new perspective on now widely available primary source material.[30] The commencement of the Decade of Centenaries has provided a platform for academics and historians to present new perspectives and theories on this period of Irish history.

Professor Mary Daly has observed, commemoration offers historians 'space in the media' to present historically accurate versions of the events being commemorated in order to avoid,

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[24] Ulick O'Connor, *A Terrible Beauty Is Born: The Irish Troubles, 1912-1922* (New York: Hamilton, 1975); Padraic O'Farrell, *Who's Who in the Irish War of Independence, 1916-1921* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1980).
[25] J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011); David Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands, 1912-1939* (Oxford University Press, 1998); R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1990); Ian McBride, *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[26] Ruth Dudley Edwards, *Patrick Pearse: The Triumph of Failure* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006); J. Augusteijn, *Patrick Pearse: The Making of a Revolutionary* (New York: Springer, 2010).
[27] David Fitzpatrick, *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004); Anne Marreco and Alice Acland, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (Suffolk: Chilton Books, 1967).
[28] Marie Coleman, *The Irish Revolution, 1916-1923*, (London: Routledge, 2013).
[29] Eunan O'Halpin and Daithi Ó Corráin, *The Dead of the Irish Revolution* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2020); Linda Connolly, *Women and the Irish Revolution: Feminism, Activism, Violence* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2020).
[30] Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble.*

what she describes as 'crass political agendas'.[31] Material published throughout the centenary necessitates an awareness of political agendas as Emily Pine, director of the Irish Memory Studies Research Network, warns; partial and biased views of history fail 'to be true to the complexity of individuals and their past' and enable 'contemporary audiences to distance themselves from the implications of what they are seeing'.[32] The public role of the historian in reinterpreting history becomes more prevalent during a period of commemoration. Dominic Bryan has suggested that: 'historians […] are invited onto the media and to the ritual events to comment on the commemorative practice, not because they are the most qualified to do so […] but because as 'experts' they above all others can legitimise the importance of history in our identity.'[33] There is, however, an urgent need for a collaborative and interdisciplinary reassessment of history in order that the question of 'our identity' is complicated and contextualised; whose history is being commemorated? What forms of identity are represented? And how can commemoration accurately represent a collective identity? These questions inform my approach to problematise the idea of history as a collective practice. This research is situated amid these centenaries, and it is the practice of history, good, bad, or otherwise, and the implications for national memory at this exact moment, which is the driving force behind my research questions. The space in the media provided by anniversaries and political agendas piggybacking on commemoration become part of the process of history making. The notion that we as historians, must strive for history to be unbiased is, as this research suggests, simply part of that same process.

Throughout this thesis the history of revolution informs and enlightens my approach to the history of commemoration, because, as I argue, commemoration itself can be an act of rebellion. Commemoration is the interaction of past and present through the practice of remembering the events, people, and places of history. It as a form of collective or national remembering, providing an occasion to hone the historical narrative in response to the current political, economic, social, or cultural concerns of a community or nation. G. J. Ashworth and Brian Graham set out how the cultural and economic uses of heritage in the present create a sense of belonging in society and a generate a collective identity through commemoration.[34] Ashworth and Graham explain that: 'the past validates the present by conveying an idea of

[31] History Hub, Mary Daly (1916 and Me - Full Interview) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wklv54-wEx0> [accessed 22 January 2018].
[32] Emilie Pine, *The Politics of Irish Memory: Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 48.
[33] Dominic Bryan, 'Ritual, Identity and Nation: When the Historian Becomes the High Priest of Commemoration', in *Remembering 1916 The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland*, ed. by R Grayson and F McGarry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 24–42, (p. 25).
[34] G. J. Ashworth and Brian Graham, *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (London: Routledge, 2017).

timeless values and unbroken narratives that embody what are perceived as timeless values.'[35] Commemoration facilitates this perceived continuity with the past by emphasising narratives from history that reaffirm the collective identity of a nation through acts of ritual commemoration in the present.

These acts of remembering dictate the perceived shape of history, and, according to Anthony Terence Quincey Stewart 'there is something wrong with the shape of Irish history […] it is very difficult to see where the past ends and the present begins'.[36] Stewart likens Irish history to a train with no clear starting point but a definite destination; independence. The indistinct divisions between past and present are never more evident than at the sites and dates of remembrance when the values and ideologies of history are brought to the forefront of contemporary consciousness. Stewart's *The Shape of Irish History* was published in 2001, the same year as Ian McBride's seminal edited volume *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* which brought Ireland into the burgeoning canon of memory studies. McBride argues that, in Ireland, 'the interpretation of the past has always been at the heart of national conflict', thus, to study the history of revolution necessitates an examination of how it is remembered.[37] The prominence of remembrance in Ireland as an agent in national imagining has resulted in commemorative rituals 'becoming historical forces in their own right'.[38] Following the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 a new consciousness of the relevance of memory studies is reflective of the turning the historians gaze inwards to critically reflect upon those aspects of Irish history consciously remembered or willfully forgotten.

Commemoration is, however, as much about remembering as it is forgetting. Guy Beiner argues that 'forgetting deserves to be treated with the same rigour as remembering', and that the act of forgetting as part of how we remember is often neglected in the field of memory studies.[39] Following the end of the Troubles, Beiner contends, 'the need to strike a balance between selective remembering and forgetting emerged as a main concern' and throughout this thesis, I examine the increasing awareness of the need to address this balance.[40] The commemoration of the Great Famine (1845-1852) is an example of remembering as a means of recovering memory and reframing history. In a lecture given at the 150th anniversary of the Famine, Cormac Ó Gráda argued that there had been a certain amount of 'historical gloss' over the legacy of folk

[35] Ashworth and Graham, *Senses of Place*, p. 23.
[36] Anthony Terence Quincey Stewart, *The Shape of Irish History* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2001), p. 2.
[37] Ian McBride, 'Memory and national identity in modern Ireland', (pp. 1- 42) in *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 1.
[38] Ibid., p. 2.
[39] Guy Beiner, *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 29.
[40] Ibid., p. 607.

memory of Irish famine and 'Irish generosity towards the Third World' in 1990s.[41] Emily Mark-FitzGerald explains that for the first 150 years collective memory of the Famine in Ireland was 'elusive' and that it wasn't until the 1990s that a 'remarkable outpouring of public commemoration and sentiment […] swept across Ireland'.[42] At the sesquicentennial the memory of the famine could be shared as a collective trauma, with the states commemorative programme creating an image of a new globalized Ireland.

This research responds to recent calls for more inclusive histories of and approaches to, the Revolutionary Period; it highlights the need to represent elements of this period previously overlooked in areas of academic and popular history as well as popular culture, state and popular commemoration. Since the beginning of the centenary commemorations a number of historians, mostly female, have sought to recover women's voices and stories from the revolution and reinstate the role they played in fighting for Ireland. These include *Through Her Eyes*: *A New History of Ireland in 21 Women* by Clodagh Finn and *Fearless Woman: Hanna Sheeny Skeffington, Feminism and the Irish Revolution* by Margaret Ward, both published in 2019.[43] Local and minority histories have also come to the fore with books such as *County Louth and the Irish Revolution: 1912–1923* published in 2017 and *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class, and Conflict* by Gavin Foster in 2015.[44] The idea of 'history from below' and history from the margins inform my methodology as I seek to uncover the bodies that are absent in the collections and archives and excluded from commemorations. Oona Frawley uses the term 'oblivious remembering' to describe 'forms of remembrance that lacks awareness of or dismisses the systemic biases present in its institutional and/or official approaches to the past.'[45] As will be discussed throughout this thesis, bodies can be used as simply tokens of inclusion as well as a means of achieving a more balanced historical perspective. Historians, academics, designers, and practitioners have endeavored to uncover the memory of forgotten bodies in various ways, which is reflected particularly in Chapters Three and Four where I investigate how marginalised groups have used

[41] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine 150: Commemorative Lecture Series* (Dublin: University College, Dublin, 1997), p. 129.
[42] Emily Mark-FitzGerald, *Commemorating the Irish Famine: Memory and the Monument* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 1.
[43] Ann Matthews, *Renegades: Irish Republican Women 1900-1922* (Dublin: Mercier Press Ltd, 2010); Clodagh Finn, *Through Her Eyes: A New History of Ireland in 21 Women* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2019); Margaret Ward, *Fearless Woman: Hanna Sheeny Skeffington, Feminism and the Irish Revolution* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2019); Lucy McDiarmid, *At Home in the Revolution: What Women Said and Did in 1916* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2015); Liz Gillis, *Women of the Irish Revolution* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 2014); Sinéad McCoole, *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2015).
[44] Donal Hall and Maguire Martin, *County Louth and the Irish Revolution: 1912–1923* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2017); Foster; John O'Callaghan, *Limerick: The Irish Revolution, 1912-23* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018); Michael Lenihan, *Cork Burning* (Mercier Press, 2018); Conor McNamara, *War and Revolution in the West of Ireland: Galway, 1913–1922* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2018).
[45] Oona Frawley, *Women and the Decade of Commemorations* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021), p. 3.

state funded intuitions such as national theatre to assert visibility on a public stage. Similarly, in Chapter Four my examination goes beyond the confines of the state and into popular and community commemoration locating other bodies outside the imaginary of Irish revolutionary heroism. Bodies, their place in history and their role in commemoration are key to my re-evaluation of the timeline of revolutionary history. Bodies are the physical medium which allow history to be experienced in the present while also enabling access to the intangibility of pain, trauma and loss through the act of commemoration.

Works such as *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War in Revolution 1912-1923*, published at the beginning of the Decade of Centenaries in 2013, examines the legacy and future of commemorative practice in Ireland.[46] David Fitzpatrick's chapter on the historiography of the commemoration of Irish conflict from 1912 to 1923 cautions commemorating and historicising these 'appealing but flawed narratives.'[47] Similarly, anthropologist Michael Taussig, referring to memories of colonialism in South America, suggests that 'all societies live by fiction taken as real.'[48] Taussig advocates for a 'de- mythification' of subjective colonial narratives, while Fitzpatrick sets out a series of guidelines for the same reason, suggesting that: 'the drama of set-piece confrontations must be balanced by evocation of the mundane and repellent facets of conflict.'[49] Dress in conflict can be part of the everyday, it can also be a vital means of protection, a demarcation of political affiliation or economic status, for this reason dress is essential to my research in analysing patterns of commemoration, from dramatic scenes of war to the everyday experience of conflict. The result of a project led by the Centre for War Studies at Trinity College Dublin, *Towards Commemoration,* brought together the work of historians, politicians, and journalists demonstrating the need for collaborative engagement with this material, across cultural and political platforms in order to avoid the mythologising of conflict or war. The bringing together of multiple voices is an essential action to avoid mythmaking in the practice of commemoration, as observed by Jay Winter:

> Decentering the history of commemoration ensures that we recognise the regional, local, and idiosyncratic character of such activities and the way a top-down approach must be supplemented by a bottom-up approach to the performance of scripts about the past at

[46] John Horne and Edward Madigan eds., *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution 1912-1923*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013) see also; Eugenio Biagini and Daniel Mulhall, *The Shaping of Modern Ireland: A Centenary Assessment* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2016).
[47] Horne and Madigan, *Towards Commemoration*, p. 126.
[48] Michael T. Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 134.
[49] Horne and Madigan, *Towards Commemoration*, p. 127.

> commemorative sites in villages, small towns, and provincial cities, as well as in the centres of political power.[50]

This thesis uses the study of dress to decentre the history of conflict as one such approach that can be both bottom-up and critically engaged with performance, but I also seek to decentre the history of revolution by contextualising the Revolutionary Period within the history of the First World War. Uniform and military masculinity are synonymous with this period of conflict as men were mobilised in huge numbers across Europe to fight in the First World War. But uniformity in military masculinity was not a reality, as uniformed bodies were highly encoded into hierarchies which included class and national identity.[51] Examining the materiality of uniform in museum collections, displays and performances, and asking questions about how and where objects are made, how they have been worn and what this can tell us about the bodies that wore them enables me to create a dialogue between the embodied experience of conflict and how it is remembered.

Commemoration on the body might take the form of historical re-enactment, when participants wear historical uniform, or through the body where audiences watch actors perform in costume. As argued throughout this thesis, dress and the body are fundamental to the remembrance of conflict, something which has been overlooked in current literature on the history and commemoration of Revolutionary Period. Although there has been some recent research into the material culture of the Revolutionary Period, there has been little or no enquiry into the impact of those materials for the commemoration of this period and how they have guided national memory. *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising* edited by Lisa Godson and Joanna Brück published in 2015 has contended with the material culture of the 1916 Rising. The edited collection was published following a conference by the same title organised by the National College of Art and Design and University College Dublin and reflects increasing awareness in academia of the importance of material culture in contextualising social and cultural memory. Jane Tynan's chapter on the unmilitary appearance of the 1916 rebels places dress at the centre of the discussion around the materials of the Rising. Tynan notes that 'clothing was significant to the conflict, so much so that the image of insurgency the rebels created later echoed across the world.'[52] Primarily focussing on surviving images and

[50] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 317.
[51] Jane Tynan editor and Lisa Godson editors, *Uniform: Clothing and Discipline in the Modern World,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 237-238.
[52] Jane Tynan, 'The unmilitary appearance of the 1916 rebels', in *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising*, ed. By Lisa Godson and Joanna Bruck, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 25-34 (p. 25).

documentary evidence, Tynan explains how a uniform, or a lack of a uniform, embodied a military or revolutionary identity.[53] I build upon this research, both chronologically to encompass events such as the War of Independence and the Civil War and by using dress as primary source material to inform the bodily experience of war and conflict. The fourth and final section of *Making 1916*, focusses on how the Rising has been remembered through the collecting, displaying, and performance of memory. Lisa Godson's chapter on the development of commemorative rituals of the 1916 Rising, while not dealing directly with the materials of those commemorations, sets out the historical context for how commemorations of the 1916 became established and subsequently ritualised.[54] This collection of essays is an important example of the reflective and collaborative discourse that is now surfacing as a result of the Decade of Centenaries and of the potential of materials of conflict and revolution to cause a re-examination of the memory of the revolutionary period.

A vast collection of objects that survive from the 1916 Rising are stored in the National Museum of Ireland and provide a wealth of information about how people lived and fought during the Rising. Not just uniforms and clothing, but everyday objects such as cups, pens, and glasses capture a moment in Irish history that has dominated revolutionary history in Ireland. Not all events from the Revolutionary Period have been documented or collected to the same extent. The Civil War in particular has been side-lined in the historiography and museology of Irish revolution. In 2003, however, Anne Dolan published *Commemorating the Irish Civil War*, described by Dolan as 'an attempt to think in terms of the 'memory of civil war' when no one else has even bothered to count the lives it claimed.'[55] Dolan's work on the commemoration of the Civil War demonstrates why for so long, historians of Irish history have largely avoided this challenging moment. She suggests that the challenges associated with commemorating civil war arise from the fact that 'civil war challenges most of the notions of collective memory. The idea of 'remembering in common' is gone.'[56] The idea that the nation does not, and indeed cannot, have a common position on the Civil War presents a problem for the historian in seeking to reconcile the memory Revolutionary Period beyond the end of the Civil War. I look to other forms of commemoration to see where and how the Civil War has been remembered, for example, in Chapter Three and Four I analyse how costume design has given bodily form and

[53] Tynan, 'The unmilitary appearance of the 1916 rebels', p. 31.
[54] Lisa Godson, 'Ritual, religion and the performance of memory in the Irish Free State', in *Making 1916,* pp. 249-254.
[55] Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War*, p. 1.
[56] Ibid., p. 3.

shape to the pain and trauma of the Civil War. Throughout this thesis, I am putting the body back into the history of revolution, or rather, bringing the bodies forward that were always there.

The history of the Revolutionary Period continues to be rewritten but never has there been more of a spotlight upon this revision than during the Decade of Centenaries. Ireland as a nation continually seeks to reconcile the history and memory of revolution while past conflicts feel interminably present. I, therefore, propose an analysis of the point of contact between the past and the present, where historical time collapses to investigate how history has been shaped and structured through the constant re-enactment of the body as a site of memory of the Revolutionary Period.

Methodology and Primary Sources

Designing a methodology for this research was centered on the examination of dress and the material culture of the body. In the first instance this involved locating archives and collections of dress that survive from the Revolutionary Period. My starting points were the collections of dress and uniform I had already used as part of Masters research at National Museum of Ireland and the Imperial War Museum. From there, I sought expand my primary sources beyond museum collections and discover where and why dress survived to memorialise, commemorate, and re-enact the revolutionary body in Ireland. To find how and where dress was being collected, I began with the points of contact for revolutionary bodies. By this I mean that I pursued those individuals and institutions with close connections to the revolutionary period or those who fought as part of it. However, dress and uniform of the revolution was also being designed, made, and worn through replicas and costumes and I, therefore, set about expanding my archive of dress to begin uncovering how revolutionary masculinities were being interpreted beyond the historic object of revolution. Bringing together an archive of dress from across disciplines, geographies, and time periods became a process of finding bodies. I was finding the bodies that were kept and collected, the bodies that were being designed and re-enacted and chiefly those that weren't.

These collections include the National Museum of Ireland dress collection and the collection of uniforms in the Military History and Easter Week collections. The Imperial War Museum and the Ulster Museum also house a wealth of uniforms from this period. Lesser-known archives also contain valuable objects relating to this period including the Abbey Theatre costume store, the National Theatre costume store in London, and the Irish Costume Archive, which has recently been founded with the aim of collecting costumes from significant Irish

films.[57] The collection of Defence Forces Uniforms in the Military Archives at Cathal Brugha Barracks in Dublin is another recent archive of working and ceremonial uniforms carefully collected and catalogued by ex-members of the Defence Forces. My analysis of the condition, conservation, and materiality of historical dress is brought into dialogue with an examination of the construction, design, and materials used in the creation of replicas and costumes for remembrance ceremonies and theatrical performances. I investigate how museum collections of dress have developed since 1923 and consider what this reveals about the changing culture of commemoration in Ireland. Similarly, I investigate the ways in which male dress has been used to bring the embodied experience of conflict to the fore of national memory. This method of collecting and accumulating an archive of dress across museums, theatres, film studios, private collections and military barracks generated the case studies that I focus on throughout this thesis. This was an active process of collecting and compiling an archive of the revolutionary body while responding to the trends in collecting and commemorating that have culminated in the culture of remembering the Revolutionary Period.

Commemoration is by its very nature comes about through a process of selection. In order to practice commemoration, the events, people or places of history are brought to the fore on national consciousness. As outlined above, this research started initially by seeking what was out archives of dress and uniform that dates from the period 1912 to 1923, who was commemorated where and why. The geographies of commemoration were significant when considering these questions in the context of national remembrance. This research is focused on the Republic of Ireland as it was formed in 1946 and the narrative of independence laid down in the ideology of the Revolutionary Period. Although I set out across Ireland and the UK to conduct my research across the broad spectrum of local and national commemoration of the period 1912 to 1923 I did, however, intentionally focus on the geography of Dublin for its prominence in state commemoration. Much of the ceremonial commemoration leading up to and during 2016 were focused in Dublin city and the national institutions based there, including the Abbey Theatre, the National Museum of Ireland and Glasnevin Cemetery. As the site of many of the key moments in the revolution this decision to focus on Dublin made sense, as commemoration recgonises and is often dictated by sites of memory, thus my case studies follow that example as a means of understanding the centrality of Dublin as an epicenter for conflict and the struggle for power.

Interviews with performers, designers, curators, and re-enactors who have chosen to employ dress as part of a commemorative event, exhibition, or performance further unpack the

[57] *Irish Costume Archive Project*, <http://icap.ie/> [accessed 27 August 2020].

significance of changing interpretations and deepen understanding of the role of the design of dress in practices of commemoration (see Appendix D). These interviews consider the agency of the designer in the production of history. From official State ceremonials to local re-enactments, they examine how dress is designed or curated to tell the revolutionary story and how dress re-imagines Irish revolutionary masculinity. As well as conducting face to face interviews with designers and curators, I carried out online questionnaires with living history re-enactors on the social media network Facebook (see Appendix C). These questionnaires focussed specifically on the re-enactors use of dress and how this facilitates an experience of history. An examination of historic costume and dress alongside an analysis of dress in the act of living history takes account of the object as a witness to history and the critical significance of the body in doing history. This approach to the body demonstrates how dress can animate the experience of past conflict though an embodied experience in the present. In conducting this research and engaging with participants I have sought ethics clearance from the Royal College of Art and followed ethics procedures for contacting participants, informing them about the purpose of the research and clarifying their role as part of it. The ethical procedures followed have fulfilled more than essential academic practice. They have formed part of my consideration for what the Revolutionary Period might mean to the participants, to their personal and familial memories of it and the legacy of conflict within their own lives. Ethical practice is crucial to conducting research which asks questions about historic conflict and its impact on life in the present.

Integral to this research are key archives in Ireland and the United Kingdom (UK) which cover the period 1912 to 1923. This includes the National Archives in London which houses original documents from the trials of the leaders of the Rising and intelligence gathered during the War of Independence and the Civil War. The National Library of Ireland houses key archives of commemorative material and documentary evidence of the revolution including photographs, newspapers and diaries. In addition, the Military Archives in Dublin contains records of the role of the Defence Forces in State commemorative ceremonies. The Bureau of Military History, mentioned above, is also a rich source of first-hand accounts of the events of the Revolutionary Period from 1916 to 1921. This primary source documentary and archival research is crucial to the analysis of the material culture of conflict, providing information about the use and value of clothing throughout the revolution. What people were wearing and why, further contextualises the descriptions and images of bodies and offers a sense of how they moved through space and time.

Film, television and digital media form another significant part of my visual analysis as the Revolutionary Period has provided ample inspiration for dramatisation, from as early as 1926

with *Irish Destiny* to the Netflix series *Rebellion* in 2016.[58] RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann), the Irish national broadcaster, founded in 1961, has a rich archive of digital content, including images and news reels from the Revolutionary Period, as well as news coverage of commemorations from the 1960s onwards. Alongside an examination of the surviving costumes from these productions, I analyse the design of costume for a digital medium from satire and comedy to documentaries and dramas, in order to unpack the dissemination and popularisation of the revolutionary image beyond Ireland. I question how changes in the media re-imagined Irish revolutionary masculinities and the impact this has on popular memory of the revolution. Visually analysing these digital sources as part of my methodology, provided me with the opportunity to engage my own perspective as a consumer of popular history. Throughout the commemorative period, I attended exhibitions, plays, performances, re-enactments and ceremonies to observe and participate in the act of collective remembrance.

This is an interdisciplinary project bringing together multiple and distinct areas of commemoration. To address my research questions, I combine object analysis, interviews, archival research, and an analysis of film, theatre and performance, digital media and museum exhibitions. Object analysis constitutes the foundations upon which this research is built as I examine civilian clothing, costume and uniform within the culture of commemoration. I situate the design, wearing, and collecting of dress as part of the embodied experience of war, as well as a mode of remembering. I formally trained in garment making at the National College of Art and Design in Dublin I have a keen understanding of the design and materiality of dress and its haptic relation to the body. This practical experience has enhanced my appreciation of the potential for dress to reflect broader social, political and economic changes in society as well as the most intimate aspects of people's lives. As an Irish immigrant studying and researching at the Royal College of Art in London, I found that the experience of war commemoration at home and abroad brought questions of dress and national memory to the forefront of my mind. I began asking questions about how cultures of remembrance impact not only national self-identification, but also ideas of belonging and connectedness to a shared history. I wanted to understand flows of memory and images of conflict as part of the practice of history, and to find points of contact across geographies and across temporalities.

As part of my methodology, I was responding to my own experiences as a participant living through the Decade of Centenaries, absorbing the performances, images, films, exhibitions, and news coverage that were at the forefront of everyday life. Walking through public places, reading the newspaper, or engaging with social media, the male body and imagery

[58] *Rebellion* <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4699982/> [accessed 23 October 2017].

of solders, rebels, insurgents, political and military leaders were impossible to ignore. I attended exhibitions, performances, re-enactments and conferences across the UK and Ireland to better comprehend the impact of this culture of commemoration on constructions of masculine and national identity. Across all four chapters, I critically reflect on how these commemorations are designed and executed at the centenary and the impact this has had on my own understanding of the experience of conflict. I analyse how dress and the body are designed in the re-imagining of historic national and masculine identities for the public today. Commemoration is a cross-disciplinary practice of remembrance, occurring across the fields of art, design, policy, and performance. By engaging an interdisciplinary methodology which brings together object analysis, archival research, qualitative research, visual analysis, and participant observation; the research offers a deeper understanding of the role dress, and the body has played in revolutionary history and national memory.

Theoretical Framework

History and Memory

History and memory can be difficult to reconcile, especially in an analysis of national commemoration where they can become blurred in the act of remembrance. This thesis draws on Maurice Halbwachs' idea of collective memory as a set of structures adopted by society 'to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of society.'[59] These structures are part of the development of history as Gefforey Cubitt explains 'history *is* collective memory, in its developed and efficacious form; it is the form of intellectual discipline and the type of knowledge, through which a given society is able to remember.'[60] Thus I am concerned with the symbiotic relationship between collective memory and specific forms of knowledge accessible through the acts of commemoration and of doing history. Focussing on the material culture of conflict, more specifically dress, as a site of memory of war and violence, brings the body into the practice of history, and this practice in turn informs collective memory and commemoration. Historian Jay Winter, in his study on sites of memory, suggests that 'historical remembrance' is the space between history and memory and it is within this space that I situate my research.[61] I build on the notion of sites of memory that, according to

[59] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 40.
[60] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 40.
[61] Jay Winter, 'Site's of Memory', in *Memory, Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Bill Schwarz and Susannah Radstone (New York: Fordham University, 2010), pp. 312–24 (p. 313).

Winter, act as a confluence of both history and memory and facilitate the act of historical remembrance.[62] Winters proposes that:

> Historical remembrance is an analytical category of use […] that enables us to understand more fully both the field of force between history and memory and the people who fashion, appropriate, and pass on to us sites of memory.[63]

Winter suggests that many sites of memory are the result of a 'top-down' approach to commemoration, instrumental in establishing dominant political narratives. However, changes in attitudes towards commemoration, or indeed social and cultural change more generally, can often be read in the actions of those who choose to subvert 'historical remembrance', according to Winters.[64] I engage with the subversion of remembrance by looking within and beyond state and institutional commemorations established as early as 1916 to the present day. In Chapter One, I use an analysis of the dead body to demonstrate how bodies become so central to narratives, in the writing of history and the formation of memory, and yet how, as interpretations and re-enactments of bodies change across time, the foundations of both history and memory prove to be equally variable. Engaging with the materiality of the male body and dress as the site of memory, in Chapter Four I further deconstruct the dominant narratives of heroism, sacrifice and martyrdom analysed in Chapter One. I establish how, outside of institutional memory practices, the body and the design of costume has come to provide an outlet and a platform to forge new connections to a shared past and generate new interpretations of Irish-ness.

Bodies and Embodied Memory

Bodies, both male and female, are drawn into the production, action, and destruction of war. Traditional expectations for gender roles are suspended in war as men bodies are shaped by the combat and women's bodies are made visible by engagement in work beyond domestic labour. With the onset of war women across Europe became visible in workplaces typically dominated by men. Throughout the period of the First World War women were still engaged in domestic labour, but also became part of the industrial labour force and the military forces through non-combatant roles such as nursing, doctoring and transport.[65] Wartime propaganda highlighted the new roles of women as nurses, landgirls or munitionettes as an example of national unity in

[62] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning,* p. 314.
[63] Ibid., p. 315.
[64] Ibid., p. 317.
[65] Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 2014).

war.[66] The impact of war on women and femininity more broadly, have been well researched. This is partly due the idea of women as an exceptional part of the wartime narrative, stepping into a traditionally masculine workforce while their husbands, sons and fathers enlist.[67] In Ireland the history of women in revolution has followed a similar trend by focussing on the temporary blurring of societal expectations of gender roles and the impact on women in society post-war.

Gendering the history of war impacts the visibility of bodies in commemoration with women often included as an exception to commemoration of conflict more broadly. Works such as *Women and the Decade of Commemorations*, published in 2021 is an example of efforts to redress the balance in terms of the role that women played in the revolution and how it has been remembered.[68] This thesis engages with this effort to redress the balance of history and memory by focusing on men and masculinity through the lens of dress and the body. The prominence of men's bodies at a local, national, and international levels in the commemoration of conflict has led me to question the impact this imagery has on the construction of national and masculine identity as part of collective remembering. However, the study and history of dress and bodies are fields of research historically concerned with women. A preoccupation with bodies, how they are performed in public and shaped in private has, until recently, focused on femininity and the female body.[69] The continued lack of historical enquiry into men's bodies and masculinities in conflict is the driving force behind this research. By engaging fields dominated by a focus on the feminine, this thesis seeks to redress the imbalance of both the gendered history of conflict and the study of dress and bodies in war.

Both history and memory of the Revolutionary Period are dominated by the narrative of the male experience of conflict. Using Carl von Clausewitz's 1832 *Vom Kriege* (On War) as an example, Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann argue that masculinity in politics and war was an unspoken assumption: 'the manly nature of politics and war seemed to require no outspoken confirmation, once the fact that they were not feminine domains was established.'[70] In her study of the First World War, Joanna Bourke argues that men's bodies are drilled, injured,

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[66] Jonathan Rayner, 'The Carer, the Combatant and the Clandestine: Images of Women in the First World War in War Illustrated Magazine', in *British Women's Histories of the First World War: Representing, Remembering, Rewriting*, ed. by Maggie Andrews and others (London: Routledge, 2020).
[67] Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War* (London: Routledge, 1981); Miriam Glucksmann, *Women Assemble: Women Workers and the New Industries in Inter-War Britain* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2022).
[68] Frawley.
[69] Alex Ward, 'Dress and National Identity: Women's Clothing and the Celtic Revival', *Costume*, 48.2 (2014), 193–212; Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-Dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981); Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth B. Wilson, *Body Dressing,* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001).
[70] Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Josh Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 3.

dismembered, and killed in war, and they become the focus of public attention through recruitment, the violence of war, as injured veterans and then as objects of national mourning in death.[71] Through war, the male body is made visible; commemoration facilitates a connection between bodies then and now through explorations of pain, trauma, loss, and grief. Archaeologist Andrew Jones argues that: 'body memory consists of the memory of the past embodied in our bodily actions. Memory is effectively sedimented in the very movement of the body' and that 'body memory is orienting because this is one of the ways we gain a sense of our own bodies and their position in relation to the world about us.'[72] Instead of thinking about the mind as the storage box for memory, I argue that the body can be the object of memory, with the capacity to embody the memory of the nation. My analysis resists the idea that the mind and body are separate; that one reads and the other exists to be read as a cultural signifier of nationalism and sacrifice. Instead, I consider a network of collective remembering, where the body allows access to specific forms of embodied knowledge and a new way of interpreting history. To understand how and why the body is employed by the state in the foundation of a national myth, one must also consider the dressed body in life, in death and in re-enactment. Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson argue that dress is 'not merely textual or discursive' but an embodied practice. That the 'dominance of linguistic explanations of fashion and dress has therefore led to rather narrow accounts, which neglect the place and significance of the body.'[73] George Mosse suggests that in modern societies 'masculinity was regarded as of one piece from its very beginning: body and soul, outward appearance and inward virtue were supposed to form one harmonious whole, a perfect construct where every part was in place.'[74] Thus the body in war and commemoration is analysed here as a corporeal dressed body. Chapter One investigates how the ideals of a singular masculinity are imagined through the uniform and the military body to establish an enduring history of the nation.

Authenticity

An object collected at a moment of conflict that are imbued with an 'authentic' experience - i.e., those items that were worn during conflict and in particular those objects that display traces of that conflict - facilitate what Susan Stewart calls an "authentic" experience 'beyond the horizon of present lived experience…'.[75] Where then, do the inauthentic objects, the facsimiles, and the

[71] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*.
[72] Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 11.
[73] Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth B. Wilson, *Body Dressing* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001), p. 4.
[74] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, p. 5.
[75] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1984), p. 133.

replicas belong in the search for a lived experience of history? Building on Stewart's search for where authenticity can be located, I argue that in the act of remembrance, through cultural reconstruction or re-enactment, dress in its "non-authentic" form (i.e., a costume or replica) is not a souvenir of past conflict, but a moment of authentic lived experience, not of the event itself but the memory of it. In re-enactment, authenticity comes from the bodily experience of history and the memory of that experience. As Walter Benjamin suggests: 'the authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced.'[76] The living history of an object is what conveys its authenticity; however, according to Igor Kopytoff only certain objects are signifiers, not because of their 'authenticity' as Benjamin sees it, but because of the manner by which they operate within a system of power. Kopytoff suggests that: 'power often asserts itself symbolically precisely by insisting on its right to singularise an object or a set or class of objects.'[77] In Chapter Two of this thesis, national museum collections and exhibitions enable an investigation of the power of objects to privilege certain narratives and bodies over others. The material culture of conflict is analysed throughout this thesis by questioning what objects are considered authentic or inauthentic, and what determines their proximity to the experience of history.

Throughout this thesis I engage with the authentic as a malleable concept, dependent on the context and positioning of the past in relation to the present. Original objects, replicas, and copies are drawn into the discussion of authentic history making and the ability of material culture to communicate 'pastness' in the present. The network between 'objects, people, and places', according to Siân Jones informs 'the experience and negotiation of authenticity'. Jones argues that materialism assigns authenticity through authority, such as museums or heritage originations, tasked with the conservation the site or objects in their care.[78] Authenticity is harnessed by museums or collectors to authenticate objects, to affirm their rarity and value and to verify their 'aura'. However, authenticity can also be accrued through rituals, ceremonies, or anniversaries. Authenticity considered in a constructivist framework is dependent on the contemporary political, social, and economic context of an object. Helaine Silverman argues that through a constructivist view of authenticity 'performances and consumptions of identity and place are as valid as those historically legitimated' and that 'contemporary authenticity generates

[76] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, (New York: Random House Inc, 2002), p. 221.
[77] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process', in Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 64-95 (p. 73).
[78] Sally Foster and Sian Jones, *My Life as a Replica: St John's Cross, Iona* (Barnsley: Windgather Press, 2020), p. 6.

and enables new spaces and forms of human interaction and creativity.'[79] An authentic experience can be achieved through an encounter with history in different forms and this knowledge is based upon the principles that experience privileges the individual over the authority. The shifting site of authenticity at a national, local, and even individual level exposes the subjectivity of authenticity and the experiential possibilities of authentic knowledge. To untether authority from authenticity is to expand the notion of what constitutes an authentic record of history.

National Memory

Commemoration of war or conflict is essential in the act of nation building. Mourning collective loss and remembering those who have sacrificed themselves for the nation are part of what Benedict Anderson calls the 'imagined community'. This is a vital starting point for questioning the structure of the history and memory of nationalism as Anderson provides a framework for thinking about the nation as unfixed and re-imaginable. The nation, according to Anderson, is 'an awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of 'forgetting' the experience of this continuity […] engenders the need for a narrative of 'identity'.'[80] From this desire to remember, the narratives of nationalism are born. Anderson's definition of nation as a community 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' allows for the idea of the nation as something re-imaginable within the social, cultural, economic, political and geographic boundaries.[81] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's idea of the 'invented tradition' formalises the link between the performance of memory and nation-building, and aids thinking about identity as formed around the selective memories and stories a nation preserves.[82] For this thesis, I consider nation identity as a product of commemorative practice, as stories and personalities from history are re-enacted repeatedly across time. Ritual memory practices succeed in producing an 'official' version of the past upon which the nation is imagined and upheld by the state. Ian McBride argues there is a unique tendency in Ireland for 'present conflicts to express themselves through the personalities of the past' and for commemorative rituals to 'become historical forces in their own right.'[83] It is this process of imagining the nation

[79] Helaine Silverman, 'Heritage and Authenticity', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, eds., Emma Waterton, Steve Watson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) pp. 69–88, p. 85.
[80] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso, 2016), p. 205.
[81] Ibid., p. 6.
[82] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[83] Ian McBride, *History and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2.

through commemoration where I position this investigation of the body, particularly given it's significance in marking the passage of time as bodies live, die and are remembered.

The notion of an 'official' version of history or memory is sustained by the governing body of the state, for the purpose of collective remembering and as an act of legitimising the nation. Max Weber's definition of the state is particularly valuable here when considering national memory of conflict. Weber argues that '[…] a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory* […] the state is considered the sole source of the 'right' to use violence.'[84] Commemoration of conflict is the justification or explanation of historic violence and the legitimisation of the state force for the defence of the nation. Indeed, the annual state ceremonial parade for the 1916 Rising includes, not just formation marching of the Defence Forces, but also the Garda Síochana (police service), the Irish Prison Service, the Irish Coast Guard and the Civil Defence, suggesting that the violence of 1916 had somehow come to legitimise the use of force across all sectors within state power.[85] The authority of the state underpins my analysis of how the act of 'official' commemoration of conflict seeks to legitimise a timeline of history which is fixed, linear and progressive. Throughout this thesis, I explore the limitations of this 'official' timeline by showing how the Irish revolutionary masculinities, re-enacted in the commemoration of conflict, translate across 'official' and 'unofficial' histories. By focussing my analysis of dress and the body, I further challenge the way a legitimate timeline of history attempts to fix national and gender identity within the history and memory of revolution.

National Identity and Revolutionary Masculinities

Since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, there has been a focus on national self-identification for a new era of perceived peace and prosperity for a global Ireland. Instances of national commemoration, such as the current Decade of Centenaries provide an opportunity for the establishment of a cohesive national identity and to 'recover its cultural identity from centuries of colonialist impositions.'[86] Edward Said observed that Ireland has historically been considered racially 'other', however, these experiences of colonialism have been discussed separately from those of other nations such as India. Thus, Said argues that a postcolonial myth associated with Ireland suggests that 'its failings in backwardness and unmodern habits and

[84] Max Weber, *Politics As a Vocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 4.
[85] Ronan McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916* (Ireland: Department for Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2016), p. 105.
[86] Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1.

structures are its own and certainly cannot be ascribed to British Colonialism.'[87] The historical struggle over the establishment of a national narrative is symptomatic of this positioning of Ireland outside of other post-colonial histories. Claire Carroll points out that the loss of engagement with Irish language texts as a primary source material and the damaging effects of research into Irish history coming from English language sources alone, has to a large extent shaped the national narrative.[88] This historiographical crisis is a symptom of the colonial condition of Irish history, where certain voices, stories and bodies have been marginalised or forgotten as a result of the same 'colonialist impositions' which have motivated the desire to reaffirm Irish national identity. This is evidenced in the loss of the stories and names of Irishmen who fought in the First World War. As discussed in volumes such as Michael Silvestri's *Ireland and India* and Kate O'Malley's *Ireland, India and Empire,* these men were excluded from histories of the colonial experience of war.[89] At the same time, in histories of revolutionary Ireland, the same men were overshadowed in favour of the stories of those who fought against the British, not with them, as discussed by Keith Jeffery in *Ireland and the Great War.*[90] In war, the male body becomes the focus of national attention, whether it is as the means of winning the war through a strong and robust heroism or by defining one's nation against an enemy who is essentially 'other'.[91] Therefore, establishing a national historical narrative is tied up with the creation of a uniquely Irish identity, a relationship that is clearly played out through commemoration practices. The Irish male body has always been part of this re-imagining, with physical strength constituting an important part of Ireland's anti-colonial narrative. With the rise of social Darwinism in the 19th century, the Irish were depicted in newspapers and magazines as physically subordinate and regarded as racially inferior, animalistic, uncivilised and cowardly.[92] These depictions were particularly prevalent in the English press who defended English colonialism and vilified Irish nationalist resistance in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was therefore imperative as part of the Irish national project to align Irish masculinity with European ideals of 'whiteness', resulting in the marginalising of those bodies that did not conform to this ideal. Ireland's position as a

[87] Edward Said, 'Afterword: Reflections on Ireland and Postcolonialism', in *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. by Clare Carroll and Patricia King, (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), pp. 177-187 (p. 177).
[88] Clare Carroll, 'Barbarous Slaves and Civil Cannibals: Translating Civility in Early Modern Ireland', in *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 2003), pp. 63-81.
[89] Michael Silvestri, *Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory* (New York: Springer, 2009); Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919-64* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).
[90] Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[91] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (East Sussex: Psychology Press, 1994), p. 49.
[92] Paul B. Rich, 'Social Darwinism, Anthropology and English Perspectives of the Irish, 1867–1900', *History of European Ideas*, 19, 777-785 (1994); J. Gantt, *Irish Terrorism in the Atlantic Community, 1865–1922* (New York: Springer, 2010); Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 382.

'borderland of the empire – neither the completely "white" colonial Self nor the "racialised" colonial Other' acted as an impetus to forge an identity that conflated Irishness with manliness.[93] Irish masculinities have seen little interrogation historically for the reasons outlined by Rebecca Anne Barr, Sean Brady and Jane McGaughey, in their pioneering volume *Ireland and Masculinities in History*:

> The supposed primacy of the political (and the implicit distinction of 'mainstream ' politics from gender politics) often renders gender a consideration of seemingly secondary importance when compared with questions of political legitimacy, nationalism and the nation-state, violence and colonialism.[94]

Building upon the work set out by Barr et al, this research demonstrates that the two are inherently linked and performed through the practice of national commemoration. I add my voice to the, until recently, relative void on Irish masculinities in history by examining the body as it has moved through history to be re-enacted in the present.[95]

National identity is so often forged through the imagining of gendered roles as part of national progress. This is particularly true during a period of national conflict as gender roles are expressed through service to and protection of the nation; men are enlisted or are conscripted, while women become nursers or labourers.[96] I frame my approach to masculinities in conflict and commemoration through the process of nation building and the constant negotiating of masculinities as integral to national identity. Masculinities, during the Revolutionary Period, represented an intersection of class, religion, race, and ethnicity as Irish nationalists fought against the British imperial image of Irishmen as racially 'other'. Parallels exist between the Irish and Indian experience of British imperialism, through the theory of martial races established by the British Army after the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The theory was that in Indian castes could be categorized as 'martial', referring to people who were biologically predisposed to fighting, strength and bravery but were intellectually subservient and mercenary thus qualifying the pursuits of imperial Britain and providing a source of recruits for the British Army. Heather Streets discusses the relationship between the theory of martial races and colonial nationalist movements in Ireland and India. Such movements posed a very serious risk to the integrity of

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[93] Sikata Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence, and Empire in India and Ireland, 1914-2004* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), p. 39.
[94] Rebecca Anne Barr, Sean Brady, and Jane McGaughey, *Ireland and Masculinities in History* (New York: Springer, 2019), p. 3.
[95] Caroline Magennis and Raymond Mullen, *Irish Masculinities: Reflections on Literature and Culture* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011); Debbie Ging, *Men and Masculinities in Irish Cinema* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Conn Holohan and Tony Tracy, *Masculinity and Irish Popular Culture: Tiger's Tales* (New York: Springer, 2014).
[96] John Horne, 'Masculinity in politics and war in the age of nation-states and world wars, 1850-1950', (pp. 22-40), in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Josh Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

the British empire and thus, according to Streets: 'the architects of martial race discourse framed their constructions of ideal soldiers in radical opposition to such images'. Instead of ideal, heroic male soldiers, oppositional nationalists became 'irrational, effeminate, child-like and ungrateful.'[97] The establishment of the 'manly English' in opposition to the 'effeminate Bengali', as discussed by Mrinalini Sinha, were also products of the nationalist threat to British imperialism in the later 19th and early 20th centuries.[98] The politics of heroic masculinity as a battleground for anti-colonial resistance and the struggle for power sets the stage for the establishment of the specific context of heroic revolutionary masculinity in Ireland discussed throughout this thesis.

Theories of gender and power are engaged across all four chapters of the thesis. The work of Michael Foucault on the cultural meaning of bodies and the possibilities for analysing bodies, not just as actors within social, political and economic systems, but as embodied individuals is central to this research. According to Foucault, bodies are not only passive objects subjected to systems of power but are also the seed of resistance against those same systems. Dress as an object and an act, records where bodies go and what they do by policing identities, restricting movement, providing protection or individual expression. In Chapters One and Two, theories of power and the body inform an examination of the structure of time for the idea of 'official' history. Uniforms and practices of uniformity such as military drilling, or commemorative parades, are part of my analysis of the power of the state in shaping national memory. Both chapters consider the notion of institutional memory and how 'official' and 'authentic' Irish revolutionary masculinity is maintained through commemoration. How the male body is dressed, designed and imagined as heroic, brave and strong, is central to the analysis of myth history and the formation of national identity. Judith Butler's feminist theory of embodiment edifies my argument in Chapters Three and Four concerning the relationship between gender and nationalism. Engaging with Butler's work on gender performativity and the body, I aim to destabilise normative links between national and masculine identity in Ireland by "queering" the normalising performance of war commemoration. Across the four chapters of this thesis, I alternate between a discussion of singular masculinity and the recognition of multiple masculinities. Revolutionary masculinity in the singular is part of the mythmaking of the ideal of revolutionary heroism touted throughout the Revolutionary Period. On the occasion of the Decade of Centenaries, I complicate this ideal by examining intersecting, and overlapping

[97] Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 158.
[98] Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

masculinities that emerge through commemoration, as the history of revolution is written, re-written, and remembered in the changing context of the present.

History and the Shape of Time

History and memory are built upon perceptions of time. Time is shaped and restructured according to our understanding of the past as proximate to the present; the passage of time is measured as bodies age and die and is at work when we look to the past from the present and turn to project towards the future. This perception is fundamental to framing my research questions and constitutes the specific challenge I set to the way history is shaped, by positing that it pivots on the body as cultural object. Walter Benjamin's *Theses on the Philosophy of History* is a statement on the non-linear progression of time, and aids in my challenge to linear paradigms of history through the body. Clocks, calendars, and anniversaries measure what Benjamin calls homogeneous empty time, underpinning the idea of progress. I engage this theory to consider how ideas of reincarnation and re-enactment of martyrs form a new structure of time, how objects can make bodies palpably and perceptibly present and how contemporary ideas of marginalised or deviant bodies can 'redeem' the notion of time. Dress can afford agency to bodies and forge new connections between bodies across time.

Aiden Beatty touches upon the rhetoric of time and gender as martyrs of the revolutionary Ireland 'were quickly moved from conventional linear time into the collapsed time of the nationalist pantheon.'[99] Beatty refers to this as 'nationalist time', where all martyred men exist simultaneously. However, Beatty limits this examination to early 20th century Ireland rather than pursuing the implications for national memory and commemoration. Building upon Beatty's idea of a gendered national time, I investigate how living, dead and re-enacted bodies have not only ruptured linear time but been used as a frame for a new concept of commemorative time. Corpses, according to Katherine Verdery, are an important part of the reshaping of time, a concept which will be developed in Chapter One. Verdery states that:

> The present rewriting of history is about far more than making a new story: what is at stake is the very shape of history. Different conceptions of human action in the past have different shapes (shallow or deep, broad or narrow). These shapes, in turn, enter into people's life experiences: because the sense of self rests partly on a sense of being-in-time, the shape people attribute to history infuses both individuals and groups self-understanding.

[99] Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism*, p. 28.

The study of living and dead bodies is key to establishing the shape of history, as it is sustained through commemoration. The re-shaping of history and the forging of new connections between the past and present will be developed across each of the four chapters.

Chapter Structure

This thesis is divided into four chapters that examine dress and the body across a range of cultural forms of commemoration: ceremonial, museum, theatre, and popular culture. The first two chapters examine the uses dress and the body have been put in articulating an 'official' state narrative of Revolution. They go on to look at how bodies and objects function in museum displays to authenticate, but sometimes also contradict, this same narrative. An analysis that foregrounds the marginalised body is used to further destabilise notions of official history and the myth of revolutionary masculinities by analysing bodies. The final two chapters investigate the significance of the live body in commemorative theatre and performance. They also move beyond the institution and into the sphere of popular commemoration in film, television and re-enactment to address the links that are created between past and present bodies in Ireland today.

Starting in 1915, Chapter One opens with an analysis of the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and the speech delivered by Padraig Pearse at the graveside. The myth of this graveside oration and its subsequent re-enaction is investigated as the moment which not only sparked a revolution but paved the way for the myth of the revolutionary hero in Ireland. Ritual memory practices of the body, including funerals, ceremonials, parades, and re-enactments provide a national platform for the state to set an official narrative on the same date every year in roughly the same format. Through an examination of uniform, in 1915 and in 2015 I demonstrate how the body has functioned as vehicle for imagining the myth of revolutionary masculinities thorough commemoration and re-enactment. I analyse the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa in 1915 and its re-enactment in 2015 as pivotal moments in the formation of state history of the revolution, which reinforced the myth of the Irish revolutionary hero. I argue that the events of 1915 and the subsequent insurrection that occurred in Dublin in 1916, sparked a collapsing of linear time and opened up a moment from which national time could be reconstructed in the revolutionary male image. The rupture in progressive historical time caused by the revolution in 1916 was a moment from which to construct a new historical timeline for revolutionary Ireland, one based on the cycle of remembering and re-enacting Irish revolutionary heroes. An analysis of uniforms, and the bodies they adorn, living and dead, will establish how this new myth history was established in 1916 and maintained through commemoration. Comparing the state ceremonials on the 50th anniversary in 1966 and the 100th anniversary in

2016 unpacks the re-imagining of the Irish revolutionary hero, demonstrating its foundational role in official state history. Having established a framework for official state history, I then investigate the exhumation and re-enactment of Roger Casement, to interrogate how the deviant body is remembered (or forgotten) as part of official history. Chapter One explores the key role the body and uniform plays in the creation of this narrative and the state imaginary of Irish revolutionary hero, in life, death, and re-enactment.

State control over national commemoration is not restricted to the official ceremonials, parades and funerals discussed in Chapter One. Chapter Two focusses on the material culture of conflict and how this is interpreted by the National Museum of Ireland to construct a national history of the Revolutionary Period. As objects are kept or salvaged from sites of war or conflict, they move into the space of personal mementoes and are then either handed down through the family or entrusted to a museum collection to go on public display. I retain a focus on the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) by analysing the collections and exhibitions commissioned for or on display throughout the Decade of Centenaries. I examine the display of the First World War and consider how replicas and reproductions facilitate an interrogation of a contested history. I analyse the display of the Civil War through the bodies of Michael Collins and Liam Lynch to re-frame the contested history of the Civil War through the garments they wore on opposite sides of the conflict. Through the motif of blood and the concept of the 'person-thing' I develop an in-depth analysis of where the authenticity and agency of the object lies in the pursuit of a 'true' or 'authentic' history. Building on the research set out in Chapter One, on the life and body of Roger Casement by the state, I then focus on how his body has been curated in the National Museum to reconcile his garments with official history of the state and how his garments have been stored to begin to challenge the notion of state revolutionary time. By studying objects of war and their changing interpretation I aim to challenge the state enforced structure of time. This is encapsulated by the final section of this chapter where I examine the living body in the museum through a performance by theatre company Anu entitled *Pals: The Irish at Gallipoli*, once again collapsing time to create an authentic experience across history. Dress associated with war or conflict occupies a complex space in state and popular memory, as it is inscribed with the bodily experiences of violence and national crisis. This chapter therefore investigates that problematic space between the authentic object and the imagined body, and how bodies can often unfix the meaning and interpretation of objects.

Chapter Three concentrates on the performance of memory and costume design in commemorative theatre in Ireland, which has evolved as an outlet for the exploration of revolutionary narratives since the early 20th century. The Abbey Theatre, founded in 1904, is

Ireland's national and state subsidised theatre and thus has a particularly important part to play as a site of national memory as discussed by theatre practitioner and scholar Holly Maples. Maples discusses the fractious commemorative legacy of the Abbey Theatre, stating that:

> Commemoration and centennial celebrations also aid in constructing national history to legitimise contemporary society, to reinstate and re-inscribe cultural identity and memory upon the collective body of the nation.[100]

Cultural identity is re-inscribed, according to Maples, through cultural signifiers like theatre, and in particular the national theatre. A 'national' theatre becomes subsumed by politics and vice versa as each provides a stage for the other to reaffirm a nations 'true' identity, rooted in the glorious events of the past.[101] I, however, use my analysis of costume design to find the stories dealing with class and crisis in Ireland at this time, told and performed in the framework of a state institution. I further my analysis of the work of Anu briefly at the beginning of Chapter Three, by studying their performance of *Living the Lockout* in an old tenement building in Dublin in 2013 for the centenary of the Strike and Lockout. I move from immersive theatre to the more traditional division of stage and audience through Sean O'Casey's three Dublin plays; *Juno and the Paycock* (2011), *The Shadow of a Gunman* (2015), and *The Plough and the Stars* (2016). Controversial at the time, these plays have interpreted poverty and masculinities in crisis, at a moment in which the state was trying to re-write its own history. I question if and how these plays forge a connection between past and present bodies in Ireland, particularly those written out of history and forgotten in remembrance. In this chapter I once again challenge the structures of state and institutional memory by seeking out the marginalised and forgotten bodies historically excluded from official revolutionary history. Chapter Three argues that in fact, theatre and performance have provided space for marginalised histories to be explored on and through the body. This chapter complicates the notion of revolutionary masculinities by opening up the discussion to include an analysis of the crisis of masculinity, class and sexuality as performed on stage. The final part of Chapter Three returns once again to the queer body of Roger Casement and questions how costume and dance explored the story of a revolutionary hero, martyr, and traitor, bringing Casement's queer body into the history of revolution in Ireland.

The re-enactment of history through the living body is the subject of Chapter Four and the commemoration of the Revolutionary Period outside of instructional practices of memory. To uncover the power of popular culture on social modes of doing or knowing history, this

[100] Holly Maples, *Culture War: Conflict, Commemoration and the Contemporary Abbey Theatre* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), p. 6.
[101] Ibid., p. 39.

chapter investigates television, film and re-enactment as forms of 'unofficial historical knowledge'.[102] In this chapter I argue that television, film and re-enactment, adhere to myth history and create space in which popular memory can re-imagine the revolutionary hero outside of institutional mythologies. Commemoration in popular culture invites abstraction and interpretation of events and individuals, and this is particularly prevalent if that history resides outside of lived experience. Chapter Four is, therefore, an investigation of how costume design and costuming have been designed to capture the lived experience of history. Beginning in 1960s Ireland I start by examining the impact of digital flows of heroic masculinities into Ireland, as the nation set about reconciling the 50th anniversary of the Rising with the new medium of television. The docudrama *Insurrection* from 1966 is then compared with a mocumentary from 2016 where the comedy duo the Rubberbandits subvert popular commemoration to expose the pitfalls of popular history making in the re-imagining of revolutionary masculinities. Building upon global flows of heroism I examine two films *Michael Collins* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* released on the 80th and 90th anniversaries of the Rising respectively. The principal characters of the film begin to blur the boundaries of historic and fictional heroism as costumes and characters are shaped by contemporary concerns around violence and terrorism. I analyse popular films that have recreated the revolutionary period to consider how costume design has been used to embody the changing ideal of the Irish revolutionary hero. A case study of the trench coat demonstrates how specific garments exemplify the space in popular memory which simultaneously occupies history and fiction. The final part of this chapter is an examination of living history groups and the individual act of re-enacting revolutionary history. I analyse living history as human agency acting on the timeline of history, forging connections to the past and authentic experiences of history outside of 'official' history. Susan Stewart suggests that 'as experience is increasingly mediated and abstracted, the lived relation of the body to the phenomenological world is replaced by a nostalgic myth of contact and presence.'[103] Throughout this thesis I aim to focus on the mediation and abstraction of history, as memories are created through that experience to better understand how bodies from the past connect to those in the present. Temporal conceptions of bodies in history and memory are realised through the material and visual culture of the body because bodies are our personal measurements of time, our gauges for pain, trauma, and violence and they are the objects we dress and undress throughout our lives. Social gestures and memetic bodily practice are designed and understood through dress as well as the fact that we see, hear, feel, and do history through our bodies.

[102] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, (London: Verso Books, 2012), pp. 8-13.
[103] Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 133.

Throughout each of the four chapters I move across time forging connections through the act of commemoration at different points in history. The specific context of this chapter, however, is the state commemoration and the efforts of the Irish state to establish connections to past from the context of the centenary period.

Chapter One - State Commemoration and the Revolutionary Body

> Life springs from death: and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations. The Defenders of this Realm have worked well in secret and in the open. They think that they have pacified Ireland. They think that they have purchased half of us and intimidated the other half. They think that they have foreseen everything, think that they have provided against everything; but the fools, the fools, the fools! — they have left us our Fenian dead, and, while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.[104]

The words of Patrick Pearse (1879–1916) spoken in 1915 at the graveside of Fenian leader Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa (1831–1915) played a significant role in rallying nationalist support for revolution and cultivating a national myth which still endures in Ireland today. These words, and the man who recited them, are remembered as the spark which ignited militant sympathies for a rebellion in Ireland in 1916. The set piece of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral became foundational to the establishment of the Irish State; memory of this moment paved the way for the formation of the myth of the revolution.

Historical myths are stories formed within a community and sustained through rituals of remembrance, storytelling, memorialisation, or re-enactment. Myth history has one foot in the historical record, which is often based upon a specific moment in time or a person, place, or object, while another foot meanders into the world of invention and imagination. Myths, according to Percy Cohen, locate an imagined or partly invented narrative in time and create an 'effective device for legitimisation' – in this case the myth of revolution in the past legitimises the state in the present.[105] In this chapter, which begins with the events of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral, I argue that the male body has functioned as a vehicle for imagining a national myth of the revolutionary hero thorough commemoration and re-enactment, creating a connection between the past and the present.[106] Uniform, uniformity, and state control over the meaning and image of the male body are an important consideration throughout this chapter as agency shifts from the individual to the state in the construction of this heroic myth. Where history is uncertain, undetermined, or problematic, I argue, the body is an object at the disposal of the state to navigate these moments in history and create a cohesive and enduring narrative of heroism. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, however, the body can also expose the impossibility of myth and heroism, and it can be a precarious site upon which to build enduring

[104] Pádraic Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse: Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin: Dublin Phoenix, 1916), p. 133.
[105] Percy S. Cohen, 'Theories of Myth', *Man*, 4.3 (1969), 337–53, p. 350.
[106] Ibid., p. 349.

memory. Part One of this chapter is concerned with resurrection and re-enactment as 1915 became a moment from which linear time was collapsed and Irish masculinity was reimagined through the enduring body of the revolutionary hero. I analyse the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa to demonstrate that his body became the focus of Ireland's national sacrifice and the resurrection of the revolutionary hero in 1915. The official state centenary of the funeral in 2015 is examined as a re-enactment of the dead body and the ritualisation of the funeral as an act of state remembering. Part Two questions the formation of a new myth-history by the state around the events of the 1916 Rising and reflects on why bodies upheld the image of the revolutionary hero. Part Three builds on this to propose that practices of exhumation and reburial call into question the myth of the revolutionary hero as bodies can upset notions of official history.

Timelines of the Revolutionary Period

The 1916 Rising, briefly mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis is central to the reshaping of 'official' history and to grounding the arguments in this chapter. The 1916 Rising was an insurrection that occurred in Dublin during Easter week. Planned by the leaders of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers, the Rising was poorly organised from the beginning. The capture of a shipment of arms from Germany and the loss of support of one of the leading figures in the Irish Volunteers meant that the insurgents were inadequately armed and had too few men for the insurrection to succeed. The rebels occupied several key buildings across the capital, including the General Post Office, The Royal College of Surgeons, and Liberty Hall, but they were forced to surrender after six days of violence in which large parts of the city were completely destroyed and over 260 civilians were killed.[107] At the time, the Rising was not supported by the general population, particularly in Dublin, where many had died and there had been so much destruction. However, after the executions of the seven signatories of the Proclamation declaring the Irish Republic and, later, the execution of Roger Casement (1864–1916), public opinion began to shift, and the Rising became the moment from which Ireland's fight for independence began in earnest. It was not, therefore, an act of violence in the progression towards independence but instead an unsuccessful insurrection and a moment of self-actualisation realised through the ideology of blood sacrifice.

The 1916 Rising was a pivotal moment in the establishment of the Irish Republic, and it produced some of the most famous men in Irish history, chiefly the seven signatories of the Irish

[107] Eunan O'Halpin and Daithi O. Corrain, *The Dead of the Irish Revolution* (New York: Yale University Press, 2020), pp. 25-102.

Republic: Éamonn Ceannt (1881–1916), James Connolly (1868–1916), Joseph Plunkett (1887–1916), Patrick Pearse (1879–1916), Seán MacDiarmada (1883–1916), Thomas MacDonagh (1878–1916), and Tom Clarke (1858–1916). The executions of these men by the British authorities earned them a place as martyrs in Irish history. The idea of sacrifice and martyrdom has become embedded in representations of masculinity in Ireland, according to Brian Singleton, who suggests that 'history presents masculine identity in Ireland with a succession of martyrs, heroic, defiant, subversive, but ultimately vanquished by colonial forces'.[108] The nation-building project traditionally polarises gender roles with the active male fighting to defend the passive 'motherland'. 'The nation itself', Graham Dawson argues, 'came to be conceived as a gendered entity, analysis of which is necessarily bound up with the theorizing of dominant, hegemonic versions of masculinity, femininity and sexual difference'.[109] This binary was set in place in the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, first read by Patrick Pearse outside the GPO in 1916 and now read aloud at Easter to commemorate the Rising:

> In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom. Having organised and trained her manhood […] she now seizes that moment and supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.[110]

Gender is mobilised as part of the act of nation-building and is reaffirmed through commemoration. Commemoration is a critical part of this reimaging of the national community, to which a version of Irish masculine identity is central. Even Anderson's theory of the imagined community privileges the male gender in the formation of nationalism because he frames the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as one of the most 'arresting emblems' of modem nationalism.[111]

Anderson's 'imagined community' traces the emergence of national consciousness to the 'conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men were essentially identical'.[112] The structure of myth as a narrative of origin prefigures the temporality of the nation as one of sequential, progressive time. National myth, as a story of origin, legitimised the narrative as set at the start of the perceived linear progression of that history. Anderson's work on the imagined community informs my sense of how acts of state

[108] Brian Singleton, *Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* (New York: Springer, 2010), p. 8.
[109] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 4.
[110] Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 'Proclamation of the Irish Republic', HE:EWL.2.
[111] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), p. 9.
[112] Ibid., p. 36.

commemoration and the re-enactment of revolution perceive the body as part of and in continuity with the mythic beginning of the nation. However, historical myths are rooted in the past but live in the present, as Joseph Mali explains, because they are 'stories that are not merely told but actually lived'.[113] The practice of national commemoration, therefore, breathes life into and sustains myths about a nation's origin by continuing to draw attention to the historical myths' relevance for the now. Cohen argues that myth history occupies a space in social understanding in which all of history can be viewed with reasonable doubt, and thus myth resolves doubt and inconsistences in the historical record in service of the nation:

> The introduction of imaginary events takes the point of origin out of the realm of memory; and the introduction of unreal events gives the story a quality which transcends the mundane.[114]

How, then, does the gendered body relate to time in the formation of national history? Irish mythological tradition is structured in chronological narrative cycles: the Mythological Cycle, the Ulster Cycle, the Fenian Cycle, and the Historical Cycle. As with mythological traditions in the northern hemisphere, such as the legend of Kind Arthur and the Arthurian Cycle in Britain, Irish mythological cycles focus on the exploits of individual heroes, such as Fionn MacCumhaill and Cú Chulainn. These myths arose from pagan oral traditions, which were later recorded in manuscripts after the arrival of Christianity in the fourth century, and were centred upon tales of the bravery and strength of Irish manhood.[115] These myths were adopted by the Celtic Revival movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with key figures like playwright Lady Gregory (1852–1932), which sought to 'validate indigenous forms of Irish civilisation as a means of countering imperialist stereotypes and cultivating the nativist pride and confidence of her compatriots'.[116] Pearse similarly used the rhetoric of Ireland's heroic myths to inspire a new generation of Irish men. In a speech to Na Fianna Eireann in 1914, Pearse stated that:

> Two occasions are spoken of in ancient Irish story upon which Irish boys marched to the rescue of their country when it was sore beset – once when Cuchulainn and the boy-troop of Ulster held the frontier until the Ulster heroes rose, and again when the boys of Ireland kept the foreign invaders in check on the shores of Ventry until Fionn had rallied the Fianna : it may be that a similar tale shall be told of us, and that when men come to write the history of the freeing of Ireland.[117]

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[113] Joseph Mali, *Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 6.
[114] Cohen, 'Theories of Myth', p. 344.
[115] Mark Williams, *Ireland's Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).
[116] Joseph Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), p. 140.
[117] Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse*, p. 111.

History and myth overlap as Pearse's discussion moves from the 'ancient Irish story' to the 'us' of 1914 to the writing of Ireland's history in the future as the revival of Irish heroism. Time, history, and myth are juxtaposed in a speech which aligns mythical heroism with revolutionary masculinity. Continuity is forged between the real body and the imagined revolutionary hero that exits between past and present, between origins and modernity, and between myth and history.

Military Masculinities

Bodies are made and remade through militarisation. Militarisation is the process through which bodies are dressed, equipped, drilled, and organised into a military force. Wearing a uniform is an important part of this process. It demarcates the use or function of the body in society as one of defence or active fighting, and the visibility of the uniform confirms national cohesion in the face of a collective enemy. The social and cultural expectations of bodies in conflict are related to protection and defence, with military masculinities made material through the visibility of uniforms in everyday life.[118] The uniform is, therefore, an instrument of state control over the body in war, connecting the individual to the nation through recruitment, injury, and death. In addition, it becomes a focus of memory through statues, remembrance, and memorialisation. For Joanna Bourke, the male body is a key signifier for loss in First World War Britain and the process through which

> [t]he corporeal male would eventually become a corpse on some battlefield or mortuary slab, inviting reconstruction through the memories of loved ones. All men's bodies were endowed with signs and declarations of age, generation, class and ethnicity. It was within this socially constructed 'frame' that bodies lived, were imagined and died.[119]

Prior to the 1916 Rising, the First World War brought the reality of death home to the people of Ireland from its beginning.[120] Across Europe 'the cult of the fallen soldier became a centrepiece of the religion of nationalism', an idea which caught hold in Ireland too as many of those who voluntarily enlisted felt it was their moral duty to go to war against Germany.[121] However, following the events and executions of the Rising, the image of the soldier hero needed to be reimagined in light of this new push towards Irish independence. Post-1916 the male body had particular significance to Irish nationalists in terms of the history of resisting the war and colonial

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[118] Laura Ugolini, *Men and Menswear: Sartorial Consumption in Britain 1880-1939* (Oxon: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007).
[119] Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War,* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), p. 11.
[120] Aidan Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884-1938* (New York: Springer, 2016), pp. 31–32.
[121] George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 10.

biopolitics. Anxieties around political legitimacy were echoed in the assertion of an Irish masculinity demonstrating its capacity for self-government but also equipped to morally and physically defend Ireland and her people against the British.[122] Although Irish nationalists sought a separate national identity, it was based upon the similar ideals of 'muscular Christianity' in Britain, which defined itself against the racialised bodies of colonies such as India, as argued by Sikata Banerjee.[123] Thus it became imperative that the gaze already focussed on male bodies as a result of the First World War was reimagined through the image of an Irish revolutionary hero who could defeat the British Army and proceed to govern a nation. This kind of scrutiny given to the male body in Ireland is key to understanding how and why the positionality of the body in space and time was key to structuring state history.

The two moments that this chapter focusses on raise crucial questions about linear and cyclical history. The funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in 1915 and the events of the Easter Rising in 1916 set a precedent for a style of remembering for the new Irish state with the martyred body at its heart. As Aidan Beatty argues, in Ireland 'martyrs were quickly moved from conventional linear time into the collapsed time of the nationalist pantheon'.[124] This demands a non-linear examination of the commemoration of revolution, which is also essential to understanding bodily practices of memory.

Commemoration and the Irish State Calendar

In 2011, with the approaching centenary of the Revolutionary Period, the Department of the Taoiseach established an All-Party Oireachtas Consultation Group and the Decade of Centenaries Expert Advisory Group to guide the government though the decade. At a Dáil Debate in March 2012, Minister for Arts, Heritage, and the Gaeltacht, Deputy Jimmy Deenihan, outlined that the group of historians, academics, and researchers would

> advise Government and the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on both the overall commemorative programme and on any specific issues which may arise. In particular, it will seek to set a tone that is inclusive and non-triumphalist, ensuring authenticity, proportionality and openness.[125]

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[122] John Horne, 'Masculinity in politics and war in the age of nation-states and world wars, 1850-1950', in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* , ed. by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Josh Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 22–41 (p. 27).
[123] Sikata Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence, and Empire in India and Ireland, 1914-2004* (New York: NYU Press, 2012, p. 153).
[124] Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism*, p. 28.
[125] 'Dáil Éireann debate – Tuesday, 6 Mar 2012, Vol. 758 No. 1: Written Answers – Dáil Éireann (31st Dáil) – Tuesday, 6 Mar 2012 – Houses of the Oireachtas', *Tithe an Oireachtais/Houses of the Oireachtais* <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/2012-03-06/35> [accessed 14 June 2021].

In the first phase the advisory board outlined that official state events, rather than local or community led events,

> must within reason be inclusive and non-partisan, but the State should not be expected to be neutral about its own existence. The aim should be to broaden sympathies, without having to abandon loyalties, and in particular recognising the value of ideals and sacrifices, including their cost.[126]

The guidelines for commemoration set a challenging undertaking for advisors and ministers, with the state required to be 'inclusive' yet allowed the space to be biased 'about its own existence'. To broaden sympathies while not abandoning loyalties is no small task in a country where cross-border conflict exists in living memory. The conflict between these two aims created a space in which to reimagine the narrative of revolution and to resolve the difficulties of the nuanced and complex history of the state. And so, the government set about planning a commemorative calendar to incorporate all the key events of the period. As outlined in the Introduction, the state programme staged several ceremonials before the centenary of the 1916 Rising, including commemorations of the Strike and Lockout in 2013 and the First World War in 2014. However, the 1916 Rising was a major part of the first stage of commemorations from 2012 to 2016. Deenihan acknowledged this by stating in a June 2012 debate:

> While the Easter Rising and the Proclamation of the Irish Republic will be at the centre of our programme, any presentation of our history would be incomplete without many other stories, including those of the workers of the 1913 Lockout, the members of the Suffragette movement and the Irish who fought in World War One.[127]

Although there was a push for a more inclusive programme of commemorations, the Rising remained a pivotal moment in the state calendar. This is evidenced again by the state's annual commemorations, which consist of the Easter Sunday Commemoration to mark the anniversary of the 1916 Rising, the Daniel O'Connell Commemoration, the 1916 Commemoration at Arbour Hill, the National Famine Commemoration, the Somme Commemoration, and the National Day of Commemoration.[128] Of these six annual commemorations, two are solely dedicated to the memory of the 1916 Rising. The National Day of Commemoration, first held in 1986, happens on the Sunday closest to the 11th of July, the date on which the Anglo-Irish Truce was agreed in

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126 'Initial Statement by Advisory Group on Centenary Commemorations', *Decade of Centenaries* <https://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/initial-statement-by-advisory-group-on-centenary-commemorations/> [accessed 22 July 2018].
127 'Seanad Éireann debate – Thursday, 7 Jun 2012, Vol. 215 No. 14: Decade of Commemorations: Statements – Seanad Éireann (24th Seanad)', *Tithe an Oireachtais/Houses of the Oireachtais* <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/2012-06-07/7> [accessed 14 June 2021].
128 'State Commemorations', *gov.ie* <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/12ab05-state-commemorations/> [accessed 14 June 2021].

1921, and honours 'all those Irishmen and Irishwomen who died in past wars or on service with the United Nations'.[129] The event broadens remembrance beyond the 1916 Rising and the Revolutionary period, but notability the descendants of 1916 veterans are honoured as special guests at the ceremony every year.[130] The 1916 Rising has been established as focal point for national memory and an event through which it became possible to weave a myth drawing on the masculine ideals of strength, resilience, and sacrifice.

A focus on the 1916 Rising is reflected in government expenditures, although it was not until 2015 that we see specific budget allocation for commemoration in the Expenditures report. In the same report an increase of €4 million (compared to 2014) was allocated 'to support existing services and fund initiatives to commemorate the foundation of the State'.[131] In his 2016 budget statement the Minister for Finance, Michael Noonan, opened his speech with the following statement:

> 2016, the centenary of the Easter Rising, is an opportunity to reflect on the journey travelled over the past 100 years. To recall the many major social and economic challenges along the way. It is the opportunity to celebrate the achievements, and to remember how we overcame the challenges and emerged from each stronger than ever before.[132]

In the year of the 1916 centenary, the government budgeted a €18 million for the *Ireland 1916* programme to 'provide an inclusive and wide-ranging national commemorative initiative as an enduring acknowledgment of the 1916 Rising'.[133] To date no other centenary commemoration has received a budget comparable to this. Funding was assigned to several different aspects of the commemoration, including increased investment in heritage sites such Kilmainham Gaol, Arbour Hill, and the Gardens of Remembrance.[134] The programme included state ceremonials, parades, wreath laying, and flag hoisting. According to the government's official publication of the state centenary of the 1916 Rising, the commemorations began in 2015 with the re-enactment of the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, and 'the public appetite for major

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[129] 'National Day of Commemoration' <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/11b77d-national-day-of-commemoration/> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[130] 'National Day of Commemoration', *gov.ie* <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/11b77d-national-day-of-commemoration/> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[131] 'Comprehensive Expenditure Report 2015–2017', *gov.ie* <http://www.budget.gov.ie/Budgets/2015/Documents/Comprehensive%20Expenditure%20Report%202015%20-%202017.pdf> [accessed 15 June 2021].
[132] 'Budget 2016 – Financial Statement by the Minister for Finance', *gov.ie* <http://www.budget.gov.ie/Budgets/2016/FinancialStatement.aspx> [accessed 15 June 2021].
[133] 'Expenditure Report 2016 (Parts I–IV)', *gov.ie* <http://budget.gov.ie/Budgets/2016/Documents/Expenditure> [accessed 17 June 2020].
[134] 'Priority Questions – Dáil Éireann (31st Dáil) – Wednesday, 25 Mar 2015, Vol. 872, No. 2: Public Sector Staff Data', *Tithe an Oireachtais/Houses of the Oireachtais* <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/2015-03-25/3> [accessed 17 June 2020].

Easter Rising commemorations was established'.[135] It is through the funeral in 1915 and its re-enactment in 2015 that I draw into focus the body and uniform clothing as instruments of the state for assembling a gendered myth of revolution.

Part One: The Death of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa

Dead bodies throughout the Irish Revolutionary Period and afterwards have been heralded by the state as symbols of martyrdom for Ireland. However, they have also provided confirmation of culpability and triggered a demand for accountability from the British colonialist regime. As Bourke suggests in relation to the First World War, 'The aesthetics of the dead male body concerned people as much as the aesthetics of the living body'.[136] This politicisation of dead bodies is a common legacy of post-colonial nations, as Wilma T. Kalusa sets out in her analysis of the body and funeral of President Levy Mwanawasa in Zambia in 2008. Dead bodies and state funerals become part of the language of power and struggle, Kalusa argues, drawing on the supernatural and religious cosmologies to overcome paradoxes in the life, work, and politics of the deceased.[137] State funerals spotlight the bodies of individuals for their contribution to the nation. In military state funerals it is often an opportunity to legitimise dying for one's country and to publicly perform the biography of a nation that is worth dying for.[138] In a common struggle against a colonial oppressor, the political corpse becomes a talisman, an almost magical object, embodying a nation's fight for freedom. The dead body of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was harnessed by Irish nationalists in 1915 to construct the myth of the revolutionary hero, creating a collective identity and an imagined community of men willing to fight and die for Ireland.

Funerals and, in particular, state funerals are an example of a ritual which generates myth through the embodiment of social and religious practices of death and remembrance. According to Harry Garlick, 'a ritual is an action which embodies myth'.[139] Living bodies perform symbolic rituals of the state funeral through gestures, movement, and dress. [140] These ritual behaviours and

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135 Ronan McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916* (Ireland: Department for Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2016), p. 25.
136 Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 210.
137 Walima T. Kalusa, 'The Politics of the Corpse: President Levy Mwanawasa's Death, Funeral and Political Contestation in Post-Colonial Zambia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43.6 (2017), 1137–55, p. 1149.
138 Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 2–4.
139 Harry Garlick, *The Final Curtain: State Funerals and the Theatre of Power* (Leiden: Rodopi, 1999), p. 17.
140 Robert Bocock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), p. 37.

objects commemorate the life of the important figure who died, and they can gain traction to produce an imagined community or nation united through grief. The repeated act of a ritual ensures that the myth remains living through the gestures, words, and even emotions of the living participants. Those who plan, partake, and attend are performing the ritual of the state funeral – living bodies assemble in the ritual act of mourning the dead.

The ritual of a state funeral marries the performance of religion and the pageantry of the state, with the dead body at its centre. Religion was an important tool in outlining a nationalist Catholic ideology which resisted the Anglo-Irish protestant ideal of 'muscular Christianity'. In the late nineteenth century athleticism was encouraged in Protestant boy's schools, which aligned moral strength with physical fitness.[141] The creation of an Anglo-Irish Protestant masculinity morally and physically superior to that of the Irish nationalists legitimised their position as the ruling class. However, Irish nationalists responded through organisations such as Fianna Éireann, a youth club for boys in which members engaged in team sports and mock-military training, which were framed within the teachings of the Catholic church and the nationalist movement.[142] Patrick Pearse, instrumental in the planning of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral, also founded St. Enda's, a school where Irish Catholic boys received an education committed to the promotion of military exercises alongside their nationalist schooling.[143] A 1910 prospectus explained that boys educated at St. Enda's would become 'strong and noble and useful men' and highlighted that the most important part of life at St. Enda's was 'the practice of religion' and providing 'proper religious and moral training for our pupils'.[144] Framing the male body as strong and morally superior was part of the nationalist movement in the early twentieth century. The practice of Catholicism and religious rituals were part of the anti-colonial movement, bringing together moral and physical attributes of Irish masculinity as a form of 'muscular Catholicism'.

State funerals in Ireland have constituted some of the largest public events throughout history. For example, when Daniel O'Connell (1776–1847) (also known as The Emancipator), an Irish political leader who fought for the emancipation of Catholics throughout the nineteenth century, died in 1847 he was accorded a hugely extravagant funeral the like of which was not seen again in Britain or Ireland until the 1851 funeral of the Duke of Wellington. Again, Irish nationalists used the 1891 death of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), the prominent

141 Mary Hatfield, 'Games for Boys: Masculinity, Boyhood and Play 1922–1939', in *Ireland and Masculinities in History*, ed. by Rebecca Anne Barr, Sean Brady, and Jane McGaughey (New York: Springer, 2019), pp. 133–55 (p. 137).
142 Marnie Hay, *Na Fianna Éireann and the Irish Revolution, 1909–23: Scouting for Rebels* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).
143 Elaine Sisson, *Pearse's Patriots: St. Enda's and the Cult of Boyhood* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005).
144 St. Enda's School, 'Copy of a Printed Prospectus for St. Enda's School' (Dublin, 1910), National Library of Ireland, MS 49,851/25.

nationalist leader, as an occasion to stage a political and religious spectacle. Parnell was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery with a funeral that was attended by more than 200,000 people. Rage and emotion spread through the crowd, which was connected by collective grief and anger. W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) wrote about the event afterwards and described the crowds as 'breathing fire and slaughter' as the funeral performed the anti-colonial sacrifice of one man for the nation.[145] State funerals are an exposition of national and military masculinity under the pretext of collective grief and mourning. The scale and spectacle of these funerals was an expression of national grief in the context of colonial violence and injustice; the corpse, therefore, afforded evidence and justification for revolution against such injustices.

The Funeral, 1915

Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was a Fenian leader opposed to Home Rule who joined the IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) in 1858 to resist British rule in Ireland by force. O'Donovan Rossa orchestrated a bombing campaign in Britain, for which he was imprisoned and exiled to America, where he died in 1915 at the age of 83.[146] His body was brought back to Dublin and buried in Glasnevin Cemetery on 29 June 1915. Even before O'Donovan Rossa died, however, revolutionary leaders like Pearse and Tom Clarke were already planning to use the occasion of his death for such a purpose. An 8 April 1914 letter from O'Donovan Rossa's wife, Mary (1845–1916), to John Devoy (1842–1928), which seeks funds for the state funeral, shows that republicans in Ireland and America were already honing in on this as a potential moment to rally nationalist sympathies in Ireland and overseas.[147] When O'Donovan Rossa died the following year, Kathleen Clarke (1878–1972), the wife of Tom Clarke, observed: 'he couldn't have picked a better time to die'.[148] The funeral and the body of O'Donovan Rossa were to become a focal point for Pearse, Clarke, James Connolly, and other republican leaders, who used the male body to legitimise the idea of dying for Ireland, a concept which would become foundational in the push for a revolution in 1916.[149] Six of the seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic were on the funeral committee, which devised an aura around O'Donovan Rossa's body as an object imbued with untainted Irish-ness, as is evident in the instructions that accompanied the body on its journey from America to Ireland. Frank Thornton (1891–1965), a

[145] W. B. Yeats to Susan Mary Yeats, 11 Oct 1891, quoted in M. J. Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882–1916* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2006), p. 63.
[146] R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 391.
[147] Mary Jane (Irwin) O'Donovan-Rossa, 'Letter from Mary Jane O'Donovan-Rossa to John Devoy Regarding a Circular Written by a Committee Organising a Fund for Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's Funeral', 1914, National Library of Ireland, MS 18,009/19/6.
[148] Kathleen Clarke and Helen Litton, *Kathleen Clarke: Revolutionary Woman* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2008), p. 79.
[149] Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism,* p. 26.

member of the Irish Volunteers who met the funeral cortege at Dublin Port and escorted the body to City Hall, recalled: 'the whole anxiety of our American friends of the Clann na Gaedheal and also of the I.R.B. and the Volunteers in Dublin was to ensure that O'Donovan Rossa's body did not touch English soil on its way back for the burial to Ireland'.[150] The aura of the body was in its authenticity as the actual body of O'Donovan Rossa, unspoiled by imperial soil; the materiality of the body mattered – or, I should say, the materiality of the revolutionary body in the imagination of the nation mattered. Burial of the dead and the issue of land claims create a dialogue between bodies and soil by maintaining links between 'ancestors, soil, and nations' as concepts of kinsmen, descendants, territory, and specific burial sites become part of the language of the imagined community.[151] O'Donovan Rossa had not been seen in Ireland for 11 years. Few would have known what he looked like, and they certainly would not have been able to tell if his body had touched English soil. The symbolic significance of imagining two things were true was what mattered to Irish nationalists: (1) this was O'Donovan Rossa's body, and (2) he had not touched English soil.

The body arrived in Dublin on 27 July 1915, and the funeral was set for 1 August. Documents drawn up by the planning committee for the day of the funeral read like those of military strategists. They included detailed notices on the marshalling and discipline of all military forces under the responsibility of the 'Headquarter Staff and Dublin Brigade Council of the Irish Volunteers'.[152] Another is an order from Commandant Thomas MacDonagh (1878–1916), one of the executed leaders of the 1916 Rising, commanding the 'Battalion Adjutants' to 'clear and hold Grafton Bridge, [P]arliament [H]ill and Cork Street'.[153] Nationalist militants' occupation of public spaces in Dublin was a provocative and hostile move and an indicator of rising tensions. Although the Irish Citizen Army, Cumann na mBan, and Na Fianna Éireann all took part in the procession, witness statements show that the Irish Volunteers played the most prominent role throughout the funeral, leading the procession through Dublin and providing an all-night guard of honour while O'Donovan Rossa was lying in state in the City Hall in Dublin. O'Donovan Rossa's body was in a coffin that exposed his face, ensuring the body's maximum visibility for the crowds that came to see it.[154] Close analysis of film footage of the funeral shows hundreds of

[150] Frank Thornton, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 510, Bureau of Military History, p. 6.
[151] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 109.
[152] Thomas MacDonagh and D. O'Rioghardan, 'Draft Notice Regarding the Marshalling and Discipline of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's Funeral', 1915, National Library of Ireland, MS 20,643/20/10.
[153] MacDonagh and O'Rioghardan, 'Draft Order of Commandant Thomas MacDonagh to Battalion Adjutants of the Irish Volunteers'.
[154] Thomas Slater, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 263, Bureau of Military History, pp. 11–12.

people filing past the coffin to glimpse the leader's face behind glass.[155] Figure 1.1 is a still taken from the footage and shows the general public filing past the coffin to gaze upon the face of O'Donovan Rossa in Figure 1.2. The funeral was a close and intimate encounter with a national hero who had not been seen in Ireland since the dawn of the twentieth century. Seeing his body in the coffin was an encounter that could only have happened when O'Donovan Rossa was dead.

Redacted – Still of a film showing people filing past the coffin of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa.

Figure 1.1 – Lying In State Of O'Donovan Rossa, The Irish Independence Film Collection, British Pathé, https://ifiarchiveplayer.ie/lying-in-state-of-odonovan-rossa-and-soldiers/, 1915

Redacted – Still of a film showing the body of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa lying in state.

Figure 1.2 – Lying In State Of O'Donovan Rossa, The Irish Independence Film Collection, British Pathé, https://ifiarchiveplayer.ie/lying-in-state-of-odonovan-rossa-and-soldiers, 1915

[155] *Lying In State Of O'Donovan Rossa And Soldiers*, The Irish Independence Film Collection, British Pathé, 1915 <https://ifiplayer.ie/lying-in-state-of-odonovan-rossa-and-soldiers/> [accessed 24 June 2021].

Figure 1.3 is an image of O'Donovan Rossa lying in state in City Hall with the coffin framed by uniformed Irish Volunteers. The Irish Volunteers were founded in 1913, and in August 1914 the 'Uniform Sub-Committee' decided on a suitable uniform. It consisted of a grey-green serge, a standard tunic with rolled collar, breeches and puttees of light serge, buttons bearing the harp, and a peaked cap with a harp cap badge. Figure 1.4 is a Volunteer uniform tunic made in this early design which is in the collections at the National Museum of Ireland. Pictured on display for the *Proclaiming the Republic* exhibition in 2017, this example of the early uniform was found in the aftermath of the Rising in Jacobs Biscuit Factory, one of the rebel strongholds during the insurrection. Three hundred uniforms were initially commissioned from the Limerick Clothing Company in Dublin, which were to be made with cloth manufactured by Messers Morrogh Brothers of Douglas Mills in Cork.[156] The uniform, however, proved impossible to provision for the Volunteers due to a lack of resources, thus each Volunteer was directed to obtain their own uniform based on the regulations. As a result, uniforms varied hugely in quality, design, and colour.[157]

Figure 1.3 – Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa lying in state at City Hall in Dublin, National Library of Ireland, NLI Ke 156, 1915

[156] Lar Joye, 'The Irish Volunteer Uniform', *History Ireland*, 21.6 (2013), 37.
[157] John M. Hudson and F. Glenn Thompson, 'A Survey of the Uniforms and Insignia of the Defence Forces', *An Cosanróir*, 35, 1975, p. 147.

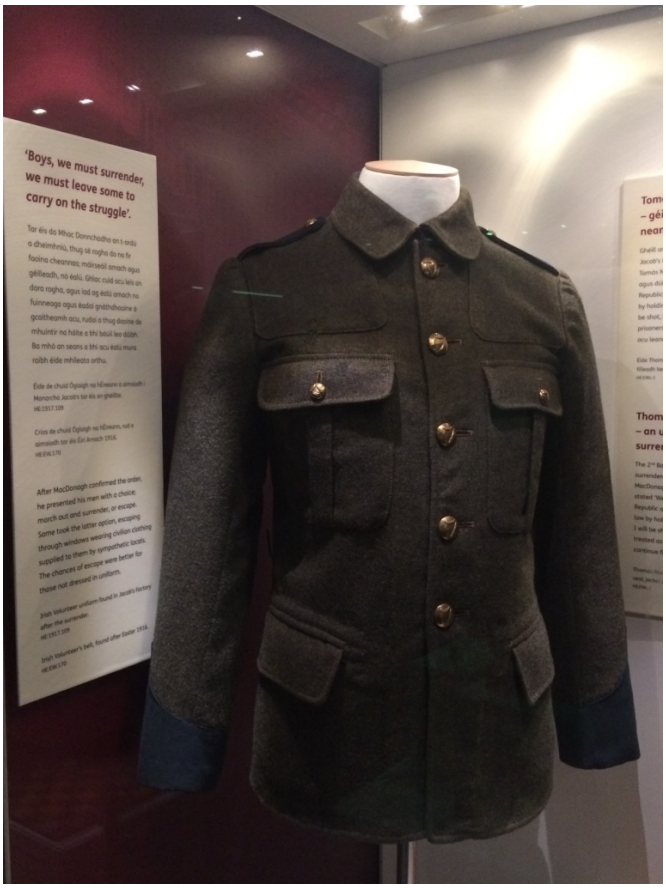

Figure 1.4 – Volunteer Uniform Tunic, Proclaiming a Republic*, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.1, (Personal Photograph) 2019*

By 1914 there were approximately 180,000 Volunteers from different classes, occupations, and age groups, which resulted in some having uniforms tailored to a high standard, while others had to make do with civilian clothes fashioned to look like uniforms, a cap, or a Sam Browne belt. Although there are slight variations in the uniforms, all of the individuals in this image are wearing the Volunteer uniform even though some have belts while others do not and the one on the far right is wearing a greatcoat. This is in marked contrast to the reality of the Volunteers' attire at the time. Figure 1.5 is a photograph dated from 1914–1915 that shows a group of Volunteers wearing primarily civilian clothing. Three men in the centre foreground are wearing military tunics, however most of the men are wearing civilian jackets or ties, while some are wearing civilian flat caps and bowler hats instead of the Irish Volunteer caps. Volunteers paid a weekly subscription when they enlisted, which contributed towards the purchase of arms, ammunition, and their uniform. According to Sean Cody, who enlisted in 1913, 'Not many Volunteers had uniform in the early stages, but by degrees members got hats and puttees and later, when we could afford it, the green uniform and cap with the harp badge'.[158] Examining

[158] Sean Cody, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1035, Bureau of Military History, p. 2.

these photographs side by side exposes how, in the context of a public ritual like a state funeral, the language of the uniform was as much about remembering the dead as it was about arming the living. Ireland was at this time still part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a sovereign state under the Acts of Union 1800. By staging a state funeral, nationalists were indeed performing an act of military defiance. By wearing the Irish Volunteer uniform on parade throughout Dublin, key figures of the funeral planning committee, such as John Devoy, Pearse and MacDonagh, presented a unified and militarised Irish masculinity through the performance of the rituals of an independent state.

Figure 1.5 – Large group of Irish National Volunteers in uniform, standing in formation with Irish flag, A. H. Poole Studio, National Library of Ireland, POOLED 2057 NPA, 1914-15

The funeral of O'Donovan Rossa was intended to be a recruitment event for the Volunteers, who were suffering from significantly reduced numbers following the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.[159] As a result the Volunteers split with the majority-supporting John Redmond (1856–1918) and enlisted in the British Army as a means of achieving Home Rule. The remaining, smaller faction of the Volunteers were fervent nationalists who strongly opposed Home Rule and any support for the British in the War. Even before the split, however, loyalties were divided along Redmondite and anti-Redmondite lines, and the design of the Irish Volunteer uniform was drawn into the fray. According to Geraldine Dillon (1891–1986), the sister of Joseph Plunkett, there were early suggestions by Redmondite supporters that the Irish Volunteers should be supplied with British khaki unforms; however, the Irish Volunteer uniform

[159] Terence Denman, *Ireland's Unknown Soldiers: The 16th (Irish) Division in the Great War, 1914–1918* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2017), p. 33.

committee had an anti-Redmondite majority, which was able to defeat this proposal and viewed the suggestion as an effort 'to get the whole of the Volunteers in blocks into the British Army'.[160] It was this anti-Redmondite faction of the Volunteers that was front and centre at O'Donovan Rossa's funeral, and their uniforms not only made a public statement about the organisation of nationalist troops in Ireland but also renounced support for the British in Europe.

Figure 1.6 – Padraic Pearse in uniform to left of priest and altar-boy, Keogh Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Ke 163, August 1915

As demonstrated, uniformed Volunteers at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa were not just ceremonial sentinels typical of state funeral pageantry, they were performing the ideal of a force of revolutionary heroes that was strong, unified, and prepared to die for Ireland. Figure 1.6 is an official photograph of the burial, one of a series of images taken by the Keogh brothers, who were prominent nationalist photographers.[161] It captures an orchestrated moment when Irish military masculinity was aligned with the old Fenian ideals of O'Donovan Rossa. This image aligns the history of Irish revolutionary masculinity with the dead body of O'Donovan Rossa as well as the anonymous bodies of the uniformed Volunteers in an act of collective mourning. Records of the funeral, such as these photographs, were key to the success of the new

[160] Geraldine Dillon, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 358, Bureau of Military History.

[161] John and Brendan Keogh were brothers who set up a photography studio in 75 Lower Dorset Street, Dublin, in 1906. They were the most prominent nationalist photographers at the time and captured some of the most iconic moments of the revolutionary period. A collection of their photographs from this period is housed at the National Library of Ireland. See Erika Hanna, *Snapshot Stories: Visuality, Photography, and the Social History of Ireland, 1922–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 65.

revolutionary generation because they clarified the message of a unified cause and encouraged new recruits to enlist. An urgent letter from Joseph McGarrity (1874–1940) to John Devoy goes some way towards explaining how vital these records of the funeral were. McGarrity instructs Devoy to get the films of the funeral as soon as possible, emphasising that 'if the enemy learn that they are in our possession they are likely to make a strong attempt to secure it or destroy them'.[162] Thomas MacDonagh also used the funeral booklet to issue a call to arms for Ireland:

> The Irish Volunteer has taken up in his generation the traditional policy of the Irish people, abandoned for a few decades, the policy of physical force […] the ideal that he has conceived in his heart can never die […] that leads him now to battle, to sacrifice and to victory.[163]

The funeral was an act of national mourning, a recruitment event, and a performance of the new ideal of Irish revolutionary masculinity, captured in the choice and order of the words 'battle', 'sacrifice', and 'victory'. At the time uniforms and photography lured new recruits in Britain to 'get into khaki', transforming men's bodies from ordinary civilians into ideal soldiers.[164] Thus, in light of a new war, Irish military masculinity was being reinterpreted and reformulated to suit a new a militant nationalism.

Figure 1.7 – Close up of Padraic Pearse in uniform, putting white papers in his jacket pocket, Keogh Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, Ke 163, August 1915

[162] Joseph McGarrity, 'Letter from Joseph McGarrity to John Devoy Telling Him to Get Film Footage from Rossa's Funeral as Soon as Possible,' 1915, National Library of Ireland, MS 18,007/26/3.
[163] O'Donovan Rossa Funeral Committee, p. 20.
[164] Jane Tynan, 'The Lure of Discipline: Military Aesthetics and the Making of the First World War Civilian Soldier', *Photography and Culture*, 2.2 (2009), 135–52.

Figure 1.7 is another photograph taken by the Keogh brothers, which shows the immediate aftermath of Pearse's speech as the coffin is being lowered into the grave. The press of bodies around the grave who were photographed – the men, women, children, Irish Citizen Army soldiers in their wide-brimmed hats, and Irish Volunteers in their flat caps – pre-empt the significance of the moment in the memory of the nation. In Figure 1.7 Pearse has just concluded his oration, in which he proposed death as an opportunity:

> Acht, a cháirde, ná bíodh brón orainn, acht bíodh misneach inar gcroidhthibh agus bíodh neart inar gcuisleannaibh, óir tuigimís nach mbíonn aon bhás ann nach mbíonn aiséirghe ina dhiaidh, agus gurab as an uaigh so agus as na huaghannaibh atá inar dtimcheall éireochas saoirse Ghaedheal.
>
> [But, friends, let us not be sad, but let us have courage in our hearts and strength in our arms, for let us understand that after all death comes resurrection and that from this grave and the graves surrounding us will rise the freedom of Ireland.][165]

Pearse, dressed in the Volunteer uniform, represented the embodiment of this new, unified generation of militants, styled according to a new military masculinity and violent nationalism. In the photograph Pearse and his fellow Volunteers gathered around the grave of O'Donovan Rossa are the resurrected dead. The myth of the revolutionary hero is articulated through the ghostly imaginings of the patriot dead, who were, according to Pearse, living through the nationalist movement.

These records were preserved to memorialise O'Donovan Rossa's funeral, but more importantly they are a testament to Irish military masculinity and, as such, transcended linear history, something that exists in the past, the present, and the future. Irish military masculinity collapsed the progression of linear time to authorise violent nationalism. The idea of reincarnation is important here, not least because Catholic rituals were a key part of the funeral but because of how the corporeal body was conceptualised in space and time. At O'Donovan Rossa's graveside Pearse emphasised the intimate 'spiritual communion with him', which was stronger 'now [more] than ever before or perhaps ever again, in spiritual communion with those of his day, living and dead'.[166] The site of the grave and the event of the funeral were transcendental as living and dead bodies were brought closer together in a spiritual experience. An experience that would, according to Pearse, ripen 'in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation. And the seed sown by the young men of '65 and '67 are coming to their miraculous ripening today.'[167] Drawing the past into the present and

[165] Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse*, p. 133.
[166] Ibid., p. 150.
[167] Ibid.

projecting onto the future of the generation of young men, bodies transcended time and space to exist in the pantheon of revolutionary heroes. Unbound by historical time the revolutionary body becomes what Benjamin might describe as a Messianic symbol 'blasted out of the continuum of history'.[168] Aidan Beatty considers the framing of time and gender in revolutionary storytelling and the creation of a 'specifically masculine sense of Irish historical-national time […] wherein all true Irish nationalist men exist together'.[169]

The notion of a people progressing through time was brought to a stop at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa in 1915, instituting instead what Benjamin would call a 'constellation' of events which presented 'a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past'.[170] The living and dead bodies that existed in this pantheon of revolutionary heroes emphasised that, in the pursuit of freedom, sacrifice must come before victory. This analysis of the 1915 funeral of O'Donovan Rossa is evidence of bodies shaping time and illustrates how this reshaping can serve in the act of nation-building. Establishing a national myth requires an act of collective imagining as well as an image or ideology which serves to define national identity. In Ireland in 1915, the uniformed bodies of Irishmen acted as a conduit of instantaneous time, bringing together not just the living community but the dead in a space where time was halted on and through the body. The centenary of the funeral in 2015 presented a moment to question the enduring myth of revolutionary heroism and the construction of time through the body as a re-enactment of that myth.

The Re-enactment, 2015

> Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa was an iconic figure in Irish history. Even one hundred years after his death his name is synonymous with the Fenians and with Irish Nationalism. The liberation of his country became his life's ambition. His funeral remains one of the pivotal moments in Irish history and was an occasion that would be hugely instrumental in shaping the future of our nation.[171]

The words of Taoiseach Enda Kenny at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa in 2015 echo those of Pearse and position the funeral and O'Donovan Rossa's body at the very centre of the state narrative of the Revolution and its commemoration. Sites of memory, like the grave of O'Donovan Rossa, substantiate national sacrifice and provide a place for historical remembrance

168 Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 261.
169 Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism*, p. 22.
170 Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 254.
171 'State Marks Centenary of O'Donovan Rossa Funeral: Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht' <https://www.chg.gov.ie/state-marks-centenary-of-odonovan-rossa-funeral/> [accessed 1 July 2020].

to take place.[172] The official publication of the centenary of the 1916 Rising described the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa as 'the most important funeral in Irish history'. Figure 1.8 is an image of the re-enactment of the official government commemoration of the funeral. Actor Jim Roache, re-enacting the speech of Patrick Pearse, is wearing the historic Irish Volunteer uniform, similar to that worn by Pearse in 1915. 'Thousands attended the event, occupying the grandstands or watching on the big screens erected around the cemetery' as the wreaths were laid at the grave, music was played, and the Chairman of the Glasnevin Trust, John Green, described the cemetery as a 'cauldron of our struggle for freedom'.[173] The cemetery has a collection of 'highlight' graves that include the 'Republican Plot', which features prominent revolutionary figures such as Roger Casement, Jim Larkin (1874–1947), Michael Collins (1890–1922), Éamon de Valera (1882–1975), Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), and Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891). The graveyard in Ireland, according to Barbara Graham, is a 'powerful symbol of shared identity'.[174] The symbol of this shared identity, however, is not the objects common to every graveyard, such as headstones, Celtic crosses, or obelisks, but the bodies that lie unseen beneath the ground. Bodies buried in Irish soil are the crux of national imagining and self-identification. The ghostly, unseen presence of the bodies of the revolutionary dead are sites of collective grief and national solidarity. Glasnevin Cemetery has been part of the history of Irish nationalism since it was opened in 1823, and it continues to provide a stage on which to perform and re-enact the ideology of Irish revolutionary masculinity.[175]

[172] Jay Winter, 'Sites of Memory', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* , ed. by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwartz (New York: Fordham University, 2010), pp. 312–24 (p. 314).
[173] McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916*, p. 26.
[174] Barbara Graham, *Death, Materiality and Mediation: An Ethnography of Remembrance in Ireland* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p. 132.
[175] *Grave Matters: Death and Dying in Dublin, 1500 to the Present*, ed. by Lisa Marie Griffith and Ciaran Wallace (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press Ltd, 2016), p. 15.

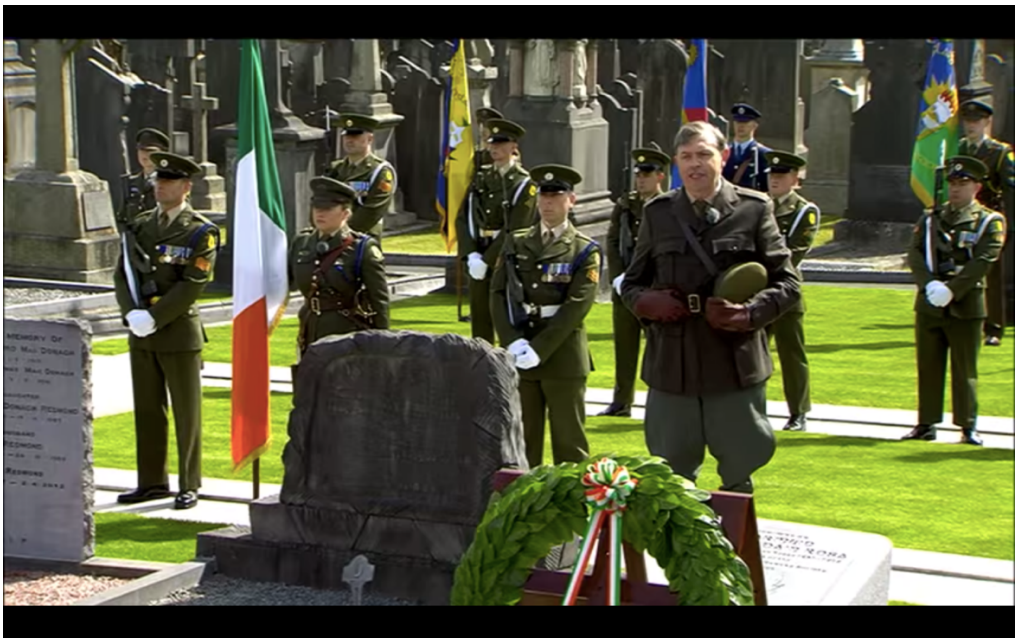

Figure 1.8 – RTÉ coverage of the State Commemoration at Glasnevin Cemetery, RTÉ, Archive Footage, https://www.rte.ie/centuryireland/index.php/watch/state-commemoration-of-the-funeral-of-odonovan-rossa, August 2015

The re-enactment of the Pearse's speech at Glasnevin Cemetery began in 2012, as part of a visitor attraction that included a tour of the Glasnevin Museum, which opened in 2010.[176] Originally, the re-enactment was planned to take place at 2:30 p.m. every day for the month of August 2012; however, the re-enactment proved so popular that it continues today. Many reviews of the Glasnevin tour on TripAdvisor specifically mention the visceral impact of the re-enactment, noting how visitors had 'goose bumps at the re-enactment of Pearse' or how the 'hair on the back of my neck stood on end'.[177] Of the 6,876 reviews of Glasnevin Cemetery and Museum, 273 reviews dating from 2012 to 2020 specifically mention the re-enactment of Pearse's speech. Many recall the 'chills' and 'goosebumps' they experienced, while others describe gaining new insight into the mindset of the time: 'The tour started with a re-enactment of Pearse's 1915 speech at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa. I grew up hearing about the Easter Rising but never understood the power and significance of the speech till now'.[178] Another visitor described the 'actor who delivered the oration was magnificent, full of passion; it was so easy to imagine being there to hear the original delivery by Pearse and to get a better

[176] Susan Ryan, '"But the Fools, the Fools, the Fools!" – Pearse Funeral Oration Re-Enacted at Glasnevin', *TheJournal.Ie* <https://www.thejournal.ie/padraig-pearse-funeral-speech-glasnevin-rossa-fools-542390-Aug2012/> [accessed 16 September 2021].
[177] Ciara O (April 2019) and Eugene Y (September 2017) quotes taken from 'Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, Dublin', *Tripadvisor* <https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g186605-d214896-Reviews-Glasnevin_Cemetery_Museum-Dublin_County_Dublin.html> [accessed 15 September 2021].
[178] 2wrist (March 2016), 'Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, Dublin', *Tripadvisor.*

understanding of its impact at the time'.[179] While another visitor made the connection between the speech and outbreak of the Rising, describing how they could now 'understand how this would have stirred the rebels'.[180]

Jerome De Groot explains that 're-enactment blends the experience of the historical artifact', in this case the grave of O'Donovan Rossa, 'with individual revelation'.[181] The historical re-enactor creates an immediate and authentic historical experience, satisfying the human desire to connect to history through objects. In this case, the object is the grave of O'Donovan Rossa, and the historical uniformed body of the re-enactor enables those present to transcend their own temporal limits.[182] The body in the present is haunted by the bodies of the past, manifesting in these visceral experiences on the cemetery tour. Standing and watching the re-enactment is an act of history-making – the body becomes a medium of history as evidenced by 'chills', 'goosebumps', and the 'stirring' and 'rousing' impact that the living body experiences in close proximity to the dead and the re-enacted body.

In Figure 1.8 the re-enacted body of Pearse in the historic Volunteer uniform and the present-day Defence Forces in the background wearing ceremonial uniforms perform the past and the future in an 'instantaneous present' at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa.[183] The uniforms are particularly important for establishing the temporal order of the revolutionary body as an object in ritual remembrance: dead, alive, and re-enacted. Andrew Jones explains that '[t]hrough the practice of remembrance using artefacts, people are produced, and identities are formed'.[184] This re-enactment is an 'experience of history' framed within the context of Ireland in 2015, and the uniform is crucial in the production of collective memory as imagined by the state.[185] The grave of O'Donovan Rossa verifies the shared experience and legitimises the ceremony as an official act of remembrance as well as the myth of the revolutionary hero as a part of 'official' history. However, outside of these official commemorations, party politics and the contestation of Irish history in the present exposes the cracks in the idea of official history.

Sinn Féin, the republican party in Ireland who were not in government in 2015, viewed the state commemoration of O'Donovan Rossa's funeral as 'staid'. 'Perhaps', journalist John Hedges wrote for the leaning Sinn Féin journal, *An Phoblacht*, 'it was a reflection of the

[179] fenlaDublin (August 2016), 'Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, Dublin', *Tripadvisor*.
[180] Ruth T (September 2016), 'Glasnevin Cemetery Museum, Dublin', *Tripadvisor*.
[181] Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 106.
[182] Jones, *Memory and Material Culture*, p. 50.
[183] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 24.
[184] Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 50.
[185] De Groot, *Consuming History*, p. 115.

Establishment's discomfort in having to mark the historic role of a man dubbed a "terrorist".'[186] Sinn Féin, therefore, staged an alternative commemoration in 2015 featuring the entire funeral, including the lying in state at City Hall, the parade through Dublin, and the funeral itself, complete with a troop of Irish Volunteers in historic uniforms. Hedges went on to compare the two official and unofficial events, concluding that:

> The staid state event at Glasnevin Cemetery with the customary (compulsory) Defence Forces military detachment and band to add a bit of ceremonial style involved a few hundred people. The imaginative pageant organised by Sinn Féin attracted thousands of participants, many of whom enthusiastically took part by dressing in their own period costume for the occasion.[187]

Hedges suggests that Sinn Féin's event was more historic, an 'imaginative pageant' which captured the imagination of thousands. This elaborate re-enactment of the funeral, however, was deemed to be in poor taste by the state, and Éamon Ó Cuív, leader of Fianna Fáil, accused it of undermining the official state commemoration and suggested that 'the Sinn Féin commemorations were out of sync with the spirit of the original funeral, which involved all strands of nationalist Ireland'.[188] Some, however, questioned if any of the commemorations were appropriate. Historian Marie Coleman, for example, questioned 'if either Rossa or his celebrated obsequies were of sufficient historical significance to warrant a full commemorative ceremony from the State'.[189] Coleman, who is on the advisory committee for the Decade of Centenaries, questioned whether it was 'wise for the Irish Government to have held such an elaborate commemoration of a terrorist'.[190] The myth of the revolutionary hero loses its gleam in the shadow of contested history.

The re-enactment of Pearse's speech and the commencement of the ritual of daily re-enactments at O'Donovan Rossa's grave perpetuate the 'constellation' of revolutionary time set in place by the leading revolutionary figures in 1915 and maintained by the state in 2015. The constellation oscillates around this event and around the bodies of Pearse and O'Donovan Rossa. The event is inherently tied to the state's memory of its foundation, creating a cycle of

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[186] John Hedges, '10,000 Throng Sinn Féin's O'Donovan Rossa Re-Enactment in Dublin', *An Phoblacht*, <https://www.anphoblacht.com/contents/25237> [accessed 18 September 2021].
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ronan McGreevy, 'Sinn Féin Accused of Undermining Rising Programme', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/sinn-f%C3%A9in-accused-of-undermining-rising-programme-1.2303919> [accessed 2 July 2020]; see also: Daragh Brophy, 'The Government, Sinn Féin and the Battle for 2016 … It Starts Today', *TheJournal.Ie* <https://www.thejournal.ie/government-sinn-fein-2016-rossa-2239622-Aug2015/> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[189] Marie Coleman, 'Was State Commemoration of O'Donovan Rossa Funeral Appropriate?', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/was-state-commemoration-of-o-donovan-rossa-funeral-appropriate-1.2312335> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[190] Ibid.

remembrance and copying the heroic narrative cycles of Fionn MacCumhaill and Cú Chulainn. The Irish state was imagined through the bodies of Pearse and O'Donovan Rossa as revolutionary heroes in 1915, and so commemoration of the funeral in 2015 was in fact a moment of self-actualisation, circumventing the passing of time in a single act of commemoration. Once linear time has been 'blasted open' it must take on a new shape. What follows for history when time is broken open? Patterns of time shift and change depending on the story being told and the purpose of its telling. If the linearity of time is irreconcilable with the emergence of an independent Ireland, what shape serves the national imaginary? In the next section I argue that a new shape of historical time, with the events of the 1916 Rising at its centre, was created, upon which the sacrifices of the past can be justified and visions for the future can be modelled.

Part Two: 1916 and New Historical Time

The anniversary of the 1916 Rising has become the central axis of state commemoration, around which the cycle of remembrance is built. My examination of 1915 and 2015 focussed on uniforms, resurrection, and re-enactment as techniques in nation-building that harness memory and the body to reshape the history of revolution. As I discussed, the events of 1915 have been labelled as the spark which ignited the Rising the following year in 1916, a rhetoric which pulls both moments in history into alignment. The following section doubles back on the myth of the revolutionary hero, investigating how he was commemorated in 1966 and again in 2016. The shape of history necessarily adjusts to the conditions of the present as I begin expose the impossibility of history, memory, and national identity remaining unchanged across time.

1916 in 1966

Following the execution of the revolutionary leaders of the Rising in 1916, its annual commemoration became a fixture of the Irish nationalist calendar. 1916 became a year instantly mythologised in collective memory – a mythology steeped in contention as Irish nationalists sought to commemorate the triumph of the Rising, while unionists responded through collective remembrance of the trauma of the Somme.[191] The themes of the trauma and triumph of 1916 were maintained by both unionists and nationalists following the partition of Ireland in 1921. In

[191] Guy Beiner, 'Making Sense of Memory: Coming to Terms with Conceptualisations of Historical Remembrance', in *Remembering 1916: The Easter Rising, The Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland*, ed. by Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 13–24.

Ireland in 1966, the 50th anniversary of the Rising took place amid social and political contexts at odds with the tone of triumphalism set by the state for the occasion. Tensions were rising across the border in Norther Ireland, and the return of Roger Casement's remains in 1965 only served to increase nationalist sympathies.[192] The commemorations of 1966 set in place a narrative regarding the potential for the insurrection's national remembering to ignite tensions. The 1966 commemorations' influence on the outbreak of the Troubles can be overstated; however, they also serve to further support the myth of revolutionary history as a singularly pivotal moment in Ireland's long and complex history with Britain and the border with Northern Ireland. The commemorations of 1966 were to become as significant in Irish revolutionary history as the Rising itself, serving as a moment in which the state outlined how it should be remembering.

The 1966 state ceremonial was designed around the presence of 1916 veterans. The veterans were placed front and centre in state ceremonial proceedings. Maurice Halbwachs explains the importance of 'giving old people the function of preserving the traces of the past' in collective memory by 'encouraging them to devote whatever spiritual energy they may still possess to the act of recollection'.[193] President Éamon de Valera, himself a veteran of the Rising, used the Golden Jubilee to broadcast an old narrative of Irish nationalism. At his speech outside the GPO in 1966, he declared: 'I, for one, am never going to believe that the land of the O'Neills, the Ó Catháins, the McDonnells, the Maguires and the McGuinesses, that that land is going to remain permanently severed from the rest of this country'.[194] De Valera's message to the nation echoed the tone and sentiment of Pearse's speech at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa in 1915, calling on 'a nation of brothers' to fulfil the ultimate goal of the seven signatories:

> We cannot adequately honour the men of 1916 if we do not work and strive to bring about the Ireland of their desire. For this each one of us must do his part and though the tasks immediately before us now are different from those of fifty years ago, we can have today if we are sufficiently devolved and out will be firm, a national resurgence comparable to that which followed 1916.[195]

De Valera was drawing a state agenda directly in line with the aims of the leaders of the Rising in 1916. As Mary E. Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan outline, 'The Irish state sought to commemorate, while rendering residual and under control, the historical and cultural capital of Irish nationalist historical memory in 1966; that memory was to be deployed to advance the

[192] Holly Maples, *Culture War: Conflict, Commemoration and the Contemporary Abbey Theatre* (Peter Lang, 2011), p. 47.
[193] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 48.
[194] Clair Wills, *Dublin 1916: The Siege of the GPO* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 190.
[195] Éamon de Valera, 'A Nation of Brothers Was the Ultimate Goal of the Seven Signatories', *The Irish Times*, 11 April 1966.

modern agenda of the state.'[196] According to de Valera, the agenda was to fulfil the aims of the seven signatories and form a united Ireland. The rhetoric of the unfinished work of 1916 and the celebratory tone of the commemorations led to discussions about how the commemorations of 1966 had somehow 'caused the Troubles'.[197] Conor Cruise O'Brien, the often outspoken and controversial historian and politician active in Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s, described the commemorations of 1966 as the year

> in which the ghosts were bound to walk, both North and South […] These celebrations had to include the reminder that the object for which the men of 1916 sacrificed their lives – a free and united Ireland – had still not been achieved.[198]

Memory of the Rising was being aligned with the agenda of the state in the present. After 1969, this memory was reshaped again following the outbreak of the Troubles.

Figure 1.9 – 1966 Commemorative Armlet issued to 1916 veterans and owned by Seán M. O'Duffy, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.5400, 1966

Bodies – and what they were wearing – were important to the commemoration events of 1966. There were approximately 600 veterans, men and women, who marched in the parade and took their seats outside the GPO to watch the ceremony take place.[199]

Each veteran wore medals and armbands, which acknowledged their participation in the Rising. Figure 1.9 is the armband worn by Seán O'Duffy (1886–1981) at the ceremony in Dublin in 1966. The simple orange and green armband is emblazoned with 1916 and the symbol for the Irish Volunteers is in the centre. Wearing an armband, usually black, is a sign of mourning or commemoration of a person or people who have died. This band was worn to commemorate O'Duffy's own role in the 1916 Rising, marking his body with the date of the conflict is almost a

[196] Mary Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan, 'Irish Modernity and "The Patriot Dead" in 1966', *1916 in 1966: Commemorating the Easter Rising* , ed. by Mary Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2007), pp. 1–17 (p. 15).
[197] Ibid., p. 15.
[198] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *States of Ireland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), p. 143.
[199] Ireland Dept of External Affairs, *Cuimhneachán 1916–1966 Commemoration: A Record of Ireland's Commemoration of the 1916 Rising* (Dublin: Ireland Dept of External Affairs, 1966).

label of authenticity, demarcating his presence then and now. The armband resides in the collections at the National Museum of Ireland as part of the Easter Week Collections, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. It is important to note, however, that the armband, made in 1966, is stored and catalogued alongside the objects from 1916. It is a memory object made to commemorate the Rising, which exists simultaneously then and now, worn on the body of Seán O'Duffy in 1966.

Redacted - photograph of military parade outside GPO Dublin city 1966.

Figure 1.10 – 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the Easter Rising outside the General Post Office, Independent, 1966

Figure 1.10 is a 1966 photograph of the Defence Forces marching past the GPO in Dublin while the 1916 veterans in the stands look on. The image is striking in that it juxtaposes the civilian veterans, as observers, and the uniformed officers, as performers in a military display to honour the memory of the Rising. The officers' uniforms are ceremonial or 'number ones', which are worn for funerals, parades, or events of national importance. They serve a performative function, demonstrating an ideal of Irish militarism in peacetime Ireland. However, the context of 1966 and the revival of old republicanism as part of the commemoration complicate the visibility of the uniform and the framing of revolutionary heroism. Are they marching to finish the work of the 1916? The cycle of state memory was being performed again as one uniform body and with the veterans watching on. The line between past and present was thin – a connection only strengthened by living memory.

After 1969, with the outbreak of the Troubles, military demonstrations, ceremonial or otherwise, took on a different meaning than they had following the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The ability for the state to stage a military procession with soldiers conspicuously in uniforms is a privilege of peacetime, where the uniforms legitimise the historic conflict and the men in them pose no threat to the safety of the people. The only legitimate violence is that recognised and valorised by the state through commemoration. Following the 'supposedly glorious, triumphant and retrospectively embarrassing' state commemorations of 1966, the 75th anniversary in 1991 was muted, and the state dropped the military parade due to ongoing conflict.[200] The military parade returned in 2006. Taoiseach Bertie Ahern declared that the 'Irish people need to reclaim the spirit of 1916' from Sinn Féin and the IRA, and the Defence Forces are 'the only legitimate army of the Irish people […] the true successors of the volunteers'.[201] However, the Troubles had changed public perception of uniforms, and the myth of the revolutionary hero had become unstable.

1916 in 2016

A shift in the tone of these state commemorations occurred in 2016, with a notable return to the idea of a triumphant memory of the Rising. Figure 1.11 is from of the 2016 state ceremonial for the centenary of the Rising outside the GPO. The parade through Dublin was 'the biggest military parade in Ireland in living memory' with over 3,500 marching personnel, a privilege of peacetime in Ireland.[202] Although living memory of the Rising died before the centenary, relatives of those who fought in the Rising attended, with some wearing their relatives' medals.[203] Thus, 2016 shifted the focus from the living memory to the re-enacted body.

[200] Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Commemorating the Rising, 1922–65: "A figurative scramble for the bones of the patriot dead?"', in *1916 in 1966: Commemorating the Easter Rising*, ed. by Mary Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2007), pp. 199–219 (p. 199).
[201] 'Taoiseach Reinstates 1916 Easter Parade Past the GPO', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/taoiseach-reinstates-1916-easter-parade-past-the-gpo-1.508821> [accessed 30 June 2020].
[202] McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916*, p. 106.
[203] 'Easter Rising 1916 Commemorations in Pictures', *BBC News*, 27 March 2016, section Europe <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35907536> [accessed 17 September 2021].

Figure 1.11 –The Proclamation of the Republic is read out aloud outside the GPO building during the commemoration of the 100 year anniversary of the Irish Easter Rising in Dublin, Ireland, Clodagh Kilcoyne – RTE Archives, March 27, 2016

Figure 1.12 – Captain Peter Kelleher reading the proclamation, 'In Pictures: Easter Rising commemorations'*, RTÉ, https://www.rte.ie/news/galleries/2016/0327/777721-gallery-easter-rising-commemorations/, 2016*

The highlight of the state ceremonial on Easter Sunday 2016 was the reading of the proclamation outside the GPO. Figures 1.11 and 1.12 show Captain Peter Kelleher reading the proclamation as Patrick Pearse did in 1916. This reading happens almost every year on Easter Sunday, but the significance placed on the reading was greater in 2016 as it 'was to be the culmination of the centenary commemoration'.[204] Captain Kelleher, not an actor but an active member of the Defence Forces, had to audition for the part and was, in his own words,

[204] McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916*, p. 112.

'somewhat daunted by the prospect'.[205] In an examination of re-enactment in 1966, Roisin Higgins observes that: 'commemorative events become part of the shared memory of a nation, and each re-enactment alters the way in which the original event is experienced and understood'.[206] It could be argued that by 2016, the national myth of the re-enactment had become almost more important than the moment in history. Revolutionary male subjectivity was embodied at a national level through the practice of re-enacting Pearse's speech as a definitive moment in the creating of the state myth of the revolutionary hero.

Individual memory can, however, expose the revolutionary hero to scrutiny. Irish writer and contemporary of the Rising, Stephen McKenna (1872–1934), wrote a booklet in 1917 entitled *Memories of the Dead* under the pseudonym Martin Daly, which, according to a memoir of McKenna, aimed to: 'preserve for future historians some lineaments of the men whose blood was to be the seed of the new Ireland'.[207] In the booklet, McKenna recounts the reading of the Proclamation outside the GPO, describing Pearse as looking 'very pale' and saying that 'for once his magnetism has left him; the response was chilling; a few thin, perfunctory cheers, no direct hostility just then but no enthusiasm whatever'.[208] Numerous eyewitness accounts of the reading recount the same bewildered reaction to Pearse standing outside the GPO with an armed guard as ordinary citizens of Dublin struggled to grasp what was going on. One witness statement reads:

> President Pearse, surrounded by an armed guard, emerged into O'Connell Street and read the Proclamation of Independence. The few cheers that greeted this epochal announcement furnished an index to the denationalised state of Ireland after an era of Parliamentarianism. Inured to constitutional methods, the average 'nationalist' was too bewildered to register enthusiasm at, or even to appreciate the action of his countrymen asserting in arms the fundamental right on the Irish nation.[209]

Pearse set in place a series of readings of the proclamation around the country at important historical sites in Ireland, foreseeing the significance of the act of reading the proclamation as a declaration of the Irish independence and a public denouncement of British rule. He instructed Commandant Donal O'Hannigan to mobilise a troop of Volunteers at the historical site of Tara

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[205] McGreevy, *Centenary Ireland Remembers 1916,* p. 112.
[206] Roisín Higgins, "'I am the Narrator over-and-above … the caller up of the dead": Pageant and Drama in 1966', in *1916 in 1966: Commemorating the Easter Rising* , ed. by Mary Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2007), pp. 149–73 (p. 168).
[207] E.R. Dodds, *Journal and Letters Of Stephen MacKenna* (London: Constable & Co., 1936), p. 52.
[208] Martin Daly, *Memories of the Dead: Some Impressions* (Powell Press, 1917), p. 20.
[209] Captain R. Henderson, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1686, p. 3.

in county Meath and read the proclamation there on Easter Sunday before marching to Dublin. O'Hannigan observed that this was an inconvenient site for mobilisation, however Pierce insisted that 'for historical reasons Tara was all important and he wanted the proclamation of the Republic read there'.[210] The symbolic gesture of reading the proclamation at a site of national significance was more important than the site's suitability for military manoeuvres or, indeed, for witnesses seeing it take place. As Pat Crooke suggests: 'The pre-established orchestration of the Easter Rising around Pearce's writings provided a cue for how a heterogeneous range of objects associated with the event could visually be organised, with centripetal force, around his image'.[211]

One such object is the proclamation scroll. Figure 1.12 is a close-up of Captain Kelleher holding a proclamation scroll, which is printed on aged paper and is approximately the same size as the printed copies distributed in 1916, of which a number survive.[212] Captain Kelleher, however, is not an actor, and the reading is not a re-enactment, unlike the performance of Pearse's speech (Figure 1.8). As outlined in the Introduction, re-enactment is the embodiment of history in the present. It suspends the division between past and present to produce an immediate experience of history. Captain Kelleher is wearing his own contemporary Defense Forces uniform. As such, he creates a performance of an image of the past which is in alignment with the predominant concerns of Ireland in 2016.[213] It is an image of a nation looking forward while holding on to the script of the past.

Part Three: Reburying the Body

The 1916 Rising became one of the foundational moments in the state's national history, not just for the conflict itself but for the execution of the leaders by the British after the event. Pearse outlined the narrative of sacrifice and the bodies of the heroes at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa with the ideology that 'Life springs from death'.[214] Drawing heroes and martyrs from each stage in Irish history into the narrative of the 1916 Rising, Pearse mentions a number of individuals in his 1915 graveside oration: Michael O'Cleary (1590–1643), Wolfe Tone (1763–1798), John Mitchel (1815–1875), and Eoghan O'Growney (1863–1899), all patriots and heroes who are all

[210] Donal O'Hannigan, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 161, p. 12.
[211] Pat Cooke, 'History, materiality and the myth of 1961', in *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising*, ed. by Lisa Godson and Joanna Bruck (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015) pp. 203–16 (p. 209).
[212] 'The Proclamation of the Irish Republic', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Collections-Research/Collection/Resilience/Artefact/Test-3/fb71e3dc-2e95-4406-bc46-87d8d6b0ae5d> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[213] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 40.
[214] Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse*, p. 136.

'bound together […] in brotherly union'.[215] A rupture in time creates a new cosmic reality, from that origin point a new version of history is written. The history of 1916 Rising exists outside of linear history, as a cycle of time, sustained by ritual commemoration and anchored by the enduring image of the revolutionary hero. So far in this chapter, I have argued that linear time was ruptured in 1915, and history was reshaped in the image of 1916 and the myth of the revolutionary hero. The revolutionary hero, in light of 'official' cyclical history, was the embodiment of all revolutionary heroes gone before; through him were resurrected the bodies of those who were willing to die for Ireland. The state relies on the myth of the revolutionary hero to maintain this cyclical history, and it keeps returning to the myth. Progress in the national imaginary, according to this framework, is not a perpetual moving forward. Instead, the rhetoric of the revolution becomes about looking back through a process of embodiment. Time, therefore, becomes a political tool, collapsed and reshaped according to what the now demands of history. It was a uniform and a uniformed body as imagined by the state, prepared to live and die for Ireland and be re-enacted of the bodies of the next generation. However, individual agency cannot be erased from history, for bodies may wear uniforms to become part of the imagined nation, but the bodies underneath are never the same. What happens, then, when the reality of bodies does not adhere to the myth? In this final section I examine the political act of exhumation and reburial of a historical figure who will be discussed in detail in each of the following chapters – Roger Casement (1864–1916).

Exhumation

Roger Casement was born on the 1 September 1864 in Sandycove in Dublin. The youngest son of a Catholic mother and a Protestant father, Casement's early life has been described as 'itinerant' and 'rootless'.[216] After the death of his parents, Casement, along with his two older brothers and older sister, moved to live with his paternal uncle in County Antrim. Upon finishing school Casement began a clerical job for a shipping company, eventually joining the consular service, as had his maternal uncle, Edward Bannister.[217] During his consular career Casement made two major instigations into human rights abuses carried out in Belgian and British colonies. Both his 1904 investigation of King Leopold's administration in the Congo and his 1911 report on the British-registered Peruvian Amazon Company on the Putumayo rubber plantations exposed human-rights abuses under imperialist regimes.[218] As a result of this work,

[215] Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse*, p. 134.
[216] Angus Mitchell, *Casement* (London: Haus Publishing, 2003), p. 11.
[217] Ibid., p. 14.
[218] Brian Inglis, *Roger Casement* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 134–51; see also: pp. 182–92.

Casement was knighted in 1911 and became, according to Fintan O'Toole, the 'father of twentieth-century human rights investigations'.[219] Casement retired from his work as consul in 1913 and refocussed his interests on the cause of Irish independence from Britain.[220] Casement then travelled to Germany in 1914 to persuade Irish prisoners of war to join the Irish Brigade and to secure arms from the Germans. However, when it became clear that his plan was never going to succeed, Casement returned to Ireland in April 1916 to try and prevent the Rising from taking place, believing it would not succeed. British authorities received intelligence about Casement's plans in Germany, and they were waiting to arrest him upon his return to Ireland. When he landed on the beach at Banna Strand, County Kerry, in April 1916, Casement was arrested on charges of treason against the Crown and was brought almost immediately to London to await trial. Casement's very public trial commenced on the 26 June 1916. It became embroiled in further controversy when pages from his private diaries were leaked to the press, revealing him to have engaged in homosexual activities. Although the accusation of homosexuality did not relate to the charge of treason, the leak of the pages was viewed as an attempt to sway public opinion and influence the outcome of the trial. After an unsuccessful appeal the 51-year-old Casement was hanged in Pentonville Prison on 3 August 1916.

Casement's sexuality became public knowledge during the 1916 trial, and British authorities were suspected of carrying out the diary leak to recast Casement as a degenerate, rather than a hero, in the public eye. The authorities involved attempted to reimagine Casement as the antithesis of the revolutionary hero. Basil Thomson (1861–1939), a British MI5 agent who interviewed Casement when he first arrived in London after his April 1916 arrest, recalled Casement's physicality and characteristic attributes as dangerous, unappealing, and innately homosexual, although he avoided all use of the word, preferring instead to insidiously refer to Casement's 'obsessions'. For example, Thomson described his first impression of Casement:

> He walked into the room rather theatrically – a tall, thin, cadaverous man with thick black hair turning grey, a pointed beard and thin, nervous, mahogany-coloured hands from long tropical service. His forehead was a network of wrinkles, his complexion deeply sunburnt.[221]

Describing Casement as 'cadaverous' is a grotesque imagining of his body as neither living nor dead but as a violation of the 'norms of culture'. Susan Stewart describes the grotesque body as

[219] Fintan O'Toole, 'The Multiple Hero', *The New Republic*, 2 August 2012 <https://newrepublic.com/article/105658/mario-vargas-llosa-dream-of-celt-fintan-otoole> [accessed 18 June 2018].
[220] Angus Mitchell, *Roger Casement: 16 Lives* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2013), pp. 226–66.
[221] Basil Thomson, *Odd People: Hunting Spies in the First World War* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2015), p. 85.

an object of perverse fascination that is exaggerated, turned 'inside out', and put on display.[222] The displeasure Thomson evidently felt towards Casement's skin colour is a thinly veiled reimagining of Casement as somehow racially other, citing his 'mahogany hands' and 'deeply sunburnt' complexion. Thompson also used Casement's physical appearance to call into question his masculinity, further stating: 'Casement struck me as one of those men who are born with a strong strain of the feminine in their character'.[223] Thomson insinuated these feminine characteristics extended to Casement's clothing and tastes, observing that 'he had a way of wearing his coat without putting his arms into the sleeves and he has his overcoat made without sleeves, possibly with an eye to the picturesque'.[224] These physical observations of Casement, which were made Thomson's 1922 book, *Odd People: Hunting Spies in the First World War*, reveal a preoccupation with Casement's body. According to Thomson, the man's skin, mannerisms, and clothing betrayed Casement's 'mental disintegration', in particular the 'obsession disclosed in the pages of his diary'.[225] The post-mortem carried out on Casement's body after his execution, which took place in the mortuary at Pentonville Prison, was used to provide physical proof of the homosexual activities recorded in his private diaries. Dr. Percy R. Mander, Medical Officer of the prison, claimed to have found via a rectal examination 'unmistakable evidence of the practices to which, it was alleged, the prisoner in question had been addicted'.[226] Casement's body was interpreted by British authorities, who questioned and examined him before and after his execution, as grotesque, with the final humiliation of the 'isolation and display of the exaggerated part' which bore witness to this grotesqueness.[227] In 1916 Casement's reputation was brought into disrepute under the charge of treason, while his body was made socially unacceptable by bringing his private thoughts, experiences, and actions into the public domain.

Casement's body was buried in the grounds of Pentonville Prison and became a bone of contention within Anglo-Irish relations until its repatriation in 1965. At the National Archives in London, hundreds of letters and documents recount how individuals, groups, and successive Irish governments appealed to the British government to return Casement's remains to Ireland. The earliest request was made in 1919 when Tom Casement (c.1863–1939), Roger Casement's brother, wrote to the Home Office in London to request the remains' return.[228] Another request

[222] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1984), p. 105.
[223] Thomson, *Odd People*, p. 88.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] The National Archives, Kew, HO 144/1637/311643/141.
[227] Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 105.
[228] 'TREASON: Sir Roger Casement: Tom Casement Applies for Removal of Remains ToIRELAND', 1919, The National Archives, Kew, HO 144/1637/311643/195.

was made in 1936 by Éamon de Valera, then President of the Executive Council (Prime Minister) of the Irish Free State. In a 1936 private letter to Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947), Douglas Hacking (1884–1950), the Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, advised the rejection of this request and raised concerns over the likelihood of a 'martyrs funeral' being carried out in Dublin.[229] In his reply to de Valera, Baldwin explained: 'I feel that the repatriation of Casement's remains, and above all, the publicity which would inevitably ensure, would be bound to lead to a recrudescence of controversy' and have an 'effect on public feeling generally of the reopening of unhappy memories'.[230] In reality, however, the reasons for not repatriating Casement's remains were manifold, as outlined by Sir Alexander Clutterbuck (1897–1975), ambassador to Ireland in 1961, following a previous request from de Valera. Clutterbuck argued that '[h]owever much of a patriot Casement may seem in Dublin, there are still many people [in England] who look on him a traitor', and 'given Casement's moral character revealed in the Diaries, there might also be indignation in Church circles and even inner embarrassment to the Catholic hierarchy in the Republic'.[231] Casement's sexuality created a problem – the political protocol for repatriation was disrupted when the private body of sexual desires and actions did not align with the assumed public body of the traitor and revolutionary hero.

The British government finally relented in 1965, and the lengthy process of arranging the exhumation and repatriation came to fruition. A 22nd February 1965 report on the proceedings from the Prison Department of the Home Office gives a detailed account of what was found: 'a lower jaw with some teeth, ribs and the main bones from the upper part of both legs. Somewhat later the skull was recovered with some hair still visible on a piece of the scalp'.[232] The remains were then examined by a doctor, who concluded 'that the upper and lower leg members were well shaped pieces from the skeleton of a very tall man', leaving the exhumation party, which included two representatives of the Irish government, in no doubt that the remains were Casement.[233] His body was returned to Ireland on 25 February 1965. There was a four-day lying in state at the Garrison Church of the Sacred Heart at Arbour Hill in Dublin, where an estimated 65,000 people came to view the coffin.[234] The state funeral included all of the pageantry of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa's, with a procession across Dublin to the Pro-Cathedral and then on

229 'Repatriation of Remains of Sir Roger Casement to Irish Free State', 1935–1936, The National Archives, Kew, DO 35/485/12.
230 'Remains of the Late Roger Casement: Refusal of Transfer to Ireland', 1936, National Archives Kew, HO/144/23440.
231 'Repatriation of Sir Roger Casements Remains', 1963, National Archives Kew, DO 183/136.
232 'Remains of the Late Roger Casement', 1965, National Archives Kew, DO 35/485/12.
233 Ibid.
234 Kevin Grant, 'Bones of Contention: The Repatriation of the Remains of Roger Casement', *Journal of British Studies*, 41.3 (2002), 329–53 <https://doi.org/10.1086/341152>.

to Glasnevin Cemetery, where he was buried in the 'Republican Plot' alongside O'Donovan Rossa, Thomas MacDonagh, and Michael Collins. De Valera, making a speech at the graveside with the same rhetoric of Pearse in 1915, declared the republican graves a source of 'renewed inspiration and renewed determination' for young people to achieve a united Ireland.[235]

Casement was buried in Ireland and reclaimed in the pantheon of revolutionary heroes, and his body was framed as a returning hero in the public domain. The Irish government was, however, faced with a dilemma – how best to deal with embarrassing (at the time) public knowledge of his private body. The 1966 semicentenary of the Rising provided a moment in which the return of Casement's body could be drawn into the state commemorations, and the focus could be placed on his role as a revolutionary hero. Graham Dawson has argued that 'the modern tradition of British adventure has furnished idealized, wish fulfilling forms of masculinity to counter anxieties generated in a social world that is deeply divided along the fracture-lines of ethnicity and nation, gender and class'. [236] The 'wish fulfilling' imagining of Casement as a hero by his supporters and the imagining of him as a traitor or degenerate by those against him reveal anxieties on both sides concerning his sexual identity. In the imagining of the soldier hero, Dawson argues that they should be 'ideally powerful and free from contradictions, function physically and socially as positive imagos to set against the fragmenting and undermining effects of anxiety'.[237] Representations for and against Casement were using his body to fulfil the necessary imaginary and legitimise his death and memory accordingly. Roger Casement was commemorated by the state in 2016 with an official ceremony at his grave in Glasnevin Cemetery and at Banna Strand in Kerry, where he landed in 1916.[238] The ceremonies focussed on his humanitarian work and referred to him as 'one of the more intriguing personalities involved in the Easter Rising'.[239] Casement was also not a soldier, he was a diplomat who worked for the British Government; his uniform was not military, it was one of a diplomat – the guise of working between nations, not against them. The anxiety around Casement's body and the inability to fix his historic identity were shaky grounds upon which to build a monument to a revolutionary hero. To conceive of Casement's sexuality and unstable

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235 'De Valera Speech at Casement's Grave', *RTÉ Archives* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/exhibitions/eamon-de-valera/720304-de-valera-speech-at-casements-grave/> [accessed 19 September 2021].
236 Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 282.
237 Ibid., p. 282.
238 '21 April 2016: State Commemoration for Sir Roger Casement, Ballykissane and Tralee, Co. Kerry – Decade Of Centenaries' <https://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/21-april-2016-state-commemoration-for-sir-roger-casement-ballykissane-and-tralee-co-kerry/> [accessed 19 September 2021].'The State Commemorates the Centenary of the Execution of Roger Casement at Glasnevin Cemetery, 3 August 2016' <https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/8ceeec-the-state-commemorates-the-centenary-of-the-execution-of-roger-casem/> [accessed 19 September 2021].
239 'The State Commemorates the Centenary of the Execution of Roger Casement at Glasnevin Cemetery, 3 August 2016'.

masculinity was to call into question the power of the state. As Michel Foucault argued, 'we must at the same time conceive of sex without the law and power without the king'.[240]

In this chapter, Casement's body served as an example of how the individual and private body can disrupt official accounts of history fixed in the memory of a nation. From this analysis it is clear that the potential for a singular revolutionary masculinity to become plural and multifaceted increases, particularly when asking questions about how bodies can shape perceptions of time. Chapters Two and Three will further explore how the body and dress of Casement have been reimagined in the present as a complex hero, martyr, and traitor.

Conclusion

The material culture of the body and how it is designed and dressed as part of the commemoration of Revolutionary Period constitute what Walter Benjamin called a 'constellation' of time. This is in opposition to linear time, which takes no account of the past and is concentrated on the idea of progress. I argued that the bodies of Patrick Pearse and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa were brought together in 1915 to create a constellation of revolutionary time framed on the myth of the revolutionary hero. Rupturing the notion of linear time, bodies – dead, living, and re-enacted – are drawn together in the enduring image of the Irish revolutionary hero in history. Bodies are claimed by the state to act as objects and sites of national remembrance and mourning.

The funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in 1915 provided a stage for a new nationalist movement to set out a manifesto for a revolution that reimagined the Irish revolutionary hero as strong, brave, and enduring because of the act of sacrifice; they would die for Ireland, and their blood would feed the seed of revolution planted in hearts of 'young men and little boys in Ireland'.[241] Reclaiming the soil of Ireland by burying the martyred dead and 'sewing the seeds' of revolution in the next generation became part of the state ritual for remembrance: 'they cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation'.[242] Pearse's graveside speech was orchestrated and documented as an important moment set to go down in history as the spark that ignited a revolution. 1915 became the date from which Irish revolutionary history was to be rewritten. The military uniform and the uniformed body were used to frame the myth of the revolutionary hero in 1915

[240] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1990), pp. 77–91.
[241] Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse*, p. 86.
[242] Ibid., p. 136.

as well as to legitimate the nation as strong and enduring. The Irish Volunteer uniform was reimagined in the ceremony of the funeral, becoming the conduit of resurrected martyrdom and projecting a common willingness to die for Ireland. Living and dead bodies existed in the instantaneous present, emphasising that in the pursuit of freedom sacrifice comes before victory.

The state-funded re-enactment of the funeral in 2015 perpetuated this imaginary and identified the moment of Pearse's speech as pivotal to the creation of the myth of the revolutionary hero. The imagined ideal was re-enacted, using the site of the grave to entrench the idea that this version of Irish masculinity was unchanged across time and anchored by the graves of the dead. The linear progression of history was ruptured by bringing the bodies of the living and the dead into the constellation of revolutionary history; they all exist at once.

From the rupture of revolution comes what Benjamin described as the 'new calendar'. Following the 1915 funeral, militant nationalism was set on a course towards revolution which manifested in the insurrection in Dublin City in 1916. Once linear time is 'blasted open' it must take on a new shape. I argued that the state constructed a cyclical history with the myth of the Irish revolutionary hero at its centre, which returns every year to the events of the 1916 Rising. The 1916 Rising, as the centrepiece of the entire Decade of Centenaries programme, was used to evade the complexities of the Revolutionary Period while setting a precarious precedent for the commemoration of other moments in the decade. This chapter demonstrated that the cycle of revolutionary history, which hinges on the mythology of the 1916 Rising, is used to support the idea of an 'official' version of history. My analysis presents a new way of examining how history is made by focussing on the body and dress as primary source materials.

Reliance on the myth of the revolutionary hero to support and legitimise the state can be challenged by examining the agency of the individual body. In the final part of the chapter, I examined the body and sexuality of Roger Casement as a way of opening up possibilities for certain historical figures to challenge myth history and become vehicles for exploring marginalised histories, as will be discussed further in Chapters Two and Three.

Chapter Two and, particularly, Chapters Three and Four go on to discuss the aura of the authentic object in the institution of the national museum. In these chapters I begin to introduce the impact that the new calendar of revolutionary history has on the exclusion of bodies from the narrative of revolution. State commemoration plays a prominent role in shaping national memory through representations of the body. However, what about the objects which live on after the bodies have died? Staying with the cycle of revolutionary history set out by the state, Chapter Two moves the investigation from the body to objects of dress as sites of authentic memory.

Chapter Two - Witness to History: The Body in the Museum

> The night before his execution he told Mrs. Gavan Duffy that he would like to leave her some memento, but that he had literally nothing but the clothes in which he stood, and that if those had any interest for her, she was to take them from the gallows cell the following morning. Knowing Fionn's [Pádraic Fleming] great admiration for Casement, she brought the clothes for his inspection and seeing the veneration with which he viewed them and feeling that some pleasure was due to him in compensation for all he had suffered, she nobly and generously gave him the relic she so much valued. It was only a few years ago that Fionn on my urgent insistence, came to resume possession of the clothes, with a view, I understand, to presenting them to the National Museum.[243]

This is a witness statement taken in 1953 from Father Patrick J. Doyle recounting the handover of Roger Casement's clothes to Mrs Gavin Duffy, the wife of Casement's attorney, who passed them on to Pádraic Fleming (1894–1952), who was known, according to Doyle, as Fionn after the mythical hero Fionn MacCumhaill. Pádraic Fleming, a member of the Irish Volunteers and later the IRA, viewed the clothes with 'veneration' following his own experiences of imprisonment and associated his own suffering with that of Casement.[244]

I open with this example to establish the significance of dress as an object of memory and the trajectory of such an object as it moves from personal time to national time. Casement's dress evolves from clothing worn on the body, to a personal memento of the dead, and finally to an object of national significance in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland (NMI). Nationalist rhetoric has historically drawn upon the language of bodies to connect those who have died for Ireland in the past to those who take up arms in the present. As has been established so far, bodies and the clothes they wear can impact the shape of history. The above reminiscence about Casement's clothing demonstrates how dress can move from the body to the museum and how objects in close proximity to the body can act as a conduit for embodied memories of pain and trauma in both personal and national contexts. The trajectory of clothing from the body to the museum is the concern of this chapter as I move from an examination of myth history and the state to a consideration of contested history in the museum.

The limits and boundaries of the body in space and time were explored in Chapter One through the commemoration of conflict by the state. Chapter One established how uniforms and the body have fashioned the myth of revolutionary masculinity for official state commemoration.

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243 Father Patrick J. Doyle, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 807, Bureau of Military History, pp. 50–51.
244 Piers Beasley, *In Maryboro' and Mountjoy: The Prison Experiences and Prison-Breaking of an Irish Volunteer, Padraic Fleming*, Unknown, 1920.

Remembering, resurrecting, and re-enacting the uniformed body positions it as an agent in shaping the history of revolution, which is no longer linear but cyclical and oscillates around the 1916 Rising and the myth of the revolutionary hero. As determined in Chapter One, myth history seeks to fix memory in the minds of the nation.

In this chapter I demonstrate how dress and the body can unfix official and contested history of conflict in the NMI as an institution charged with telling public/state and private/individual histories of revolution. To do so I further explore the shifting boundaries of the body and embodied memory by examining the jackets, coats, trousers, shirts, pyjamas, etc., which survive in the collections of the NMI and investigate the changing role of the body within the museum as a living witness to conflict.

In the final section of Chapter One, I examined the body of Roger Casement as a political tool for establishing various narratives, ranging from a traitor in the eyes of those who arrested, charged, and executed him to a martyr from the perspective of those who supported him. In this analysis I introduced Susan Stewart's work concerning the grotesque body moving from the private to the public domain, thus demonstrating how the corporeal body can destabilise the myth of the revolutionary hero in official state history. In this chapter I engage with Stewart's work again to show how changing interpretations of the body in war continually reshape national memory and history.

Stewart considers narrative through the individual as miniature in opposition to and alongside the gigantic as a metaphor for authority, such as the power of the state or of collective society. The body, according to Stewart, is

> our mode of perceiving scale and as the body of the other, becomes our antithetical mode of stating conventions of symmetry and balance on the one hand, and the grotesque and the disproportionate on the other. We can see the body as taking the place of origin for exaggeration and, more significantly, as taking the place of origin for our understanding of metonymy (the incorporated bodies of self and lover) and metaphor (the body of the other). It is this very desire of part for whole which both animates narrative and, in fact, creates the illusion of the real.[245]

According to Stewart, our perception of the body is a measure of the public and private world in relation to the self. Through exaggeration, either gigantic or miniature, bodies can construct national history and legitimise national memory by creating a binary of true-false or real-imagined histories.

[245] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1984), p. xii.

Throughout this chapter I examine dress to unpack contested history and expose private memory of war within the structure of a national museum. I interrogate the intersection of the public and the private in the construction of narratives through the body by exploring the idea of the proximity of the body to the object and the effect it has on perceptions of time. By proximity I mean the physical proximity of the garment to the body before it was accessioned into the museum, which considers how the garment was worn and if it touched or was in direct contact with the skin. Proximity can also be the traces of the body left on the object: sweat, blood, or bone, which render the object into a record of the body. Locating the body as proximate to the object aids in contextualising how and why an object has been collected, catalogued, and displayed as part of national history as well as how and why it is seen to reflect the lived experience of conflict. This discussion also examines whether these two narratives corroborate or contradict each other.

The NMI is the focus of this chapter as it is a bridge between the state and its people with a mission to tell the story of the nation while speaking to the individual. I locate the individual body and the idea of private space and time through an examination of the objects in the exhibition covering the Revolutionary Period and those in storage to complicate the space between the collection and the exhibition. In this way, I open up space to discover how the National Museum negotiates the private body in pursuit of national memory.

Part One of this chapter examines the origins and history of the NMI. I set out a brief history of the museum's collections up to the present day to give context to the objects in my analysis and to illuminate how collections inaugurated through colonial endeavours develop into a form of national self-identification. I set out a definition for and the role of a national museum in shaping national history as well as how the space between national history and individual memory or between public and private bodies can complicate this definition.

Part Two is an analysis of the display of the First World War, which considers how the participation of Irishmen in the conflict is interpreted in contrast to and alongside insurgent masculinities of Revolutionary Period. Part Two also focusses on the ways in which the NMI has addressed the contested history of the First World War through replicas and reconstructions of military bodies.

Part Three tackles the display of the Civil War and opens up dialogue between the question of authentic memory and institutional approaches to the body and the object. I introduce the idea of the 'person-thing' through the examples of Liam Lynch's (1892–1923) waistcoat, Michael Collins' greatcoat, and James Connolly's shirt, and I discuss how the latter can be seen to oppose official temporal structures.

Part Four returns to the history of Roger Casement and two exhibitions at the NMI in 2016 exploring Casement's body in public life. Casement's private body is then considered through his dress that is held in storage to explore if and how these public and private bodies are reconciled by the NMI.

Part Five moves beyond the traditional notion of the museum, the collection, and the object to examine how the live body and performance are redefining the space of the museum and the interaction between bodies and objects. This final section further examines the implications for national memory when the living body is brought into the museum, raising questions about the stability of history, even when it is collected, conserved, and displayed behind glass.

An examination of dress in the museum which has been collected, not as fashion, but as part of the material culture of war foregrounds Irish masculinities in the interpretation of the national memory of conflict. Dress, as a mnemonic object, is unique in its proximity to the skin, and so it sits apart from other forms of material culture that survive war or conflict. Dress also gives a sense of the presence of the body – arms, legs, height, and size – and gives visitors to the museum the opportunity to share space with the aura of someone who has died. Authenticity is important here, as mud and dirt, sweat, blood, and bone attest to times and places of pain and loss.

Margaret Gibson argues that dress has a particular significance for personal loss and bereavement, and it serves a distinctive role as a 'melancholy object […] because clothing is imprinted with the shape, size, and odour of the lived body it has a power of immediacy that perhaps photographs lack'.[246] However, rather than emphasising dress and the evocation of personal emotion, I investigate dress as an embodiment of national memory through which revolutionary masculinities are made and unmade. Personal memory does, however, have an important role to play in illustrating an imagined national memory. As common themes of pain, loss, and death are explored through the body, this enables museum visitors to relate their lived experiences to those of the revolutionary generation. By positioning the immediacy of the body as an embodied form of knowledge alongside the universal experience of loss, pain, and grief, dress on display in the museum proposes to exhibit war through nationalising the individual male experience.

The body is a fundamental to national self-identification as stereotypical attributes of 'manliness' mirror characteristics of the nation as strong, brave, resilient, etc.[247] Dress is an

[246] Margaret Gibson, 'Melancholy Objects', *Mortality*, 9.4 (2004), 285–99, p. 290.
[247] Aidan Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884–1938* (London: Springer, 2016), p. 3; Beatty argues that, following the events of 1913–23, 'Irish nationalism was a concerted effort to disprove such stereotypes and

essential part of the materialisation and visualisation of these attributes, shaping how the body looks and feels in life and how it is remembered in death. Joseph Valente contends that manliness emerged as a 'leading trope of national self-determination'.[248] Therefore, in collecting dress from war or conflict, the national museum's remit is to interpret and display the male body in line with nationalistic tropes of manliness. Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf posit that gender is 'expressed, shaped and marked through the process of collecting'.[249]

Collections of the material culture of war are inherently gendered because of men's historically active roles in conflict, thus enhancing the stereotype of the image of the myth revolutionary hero.[250] I argue that contradictions and contestations lie in the objects that survive and purport to uphold such a myth. Intimate objects and embodied memories set a challenge to national history and myth-making through commemoration by bringing the individual and private body out of the collections and exhibitions of the national museum. Before moving on to my analysis of the exhibitions, collections, and objects in the NMI, however, it is first necessary to establish its history and its place in the nation-building project.

Part One: The National Museum of Ireland

The collections of the National Museum of Ireland, as it is known today, began with the purchase of the natural history collection of the German scientist Nathanael Gottfried Leske in 1792 by the Royal Dublin Society.[251] Emerging from the Age of Enlightenment at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century saw 'the museum', as a pantheon of cultural heritage, firmly positioned as a place of learning in society. This meant, of course, establishing a means of making visible the cultural pursuits of the empire and the advancement of humanity.[252] The museum became a place in which 'savage' civilisations could be examined alongside the ideals of progress of 19th century Britain. In this context museums functioned as an authority, dictating the heritage or history of its particular subject. Laurajane Smith describes heritage as a construct 'that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while negotiating and constructing a

create a more prideful self-image of a "white" nation. Crafting an image of strong and racially redeemed Irish men was a key part of this'.

[248] Joseph Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), p. 9.

[249] Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, 'Of mice and men: Gender identity in collecting', in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. by Susan Pearce (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 240–53 (p. 240).

[250] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Museums and the First World War: A Social History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 66–68.

[251] Nigel Monaghan, 'The Natural History Museum Dublin, Past and Future', *Museum Ireland*, 17, 2007, 48–52, p. 48.

[252] Hannah Turner, *Cataloguing Culture: Legacies of Colonialism in Museum Documentation* (Vancoucer: UBC Press, 2020), p. 12.

sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present.'[253] Museums facilitate this process of identity construction through, what Smith has coined, authorised heritage discourse or AHD. AHD, according to Smith is 'a professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations and dominates and regulates professional heritage practices.'[254] Collecting policies, conservation, display and environmental monitoring are professional practices of the museum which frame the cultural meaning and authenticity to the objects and the institution. What happens, however, when the museum goes from a position of imperial power and control to a site of nationalist dissent? Essentially the processes of authorised heritage discourse remain the same, thus the link with the past remains the same. However, the meaning of the museum and the objects it contains shift to respond to the needs of the present by creating narratives that echo the values of the nation. The adaptation of the authorised heritage discourse is where I identify the changing use and meaning of the museum and how certain bodies, or identities have been excluded as part of the process.

National museums are charged with representing the memories of its people within the framework of a collective history. The NMI's *Master Vision Statement – 2018–2032* sets forth this dual responsibility:

> The National Museum of Ireland (NMI) collects and preserves objects relating to the history and culture of Ireland, and its place in the wider world. These collections date back more than two centuries and provide a vital connection to our shared and individual past. The Museum strives to create, support and strengthen an expression of national pride.[255]

The 'connection to our shared and individual past' is at the crux of my questions regarding how the NMI, as a state organisation, curates the revolutionary body to align with the 'official' history of the revolution, as discussed in Chapter One. By setting out to 'create, support, and strengthen' national pride through its collections, the NMI opens itself to this line of questioning into where contested histories or contested bodies sit alongside the national museum's remit to evoke national pride.

The collection of any national museum, Elizabeth Crooke argues, legitimises the nation through the act of collecting, preserving, and exhibiting the past.[256] Crooke suggests that 'it is important to recognise that nationalism moulds the characteristics of the national to create a

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[253] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 3.
[254] Ibid., p. 4.
[255] 'Master Vision Statement, 2018–2032 – National Museum of Ireland' <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/About/Corporate-Information/Master-Vision-Statement-2018-2032> [accessed 22 October 2021].
[256] Elizabeth M. Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology, and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland: An Expression of National Life* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), p. 9.

popular and simplified ideology that better complements the political process'.[257] The politicisation of the national museum's collections is a process which involves selecting and collecting objects which are deemed to best reflect contemporary interpretations of a shared national history. In particular, Crooke argues that 'in order to understand the values held in Ireland that underpinned the establishment of a public museum, one must consider how important "the past", and the institutions that manage the past, were to Irish nationalism'.[258] The role of the state in funding the NMI filters exhibition programming and object acquisition through a political lens, as in the new Irish state that took over management of the museum with the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921, 'the past' was essential to supporting and legitimising Irish nationalism. As argued in Chapter One, the state has structured an official myth-history upon the events and immediate aftermath of Easter 1916, a structure to which, as this chapter demonstrates, the NMI has (in part) adhered, but which is called into question when the objects, rather than the institution, are a topic of investigation.

It is important, however, to understand the development of the NMI under the British government in order to ask questions about whose material objects have historically been collected and whose have been forgotten.[259] The national museum, which was established in 1792 under British rule, was originally called the Royal Dublin Society Museum (RDS Museum). It was managed from London and had a collection focussed solely on Irish antiquities and archaeology. The RDS Museum, according to Marie Bourke, developed along the same patterns of collecting as British and American museums of the same period.[260] Private collections of art and antiquities were donated piecemeal alongside funding from the government to acquire and conserve objects that were deemed to best reflect the nation's history. In 1877 the Museum of Science and Art was founded to fulfil the role of a national museum and become a centre of learning about Irish history specifically.[261] As the nationalist movement gained momentum in the early twentieth century and with the success of the Irish Revival movement, the question of national identity was raised concerning the purpose of the Museum of Science and Art. In 1908 the museum was renamed the National Museum of Science and Art under the directorship of Irish nationalist politician George Noble Plunkett (1851–1948).[262] In the years before the Home Rule Crisis in 1912, Plunkett worked to establish the museum as a centre of national learning in

[257] Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology, and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland,* p. 21.
[258] Ibid.,. 100.
[259] Marie Bourke, *The Story of Irish Museums, 1790–2000: Culture, Identity and Education* (Cork University Press, 2011), p. xxxi.
[260] Ibid., p. 427.
[261] Ibid., pp. 250–54.
[262] Ibid., pp. 171–72.

the arts and sciences, however the outbreak of political and militant tensions in 1912 marked a moment of change in the significance the museum and its collections for the nation and the Irish people.

As the museum was established prior to the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, it was imperative to reimagine a national museum which reflected the origins and identity of the new Irish state following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. In 1922 the museum was renamed the National Museum of Ireland. In 1924 the NMI came under the remit of the Department of Education, with Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945), a veteran of the Easter Rising, at the helm as Minister for Education. MacNeill commissioned a 1927 report that outlined the role of the NMI in the new Irish Free State:

> The main purpose of the National Museum of Ireland […] should be to accumulate, preserve and display such objects as may serve to increase and diffuse knowledge of Irish civilisation of the natural history of Ireland and of the relations of Ireland in these respects with other countries.[263]

The report highlights how key the museum was to the educational strategy of the state, which sought to school the nation about its shared history and, following the divisions of the Civil War, promote a common heritage through the national museum's collections. The report is filled with recommendations, including changing and expanding buildings, increasing and improving collections storage, and ensuring that 'fuller use of the Irish language should be made in the notices and labels of the Museum'.[264] However, the newly installed government was marred by political, social, and economic constraints which hindered any great plans to transform the National Museum from the British institutional structure into an Irish one.

The Second World War and the post-war depression of the 1950s meant that it was not until the 1960s that the government was able to make funding available for developments in the museum.[265] In 1984 all cultural institutions were moved from the Department of Education to the Department of the Taoiseach, which, according to Bourke, was an attempt to 'awaken the government to the importance of cultural heritage to the nation'.[266] In 1997 the NMI moved to Collins Barracks, where it remains today. Collins Barracks was a working military barracks, which was known as The Royal Barracks under British rule from 1702 until 1922, when it was handed over to the Irish Free State. The museum's relocation in 1997 consolidated the military

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[263] Lithberg, et al., *Report for the Committee of Enquiry into the Working if the National Museum* (Dublin Department of Education, 1927), quoted in: Bourke, *The Story of Irish Museums*, p. 330; see also: Crooke*, Politics, Archaeology, and the Creation of a National Musuem in Ireland*, pp. 141–47.
[264] D. O'Brien, et al., 'Report of the Committee of Enquiry' (Ministry of Education, Dublin, 1927), p. 10.
[265] Bourke, *The Story of Irish Museums*, pp. 337–38.
[266] Ibid., p. 342.

collections with the decorative arts and historical collections, resulting in the collection that exists today.

The NMI has four major departments: archaeology, natural history, decorative arts and history, and country life. This chapter is largely concerned with the decorative arts and history collection, within which each object is catalogued under four different object numbers: HA (Historical Arms and Armour Collection), HC (Historic Coins and Medals Collection), HH (General Historical Collection), and HE (Easter Week Collection).[267] The Easter Week collection consists of a broad range of material from the 1912–1923 period. It includes objects collected during and in the aftermath of the Rising as well as objects collected from the ensuing conflicts of the War of Independence and the Civil War. An array of commemorative materials have also been accessioned into the Easter Week Collection, including items from the 1966 semicentenary.

The history of the Easter Week Collection at the NMI reflects how the political agenda of the New Free State both shaped national memory of the Revolutionary Period and positioned the male body at the centre of the national story. The Easter Week collection largely came about because the wives, daughters and sisters of those men who had been involved in or were killed during the insurrection and tells the broader story of women as agents of history in periods of conflict when so many men are fighting, wounded or dead. Helen Ruth Gifford-Donnelly (1880–1971) was the driving force behind the collection of material from 1916. Gifford-Donnelly was an active nationalist and served in the St. Stephen's Green Garrison during the Rising and was a founding member of the Irish Citizen Army. As early as the 1920s she was in touch with the national museum about a collection of material relating to the Revolutionary Period.[268] In 1932 Gifford-Donnelly informed the museum of her intention to mount an exhibition about the Rising, and it is from this initial collection of souvenirs and objects that the Easter Week Collection at the NMI was formed. Helen Molony, Winnie Carnie, and Jinny Shanahan were the three women who organised the first commemoration of the Easter Rising in 1917, successfully hoisting a tricolour flag outside the GPO.[269] Molony, Carnie, Shanahan, and Clifford-Donnelly privileged the stories of the men who fought and died during the Rising even though many of them had played active combatant roles themselves. However, as Roisín Higgins argues 'through their own stories and lives, women provided messages for the future'.[270] In this way women

[267] 'Object Number Deciphered', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/The-Collections/Object-Number-Deciphered> [accessed 29 July 2019].
[268] Lar Joye and Brenda Malone, 'Displaying the Nation: The 1916 Exhibition at the National Museum of Ireland (1932–1991)', in *Making 1916: Material and Visual Culture of the Easter Rising*, ed. by Joanna Bruck and Lisa Godson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), pp. 180-194, p. 182.
[269] Roisín Higgins, 'Curators of Memory: Women and the Centenary of the Easter Rising', in *Women and the Decade of Commemorations*, ed. by Oona Frawley (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021), pp. 205–19, p. 212.
[270] Ibid., p. 213.

became the gatekeepers of material culture of the Revolutionary Period thus secured their own place in a history dominated by the stories of men.

The Easter Week collection's significance to the NMI is that its subject and constituent objects were collected in response to and during the revolution and not under British governance. One of the earliest objects from the 1916 Rising collected by the NMI was an Irish Volunteer tunic worn during Easter Week and found in Jacob's Biscuit Factory, one of the 1916 rebel strongholds, which was acquisitioned in 1917 and is a very early example of contemporary collection.[271] However it wasn't until the exhibition in 1932 that the museum began officially collecting objects relating to 1916 and in 1935 established the 'Easter Week Collection'.[272] A collection is a negotiation and a collaboration across time. Each custodian or keeper of the collection builds upon the work of the past while growing the collection in response to the present. The 'national' of the national museum is what is under negotiation as objects from the past are continually reframed to reflect the shifting characterisation of national identity. 'A museum's collection', according to Nicholas Saunders, 'comes alive through interpretive contextualisation that identifies object and individual (or a succession of individuals) who come into contact with each other – each adding a layer to the accretion of meanings'.[273] The material culture of war is constantly reinterpreted in relation to a contemporary understanding of the relationship between conflict and nation. How the Revolutionary Period has been collected and displayed is an active exchange between objects, the people who wore or used them, the people who collected them, and the curators who interpret and reinterpret them.

Much of the clothing and uniform accessioned as part of the Easter Week Collection is still in storage, including a wealth of Irish uniforms of different ranks and regimens from as early as the 18th century. The uniform collection from the Revolutionary Period is comprehensive, and includes examples of uniforms from Cumann Na mBan, the Irish Citizen Army, the Irish Volunteers and Na Fianna Eireann. Many of the best examples of these uniforms and those worn by significant figures are on display throughout the museum. The clothing in storage, however, offers a more nuanced and complex narrative including Patrick Pearse's academic robes, and almost over thirty items of clothing worn by Roger Casement throughout his life. Some of these items include, dinner jackets and trousers, silk ties and dress shirts, as well as Irish made linens and pyjamas, which will be discussed later this chapter.

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271 Joye and Malone, 'Displaying the Nation', pp. 185–86.
272 Ibid., p. 185.
273 Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Material Culture and Conflict: The Great War, 1914–2003', in *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, ed. by Nicholas J. Saunders (London: Psychology Press, 2004), pp. 5–25 (p. 6).

The NMI's origins chart the history of Anglo-Irish relations through the debate of what a national museum is and whose history it tells. This history is often contested, particularly when it comes to deciding what stories should be told and what bodies are made visible, and this is most evident in the display and interpretation of the First World War. Having focussed on the origins and significance of the Easter Week Collection for the NMI, I move on to analyse the contested history and bodies of the First World War as they have been negotiated as sites of memory in the NMI at the centenary of the conflict.

Part Two: Contested Bodies and the First World War

As of 2022, the Revolutionary Period was on display across three exhibitions at the National Museum: (1) *Soldiers and Chiefs – The Irish at War at Home and Abroad from 1550 to the present day*, which opened in 2006; (2) *Recovered Voices: Stories of the Irish at War, 1914–1915*, a display focussed solely on the First World War that opened in 2015; and (3) *Proclaiming a Republic*, which opened in 2016 for the centenary of the Rising and was the most extensive exhibition focussed on one conflict (it closed in 2020).

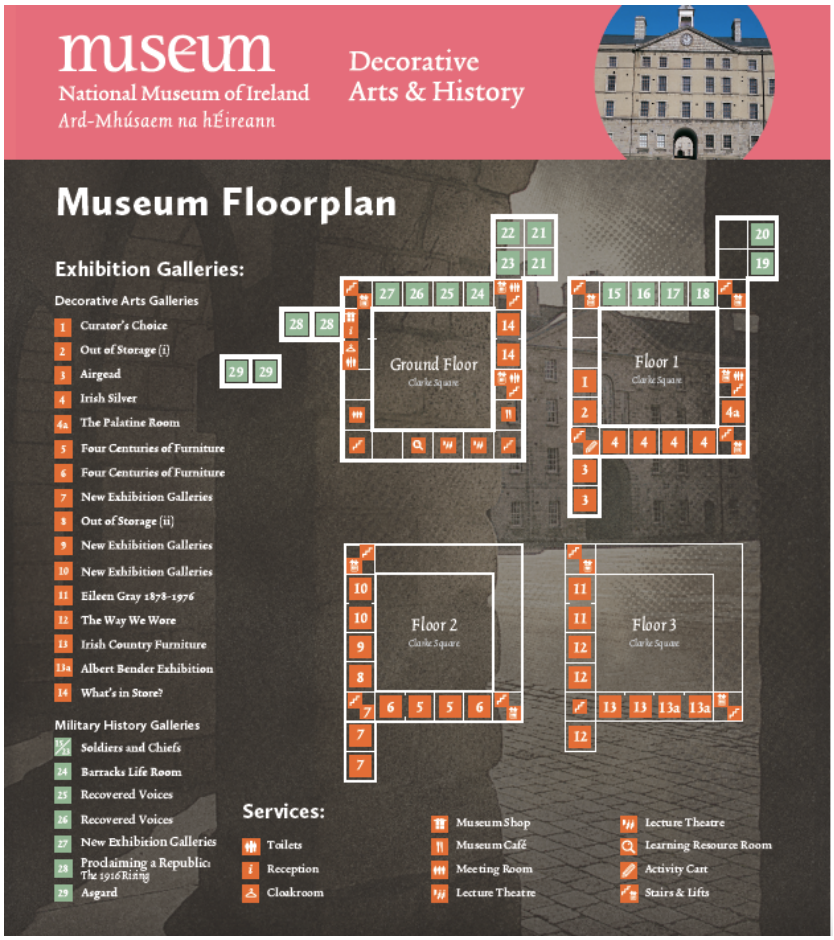

Figure 2.1 – Map of the National Museum of Ireland, https://www.museum.ie/, 2021

Each of these exhibits approached conflicts of the 1912–1923 period through a different lens in the interpretation of national memory. According to the museum's website, the *Proclaiming a Republic* exhibition 'serves to reflect on 100 years of collecting, commemorating and celebrating the physical objects that offer our last tangible links to the men, women and children of 1916'.[274] The museum floorplan (Figure 2.1) shows *Proclaiming a Republic* running across two gallery spaces (green boxes numbered 28 on the floorplan). While the floorplan is not to scale, the galleries have large footprint and contain almost 400 objects on display, including detailed interpretative panels as well as audio-visual and interactive displays. The *Soldiers and Chiefs* exhibit was curated across galleries 15 to 23 (Figure 2.1) and had over 1,000 objects on display. In January 2020, 50 new objects were added to Irish Wars (1919–1923) section of the exhibition, including the death masks of Arthur Griffith (1871–1922), Michael Collins, Cathal Brugha (1874–1922), and Terence

[274] 'Proclaiming a Republic: The 1916 Rising', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Museums/Decorative-Arts-History/Exhibitions/Proclaiming-a-Republic-The-1916-Rising> [accessed 3 November 2021].

MacSwiney (1879–1920).[275] These *Soldiers and Chiefs* galleries explore the broad experience of soldiering from 1550 to the twenty-first century, and they incorporate a 'Barracks Life' room in which visitors can 'discover what life in the Barracks was like as a soldier in the 19th and 20th centuries'.[276] With just over half of the museum's entire gallery spaces dedicated to military history, the Figure 2.1 floorplan reads as a map of national remembering. Two of the galleries are dedicated to the First World War-focussed *Recovered Voices* exhibit, which leads on from the Barracks Life room. It specifically focuses on the stories of 21 Irish men and women in 1914 and 1915 to explore the experience of war at home and abroad. The choice of 1915 as the endpoint for the *Recovered Voices* exhibition avoided the need to engage with the contentious history of the Irishmen who fought with the British while the revolution was beginning in Ireland.

The commemoration of the First World War has been a point of contention for Irish institutions since the end of the Civil War, often being overlooked in favour of the anniversary of the 1916 Rising. The significance of 1916 was compounded in the sectarian calendar as unionists commemorated the Somme in opposition to commemorations of the Rising by nationalists. 'The Great War', according to Emilie Pine, 'suffers from both an absence and an excess of memory, both of which forms of memory have ossified over the decades into an intransigent entrenched political remembrance culture'.[277]

In Ireland, commemoration of the Revolutionary Period has focussed heavily on the bodies of key political and military personalities and, as discussed in Chapter One, a temporal framework built around the events and personalities of 1916. The result being that those people and events on the periphery of Easter 1916 have been lost or forgotten, either intentionally or unintentionally. Pine suggests that, since the ceasefire in Northern Ireland in 1994, there have been attempts in the Republic to restore in the national narrative the memory of the men who died between 1914 and 1918.

Recovered Voices was a gesture towards bringing forgotten histories into the museum at the centenary. Most notably, however, its recovery of voices from the First World War only extended as far as 1915, ensuring there was no crossover between the war and the 1916 Rising. In an interview about the *Soldiers and Chiefs* exhibition with Brenda Malone, military history

[275] '21 January 2020: Launch of Refurbished and Reimagined Irish Wars 1919 & 1923 at the National Museum of Ireland', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Press-and-Media-Information/Latest-Media-Releases/21-January-2020-Launch-of-refurbished-and-reimagin> [accessed 2 July 2020].
[276] 'Soldiers and Chiefs – The Irish at War at Home and Abroad from 1550 to the Present Day', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Museums/Decorative-Arts-History/Exhibitions/Soldiers-and-Chiefs-The-Irish-at-War-at-Home-and-A> [accessed 4 November 2021].
[277] Emilie Pine, *The Politics of Irish Memory: Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture* (Basingstoke: AIAA, 2010), p. 127.

curator at the NMI, Malone suggested that even after the exhibition opened in 2006, consolidating the history of the Rising with that of the First World War remained contentious:

> I suppose the controversial part of that was actually having 1916 and the Irish who served in World War One in the same room as each other, that was really controversial and ground-breaking at the time […] for many years we had requests afterwards to provide a tour of the 1916 bit – but can we please not mention World War One.[278]

Malone highlights one of the key issues with the material culture of this period – they existed simultaneously. Objects that survive from the 1916 Rising in Dublin can also speak to experiences of the First World War in Ireland. Keith Jeffrey also argues that the memory of the Irish in the First World War was sidelined in the new Irish State, which sought to foreground the memory of the 1916 Rising under Éamon de Valera.[279] The Irish state was actively not remembering, rather than forgetting the role that Ireland played in the War. The 2006 *Soldiers and Chiefs* exhibition was the first permanent display at the NMI to deal with Irish involvement in the First World War.[280]

Consolidating the contested history of the First World War and the Rising in this 'group-breaking' display emerges in the juxtaposition of the real and the replica. This is an act of curating the memory of war, as is made clear in one particular case where a mannequin in a replica uniform is displayed behind glass alongside real objects of war (Figure 2.2). Across the exhibition mannequins are used as stand-ins for bodies, this case, however, focusses specifically on the 1916 Battle of the Somme, a pivotal moment in the demarcation of the British and the Irish memory of conflict in 1916.

[278] Brenda Malone, Personal Interview, 2018.
[279] Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 109–43.
[280] Richard S. Grayson, 'From Genealogy to Reconciliation: Public Engagement with Remembrance of the First World War in Ireland', *Nordic Irish Studies*, 13.2 (2014), 99–113, p. 105.

Figure 2.2 – Battle of the Somme Case in the NMI Soldiers and Chiefs *Exhibition (Personal Photograph), 2019*

The Figure 2.2 case displays a variety of original objects: a German Army helmet, a British Army helmet, the medals of General William Hickie (1865–1950) of the 16th Irish Division, an Irish Volunteer Belt worn by T.F. Gill throughout the war, a field telephone, a rifle and a German machine gun from the battle. Alongside the authentic objects is a mannequin, who is positioned as though he is about to activate a hand grenade. A label behind the mannequin tells visitors he is a bomber in the 36th Ulster Division. The 36th Ulster Division was made up of members of the Ulster Volunteer Force, which was set up in 1912 to defend the union in Ireland. The mannequin's membership is the division is identifiable via the red hand of Ulster just visible on its left shoulder (Figure 2.3). The losses suffered by the Ulster Division during the Somme, according to Keith Jeffery 'came to be associated with the Freedom of Ulster Unionists to run their own polity […] for them the "blood sacrifice" of the Somme was equal and opposite to that of Easter 1916'.[281]

[281] Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War*, p. 133.

Figure 2.3 – Close-up of Mannequin in the Battle of the Somme Case in the NMI Soldiers and Chiefs *Exhibition (Personal Photograph), 2019*

The life-like or 'life-cast' (i.e., with features made to appear living) mannequin with a painted face and hands wearing replica uniform and helmet offers an impression of reality in the pursuit of historical truth. From their nineteenth-century origins, Jessica Stephenson outlines how 'life-cast' mannequins have developed in the twenty-first century into a 'reclaiming of personhood, in the sense that mannequins have recently become surrogates for lost bodies, peoples, and personal and collective histories'.[282] Not made in the likeness of any particular person, this mannequin is dressed as a unionist, not a nationalist soldier. According to Bridget Cooks and Jennifer Wagelie, 'mannequins' hyper-realistic features support the authority of the museum through the appearance of objective authenticity'.[283] The life-like mannequin of the 36th Ulster Division soldier is a manifestation of the NMI striving towards objective remembering by reclaiming the personhood of contested history of the First World War.

Rather than bringing history to life, the mannequin emphasises the false body and a replica uniform without 'testimony to the history which is has experienced'.[284] The false body and the replica are curated within the case as fictionalised embodiments of war. There is no real or authentic memory of the Battle of the Somme imbued within the figure or the uniform,

[282] Jessica Stephenson, 'The Museum Mannequin as "Body Without Organs"', in *Mannequins in Museums: Power and Resistance on Display*, ed. by Bridget R. Cooks and Jennifer J. Wagelie (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 25-44 (p. 28).
[283] Bridget R. Cooks and Jennifer J. Wagelie, 'Introduction', in *Mannequins in Museums: Power and Resistance on Display* (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 1–11 (p. 1).
[284] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 2002), p. 215.

establishing a distance between the real and the imagined legacy of the Somme. Walter Benjamin explains how the 'aura' of the authentic object is testimony to its unique position in time and space – in this case, for example, the British Army helmet dating from 1914–1918. Displaying the life-like mannequin in the glass case alongside authentic war objects creates a dialogue between the absent bodies who wore the helmet or fired the rifle and the replica body, creating 'conduits for telling stories in a manner that curators think *should* be told, for better or worse'.[285] Once displayed in the museum, a replica presents a new means of curating memory, one which does not rely on the aura of the authentic object. The replica opposes the idea of memory as fixed or authenticated through 'real' objects that bear testimony to a moment in time and space; instead, history can be replicated to evoke, enhance, and consolidate memory.

There are life-like mannequins in replica unforms across the *Soldiers and Chiefs* galleries, including a rebel from the 1798 rebellion in undershirt and britches and a Jacobite Grenadier from 1691 in full scarlet uniform. According to Stewart, for the body to become knowable, humans continually seek out self-identifying features of what is innately human in the subject. 'The face', Stewart explains, 'becomes a test, a space which must be "read" and interpreted in order to exist […] the apprehending of the face's image becomes a mode of possession'.[286] Giving a face to history enables the possession of intangible memory.

While replicas serve to illustrate bodies as they could have looked and dressed, the faces discussed so far are not those of real historical personalities. When the replica is the face of someone who lived, how are the issues of authentic memory and contested history dealt with alongside the individual experience of war? I address this question by focussing on the bust of a soldier on display in the *Soldiers and Chiefs* galleries.

The bust of an Irish-Canadian soldier on display in the case next to the 36th Ulster Division bomber discussed above. Irish-born Canadian soldier, Thomas Lawless (1888–1917), died in France during the First World War. His body was assumed lost until skeletal remains were discovered by accident on a French building site in 2003. The remains were positively identified in 2011, whereupon the Canadian Department of National Defence commissioned a forensic reconstruction of his face, which was acquired by the NMI in 2014 (Figure 2.4).[287]

[285] Cooks and Wagelie, 'Introduction', p. 2.
[286] Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 125.
[287] 'National Museum of Ireland Acquires Forensic Facial Reconstruction Sculpture of an Irish WW1 Soldier', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/Corporate-Media/Media-Information/Press-Releases/May-2014/National-Museum-of-Ireland-acquires-forensic-facia> [accessed 27 June 2019].

Figure 2.4 – Forensic Reconstruction of the Face of Thomas Lawless in the NMI Soldiers and Chiefs *Exhibition, (Personal Photograph), 2019*

The bust further illustrates the museum's efforts to recover national memory of the First World War. It is also an example of how the real body of war can materialise in the museum collection outside of the acquisition and display of human remains. Unlike the exhumation of Casement discussed in Chapter One, in which Casement's body was offered up as an icon in the performance of nationalism and revolutionary heroism, the exhumation of Lawless's remains was the result of an accident and related to an ordinary solider. Lawless's body, discovered and exhumed from a building site, resides in the museum, not as an act of political mythmaking, but as an act of reconciliation for a forgotten individual. Facial-reconstruction technology forces archaeologists and historians to constantly revaluate 'the very individuality of these remains and the realization that the interpretations of their remains are firmly rooted in the demands and needs of our own time'.[288]

Replicas and reconstructions reassert individual agency within the grand historical narratives of war and allow museums – and even nations – a way in to re-evaluate contested histories. While memorials such as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier seek to establish sites of 'ghostly *national* imaginings' built upon the ambiguity of the entombed, in the context of the

[288] Minou Schraven, 'Likeness and likeability: Human remains, facial reconstructions, and identity-making in museum displays', in *Mannequins in Museums: Power and Resistance on Display* (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 44–61 (p. 57).

museum, history can be repossessed by giving it a face, real or imagined.[289] There is, however, a singularity to the representation of masculinity in war throughout the *Soldiers and Chiefs* exhibition and in the two cases I have discussed. Military masculinity is tied to the construction of national identity, focussing on narratives of bravery, strength, and sacrifice. The replica uniform and the mannequin allow the national museum control of over the body being represented: a young, white, non-disabled man frozen in the act of committing an act of violence. In a similar portrayal of military masculinity as bravery, Lawless's face is captured in bronze with a faint smile, as though in death the ultimate sacrifice of dying for one's country is something to be proud of. In the NMI the history of the First World War has been imagined and replicated, where it was once lost or forgotten, by engaging real and replicated bodies to bring forward the embodied memory of war.

From the examples discussed it is clear that, in curating bodies of the First World War, the NMI has the potential to unfix memory from authentic objects. There are limits to these representations of First World War bodies, however, as the bodies remained fixed within the historical context of military masculinity. Although these are just two examples in the NMI, I have demonstrated that bodies in the museum can authenticate the experience of war in the absence of or alongside the 'real' object. From the replica to the real, I move on to analyse how the trace of the body on an object can transform both body and object into a 'person-thing', which impacts perceptions of time.

Part Three: Proximity and the Person-Thing

So far in this chapter I have discussed First World War-related displays and the ways in which the body has been replicated, reconstructed, and displayed to address a contested history of the War in the NMI. However, the commemoration of conflict in the NMI is not neatly divided along the lines of contested-uncontested or nationalist-unionist histories. There are significant grey areas of the Revolutionary Period, including people, places, and incidents which have been sidelined in favour of certain conflicts, such as the 1916 Rising. As outlined in Chapter One, since partition in 1923 the Irish state has constructed revolutionary history around the events and heroes of the 1916 Rising, and this is reflected in the collecting patters of the NMI. It is therefore unsurprising that objects from the War of Independence and the Civil War only make up a small part of the overall military-history collection.

[289] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 9.

When I enquired about these gaps within the collection, Brenda Malone explained: 'It looks like the National Museum of Ireland doesn't want to talk about the Civil War, that nobody ever wants to talk about the Civil War, and that's not really true, it's just really hard to find stuff'.[290] Malone went on to suggest that the lack of material is due to the difficult position these conflicts occupy in national memory:

> I think that's a real reflection of how people felt about each phase, you know the 1916 Rising was glorious, the War of Independence was a bit dirty, and then the Civil War was filthy. You can even see it in the [Bureau of Military History] statements. Nobody ever wants to talk about the Civil War. It's completely reflected in the material culture.[291]

Although institutions like the NMI do engage with the themes, events, and personalities of the Civil War, the silence of past generations has created a void in the historical records and material culture of the Civil War.

Figure 2.5 – Civilian 'Uniform' of Liam Lynch and Greatcoat of Michael Collins from the Soldiers and Chiefs *Exhibit, (Personal Photograph), 2019*

The final section of the *Soldiers and Chiefs* gallery at the NMI deals with the period of the Civil War and partition and is dominated by two full-length dress display cases. One contains the

[290] Malone, Personal Interview.
[291] Ibid.

greatcoat of Michael Collins, representing the pro-Treaty side. The other features the civilian 'uniform' of Liam Lynch, representing the anti-Treaty side (Figure 2.5). These two figures stand side by side facing the exit to the gallery, and there is a finality about the layout of the objects representing two men who died as a direct result of the side they chose after the Treaty was signed.

Figure 2.6 – Michael Collins, National Library of Ireland, Photograph, BEA51, 1922

Michael Collins (Figure 2.6) was a key political figure who took part in the 1916 Rising and became director of intelligence for the provisional Irish Republic during the War of Independence. During this period Collins stayed out of the public eye, evading photographers hoping to identify the man who was leading such a successful campaign of terror.[292] Collins became Commander in Chief of the new Free State Army, having negotiated the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 in the absence of Éamon de Valera, president of the provisional Irish Republic. After the Treaty was signed, Collins became very visible as a military leader and national hero. Known as 'The Big Fella', Collins's physical presence was part of his heroic demeanour, and while he accepted the Treaty to end the war, Collins had a reputation for violence both

[292] Michael Foy, 'Michael Collins and the Intelligence War', in *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, ed. by John Crowley, Donal Ó Drisceoil, Mike Murphy, and John Borganovo (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), pp. 420–26.

personally and as leader of the IRA. His physicality, his body and his ability to inflict pain combined to create a leader both feared and revered by a war-weary nation. His new position was short-lived, however, as he was assassinated in County Cork in August 1922. The greatcoat on display in the NMI is the one he was wearing on the day he was shot.

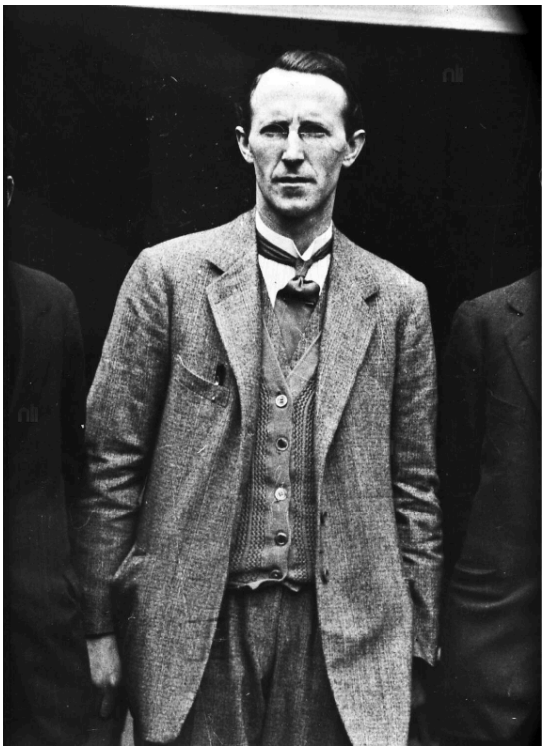

Figure 2.7 – Liam Lynch, National Library of Ireland, Photograph, INDH559A, 1912

Liam Lynch (Figure 2.7) also fought in the War of Independence and became Commander in Chief of the Irish Republican Army 1922. Lynch opposed the Treaty and the dominion status it afforded Ireland, believing this disestablished the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916. Lynch hoped to avoid a split in the republican movement, however. When fighting broke out between the pro- and anti-Treaty forces in June 1922, Lynch led the IRA into the first clashes of the Civil War. As the war progressed both sides became more entrenched in the rhetoric of their cause and bitter resentment prevailed, as Lynch wrote in 1923: 'Free State supporters are traitors and deserve the latter's stark fate'.[293] Lynch was killed in 1923 by pro-Treaty forces, and the civilian clothes on display are those he was wearing on the day he was shot.

[293] Liam Lynch, 'Liam Lynch IRA General Orders.', Twomey Papers, UCD P67/2, 1922.

Figure 2.8– Michael Collins greatcoat, Soldiers and Chiefs*, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.42a, 1922*

Collins's greatcoat (Figure 2.8) is the military coat issued to the new Free State National Army after the signing of the treaty.[294] The National Army, of which Collins was Commander in Chief, was issued with new uniforms to separate the official armed forces of the Free State from the anti-Treaty forces still active around the country. The uniform was grey-green, cut in a design similar to that of the British Army with cloth obtained from the British Disposals Board, a branch of the War Office which dealt with surplus military supplies.[295] The wearing of the National Army uniform became a symbol – either of a betrayal of the Republic declared in 1916 or of a new period of peace and security with the retreat of British forces from Ireland. Dan Breen (1894–1969), who fought alongside Collins in the IRA during the War of Independence, was vehemently opposed to the Anglo-Irish Treaty and, in a flyer distributed in 1922, appealed to his 'old comrades now in the Free State army' to resign and instead stand with him to defend the Republic:

[294] Brendan O'Shea and Gerry White, *Irish Volunteer Soldier 1913–23* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003).
[295] Houses of the Oireachtas, 'CEISTEANNA—QUESTIONS. – NATIONAL ARMY UNIFORM. – Dáil Éireann (3rd Dáil) – Friday, 1 Dec 1922 – Houses of the Oireachtas', 1922, Ireland <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1922-12-01> [accessed 16 November 2021]; Donal MacCarron, *The Irish Defence Forces Since 1922* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), pp. 4–5.

> ARE YOU AWARE that YOU are the Black and Tans of to-day, the only difference is the uniform? ARE YOU AWARE that the death of CATHAL BRUGHA is a damnable and eternal stain on the uniform?[296]

Breen focussed on the visibility of the National Army uniform to shame those men who had accepted the Free State and joined the National Army. Uniform was key to establishing a dominant national identity, one which accepted the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, as well as a hegemonic masculinity through the authority of the National Army upon the departure of the British forces.

The National Army uniform was the public manifestation of Irish masculinity as authorised by the state; thus, it also became an object of dissention amongst anti-Treatyites. A series of comic sketches attributed to Constance Markievicz (1868–1927) and dating from 1922 reside in the collections at the National Library of Ireland. They capture the mood of the anti-Treaty movement towards the National Army uniform. In one illustration (Figure 2.9), a 'Free Stater' gives a uniform to a member of the Black and Tans and says: 'Micky has sent me a nice lot of green uniforms for you boys, you can have just as much fun in green as you used to have in your Black & Tans'.[297] It echoes the belief that the National Army was simply an extension of British authority in Ireland. The uniform was a device through which to reimagine masculine authority in the Free State and a symbol around which to build a narrative of betrayal of the heroes of 1916.

[296] Dan Breen, 'Dan Breen's Appeal to His Old Comrades Now in the Free State Army', 1922, EPH D135, National Library of Ireland. Cathal Brugha was an anti-treaty member of the Dáil who was killed by the Free State forces when he took up arms against them after the outbreak of the Civil War.
[297] Constance de Markievicz, 'Reinforcements for the Free Staters', 1922, National Library of Ireland, PD 3076 TX 17.

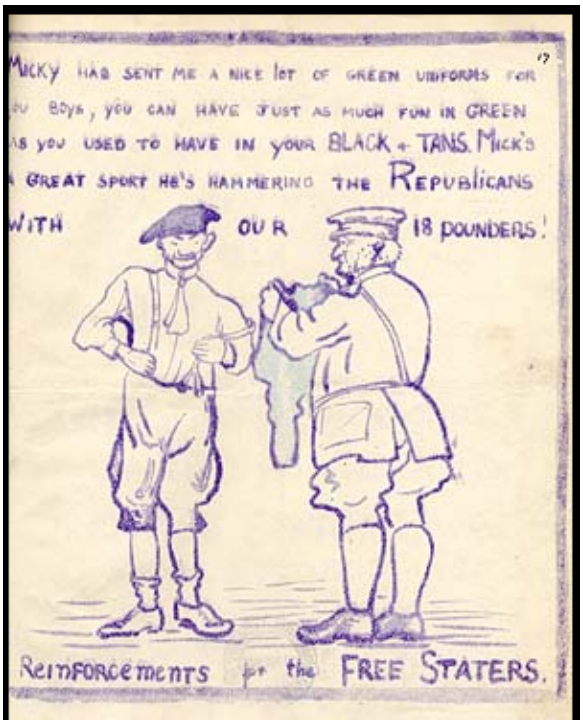

Figure 2.9 – 'Reinforcements for the Free Staters', National Library of Ireland, Print, INDH559A, 1912

Michael Collins wore his new uniform on an August 1922 trip to his hometown of Cork to inspect the areas regained by the National Army. In an area known as Béal na Bláth, Collins's cortege came across a roadblock, which turned out to be an ambush by anti-Treaty forces. A shootout ensued, and Collins was shot in the back of the head. According to the museum catalogue, the double-breasted, dark-green wool coat is stained with blood under the collar on the right-hand side, and there is dried mud on the coat's hem on the right-hand side from where he fell in the road.[298]

In the NMI display, the mannequin wearing the greatcoat is above standing level, giving the impression that the man who wore it was very tall. The coat, as it is on display in the gallery (Figure 2.5 above), is form-fitted to the mannequin, creating a sense of mass within the object even though the mannequin has no hands, legs, or head. The coat has a heavy, physical presence and bears witness to the man who was once described as a 'hefty young man with a heavy jowl' and 'tremendous strength [in] his shoulders.'[299] The physical aura of Collins is made tangible through the greatcoat as manifestation of his commanding military presence and all that the Free State was seeking to establish through a new uniformed authority in Ireland.

[298] 'Greatcoat/Michael Collins', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://collections.museum.ie/en-IE/Collections-Research> [accessed 27 March 2022].
[299] Robert Brennan, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 779, pp. 404–5.

In the second case next to Collins's is the brown jacket, waistcoat and breeches worn by Liam Lynch on the day he was shot in April 1923 (Figure 2.10). The label next to the case notes that the clothing is the 'uniform' Lynch was wearing on the day he died and describes him as 'a skilled and determined fighter, [who] was one of the last casualties of the Civil War.'[300] The National Army, under Collins, had been tracking Lynch's activities as Chief of Staff of the IRA, and while on his way to the secret IRA headquarters in the Knockmealdown Mountains, County Tipperary, Lynch and members of the IRA were ambushed by the National Army. Lynch was shot in the chest and died later in a military hospital in nearby Clonmel under the watch of Collins's men.[301] Lynch was described by Dan Breen, a member of the IRA, as 'every inch a soldier. He stood six feet in height, and from his bearing one sensed that he was a born leader'.[302] According to the museum catalogue, the back of the waistcoat is stained with Lynch's blood on the back left from the gunshot that killed him. While the waistcoat, jacket, and trousers are Lynch's, the Irish Volunteer belt, gaiters, and boots added by the museum for the purposes of the display did not belong to Lynch.[303] The addition of these items militarises Lynch's civilian clothes (in keeping with Collins's greatcoat) and constructs a balanced narrative of military masculinity for both men, creating displays of equal sacrifice on both sides of the conflict.

[300] 'Liam Lynch', Caption, National Museum of Ireland, 2019.
[301] 'Liam Lynch Wounded', *The Irish Times*, 12 April 1923.
[302] Dan Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (Dublin: Anvil Books, 1981), p. 105.
[303] 'Braces/Liam Lynch, 1923', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://collections.museum.ie/en-IE/Collections-Research> [accessed 21 November 2021].

Figure 2.10– Brown Jacket, Waistcoat, and Breeches Worn by Liam Lynch, Soldiers and Chiefs*, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EWL.234a, 1923*

National memory of the Civil War is presented in the materiality of objects that tell of the deaths of two military leaders.[304] The male body is used to create a symmetrical narrative of national loss, highlighting the cost for Ireland on both sides, and the presence of blood in both objects is key. The aura of these objects lies in the blood of the men who died wearing them. The blood, so much part of the materiality of the objects, positions them in the specific time and space of the two leaders' deaths. The aura, according to Walter Benjamin, is the object's 'presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be', and the trace of the original, in this case the presence of blood, 'is impossible to perform on a reproduction'.[305] Blood is often preserved as part of the 'true nature' of the object. In the case of Lynch's waistcoat and Collins's coat, their true nature is the time and space in which the men died.[306] The death of a national hero or military leader signals institutional practices that collect and preserve the objects that not only attest to the person's life but also their death. The ideology of 'blood sacrifice' advocated by revolutionary leaders like Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and

304 Gavin Foster, *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class, and Conflict* (London: Springer, 2015), p. 5.
305 Benjamin, *Illuminations*, p. 214.
306 Dinah D. Eastop and Mary M. Brooks, 'To Clean or Not to Clean: The Value of Soils and Creases', in *ICOM Committee for Conservation, 11th Triennial Meeting, Edinburgh, Scotland* (London: James & James, 1996), pp. 687–91.

Padraig Pearse became a defining aspect in martyrising the deaths of the leaders of the Rising and figures like Collins and Lynch.[307] Blood in these objects bears witness to the fatality of blood sacrifice, thereby embodying the revolutionary ideology of Irish nationalism and exemplifying the revolutionary masculinity in the collections of the national museum.

The display of blood-stained objects only progresses the narrative of revolution and sacrifice so far, as the example of Collins's blood-stained cap demonstrates. The museum's acquisition records reveal that the greatcoat was donated to the museum in 1923 along with a cap, which was heavily stained with Collins's blood, bone, and brain tissue.[308] The cap was on display with the greatcoat until 2018, when it was taken off display. According to Head of Collections Audrey Whitty,

> The cap is no longer on display and one of the reasons is due to the sensitivity of General Collins's blood and organic matter on the object, which is an integral part of the artefact itself […] Curators, in taking the decision on the cap, realised the coat, with the mud stains and blood, would have told the story on its own, regardless.[309]

Malone and the wider museum staff decided that, because of the amount of bloodstaining the cap, it 'fell into the realm of human remains at this point and added nothing to the narrative in the case'.[310] The museum's policy concerning the display of human remains outlines that 'NMI will not display the remains of identified individuals, unless there are exceptional reasons for doing so'.[311] As the cap was deemed an object of human remains from an identified individual, the museum could no longer justify its inclusion in the Civil War display.

When the cap was taken off display as an object of national memory, however, its absence became the focus of ancestral history, bringing to light the contentious issue of interpretation within the museum and the question of who ultimately controls the narrative of revolutionary heroism. Robert Pierse, a grandnephew of Michael Collins, described the NMI's decision as 'political correctness gone wrong', suggesting that updated museum ethics with regards to the display of human remains were an attempt to rewrite the history of Collins's sacrifice.[312] Collins's grandniece, Fidelma Collins, shared this view, arguing that 'of course, there's going to be some blood but that's reality, that's the history of it. There's no point in trying to

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307 R.F. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890–1923* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. xiiv.
308 'Acquisitions', 1923, National Museum of Ireland Archive, NMIAS.AI.EWD.0091.001.00016(10).
309 Jimmy Woulfe, 'Michael Collins' Bloodied Cap Taken off Display', *Irish Examiner*, 2018 <https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30892477.html> [accessed 7 November 2021].
310 Malone, Personal Interview.
311 'NMI Human Remains Policy 2019–2023' (National Museum of Ireland, 2019), p. 3.
312 '"Political Correctness Gone Wrong" – Descendant of Michael Collins on Museum's "Ethical" Withdrawal of Collins' Bloodstained Cap from Shooting', *Independent* <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/political-correctness-gone-wrong-descendant-of-michael-collins-on-museums-ethical-withdrawal-of-collins-bloodstained-cap-from-shooting-39937109.html> [accessed 20 November 2021].

airbrush the history out or bury it, it's the fact'.[313] The controversy surrounding the removal of the cap was perceived by Collins's descendants as an attempt to cover up or rewrite the 'reality' of history. The 'real' version of history and the tension between state and ancestral memory are in the proximity of Collins's body to the cap; the proximity of his body – his blood, bone, and tissue present in the fibres of the cap – altered the materiality and meaning of the object. The cap was so saturated with his body that it was recategorised as human remains within the legal and ethical policies of the state and the museum, while at the same time it was transubstantiated into the body of Collins as a revolutionary martyr.[314]

The fusing of body and object alters its materiality and categorisation within the context of national heroism, as it would with a religious martyr or saint. Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey examine how objects permeated with the bodies of saints or martyrs through blood or hair 'operated as memory forms that were simultaneously persons and things'.[315] Collins's greatcoat and cap and Lynch's waistcoat and jacket witnessed the deaths of their wearers, memorialising their bodies through blood to become 'person-things' – neither object nor body but a hybrid. The trace of the body on the object can shift and alter the 'semi-permeable […] boundaries between object and subject', as described by Patrick Geary in his investigation of medieval relics.[316] Relics and holy textiles bearing the marks of sacred bodies 'offered a particularly intimate material manifestation of the presence of God and his saints', according to Medieval historian Anne E. Lester.[317] Lester analysed the Veil of Veronica, a sweat cloth said to be imprinted with an image of the face of Christ from when Saint Veronica wiped the sweat and blood from his face during the Stations of the Cross, which demonstrates that these kinds of devotional textiles can occupy spaces that are 'both mundane and sacred'.[318] The Shroud of Turin is another example of a holy textile which is professed to be imbued with the blood and image of Christ.[319]

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313 Rónán Duffy, 'Explainer: The Curious Case of Michael Collins' Bloodstained Cap Being Removed from Museum Display', *TheJournal.Ie* <https://www.thejournal.ie/history-michael-collins-5320021-Jan2021/> [accessed 20 November 2021].
314 'NMI Human Remains Policy 2019–2023'; *General Scheme of a Human Tissue (Transplantation, Post-Mortem, Anatomical Examination, and Public Display) Bill*, 2019 <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/fe241f-general-scheme-of-a-human-tissue-transplantation-post-mortem-anatomi/> [accessed 2 December 2021].
315 Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2001), p. 134.
316 Patrick Geary, 'Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 169–92 (p. 188).
317 Anne E. Lester, 'Intimacy and Abundance: Textile Relics, the Veronica, and Christian Devotion in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade', *Material Religion*, 14.4 (2018), 533–44, p. 536.
318 Ibid., p. 536.
319 Discovered in the twelfth century, the linen cloth is over 14-feet in length and depicts the impression of a male body purported to be that of Christ. Giulio Fanti and Pierandrea Malfi, *The Shroud of Turin: First Century after Christ!* (Singapore: Jenny Stanford Publishing, 2020).

When viewed through a lens of intimate bodily pain and death, the 'person-thing' of a national, rather than religious, leader shifts the temporal dimensions of the revolutionary body. The 'person-thing' does not sit comfortably within the cycle of state history and the pantheon of revolutionary masculinity as it moves between and across public-private and state-individual boundaries. To further illustrate this, I want to give one final example which establishes how the 'person-thing' can reject notions of history as a fixed temporal structure and, instead, embody memory in which the past and present intersect and coexist in a state of flux. The final object is an undershirt which tells the story of national conflict and personal sacrifice.

Objects designed to sit next to the skin are some of the most intimate items that can be displayed in a museum, but they are also some of the most difficult pieces to exhibit, particularly if they are linked to a public figure whose private or intimate life is not included as a part of the museum's interpretation of the individual's life or work. Underwear, tights, socks, bloomers, boxers, and even pyjamas are garments put on the body in private, and they are made to remain hidden to protect or shape the body, create warmth, or form a barrier between the body and outer layers of clothing.[320] In opposition to this, outer layers of clothing, such as the uniforms discussed above, communicate political allegiances, signal military status, and aid in the creation of public identities. What, then, is the impact of displaying intimate and mundane garments in the interpretation of a public, political, or military figure for the purposes of commemorating conflict?

Figure 2.11 – Undershirt Worn by James Connolly, Soldiers and Chiefs*, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EWL.292.1, 1916*

[320] Eleri Lynn, *Underwear: Fashion in Detail* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2014).

An example of the tension between the public and private body on display is the undershirt worn by James Connolly, leader of the Irish Citizen Army during the Rising in 1916. The shirt, pictured in Figure 2.11, is a heavy wool undershirt, with a bloodstain near the right armhole, which would have been worn under a cotton outer shirt or shirt front with a collar attached. Over this he would have worn a waistcoat and a jacket, as seen in a 1911 photograph of Connolly (Figure 2.12). More broadly, the undershirt serves multiple functions: it is a piece of underwear; it is a signifier of occupation, class, and gender; it provides warmth; and it is an intimate object that acts as a boundary between the skin and the outer layers of clothing, which was made to be hidden and unseen.[321] The significance of the shirt and revolutionary masculinities are analysed further in Chapters Three and Four. Initially, however, I focus my analysis on the undershirt as the private object of a public figure and the impact its display has on viewers' experiences of revolutionary time.

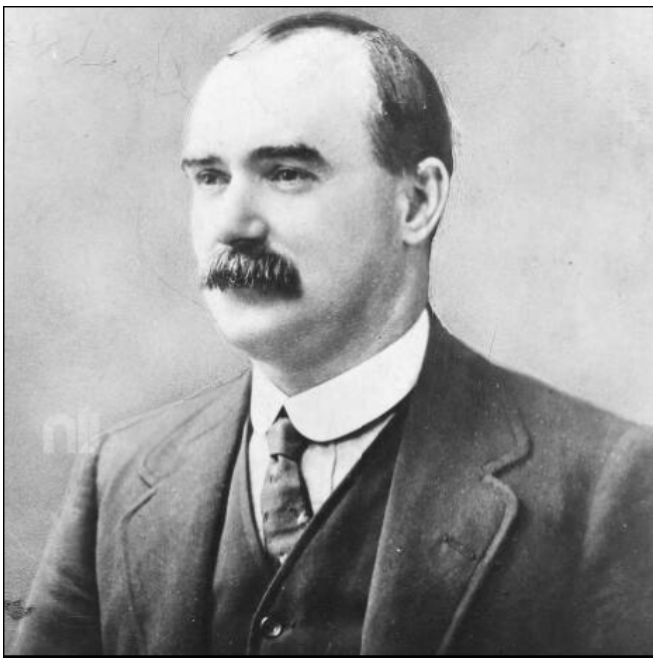

Figure 2.12– James Connolly, Irish Political Figures Photographic Collection, National Library of Ireland, NPA POLF52, 1911

In Western clothing traditions the undershirt dates back to medieval Europe, when shirts were worn under outer layers of clothing to protect the body from rough wool or cloth woven with metal thread. Worn by both sexes, undershirts were generally made from linen or hemp, but silk shirts were also worn by wealthier classes.[322] Shaun Cole describes how during this period the shirt was 'simply made of front and back sections joined by seams across the shoulders and

[321] Shaun Cole, *The Story of Men's Underwear* (New York: Parkstone International, 2018).
[322] Ibid., p. 12.

down the sides, with a neck opening large enough to slip over the head, and simple straight-cut cuff-less sleeves.'[323]

Connolly's shirt largely follows this simple pattern with the addition of arm-hole seams, shaped sleeves, cuffs, and buttons on the shirt front. The shirt continues to be worn as a piece of underwear and outerwear; however, it is the social and cultural framing of the undershirt within public and private spaces which determines its relationship to the body. As a public performance of social class, underclothes, according to Cole, became part of the visual language of sex for the upper classes, with shirt fronts, collars, and cuffs on open display throughout the eighteenth century.[324] In the early nineteenth century, the 'dandy', a fashionable young gentleman, would display his white starched shirt collar as a display of fashionability and cleanliness.[325] In the nineteenth century, a middle-class preoccupation with cleanliness was closely associated with morality and the expression and regulation of gender and sex through clothes.[326] Moral policing banished the undershirt to the privacy of one's home, firmly establishing the undershirt as a barrier between the intimate, private body and the outside world. The outbreak of war in 1914 changed a man's relationship to the shirt again, as healthy bodies became a priority and underwear was believed to play an important role in keeping the body healthy. A Scottish newspaper advertisement for warm underclothes for men in the trenches in 1914 highlighted the importance of 'warm shirts and socks' for 'the heroes in khaki'.[327]

The shirt, as an undergarment, is inherently tied to the policing of masculinities in public and in private, thus the display of an undershirt once worn by a revolutionary hero upsets the association of uniformity and revolutionary masculinity, as evidenced by the militarising of Lynch's civilian clothes. It also puts intimacy, privacy, and the unseen body on the display in an act of national and heroic remembering; the pageantry of state funerals and the decorative militarising of commemorative ceremonials fall away, leaving behind the blood-stained undershirt.

James Connolly's shirt is a star object in the NMI collection. It was selected as one of one hundred objects printed on commemorative stamps as part of the 'Ireland in 100 Objects' collaborative project between the National Museum of Ireland and the General Post Office.[328] The aura of the shirt exists in the merging of blood and fibres in the same way as Lynch's

[323] Cole, *The Story of Men's Underwear*, p. 12.
[324] Ibid., pp. 26–29.
[325] Cecil Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *The History of Underclothes* (New York: Dover, 1992), p. 128.
[326] Ibid., p. 54.
[327] 'Winter In the Trenches', *Northern Scot and Moray & Nairn Express*, 3 October 1914.
[328] 'James Connolly's Shirt', *100 Objects*, 2019 <https://100objects.ie/james-connollys-shirt/> [accessed 22 November 2021].

waistcoat or Collins's coat, attesting to the life and death of an Irish revolutionary hero. However, the intimacy of this object and the proximity of the shirt to Connolly's body impacts upon the structure of revolutionary history – not just the bloodstain, but the fact that this very shirt sat next to revolutionary hero's skin.

As the space between body and object compresses, so too does the experience of time. Susan Stewart explains how interaction with the miniature compresses our experience of time:

> This compressed time of interiority tends to hypostatize the interiority of the subject that consumes it in that it marks the invention of 'private time'. In other words, miniature time transcends the duration of everyday life in such a way as to create an interior temporality of the subject.[329]

Stewart describes how scale can transform temporal duration; by altering the physical dimensions of objects and environments, the phenomenological experience of time is correspondingly changed.

Taking this principle of scale and time and applying it to the idea of proximity and time, I argue for the need to take into account the proximity of the body and the object. The closer the body of the subject (James Connolly) is to the object, such as the skin's contact with an undershirt, the greater the potential for an object to alter how time is experienced by the viewer (museum visitor). Like Lynch's waistcoat and Collins's greatcoat, James Connolly's shirt falls into the category of a 'person-thing' – the blood stain and its unique provenance of having been worn by Connolly inside the GPO during the 1916 Rising are 'the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced'.[330] Unlike the waistcoat and the greatcoat, however, the undershirt was an intimate garment, not made to be seen in public, but worn next to the skin in private. Its closeness to the body in life alters viewers' temporal experience of the object when the subject is dead. When the object is not presented as military or militarised, the viewer is pulled out of the timeline of revolutionary history and into the personal time of pain, trauma, and loss.

To investigate the idea of proximity, the body, and time further, Part Three moves from museum display into museum storage to investigate the body and dress of Roger Casement, whose public and private lives contributed to his trial and conviction of treason in 1916 and whose body in NMI further complicates the narrative of state remembrance.

[329] Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 66.

Part Four: Public and Private Bodies of Roger Casement

The NMI has played and continues to play an important role in mediating the space between individual and national memory of the Revolutionary Period. The museum is tasked with representing the national story through objects and memories and presenting them as a history which addresses the nation as a whole. I return to focus once again on Roger Casement to explore how the person-thing can challenge not just the notion of official history, but the idea of an official revolutionary masculinity. I investigate Casement's clothing in storage and on display in the NMI, trace the origins of their acquisition and Casement's own relationship with dress, and establish how complexity and nuance in personal memory reject the idea of masculinity singularly fixed within history.

Explorations of the body and dress in the expression of individual sexuality are key to the history of Roger Casement and his part in the history of the Revolution Period. Casement moved between his opposing public and private lives and understood the importance of self-representation.[331] In a letter to his cousin Gertrude Bannister, Casement even referred to clothing as his 'war paint', referencing his attendance at the 14 June 1909 funeral of the President of Brazil, Afonso Pena (1847–1909), at which he was required to wear his official consular uniform.[332] Gaynor Kavanagh suggests that 'dominant histories are defined as much by what they exclude as by what they include'.[333] I therefore ask how an examination and comparison of Casement's dress in storage and on display at the NMI can complicate the structure of state history and reveal how embodied memory of the individual rejects a crude classification of Irish revolutionary masculinity as singularly heroic.

Roger Casement survives as a presence in the NMI across its collections. The National Museum of Archaeology holds a collection of ethnographic objects related to the rubber trade and cultural artefacts that Casement acquired throughout his consular work, while a collection of butterflies is in the Natural History Museum. A substantial collection of Casement's belongings also survives in the Easter Week Collection at the National Museum. Stewart explores the role of objects in shaping narratives and suggests that

> there are two movements to the collection's gesture of standing for the world; first, the metonymic displacement of part for whole, item for context; and second, the invention

[331] Jeffrey Dudgeon, *Roger Casement: The Black Diaries – with a Study of His Background, Sexuality, and Irish Political Life* (Belfast: Belfast Press, 2016), p. 603.
[332] Roger Casement, 'Letter from Roger Casement to Gertrude Bannister Discussing the Tax on Irish Tobacco, Whiskey, and Stamp Taxes on Irish Land, Irish Politics and Politicians, and Informing Her the President of Brazil Died and He Attended the Funeral.', 1909, Roger Casement Papers, 1889–1945, MS 13,074/6i/7, NLI.
[333] Gaynor Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 42.

> of a classification scheme which will define space and time in such a way that the world is accounted for by the elements of the collection.'[334]

The NMI collections demarcate Casement's life through the history of the British consul and his transition to an Irish revolutionary. Casement's dress, however, is accessioned as part of the Easter Week Collection and identifies the memory of Casement in terms of the temporal and spatial dynamics of the 1916 Rising in the same way that the displays of the clothing worn by Michael Collins and Liam Lynch are accessioned into the Easter Week Collection but are displayed in the context of the Civil War. Again, Stewart emphasises that 'the collection is not constructed by its elements; rather, it comes to exist by means of its principle of organisation'.[335] Although these objects survive from different periods and conflicts, they are catalogued under the authorised narrative of the 1916 Rising, it is therefore important to establish and take account of the original contexts of these objects and how they came to be in the collection.

The reminiscences of Father Patrick J. Doyle recounted at the very beginning of this chapter is just one of many stories that trace how Casement's clothing cropped up and was donated to the NMI. At the time of his death, Casement's belongings, including his clothes, were scattered in storage facilities and friends' homes across the UK, Ireland, and even as far as America as Casement had 'no fixed abode', as noted by the Clerk of the Court at the opening of Casement's trial.[336] Following his execution, the majority of Casement's belongings, which had been seized by the Metropolitan Police upon his arrest, were passed to his cousin, Gertrude (née Bannister) Parry. Subsequently, many of the cousin's objects were donated to the National Museum.

From an examination of the lists of Casement's belongings made by the Criminal Records Office in 1916, it is evident that not all items made their way back into the hands of his family and friends. Casement's diaries remain in the National Archives at Kew; 14 items were placed in 'storage', including what is listed as 'personal items' and 'small articles of apparel'; and 28 items went to the 'museum', which refers to the Metropolitan Police Museum in London, however, it was not specified on the lists. According to the 1916 list, the items sent to the Police Museum included a uniform jacket, two pairs of trousers, two waistcoats, two dress coats, a hat in a tin case, and a sword along with a sheath and sword belt.[337] These objects reside in the closed collections of the Metropolitan Police in London, which has very limited access.

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[334] Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 162.
[335] Ibid., p. 155.
[336] Harford Montgomery Hyde, *Famous Trials: Roger Casement*, Ninth Series (London: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 59.
[337] 'Catalogue description Property of Roger Casement', The National Archives, Kew, MEPO 3/2415.

However, in 2011, the centenary of Casement's knighthood, the Met Police consented to loan the NMI the sword and hat worn by Casement when he was knighted in 1911.[338]

Twenty-five items of Casement's dress are permanently accessioned into the NMI collection. They were not among the items seized by the Met Police or they were deemed irrelevant to the trial in 1916; instead, they were donated by friends and family who kept them after Casement's death. The NMI archives reveal that the items were donated to the museum at different times. For example, in 1935 Joseph McGarrity, nationalist leader of Clan na Gael in America, donated a trunk of Casement's clothing which had been left in his possession in Philadelphia.[339] In 1969 a jacket was donated by a friend of Casement's cousin, and in the 1930s Casement's brother, Tom, donated the overcoat Casement was wearing when he landed in Banna Strand in 1916.[340] This coat is the one displayed for the centenary exhibition of the Rising in the NMI, and the manner in which it and the man who wore it were interpreted for the exhibition falls in line with the form of state commemoration discussed in Chapter One, where Casement represents a revolutionary hero of the 1916 Rising.

Proclaiming a Republic: The 1916 Rising opened in 2016 and was the jewel in the crown of the NMI's centenary programme. Situated across two large spaces (number 28 on the museum map in Figure 2.1 above) *Proclaiming a Republic*, which closed in 2020, was the largest exhibition ever staged by the NMI. Over 300 objects were on display, and it continues to be available as a virtual online exhibition.[341] The exhibition set out to present visitors with 'accounts of the individuals and the organisations which featured in the political arena of 1916' and to offer visitors the 'unique experience of physical proximity to the people and events of Easter Week through the everyday, intimate and personal belongings of the participants'.[342]

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338 Mark Hennessy, 'British Police Give Casement Sword and Hat to Museum', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/british-police-give-casement-sword-and-hat-to-museum-1.568508> [accessed 8 October 2018].
339 Kathleen O'Connell, 'Letter from Kathleen O'Connell to Mr. O. Westropp', NMIAS.AI.EWD.0091.001.00041(6), 1935, National Museum of Ireland Archives.
340 'Letter from Keeper of Art and Industrial Division NMI to Miss O'Connell', NMIAS.AI.EWD.0091.001.00041(3) 1935, National Museum of Ireland Archives; 'Letter from Dorothy Mackey to Director of NMI', NMIAS.AI.EWD.0091.001.00056(1), 1969, National Museum of Ireland Archives.
341 'Proclaiming a Republic', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/Decorative-Arts-History/Exhibitions/Current-Exhibitions/Proclaiming-a-Republic-The-1916-Rising> [accessed 28 July 2019].
342 Ibid.

Figure 2.13– The Irish Frieze wool greatcoat, worn by Roger Casement on his landing from the submarine U-19 at Banna Strand, 1916, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.61, 1916

The exhibition opens with an original copy of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic as well as type pieces from the press that was used to print the Proclamation in 1916. From this first room, which sets up political and cultural events before the Rising, the visitor is drawn into a second by the imposing figure of Casement's overcoat (Figure 2.13). The coat is made of an Irish frieze, a kind of heavy wool fabric produced in Ireland, and it bears signs of wear and staining around the collar and cuffs. The coat was worn by Casement when he landed on Banna Strand on 21 April 1916. It was also used in the treason case against him because a ticket dating from 12 April 1916 was found in the pocket of the coat, which showed that he had travelled by train from Berlin to the German naval port of Wilhelmshaven, thereby proving that Casement had been travelling in Germany before his arrival in Ireland.[343]

In a manner consistent with Collins's military greatcoat (Figure 2.8 above), in the *Proclaiming a Republic* exhibit Casement's coat is displayed at a higher than standing height. Although Casement's is a civilian overcoat without military insignia, such as the Free State buttons and shoulder epaulettes of Collins's coat, it is displayed with a rifle and a cap from the Casement Brigade uniform, thereby positioning Casement in a military context in Ireland in

[343] Roger Casement and George H. Knott, *The Trial of Sir Roger Casement* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Co, 1917), p. 110.

1916.[344] The interpretative panel next to the coat shows a large image of Casement, who is in the middle of a group of men on the raised platform on top of the German submarine. The image shows Casement wearing the coat just before a boat brought him ashore on the Kerry coastline (Figure 2.14). Below the image is the title 'Planning the Rising: Military Strategy', and the text goes on to explain the impetus behind Casement's journey and its ultimate failure. In the context of a public display which is part of the commemoration of the 1916 Rising, Casement's sexuality and the circumstances of his execution as a traitor in 1916 are displaced by the national historical narrative of Irish revolutionary heroism and the institutional memory of Casement.

Figure 2.14 – Roger Casement (top, centre) on submarine U-19 travelling from Germany, National Museum of Ireland, 1916

The collections in the Natural History Museum and the National Museum of Archaeology are contextualised through Casement's consular investigations and bear witness to Casement as the humanitarian and hero through a different lens. *Roger Casement: Voice of the Voiceless*, a 2016 exhibition at the National Museum of Archaeology, displayed objects collected by Casement in Central Africa and South America. Research at the NMI archives revealed letters written by Casement in 1904 in which he proposed to loan some curiosities and items of 'great

[344] The Casement Brigade was the military force which Casement set out to form during his trip to Germany, with recruits consisting of Irish prisoners of war captured by the German Army since the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. The Casement Brigade uniform was designed and made as an inducement to sign up and fight for a rebellion in Ireland against British rule. Despite Casement's efforts, the trip was unsuccessful and only 52 prisoners signed up. Alison Garden, *The Literary Afterlives of Roger Casement, 1899–2016* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 9–10.

interest' to the museum. He stipulated that he wished to 'retain ownership' of the objects until 'such a time as I come home, for good, to settle in Ireland'.[345] In loaning the objects, Casement was stipulating how he wanted to be remembered within the institutional practices of the National Museum.[346] In this instance, Casement was loaning objects to be displayed as testament to his life and work, in contrast to the objects that were seized, acquired, and displayed after his arrest. Thus, Casement's agency resides within the display and contextualisation of his ethnographic objects, not in the display of his body.

Revelations about Casement's sexuality during the period of his consular work, revealed in the 'Black Diaries' discovered after his arrest, are largely excluded from the exhibition's narrative. Instead, *Roger Casement: Voice of the Voiceless* focussed solely on Casement as the humanitarian. Two of the images of Casement from the exhibition show Casement in his most performative, imperialist, and public-facing dress (Figure 2.15). On the left he wears a full-dress suit with top hat and cane, typical of something a man would wear to a formal dinner or reception in the evening; on the right Casement is in his consular uniform. The two exhibitions that opened in 2016 were curated from within the same umbrella organisation of the National Museum, although they interpreted Casement as a public figure through two different lenses: the hero and the humanitarian.

[345] 'Letter from Roger Casement to Sir D. Plunkett', 28th May 1904, AI/EWL/0087/002/00010, National Museum of Ireland Archives.
[346] 'Oliver Snoddy Papers', AI/171/001-AI/179/001; AI/084/001-007, National Museum of Ireland Archives.

Ruairí Mac Easmainn i bhfeisteas foirmiúil
(íomhá le caoinchead ó Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann)

Roger Casement in formal dress
(image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

Ruairí Mac Easmainn in éide chonsalach
(íomha ó Roger Casement, a new judgement le René MacColl)

Roger Casement in consular uniform
(image from Roger Casement, a new judgement by René MacColl)

Figure 2.15 – Roger Casement photographs from Voice of the Voiceless' exhibition panel, National Museum of Ireland, 2016

Casement's public life as a British consul played out without reference to his sexuality until the discovery of his diaries, which chronicled his sexual activities with other men. Sociologist Martin P. Levine describes this strategic way of life as 'passing': 'Passing accounted for the secrecy that characterized this world and included a set of behaviours that were designed to hide gay identity under a heterosexual facade'.[347] Brian Lewis argues that amidst strict 'legislative and moral codes' which were 'policing the boundaries between "normality" and "deviancy" as never before […] someone like Casement could pass as straight with ease'.[348] The public image that Casement cultivated throughout his life is often framed within the context of Irish revolutionary hero, as when the collection of his dress became part of the Easter Week Collection. Lou Taylor suggests that:

> Once clothes have become 'detached' from their wearers and placed for safe keeping in collections they take on quite different semiotic characteristics. As static and empty vessels, they immediately become displaced 'objects' taking on a second life as venerable, valuable and treasured icons.[349]

[347] Martin P. Levine and Michael S. Kimmel, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone* (New York: NYU Press, 1998), p. 21.
[348] Brian Lewis, 'The Queer Life and Afterlife of Roger Casement', *Journal of the History of Sexuality,* 14, no. 4 (2005), 363–82, p. 372.
[349] Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 18.

Public displays and commemorations of Casement are coloured by the state narrative. After all, the NMI is funded by the government and its exhibition schedule forms part of the state's commemorative programming.

To lift the veil of heroism and try to get closer to the private man, however, I took the opportunity to examine and compare the most intimate garments of Casement's dress held in NMI storage with the Casement items on display in the museum. Rather than being 'static and empty vessels' of a revolutionary icon, these intimate objects re-establish the fundamentals of embodied memory by bringing the private body into public history.

Figure 2.16 – Pyjama suit jacket worn by Roger Casement, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.116.11-14, (Personal Photograph) 2018

The collection of Casement's dress includes a pyjama shirt (Figure 2.16) and two singlets or undershirts (Figure 2.17). As with the other Casement items discussed so far, these three objects were accessioned as part of the Easter Week Collection; however, like Connolly's shirt, they speak of a life lived away from revolutionary conflict. As objects that would have rested against the skin, only worn and seen in private, they expose Casement's humanity as an embodiment of his private life.

Contemporary notions around underwear and eroticism associate Casement's underwear with his own sexual desires and the most private and intimate moments of his sex life, which became infamous around the world as a result of the publication of the 'Black Diaries'.[350] The

[350] Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams Fashion and Modernity* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 102.

pyjama jacket, in particular, reveals something of Casement's personal nationalism at a time in his life when he was working as a British consul. The shirt in Figure 2.16 was made by T. J. Loughlin of 19 Parliament Street, Dublin. The manufacturer publicly demonstrated its dedication to Irish independence and its support of the Irish Volunteers, as evidenced by a 26 June 1914 advertisement in *The Freeman's Journal* declaring that 'Volunteers will find at Headquarters Materials which will help to make Ireland a Nation' in the form of the company's 'Irish Ties, Irish Boots, Irish Shirts' and 'Irish Collars'.[351]

Casement was a diligent and comprehensive record keeper, and his accounts, cheque books, and receipts in the National Library of Ireland give further evidence of his support for Irish businesses and, in particular, Irish outfitters. For example, cheque stubs and receipts show that Casement bought several items, including one undervest, a felt hat, and collars 'stamped with Irish trademark' from the same T.J. Loughlin in January 1908.[352] From the same establishment Casement bought six shirts in March 1908 and two hats, singlets, and socks in February 1909.[353] The two singlets (Figure 2.17) are also made of 'Pure Irish Linen', showing that in the making and advertising of these garments, establishing Irishness was important.

Figure 2.17 – Two singlets worn by Roger Casement, National Museum of Ireland, HE:EW.116.15-20, (Personal Photograph) 2018

351 'A Nation Once Again', *The Freeman's Journal*, 26 June 1914.
352 'Receipt to Roger Casement from T.J. Loughlin, Gents' Outfitter, Dublin, for Items of Irish Made Clothing' (Dublin, 1908), MS 15,138/2/13, National Library of Ireland.
353 'Cheque Stubs, Vouchers and Statements of Account Relating to Roger Casement', 1904–1911, MS 15,138, National Library of Ireland.

This was a private kind of nationalism in which Casement was using his power as an ordinary consumer to assert his support for Irish independence. Both the bottom undershirt and the pyjama shirt were signed with Casement's initials – a material record of the man, his body, and his sense of private nationalism as well as a reminder that, under his consular uniform, Casement asserted his nationalism through dress.

Unlike Connolly's shirt, the Casement objects are not on display. They remain in storage. With no specific link to a moment of conflict, they are simply the private clothes of man who lived over a hundred years ago. Viewing the three objects in the NMI collection stores, I felt as though I had crept into Casement's bedroom and opened the drawers of his wardrobe, voyeuristically gazing upon life moments I had no right to. Dressing, sleeping, sweating, dreaming, and desiring are all encompassed in these stained and worn objects. I had read Casement's diaries, letters, and personal documents as part of my research, but it was not until I viewed these private objects that I felt I had strayed into a different experience of historical time – these objects, accessioned into the Easter Week Collection, chronicle personal time and everyday life beyond the boundaries of the Revolutionary Period.

The absence of the body in this circumstance has a profound impact on the experience of history, evoking the memory of private time spent in storage, both within the context of and outside of the national history on display. Thus far, I have sought out bodies – those missing or those recovered as replicas or reconstructions – either put on display as person-things to testify to national sacrifice or held in storage as witnesses to intimate life. I have unlocked the possibility for bodies to disrupt the official narrative of 1916 by demonstrating how an in-depth examination of the objects exposes a multiplicity of masculinities and perforates the notion of an official the cycle of revolutionary time. In the final section of this chapter, I examine the museum as a site of performance and analyse the impact of the living body as an embodiment of history alongside the objects on display and in storage.

Part Five: Bringing the Museum to Life

So far in this chapter, I have demonstrated how bodies from the past are memorialised through dress, and I have shown how measuring the proximity between the body in life and the objects that survive after death can reshape history in relation to the present. It is through lived experience and embodied memory in the present that our perception of history is shaped.

Therefore, before moving on to a discussion of commemorative theatre in Chapter Three, I want to analyse the embodiment of memory through the live body in a performance of history. Throughout the Decade of Centenaries, performance, re-enactment, and interactive or immersive forms of remembrance have been utilised to captivate the nation with a period of history beyond the boundaries of living memory. In this section I focus on a piece performed at the NMI in 2015 by Anu, a multidisciplinary, immersive theatre company that combines theatre, visual art, and dance. Bringing the performing body into the museum develops the purpose and role of a national museum in interpreting and commemorating conflict.

Anu has been prolific throughout the Decade of Centenaries, creating works such as *Into the Sun* (2016), *Beyond Barricades* (2016), and *Sunder* (2016). All three, which were Anu productions for the centenary of the 1916 Rising in 2016, immersed audiences in the experience of the Rising on the streets of Dublin. *These Rooms* (2016), another immersive Anu performance about the Rising, was set in 1966 and explored the impact 50th-anniversary commemorations had on the families of the men who were massacred by the South Staffordshire Regiment during the Rising.[354]

Each of the Anu productions unpacked the significance of the Revolutionary Period for a contemporary audience by crossing the boundaries of real and imagined worlds. As with traditional theatre, elements such as scenography, choreography, dramaturgy, and costuming are employed in the creation of an imaginary world, however, with immersive theatre it is the positioning of the audience, or participants, that departs from traditional theatrical forms.[355] Anu uses site-specific immersive theatre, narrative performance, visual art, and dance to explore themes of poverty, religion, violence, and exploitation, performing lesser-known histories to audiences in the context of national commemoration, aspects of their work which are further examined in Chapter Three. Brian Singleton describes the experience of immersive performance:

> [T]hrough these dramaturgical strategies of intimacy and direct engagement, spectators came away from the performances often with visceral phenomenological responses, having had direct experience of not necessarily witnessing a performance but of experiencing it from within.[356]

Singleton argues that 'experiencing from within' enables the audience to get closer to the events of history through an embodied experience. Placing the bodies of actors in historic uniforms builds upon the curatorial practice of replicas at the NMI, which has already been discussed. The live body does not just reinterpret historic masculinity but re-enacts it.

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354 'Home', *Anu Productions* <http://anuproductions.ie/> [accessed 28 July 2019].
355 Adam Alston, *Beyond Immersive Theatre: Aesthetics, Politics and Productive Participation* (New York: Springer, 2016), p. 2.
356 Brian Singleton, *Anu Productions: The Monto Cycle* (New York: Springer, 2016), p. 5.

In 2015 the NMI commissioned Anu to produce *Pals – The Irish at Gallipoli*, a reanimation of both the voices and the bodies of the Irish soldiers who fought at Gallipoli through the embodiment of the story of the 7th Battalion of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. The commemorative performance of *Pals* took place in the National Museum, formerly the Collins Barracks.[357] The National Museum, as a former military site, provided a locus for public engagement with Anglo-Irish military heritage, and the performance of *Pals* was a living monument that reanimated both the Collins Barracks as a military base and gave new life to galleries filled with soldiers' uniforms.

A Peter Crawley review of the performance in *The Irish Times* suggested that '*Pals* [was] not an exhibition, an excavation nor even recreation. It's something rarer; an imaginative and sensitive summoning'.[358] It was a summoning in that the men who left the same Collins Barracks in 1915 were called back to tell their stories through the bodies of actors in uniform. The notion of summoning echoes the words of Pearse discussed in Chapter One: 'from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations'.[359] This sentiment blurs the line between the living and the dead in national memory, even more so through this kind of immersive performance.

The actors in *Pals* were given the identities of actual soldiers who died at the front. For example, the actor Shane Thomas Whisker played Richard Patrick Tobin from Dublin, who died at Gallipoli just after his 21st birthday on 15 August 1915. Whisker, as Tobin, read the soldier's letters home out loud to the audience, embodying Tobin's wartime experience.[360] The memory and experience of conflict exists all at once in a museum which was built upon the principles of national defence and warfare. It is not a grave or a graveyard but a witness to and guardian of the reality of war.

As outlined in Part One of this chapter, Collins Barracks, known until 1922 as The Royal Barracks, is a unique site to house a national museum as well as for the commemoration of the First World War because of its history as a military barracks throughout British colonial rule. As a site of memory, Collins Barracks becomes the focus of public commemoration every year on the National Day of Commemoration, which features a 'multi-faith service of prayer and military ceremony commemorating all those Irishmen and Irishwomen who died in past wars or on

[357] Mairead Dunlevy, *Dublin Barracks: A Brief History of Collins Barracks, Dublin* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 2002).
[358] Peter Crawley, 'Theatre Review: Pals – The Irish at Gallipoli', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/stage/theatre/theatre-review-pals-the-irish-at-gallipoli-1.2101444> [accessed 28 July 2019].
[359] Pádraic Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse: Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin: Dublin Phoenix, 1916), p. 133.
[360] 'Richard Patrick Tobin – Our Heroes' <http://ourheroes.southdublinlibraries.ie/ga/node/16308> [accessed 28 July 2019].

service with the United Nations'.[361] It is held annually on the Sunday closest to the 11th July, the date on which the Anglo-Irish Truce was agreed in 1921.[362] Such sites of memory, as Winter suggests, are 'places where historical remembrance happens'.[363]

The *Pals* performance, which began with a group of soldiers in the Barracks training and preparing for war in 1915, aimed to re-examine the individual experience of the war through the actual words, letters, and diaries of young Irish men who left Collins Barracks for the front. The intimate nature of the performance was an opportunity for costume designer Niamh Lunny to move away from the notion of total uniformity in First World War uniforms and explore the possibility that not only was each man's experience of the war individual but so was their uniform:

> With *Pals*, because it was going on in Collins Barracks, I felt this enormous urge to reproduce exactly World War One uniforms […] the big thing about the World War One uniform, they weren't all being produced in the same place, so there were massive regional differences in how they were produced […] In Dublin your uniform could depend on your wealth […] Would it be made by a tailor, or would your mum have made it on the kitchen table? These things dictated what your uniform looked like. So broadly there was a uniformity to the uniforms, but individually there absolutely was not.[364]

For the *Pals* regiment Lunny decided that the soldiers were of the particular class that would have had their uniforms tailored: 'these particular pals had all come from one particular place, and we felt they would have been wealthy enough to have their uniforms made for them, so we went and got their uniforms made for them'.[365]

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361 'National Day of Commemoration', *Gov.ie* < https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/11b77d-national-day-of-commemoration/> [accessed 28 March 2022].
362 Denise Carney, 'State Commemorations' <https://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Historical_Information/State_Commemorations/> [accessed 7 November 2018].
363 Jay Winter, 'Sites of Memory', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwartz (New York: Fordham University, 2010), pp. 312–24 (p. 314).
364 Niamh Lunny, Personal Interview, 2018.
365 Ibid.

Redacted – Photograph of a performance of *Pals* showing four actors in First World War uniform.

Figure 2.18– Pals: The Irish at Gallipoli, National Museum of Ireland, Kevin Olohan, Liam Heslin, Thomas Reilly and John Cronin, Anu, National Museum of Ireland, https://www.historyireland.com/volume-23/pals-the-irish-at-gallipoli, 2015

Figure 2.18 is a promotional photograph for the performance, which shows four of the pals carrying an injured comrade. The image illuminates some of the differences in fabric and construction that Lunny's design incorporated into each actor's costume. The two actors in the centre are wearing only war service shirts on their upper bodies. Each is made of a subtly distinctive coloured wool, and the construction of each is also slightly different. For example, the white placket below the opening is narrower on the shirt on the left.

Throughout the performance, actors also interacted with their uniforms in different ways. At one point an actor seeks out an audience member to help him fasten his uniform before he is shipped out. The actor asks the audience member: 'Do I look like a soldier?'[366] The actors' use of their costumes and their bodies engages the audience in a living-history experience, and authenticity resides in the physical interaction between the actor and the audience. According to Malgorzata Rymsza-Pawlowska, the result shifts the site of historical knowledge production 'from the artefact to the subject body – from the preservation to the re-enactment'.[367] In a museum, objects are carefully conserved, displayed behind glass in a controlled environment, and handled as little as possible in order to preserve them and their authenticity – their unique existence in time and space. Through re-enactment, however, replica uniforms and the bodies of

[366] *Pals: The Irish at Gallipoli* , script by Anu, dir. Louise Lowe, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland, 2015.
[367] M. J. Rymsza-Pawlowska, *History Comes Alive: Public History and Popular Culture in the 1970s* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), p. 118.

actors create a new, unique experience in time and space between the actor and the audience. In this sense the uniforms are not a reproduction but a re-enactment.

Lunny emphasised that the uniforms needed to look newly made and fit for purpose – 'they couldn't look like artefacts'.[368] The context juxtaposed the audience in contemporary dress and the performers in uniform. Lunny believed that making it appear as though the soldiers were similarly in 'real' clothing, rather than historical costume, was key to the success of the piece as a form of living history:

> It's about making people look like they're not wearing costume at all, so within the context of a historical piece, obviously, that's very hard, but to truthfully tell the story they had to be in brand-new uniforms, so that's what they were in.[369]

Beyond the mannequin and the replica uniform of the Battle of the Somme discussed at the beginning of this chapter, in the *Pals* performance the live body extends the use of replica to create an authentic encounter with living history. In order to successfully create the illusion of a living history, it was important for the uniforms to be perceived as 'working' in the present rather than as 'historic' and authentic to the past. Lunny was more concerned with the individual and the context of each soldier's uniform rather than with the recreation of an authentic version of history.

The live body and performance have the potential to reanimate the object and the museum, giving voice, movement, and emotion to a space of absent bodies. The immersive work of Anu repositions the live body in the museum to re-enact the memory of conflict and, in doing so, embraces the idea of history and memory in a constant state of flux, extending our understanding of how commemoration and re-enactment tests the boundaries of what can be regarded as authentic when narrating history.

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on the National Museum of Ireland, a state-funded institution which safeguards and displays objects of history for the nation. I opened the chapter with a history of the museum and its collection to emphasise the context of the objects under discussion in the chapter. The history of the NMI as an imperial barracks and its significance as a site of authority handed over to the Irish state in 1922 make it a complex backdrop for interpretating the nation's

[368] Lunny, Personal Interview.
[369] Ibid.

history. Objects from the Revolutionary Period have been collected and accessioned by the NMI under the overarching category of the Easter Week Collection, and all of the objects under discussion in the chapter came from this collection.

The structure of revolutionary history in the museum follows the official state timeframe of a cycle of history built around the events and personalities of 1916. However, the chapter demonstrates how this temporal structure falls away when individual and private bodies are brought to the fore of national and public history. The significance of 1916 as a date in the Revolutionary Period is complicated by the bodies that lived and died through and beyond this date, as revolutionary masculinities encompass bodies, experiences, and forms of nationalism beyond the stereotypes of military masculinity as brave and strong and of revolutionary masculinity as insurgent and sacrificial.

In Part Two of the chapter, I challenged the notion of the site of memory as the authentic object of war by examining two displays: (1) the replica mannequin of a 36th Ulster Volunteer alongside material culture from the Battle of the Somme, and (2) a reconstruction of the face of Thomas Lawless, an Irish-Canadian Soldier who died in World War One but whose remains were not discovered and identified until the twenty-first century. The interaction between the real and the replica challenges the specificity of space and time in an exploration of contested history.

Part Three moved from the contested history of the First World War to that of the Civil War. The Civil War display at the NMI is one of balance and symmetry, with the bodies of Liam Lynch and Michael Collins on display to represent the pro- and anti-Treaty sides. Both objects are stained with blood from the wounds that killed the men in the conflict, defining each as a 'person-thing' – an object that moves between the categories of object and human remains, ensuring that the two are inseparable. The person-thing enfolds personal experiences of pain and loss into the national narrative, an idea developed further through an examination of James Connolly's undershirt. Connolly's blood-stained shirt disrupts the cycle of revolutionary time due to his body's proximity to the object. Proximity, I argue, pulls the viewer out of the official timeline and into private time, where revolutionary masculinity no longer sits within a single category of heroism in the context of 1916 because of the foregrounding of intimacy.

Part Four returned to the body of Roger Casement and examined how displays interpreted his life through heroic and humanitarian narratives across two concurrent exhibitions at the National Museum in 2016. These displays were compared to intimate objects in the NMI collection stores to further explore the idea that proximity invites a different kind of reading of

objects. The private and intimate body further compresses the experience of time for viewers as private and public bodies attest to the plurality of revolutionary masculinities.

Part Five of the chapter comes full circle and returns to the history of the NMI as a military barracks. In my analysis of Anu's performance of *Pals*, I questioned the implications of bringing the living body into the museum as a form of immersive living history.

From the wealth of objects, collections, and exhibitions studied, this chapter focussed on a small selection of objects to investigate how the authentic object within the system of state commemoration can shift or challenge the shape of revolutionary time set out in Chapter One. Concentrating specifically on the NMI, I located the body in exhibitions and collections, measured the proximity of the body to the object, and established how proximity alters perceptions of time, creating a dialogue between national and personal time. Collapsing time and contesting the history of revolution with individual bodies and personal memories opens possibilities for locating histories which have been overlooked or forgotten by the state through ceremonial practices or museum collections. Chapter Three goes further investigates live bodies and performance as a means of recovering and re-enacting histories that have been marginalised throughout history and in commemorative practices in Ireland.

Chapter Three - Theatrical Revolution: Performing Forgotten Histories

> To be human is to have a sense of time, memory, and intention. Inasmuch as a play is driven by the interior projects of its characters – how they carry within what has happened to them in the past, how they feel in the present, and how they work towards a future they intend for themselves – all theatre engages with what it means to be conscious in and of time.[370]

Mark Fortier, a professor of English and theatre studies, explains how the 'lived bodiliness' of theatre is what enables theatre, as an art form, to create and play with perceptions of time. The truth in theatre is that the bodies performing are real, leaving the potentiality to play with the boundaries of truth and reality in narrative.[371] In this chapter I explore how the lives of stage characters align with the experience of living in the present. I focus my analysis on the design of theatre, performance, and dance costumes to locate the forgotten or marginalised bodies of the Revolutionary Period.

The objects and material culture in NMI constituted my primary source material in Chapter Two. In this chapter, however, my analysis is of clothing as costume, bearing in mind that the clothes of the poorest or marginal groups from this period rarely made their way into museums' collections. Generally, this is because the garments of poor, working-class, and labouring individuals were used until worn out, when they were either disposed of or sold on as rags. It is also the result of collecting policies of the NMI, which focussed on collecting and preserving dress worn by political or military figures, whose garments bore witness to significant moments and prominent deaths or served to enhance the state's official version of history. In this chapter I examine performance, bodies, and costume through a feminist lens to understand how bodies have been excluded or sidelined from commemorative practices to date and to explore the experiences of bodies in crisis, bodies subjected to poverty and destitution, and queer bodies of the revolution across time.

The etymological connections between war and theatre as well as the long history of theatre in Ireland mean that it is an ideal platform to foreground marginalised stories of war and conflict that historically have been excluded from state commemoration or museum exhibitions and displays.[372] Chapter One outlined how Irish revolutionary time is constructed by the state

370 Mark Fortier, *Theory/Theatre: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 39.
371 Ibid., pp. 38-46.
372 The 'theatre of war' was first described by Prussian General Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) as 'a portion of the space over which War prevails as has its boundaries protected, and thus possesses a kind of independence' (Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Vol. 2, trans. by J.J. Graham [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1908], p. 2). The

through the practice of commemoration, resulting in a gendered national memory, which is remembered and re-enacted through the figure of the Irish revolutionary hero. Chapter Two established how the idea of the private body can disrupt the construction of both revolutionary history and Irish revolutionary masculinity as singularly heroic by considering the proximity of the body to the object. Private and intimate bodies fracture the cycle of remembrance centered on the heroes of 1916 and make space for the potential to re-enact bodies that were lost to history or bodies that were not survived by the dress they left behind. In this chapter I move from the institution of the national museum to the national theatre to explore how state-funded commemoration as live performance makes space for forgotten bodies of the revolution.

In the first part of this chapter, I set out a contextual history of theatre in Ireland to justify the significance of theatre as a commemorative platform its own right. Part Two is an examination of masculinities in crisis throughout the Revolutionary Period in stagings of Sean O'Casey's (1880–1964) Three Dublin Plays during the Decade of Centenaries: *Juno and the Paycock* (2011), *The Shadow of a Gunman* (2015), and *The Plough and the Stars* (2016). The three plays, first staged in 1924, 1923, and 1926 respectively, deal with the impact of the Revolutionary Period on Dublin's poorest tenement dwellers, the dispossessed, and the forgotten. The plays are not just important in the telling of Irish revolutionary history but mark an significant moment in the history of the Abbey Theatre as a place where national identity and national crisis can be performed. These plays are unique in their exposition of a crisis of national identity as well as Irish masculinities, and I analyse the centenary productions' costumes to demonstrate how this crisis is brought into state-funded commemoration through the body and costumes.

From a crisis to a reclaiming of revolutionary masculinities, I examine a queering of the revolutionary narrative, which has opened up the possibility for performance and commemoration to become a platform for redefining what revolution means in Ireland today. The speech made by Panti Bliss at the end of a 2013 production of *The Risen People* on the Abbey stage is an example of the impact that performance on the fringes of commemorative programming can have on a nation's sense of itself. Roger Casement once again takes centre stage in my analysis as I investigate how his queer body has been interpreted for the stage as part of a project commissioned by the Arts Council in 2016. *Butterflies and Bones*, a dance piece funded by the state as part of the 1916 centenary programme, highlighted the queer body in Irish revolutionary history. Having established in Chapters One and Two how the commemoration of

theatre of war is the space in which the war takes place, and the etymology of the word *theatre* from the 1580s denotes 'a space of action'. Similarly, the word *stage* has its roots in 'sta–', meaning to stand or be firm. The linguistic associations between war and theatre are important because they establish the cultural form to explore – not just the themes of conflict, violence, and trauma but also the tools to subvert them.

Irish masculinity is fixed in official state history, in Chapter Three I look between the lines and beyond the boundaries of commemoration as an institutional practice to uncover where and how marginalised masculinities/bodies are remembered.

At the end of Chapter Two, I explored how the National Museum of Ireland re-enacted absent bodies of contested history through live performance. In this chapter live performance is again the focus of my analysis, but I move from state-funded museums to the theatre in order to investigate live bodies and the costumes they wear to re-enact history as living narrative. Having already discussed the 2015 Anu-theatre-company performance of *Pals* in the National Museum of Ireland, I return briefly to their 2013 production, *Living the Lockout*, to question how performance has evolved as a cross-disciplinary commemorative practice which brings history to life on the body. Like *Pals*, *Living the Lockout* took place on a site of historical significance, in this case a former tenement building on Henrietta Street in Dublin.

Living the Lockout followed the lives of tenement dwellers in Dublin during the 1913 Strike and Lockout, which was the culmination of five years of disputes between unskilled labourers, who mobilised behind Jim Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU), and 404 employers led by businessman William Martin Murphy (1845–1919).[373] Murphy demanded that employees sign a declaration renouncing the ITGWU or lose their jobs and be "locked-out" by their employers. Some ITGWU members wore red, hand-shaped badges on their shirts as a symbol of their dedication to the union and their support of the rights of the working classes. Under Larkin's charismatic leadership, over 20,000 workers were locked out of their jobs for over six months, during which time their living standards became desperate. With one-third of Dublin residents living in perpetual poverty, the Strike and Lockout resulted in widespread hunger and an intensification of the deplorable living conditions of the workers, who were already living in some of Europe's worst slums.[374] The majority of these slums were concentrated in Georgian buildings around the city, which were divided up into tenements, overcrowded, and had little to no sanitation. *Living the Lockout* was staged in one of these old Georgian tenement buildings on Henrietta Street. The building has since been renovated into a tenement house museum, but at the time of the performance, the building was empty and stripped back to reveal various ages of occupation from the 1720s to the 1970s.[375]

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[373] John Crowley, *Atlas of the Irish Revolution*, ed. by Donal O. Drisceoil, Mike Murphy, and John Borganovo (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), p. 192.
[374] 'Exhibition – Poverty and Health', *The National Archives of Ireland* <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/dublin/poverty_health.html> [accessed 25 June 2018].
[375] '14 Henrietta Street – History of the House', *14 Henrietta Street* <https://14henriettastreet.ie/about/history-of-the-house/> [accessed 27 January 2022].

Redacted – Still of a recording of *Living the Lockout* showing an actor in a bloodstained shirt inside a tenement budling.

Figure 3.1 – Living the Lockout, Charlie, (Lloyd Cooney), Anu, Irish Congress of Trade Unions, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZWAYC-fZwdw, 2013

Figure 3.1 is a still from a film recording of a *Living the Lockout* performance, which invited audiences into the lives of two brothers, Charlie and Dennis. In Figure 3.1 Charlie has just entered the room singing 'Who fears to wear the blood red badge?', a labour ballad. Written in 1913 by the Scottish-born actor and stage manager Andrew Patrick Wilson (1886–1950), the song aligns the wearing of the red hand badge with the manly attributes needed 'to fight the workers' cause':

> Who fears to wear the blood red badge?
> Upon his manly breast,
> What scab obeys the vile command
> Of Murphy and the rest;
> He's all a knave and half a slave
> Who slights his union thus
> But true men, like you men,
> Will show the badge with us.[376]

Charlie is dressed in a shirt and a pair of trousers. He does not wear a red ITGWU badge, but red bloodstains on his shirt speak to the violence which occurred on the streets of Dublin throughout the Lockout. The bloody shirt is reminiscent of James Connolly's, an object on

[376] The verse was published in the *Irish Worker* on 11 October 1913 under the name 'Mac', a pseudonym for Wilson ('Who Fears to Wear the Blood Red Badge?, *The Irish Times* 11 September 2013 <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/who-fears-to-wear-the-blood-red-badge-1.1523311> [accessed 27 March 2022]).

display in the NMI which attests to the labour leader's personal sacrifice, as he was killed for his part in the 1916 Rising, but also to the universality of pain and sacrifice in war. During the Revolutionary Period socialist politics were becoming indistinguishable from nationalist politics, with much of the Marxist rhetoric of Connolly and Larkin being subsumed by Pearse's religious zeal at the heart of what was essentially a middle-class revolution.[377] The same rang true for the memory of the revolution, as the labour movement of 1913 became part of the broader struggle for independence and national self-definition. Charlie's bloodied shirt, the words he sings, and his sparse surroundings refocus commemoration on the body as living history. In the empty tenement building Charlie is a re-enactment of the socialist ideals of figures like Connolly and Larkin, but instead of a red hand badge 'upon his manly breast', Charlie wears a bloody shirt. Unlike Connolly's shirt in the NMI, the proximity of the body to the shirt in this performance is instantaneous, it is live, and, as with *Pals*, this was not a performance of history as an event in the past, but history as present and living.

Part One: Irish Theatre in History and Memory

The national theatre, like the national museum, is a state-funded institution and thus plays a significant role in defining national identity and implementing a programme of national remembering as determined by the state. However, theatre in Ireland also has a historic legacy in defining Ireland's cultural and national identity. This history of performance dates from as early as 700 AD with drúith (professional fools) performing in the courts of kings and lords as well as early Celtic performances 'unequalled anywhere in the British Isles'.[378] Historian Alan Fletcher's in-depth history of pre-Cromwellian theatre in Ireland argues that early performance practices were the foundation stone for national mythmaking.[379] However, it was not until the eighteenth century that the first institutionalised 'national' theatre was opened in Dublin by the actor and singer Robert Owenson (1744–1812).[380] Owenson's theatre promoted his own nationalist ideas, and it quickly became a recruiting ground for the Volunteers, an Irish nationalist militia who were often cast in Owenson's plays, which were usually based on myths of Celtic Ireland.[381] Many historians of Irish theatre, like Fletcher, have discussed the politics of performance in

[377] R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 478–79.
[378] Alan John Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland: A Repertory of Sources and Documents from the Earliest Times Until c. 1642* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), p. 6.
[379] Fletcher, *Drama and the Performing Arts in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*, pp. 6–9.
[380] Chris Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre 1601–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 67.
[381] Ibid., p. 68.

Ireland and the link between nationalism and cultural activism.[382] Shonagh Hill, for example, examined the role of women and mythmaking in Irish theatre with the founding of Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Ireland) in 1900.[383] Committed to challenging English cultural influence in Ireland, Inghinidhe na hÉireann used tableaux vivants or living pictures to perform scenes from Irish mythology. Hill argues that 'nationalist feminists drew on a pre-colonial heritage in which women were free of both colonial and patriarchal restrictions'.[384] The idealisation of a mythic Irish past established Irish theatre as a space of national imagining – one in which bodies could be dressed and performed outside of their lived reality.

The turn of the twentieth century ushered in a new era for Irish theatre with the Irish cultural revival movement and figures such as William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory, who were at the helm. In 1899 The Irish Literary Theatre was founded by Yeats, Gregory, George Moore (1852–1933), and Edward Martyn (1859–1923), and their manifesto outlined the place of theatre in reimagining Irish-ness as they saw it:

> We propose to have performed in Dublin, in the spring of every year certain Celtic and Irish plays, which whatever be their degree of excellence will be written with a high ambition, and so to build up a Celtic and Irish school of dramatic literature. We hope to find in Ireland an uncorrupted and imaginative audience trained to listen by its passion for oratory and believe that our desire to bring upon the stage the deeper thoughts and emotions of Ireland will ensure for us a tolerant welcome, and that freedom to experiment which is not found in theatres of England, and without which no new movement in art or literature can succeed. […] We are confident of the support of all Irish people, who are weary of misrepresentation, in carrying out a work that is outside all the political questions that divide us.[385]

Theatre was an embodied cultural practice that allowed for the literary elite of Ireland to challenge colonial stereotypes of Irish-ness as weak, racially inferior, and even physically deformed.[386] The Irish Literary Theatre ended in 1901 due to lack of funding, but it was not long before the Abbey Theatre was founded in 1904 by Yeats, Gregory, Edward Martyn, George William Russell (1867–1935), and John Millington Synge (1871–1909) using funding from Annie Horniman (1860–1937).[387] The Abbey Theatre was a modernist project which sought to draw

[382] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001); see also: George Cusack, *The Politics of Identity in Irish Drama: W.B. Yeats, Augusta Gregory and J.M. Synge* (Routledge, 2009); see also: Lionel Pilkington, *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People* (London: Routledge, 2002).
[383] Shonagh Hill, *Women and Embodied Mythmaking in Irish Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
[384] Hill, *Women and Embodied Mythmaking in Irish Theatre*, p. 29.
[385] Lady Gregory, *Our Irish Theatre; a Chapter of Autobiography* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), pp. 8–9.
[386] Aidan Beatty, *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism, 1884–1938* (New York: Springer, 2016), p. 4.
[387] Morash, *A History of Irish Theatre 1601–2000*, p. 126.

Irish theatre away from London and closer to the continent in its style and themes.[388] As Brian Singleton suggests, the Abbey Theatre was 'an attempt by an Anglo Irish cultural elite to carve out a position for itself in an emerging national and nationalist culture'.[389] Early plays at the Abbey came to define the Irish theatrical canon. According to Brian Singleton, plays such as Synge's *Playboy of the Western World* (1907) and Sean O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) 'worked against a nationalist agenda for an unqualified and rose-tinted republican cause for blameless nativist traditions and cultures, and yet conversely, because of their modernist credentials, came to be extolled as canonical literary masterpieces'.[390] Singleton argues that the 'national implications' of these plays have been overlooked in favour of their 'more protean gender politics'.[391] The early-twentieth-century manifesto of national theatre set out to inscribe a robust and historically legitimate imaginary of Irish-ness, and the educated classes of Ireland paved the way for a national platform for this reimagining.

The Abbey Theatre was in financial crisis after surviving the Rising, the war of independence, and the Civil War. Therefore, with the help of Ernest Blythe (1889–1975), the Minister for Finance at the time, the Abbey was recognised by the state in 1925 as the National Theatre and received a subsidy of £850 per annum.[392] In a Dáil debate on 13 May 1925, Blythe argued that the subsidy was necessary to secure the future of an institution that had done more for the country and its citizens than any other supported by the state.[393] Funding was granted under the agreement that the Abbey had a role to play in imagining Irish cultural identity.[394] The Abbey became the first state-endowed theatre in the English-speaking world, cementing its place in the Irish cultural canon, which was tied not just to the history of revolution but to the state and progress of the nation. This relationship between state and theatre came at a moment when Ireland faced a crisis of national identification following a harrowing civil war, which resulted in the partition of the island. Although subsequently the Abbey had an obligation to fulfil certain requirements pertaining to the subsidy and a government representative had to serve on the board of directors, it still retained a good deal of autonomy. Theatre became the space between the state and the public, an in-between space of imagining.

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388 Nicholas Grene and Chris Morash, *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
389 Brian Singleton, *Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 22.
390 Ibid., p. 22.
391 Ibid., p. 22.
392 Robert Welch, *The Abbey Theatre, 1899–1999: Form and Pressure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 82–83.
393 Houses of the Oireachtas, 'COMMITTEE ON FINANCE. – MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES (VOTE 21). – Dáil Éireann Houses of the Oireachtas', Wednesday, 13 May 1925, Ireland <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1925-05-13/12> [accessed 7 July 2021].
394 Welch, *The Abbey Theatre, 1899–1999*, p. 83.

In the act of commemoration, however, the Abbey Theatre has engaged the national implications of not just the plays mentioned, but of the Irish theatrical canon as a mouthpiece for forgotten bodies and an opportunity to explore the embodied implications of shared and private trauma. Emilie Pine has written about *The Darkest Corner*, a series of three plays produced by the Abbey in 2010 which dealt with the 2009 'Ryan Report' on the abuse of children under the care of the state and the Catholic church from 1936 onwards. According to Pine, the plays set out to do two things: 'to provide a national space within which the abuse of individuals could be represented' and 'to highlight the abuse of personal and collective memory which was the corollary of the physical and emotional abuse of individuals'.[395] Performing these traumatic and disturbing memories of abuse and making them part of public discourse, Pine argues, 'shows how theatre can be used to inspire a sense of collectivity'.[396]

National theatre, according to historian Holly Maples, can also be read as a mirror for societal anxieties, particularly at a moment of commemoration.[397] Riots at the 1907 opening performance of *The Playboy of the Western World* and during the first week of performances of *The Plough and the Stars* in 1926 demonstrate how societal anxieties around issues, such as gender roles, play out on the stage.[398] When the Abbey Theatre launched its commemorative 'Waking the Nation' programme in 2016, the lack of female representation amongst the programme's playwrights and directors did not go unchallenged. In response, Lian Bell, a set designer and arts manager, founded the 'Waking the Feminists' campaign to expose gender bias not just in the Abbey, but across Irish theatre and beyond.[399] 'Waking the Feminists', although essentially a protest movement against the Abbey as a state-funded institution, was included in the official state programme of the 2016 commemorations.

The Abbey Theatre, as Ireland's national theatre, has become an arena for exploring what it means to be Irish – the state funds the performances but the bodies shape the narrative. In this chapter I interrogate the potentiality of bodies and the costumes they wear to subvert the platform of state-funded theatre by foregrounding the nation as the image of its people as opposed to the image constructed by the state. I do this by first focussing on masculinities in

[395] Emilie Pine, 'The Abuse of History/A History of Abuse: Theatre as Memory and the Abbey's 'Darkest Corner', in *Ireland, Memory and Performing the Historical Imagination*, ed. by Mary P. Caulfield (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 207–22 (pp. 207–8).
[396] Ibid., p. 214.
[397] Holly Maples, *Culture War: Conflict, Commemoration and the Contemporary Abbey Theatre* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011).
[398] Ibid., p. 5.
[399] 'ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN', *#WakingTheFeminists* <http://www.wakingthefeminists.org/about-wtf/how-it-started/> [accessed 7 June 2018].

crisis during the revolutionary period represented in a series of three plays written and staged in the immediate aftermath of the Revolutionary Period: Sean O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays.

Part Two: Performing Masculinities in Crisis – Sean O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays

Sean O'Casey's plays were excluded from the Abbey's 1966 programme for the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. They were deemed to be not in keeping with the state commemorations' spirit of patriotism.[400] This is despite the fact that O'Casey's work contributed to the creation of the Irish theatrical canon, and the playwright was an important figure in the history of the Irish Revolution. An ardent nationalist early in his career, O'Casey joined the Gaelic League in 1906, followed by the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the ITGWU. A supporter of Jim Larkin, he took part in the 1913 Strike and Lockout, and he took over from Larkin as General Secretary of the Irish Citizen Army in 1914. O'Casey did not take part in the 1916 Rising, however, as he realised that his socialist ideals were increasingly at odds with the nationalist rhetoric of the leaders of the Rising.[401] His disillusionment with the nationalist movement and the exclusion of the labouring classes from the revolutionary movement provided inspiration for O'Casey's plays.

The voices of the labouring and poor classes of Dublin are central to O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays, and the crisis of masculinity on stage echoed the reality of the battle for representation in the nationalist movement and the struggle for political power. John Horne points out that 'war and politics have formed a classic locus for the self-definition of male actors, who have seen themselves as bearing power, wielding force, and incarnating authority, whether actual or potential'.[402] Through his male characters O'Casey explores what happens to masculinities when power shifts, force weakens, and authority slips in the grips of a national conflict. Historian Christopher Murray describes O'Casey's 'search for a hero' throughout the Three Dublin Plays, suggesting O'Casey's heroes are not those who are in the throes of revolutionary conflict, but those who are partisan; and often the female voices in the plays speak

[400] Ferghal McGarry, 'Hard service: Remembering the Abbey Theatre's rebels', in *Remembering 1916 The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Politics of Memory in Ireland*, ed. by R Grayson and F McGarry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 86–112 (p. 110).
[401] Murray, *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama: Mirror Up to a Nation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 97.
[402] Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Josh Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 22.

of the dangers of nationalist ideology and the futility of dying for it.[403] I question what happens to revolutionary heroism when Irish masculinities are performed in crisis.

In an analysis of the Three Dublin Plays staged since the beginning of the Decade of Centenaries, I examine how O'Casey's leading male characters have been dressed by costume designers for audiences across Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland, as each production involved a different collaboration with the Abbey Theatre. *Juno and the Paycock*, which was staged in 2011, is set during the Irish Civil War and was the first major collaboration between the Abbey Theatre and the National Theatre, London.[404] *The Shadow of a Gunman*, a 2015 collaboration between the Abbey Theatre and the Lyric Theatre Belfast, tells a story of mistaken identity during the War of Independence in 1920. Finally, the *Plough and the Stars*, the most frequently staged of the Three Dublin Plays, is set during the 1916 Rising. It was staged in 2016 at the Abbey Theatre in collaboration with Lir Academy, Ireland's National Academy of Dramatic Art at Trinity College in Dublin.

Masculinities in O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays are portrayed as conflicted, cowardly, and unreliable as male protagonists strive to assert a distinct national identity, symptomatic of a new nation state struggling with its own self-definition. Independence, self-governance, and autonomy became not just the ideal qualities of an independent nation but, according to Joseph Valente, they also became 'the condition of personal independence, manliness could and did emerge as a leading trope of national self-determination'.[405] David Waterman describes how 'the actors in O'Casey's anti-nationalist dramas are represented as men whose performance of manliness is nothing but window-dressing which collapses into a crisis of masculinity'.[406] By focussing my analysis on 'window-dressing' as costume, and by interrogating the male body in performing crisis as part of state-funded commemoration, I am able to question what the image of revolutionary masculinity means for manliness and Irish-ness in Ireland today.

Juno and the Paycock

Juno and the Paycock is set in a working-class tenement in 1920s Dublin as the Civil War rages across the country. The story follows Juno, the matriarch of the tenement, and her husband, "Captain" Jack Boyle, who throughout the play exaggerates his acts of heroism during his time as

[403] Murray, *Twentieth-Century Irish Drama*, pp. 88–113.
[404] The Abbey Theatre-National Theatre production of *Juno and the Paycock* was not an official part of the Decade of Centenaries and, as yet, has not been revived for the centenary, which provides a useful comparison to the story of the Civil War outside the context of the centenary.
[405] Joseph Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011), p. 11.
[406] David Waterman, 'The Performance of Masculinity and Nationalism: Sean O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars* and *Juno and the Paycock*', *Études Irlandaises*, 23.2 (1998), pp. 53–69, p. 54.

merchant seaman, with Juno calling him a 'paycock' (a Dublin pronunciation of the word *peacock*) because of his embellishments. The play is a tragicomedy following the lives of Juno, Jack, and their family, friends, and neighbours as personal tragedies unfold alongside the realities of the Civil War. Themes of poverty, nationalism, the terror of war, and gender inequality play out as Juno is consistently let down and eventually abandoned by the men in her life. The play ends with Juno and her pregnant daughter, Mary, leaving the tenement after her son Johnny is murdered by the IRA. The final scene sees Jack return drunk, ignorant of the fact that Juno has left him. He declares 'the whole world is in a terrible state o' chassis', a malapropism in which he means 'crisis'. Jack declares, but fails to grasp, the crisis that he and the country are in.

Before the start of the Decade of Centenaries in 2011, the Abbey Theatre and the National Theatre, London, joined forces for the first time to produce *Juno and the Paycock*. *Juno*, first staged in 1924, was the second of O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays, but for the purposes of this analysis, the 2011 production of *Juno* provides an initial comparative context for the other O'Casey plays staged as part of the Abbey's centenary programme. The 2011 set and costumes were designed by Tony-award-winning designer Bob Crowley, and the design of the production was Crowley's highly anticipated debut at the Abbey Theatre.[407] Of the three plays, *Juno* is the one that deals with the period of the Civil War.

As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the Civil War occupies a contentious place in Irish history as well as in national and individual memory. Consequently, it is often excluded from public discourse and cultural commemoration. Commemoration of the Civil War is complicated by the element of shame in remembering, as Ann Dolan argues: '[T]here was shame in civil war. Shame in winning. There could be nothing 'glorious' or 'holy' in celebrating the victory'.[408] Dolan's work on Civil War commemoration was published in 2006; since the state centenaries of 2016, as discussed in Chapter One, the framework for commemorating revolutionary masculinities is rooted in a cycle of historic heroism.

Shame is performed in *Juno* through the absence of the male hero. O'Casey male characters problematise the memory of the revolutionary period through their cowardice and recklessness. The male characters in *Juno* consist of Captain Jack Boyle and his friend Joxer, who both assume the role of vaudevillian clowns; Charlie Bentham is the pompous cad; and Jerry Devine is the cowardly proletariat. Johnny Boyle, however, is the embodiment of shame and the anthesis of revolutionary masculinity – guilt of civil war manifests through his physical body.

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[407] 'Juno And The Paycock', *Official London Theatre* <https://officiallondontheatre.com/news/juno-and-the-paycock-118333/> [accessed 30 January 2022].
[408] Anne Dolan, *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 150.

Having fought in the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence, Johnny's body bears all the signs of battles lost – a wounded hip and a missing arm. The stage directions describe him as:

> a thin, delicate fellow […] he has evidently gone through a rough time. His face is pale and drawn; there is a tremulous look of indefinite fear in his eyes. The left sleeve of his coat is empty, and he walks with a slight halt.[409]

The play opens with Mary and Juno discussing the death of a man who was known to them. They discuss descriptions of his injuries recorded in the morning paper: 'seven wounds he had – one entherin' [entering] the neck, with an exit wound beneath the left shoulder-blade; another in the left breast penethratin' [penetrating] the heart, an […]'. Johnny, pictured in Figure 3.2, becomes agitated and pleads with them: 'Oh, quit that readin', for God's sake! Are yous losin' all your feelin's? It'll soon be that none of yous'll read anything that's not about butcherin'!'[410]

Redacted – Photograph of a performance of *Juno and the Paycock* showing Juno speaking to Johnny.

Figure 3.2– The Character of Johnny, Abbey Theatre-National Theatre, London Co-Production of Juno and the Paycock, *2011*

O'Casey situated the dead and wounded body at the heart of the play, and Johnny is the ravaged embodiment of civil war; not dead, but not fully living, his body wounded and dismembered. His costume similarly reflects the toll that conflict has taken: fraying cuffs reflect his fraying resolve, and the empty sleeve is a physical reminder of the bodily cost of war. He is no longer whole. Johnny's broken body disrupts the notion of progress in conflict; his body is

[409] Sean O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays: 'Shadow of a Gunman', 'Juno and the Paycock' and 'Plough and the Stars'*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1998), p. 71.
[410] Ibid., p. 68.

part of the wreckage of war. Elaine Scarry argues that 'the main purpose of war is injuring' which results in the 'eventual disowning of the injury so that its attributes can be transferred elsewhere, as they cannot if they are permitted to cling to the original sire of the wound, the human body'.[411] Scarry describes the instances in which the wounded body is made visible by those who oppose war or is disavowed by governments who must ensure continued participation in a given conflict. However, in the case of civil war, the wounded body symbolises the pain of a divided and dismembered nation, and the empty sleeve of Johnny's costume screams of the agony of a nation.[412]

Redacted – Photograph of a performance of *Juno and the Paycock* showing Johnny confronted by two men holding guns.

Figure 3.3– Johnny Confronted by Two 'Irregulars'', Abbey Theatre-National Theatre, London Co-Production of Juno and the Paycock, *2011*

Figure 3.3 shows Johnny being confronted by two 'Irregulars' (members of the IRA) about his betrayal of a fellow IRA member during the War of Independence. Their costumes, complete with trench coats and caps, contrast with the diminished figure of Johnny, who is wearing a collarless shirt, a knitted waistcoat, and threadbare trousers. Johnny has lost more than his arm, he has lost his sense of purpose in the conflict, and with an increasing awareness of his own death, Johnny is eventually dragged away by the two Irregulars.[413] Civil War is an unnatural condition for the imagined community of the nation. Similarly, Johnny does not sit within the locus of Irish revolutionary masculinity. He is the embodiment of the national tragedy of civil

411 Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 74.
412 Ibid., p. 74.
413 Alexander Welsh, *Hamlet in His Modern Guises* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 27.

war, as Juno laments upon hearing of his murder: 'Ah, what can God do agen [against] the stupidity o' men'.[414]

Theatre historian Christopher Murray outlines that, for Johnny, 'there is no exit from the prison house of history'.[415] He is unable to move on from the trauma of conflict, neither physically nor mentally. The notion of working towards a self-governing democracy is stunted in Johnny's inadequate form, manifesting the absence of bodies in state commemoration or surviving in museum collections. Johnny, who by the traditions set down by the state in honouring the veterans of the 1916 Rising should be celebrated as a decorated war hero, is instead consumed with guilt and the fear of retribution. His indefinable masculinity renders him neither hero nor martyr, echoing the experiences of ex-servicemen in the First World War, who found themselves unemployable, unable to provide for their families, and an inconvenience to the state.[416]

Crowley's costume design places Johnny's experience of violence and mutilation within the context of 1920s Ireland. Some reviews of the plays mention, in particular, the beauty with which Crowley interpreted destitution. 'Sadly', Lyn Gardner wrote in the *Guardian*, 'this Juno and the Paycock is not quite squalid enough in Howard Davies's overly well-mannered revival […] where even the wallpaper blisters artfully in Bob Crowley's design'.[417] Fintan O'Toole described the play as 'the glitziest show' of the 2011 Dublin Theatre Festival.[418] The historical framework of the play and the 'beautiful' decrepitude of the design aestheticized bodies in pain and poverty, thereby ensuring the embodiment of violence remained in the past. For this Anglo-Irish co-production, the messy reality of the Civil War remained rooted in the historical context of 1920s Ireland. However, the trauma of Johnny's experience of revolution in Ireland and his unfortunate end speak uncomfortably of the unremembered dead of the Civil War, and it is his body on stage which renders this difficult to ignore.

Building upon the idea that costume can locate bodily experiences of conflict in specific time and space unlocks the possibility of bringing historical narratives in alignment with the lived experiences of conflict across time, as demonstrated in the 2015 production of *The Shadow of a Gunman*.

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414 O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays*, p. 145.
415 Christopher Murray, 'Sean O'Casey: History into Drama', in *Commemorating Ireland: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. by Eberhard Bort (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2004), pp, 223–237 (p. 229).
416 Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 97-100.
417 Lyn Gardner, 'Juno and the Paycock – Review', *The Guardian*, 2011 <http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2011/oct/09/juno-and-the-paycock-review> [accessed 14 January 2021].
418 Fintan O'Toole, 'Course of True Theatre Never Should Run Smooth', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/tv-radio-web/course-of-true-theatre-never-should-run-smooth-1.614559> [accessed 14 January 2021].

The Shadow of a Gunman

The Shadow of a Gunman, the first of O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays, was first staged by the Abbey Theatre on 15 August 1923. A tragicomedy, *The Shadow of a Gunman* is set during the 1920 War of Independence and follows Donal Davoren, a thirty-something aspiring poet who views the revolutionary conflict with an apathy at odds with many young Irish men of his age, who were drawn to join the new militant force, the IRA. The surge in violent nationalism at this time provides the backdrop for the play, in which Donal is mistakenly identified as an IRA gunman by other residents of the Dublin tenement where he has just taken up residence. The ensuing drama of mistaken identity ends with the tenement being raided by the British-administered forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary – or the Black and Tans, as they were also known because of their black caps and tan trench coats – and the death of the young Minnie Powell, who fell for Donal and his mistaken identity as a passionate nationalist and proud member of the IRA.

The 2015 production was a joint project between The Abbey Theatre in Dublin and the Lyric Theatre in Belfast, and it was the first time since 1990 that the play had been seen on the national stage.[419] Sarah Bacon was the set and costume designer, and she decided that she wanted the costumes for this revival production to be accessible to a young audience immersed in the culture of commemoration.[420] In 2015 *The Shadow of a Gunman* was one of the prescribed drama texts for the English examination for Junior Certificate (Teastas Sóisearach) students in their third year of secondary education. Thus, the Abbey issued a 'Study Pack' for the students who came to see the play.[421] In an interview I conduced with Bacon, she described how she was keen for the design of the play to be 'relatable' so that audiences, including the vast numbers of students who would see the play, could 'immediately understand the characters – so they had a way in and that, straight away, comes down to costume'.[422] For Bacon, costume communicates the characters' experiences as real, lived, and relatable, and she argued that the process involves dressing the character rather than costuming the actor: 'you just want to dress them because they're real people'.[423] Dressing the characters in 'real' costumes created a point of stability in the aesthetic of the production from which Bacon could alter the historical setting of the play.

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419 'Search Results – Abbey Archives – Abbey Theatre – Amharclann Na Mainistreach', *Abbey Theatre* <https://www.abbeytheatre.ie/archives/search/plays/the shadow of a gunman> [accessed 21 December 2020].
420 'Prescribed Material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examination in 2016', The Department of Education, 2014.
421 An tSraith Shóisearach so Mhúinteoirí, 'Junior Cycle English Guide to the Prescribed Drama Texts' <https://www.jct.ie/perch/resources/english/guide-totheprescribeddramabooklet.pdf>; 'The Shadow of a Gunman Study Pack' (The Abbey Theatre, 2015).
422 Sarah Bacon, Personal Interview, 2020.
423 Ibid.

As mentioned above, Bob Crowley's costumes for *Juno and the Paycock* in 2011 were set in the 1920s, positioning the trauma of civil war to bodies of 1920s Ireland. Playing with time and national memory of conflict, Bacon situated the set and costumes in the 1970s, 50 years after the play was originally set: 'it was another time of conflict in Ireland […] we recognise these photos of the Troubles from the north and the south in Ireland at the time'.[424] Bacon's 'we' signals the legacy of a conflict which lasted into the 1990s and beyond, existing in living memory and at the forefront of a national debate around recovering memory. After all, three years earlier (2012) had been the 40th anniversary of Bloody Sunday.[425]

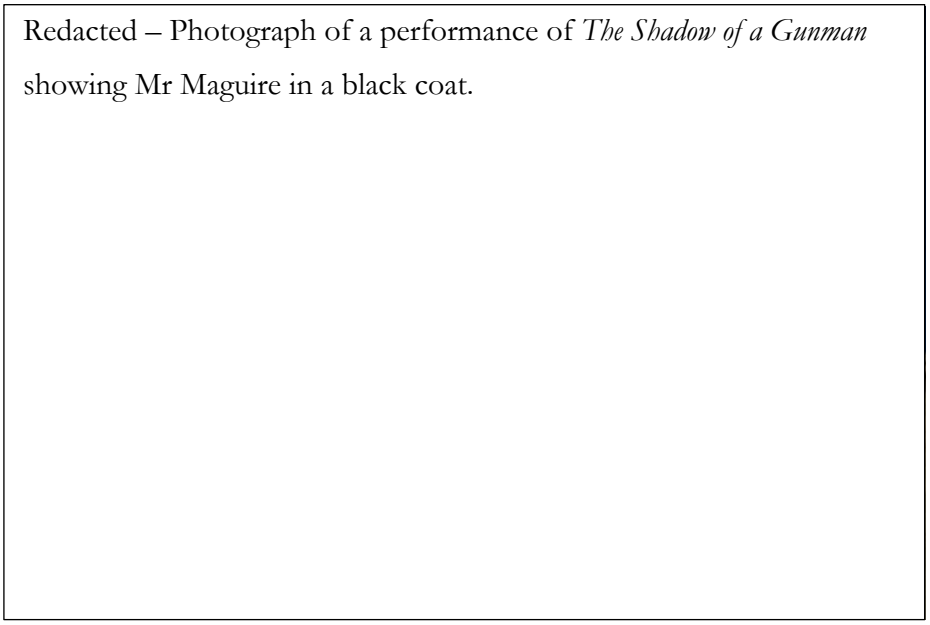

Figure 3.4– Mr. Maguire from the 2015 Abbey Theatre-Lyric Theatre Co-Production of The Shadow of a Gunman, *2015*

Figure 3.4 shows Mr. Maguire, a young member of the IRA who Bacon described as 'fancying himself' and 'the idea of being a revolutionary, so we had him in the leather jacket and the flairs'.[426] Using key garments like the leather jacket, Bacon situated Mr. Maguire in the 1970s but ensured the design of the garments could equally place him in the 1920s. Mr. Maguire, the real IRA gunman who only makes a very brief appearance at the beginning of the play, is killed offstage at the end of act 1.

[424] Bacon, Personal Interview.
[425] 'Bloody Sunday – 40 Years On', 2012 <https://www.rte.ie/news/special-reports/2012/0127/311592-bloodysunday/> [accessed 5 February 2022].
[426] Bacon, Personal Interview.

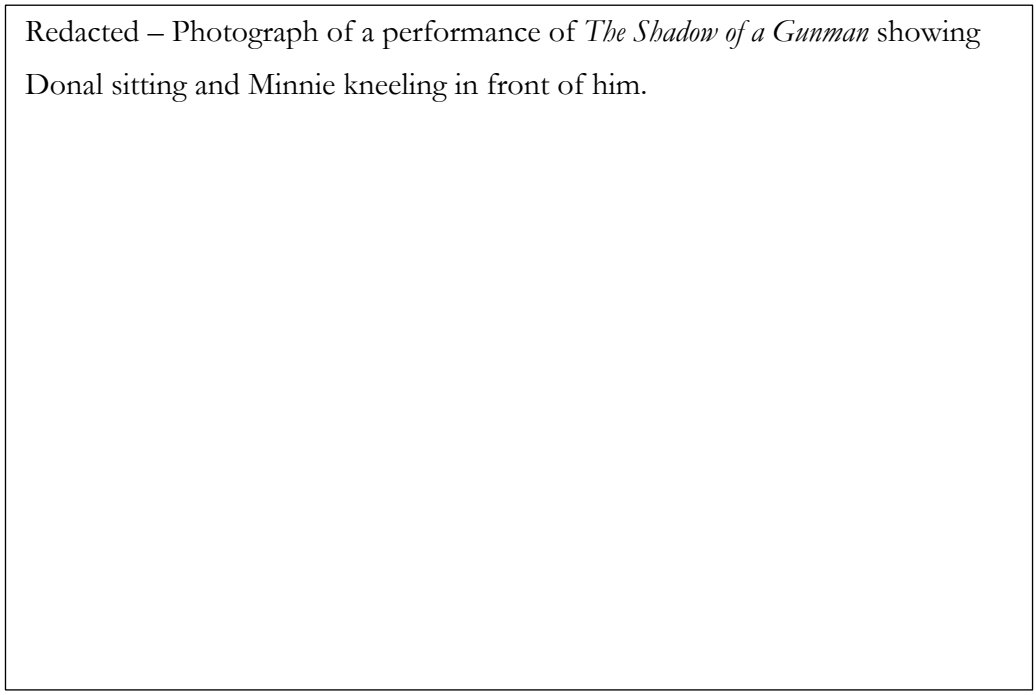

Figure 3.5 – Donal and Minnie from the Abbey Theatre-Lyric Theatre Co-Production of The Shadow of a Gunman, *2015*

Donal has been gladly living under the assumed identity of the IRA gunman because it earned him the fearful respect of the tenement landlord and the adoration of Minnie. Donal is similarly dressed in a historically ambiguous manner. He is pictured with Minnie in Figure 3.5 wearing a black t-shirt, black trousers, and black leather shoes, while Minnie is dressed in a red and white mini dress. Donal's costume is difficult to situate in historical time. Bacon described the rationale behind Donal's pared back and less period-specific costume:

> the leather shoes could have been from 1920 […] the trousers again could have been period, could have been 1920, could have been very hipster 2010, so it was all very neutral and nondescript, but that was very intentional for him because […] he is a weak character, he has no backbone […] and that's why he's a bad artist as well, he has ideas of being an artist, but he can't actually create anything because he doesn't know what he is and he doesn't know where he stands on things, so that's where the costume was coming from.[427]

Donal is the antithesis of the revolutionary hero that the other characters imagine him to be. Director Wayne Jordan described the impact of this imagining:

> Minnie in particular conflates her ideas of romantic Ireland and romantic interest. Even Donal himself gets those things mixed up, because he sees the way she looks at him and he enjoys the reflection of himself ennobled by revolutionary ardour.[428]

[427] Bacon, Personal Interview.
[428] 'The Shadow of a Gunman Study Pack' (The Abbey Theatre, 2015), p. 20.

Donal's charade as the IRA gunman exposes his lack of conviction in the revolution and in his art, thus rendering him indistinct as an artist and as a man. His costume reflects this crisis of identity. His imagined masculinity goes beyond the falsity of his own sense of self to expose the futility of self-sacrifice, as ultimately paid by Minnie with her life. While Johnny in *Juno* is the embodiment of revolutionary masculinity in crisis, Donal is a mirror for the crisis of imagined masculinity. The crisis of revolutionary masculinities is developed as a theme throughout the play. However, unfixing the body from time-specific conflict through costume casts uncertainty over both the ideology of revolutionary heroism in the revolutionary period and how it is commemorated.

The play centres also on the broader theme of the 'sin of omission'. A Catholic philosophy, the sin of omission teaches that sin is not just an act of doing but also something that ought to be done but is not. Donal never reveals his true identity. He basks in the glory of his assumed identity as a member of the IRA, and his sin is realised when Minnie dies to protect him. Unlike Johnny in *Juno*, who wears his shame on his empty sleeve and whose costume speaks plainly of the conflict in 1920s Ireland that ravaged him and his country, Donal is a more ambiguous figure on stage. Donal absolves himself of the sin of omission early in the play by musing: 'what danger can there be in being the shadow of a gunman?'

O'Casey uses Donal as his male protagonist to expose the limits and perils of an imagined ideal, and how an unsustainable ideal can result in devastating consequences for the lived reality of conflict, like the death of Minnie. Minnie becomes the martyr of the play, shaking the foundations of the national myth of the power of sacrifice in imagining Irish masculinity. Donal's nondescript costume and his imagined identity – either as the IRA gunman or a talented poet – unfix his body in the duration of revolutionary time. The cycle of revolutionary time, which is structured on the death, resurrecting, remembering, and re-enacting of revolutionary martyrs, as argued in Chapter One, is broken. Donal can be situated in any time and space; he does not die for the cause of Irish independence, therefore rupturing the cycle. Johnny's halting of the progress of history in *Juno*, as he was portrayed in 2011, differs from Donal in the 2015 production of *The Shadow of a Gunman* because of the historicism of his costume. Donal's costume renders his body 'relatable' to the 1920s, the 1970s, and even the 2010s, therefore the audience is left questioning what reality is being depicted, what conflict is being depicted, and the reliability of memory.

Bacon uses costume to engage with time and reflect on how the audience might read and relate to the conflicts played out on stage. Bacon described how in the beginning the director, Wayne Jordan, did not have a clear vision of how the costumes should look, and it was difficult

to pin down the aesthetic because of the Black and Tan Auxiliary who comes in right at the end of the play. Bacon argued that his presence in the play should be rooted in the historical context of Ireland in the 1920s, and she felt she couldn't 'play with that'.[429] As a result, at the very end of the play when the tenement is being raided by the Black and Tans, an Auxiliary storms into Donal's room wearing a black uniform and a black beret.

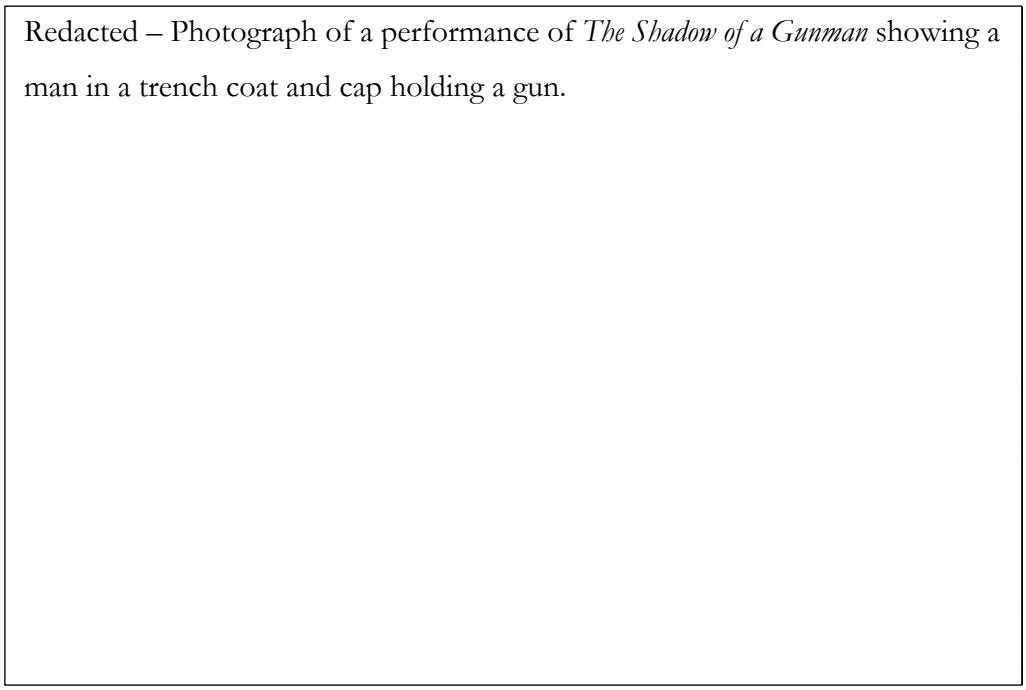

Figure 3.6 – Black and Tan Threatening Donal and Seamus from the Abbey Theatre-Lyric Theatre Co-Production of The Shadow of a Gunman*, 2015*

Figure 3.6 shows the Black and Tan at the end of the play threatening Donal and Seamus while searching for evidence of revolutionary activity. Black and Tans wore distinctive black caps and often improvised uniforms, such as wearing British Army trench coats or khaki tunics. 'The culture of the Black and Tans and why they're called Black and Tans', Bacon explained, is because of their:

> ad-hoc uniform […] so our Black and Tan, our Auxiliary, is in a 1920 Black and Tan [with] a bit of a First World War uniform – bit of this, bit of that – and the rest of the characters land around 1970.[430]

In the 2015 production, the portrayal of the only British military force in the play is carefully consigned to history through his costume – a careful and considered design choice for a

[429] Bacon, Personal Interview.
[430] Ibid.

production that was staged in both Belfast and Dublin. The caution around the historic representation of Anglo-Irish conflict in living memory is again rooted in the context of history.

The agency of the Black and Tan uniform and the memory of conflict also resonated with Bacon on a personal level. Her grandfather, General Richard Mulcahy (1886–1971), was second-in-command to Michael Collins until his death and replaced Collins as chief of staff of the Irish Army in 1922. This personal perspective of a member of a family that subsequently split after the end of the Civil War in 1923 influenced how Bacon viewed the representation of historic conflict and the positioning of bodies in the past and the present.

In the 2015 production of *The Shadow of a Gunman*, costumes shift from one timeframe to another. They cross over and intersect, as do the themes of O'Casey's plays. As with Juno at the end of *Juno and the Paycock*, it is the female character's suffering and sacrifice that fulfils the ideal of revolutionary masculinity, while male protagonists move from hero to coward as the narrative plays out. Historical reality is subjective, dependent on the time in which history is remembered. What Bacon did with the costume design of *The Shadow of a Gunman* demonstrates how costume and time can interact to call into question the very notion of historical reality and the reliability of heroic narratives in commemorating conflict. The third and final of O'Casey's plays issues another challenge to the reliability of heroes as a foundation for history; however, the significance of this play is that it deals specifically with events of the 1916 Rising – the cornerstone of 'official' revolutionary history. *The Plough and the Stars* is the 1916 Rising from the perspective of Dublin's poor, behind the grandstanding and mythmaking of its leaders. *The Plough and the Stars* performs the Rising as the antithesis of myth – a tragic reality.

The Plough and the Stars

The Plough and the Stars is a four-act tragedy set just before and during the 1916 Rising in Dublin City. The play follows the stories of Dublin's poor and working class, and it explores the impact of revolutionary conflict and nationalist thought on the lives of those at the fringes of society. The play, which was first staged in 1926 on the tenth anniversary of the Rising, was met with mixed reviews. On the fourth night of its opening week, riots broke out in the Abbey Theatre. Theatregoers were appalled at the play's blatant anti-nationalist sentiments, which solicited an equally heated response from W.B. Yeats, who famously said: 'You have disgraced yourselves again. Is this to be the recurring celebration of Irish genius?'[431]

[431] Robert Goode Hogan and Richard Burnham, *The Years of O'Casey, 1921–1926: A Documentary History* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1992), p. 281.

O'Casey was confronting dominant ideologies of nationalism to an audience who were attempting to justify the death and losses they had suffered a decade earlier. Depictions of shame and pride in public discourse were shaping national memory as early as the tenth anniversary of the Rising. Despite this initial reception, however, *The Plough* is one of O'Casey's greatest contributions to the Irish theatrical canon and has proved to be one of the most popular plays for the commemoration of the 1916 Rising. The Abbey Theatre alone has revived the play 35 times since 1926, marking notable anniversaries of the 1916 Rising, such as the 20th in 1936 and the 75th in 1991, which is surprising considering the play's anti-nationalist themes and the Abbey Theatre's status as a state-funded body. [432] Such contradictions are played out on stage in O'Casey's representation of the crisis of masculinity and the 1916 Rising as a locus of Irish manliness from which revolutionary time is centred. It was also for this reason that Taoiseach Sean Lemass (1899–1971) felt that O'Casey's plays should be excluded from the official programme for the 50th anniversary of the Rising in 1966.[433] *The Plough and the Stars* was revived by the Abbey Theatre, however, for the centenary of the Rising in 2016, demonstrating how masculinities thrown into crisis in 1916 as men sought to define themselves by their action and inaction were relevant dilemmas for audiences in 2016.

The Abbey's production for the Decade of Centenaries, directed by Sean Holmes and with costume design by Catherine Fay, was staged throughout Easter Week 2016. It was set in present-day Dublin. The Georgian tenement of the original play was replaced with a tower block of scaffolding and strip lighting. Most characters were dressed in the contemporary clothing of 2016. Like *The Shadow of a Gunman*, *The Plough and the Stars* was on the 2016 education curriculum, this time for final-year students in secondary education, thus the theatre developed an educational 'Study Pack' for students who were scheduled to come and see the play as part of their studies. The costuming was, therefore, another way for students to experience the play in tandem with their own lives in 2016 and at a moment of national commemoration.

The most striking aspect of the costuming in *The Plough* is the dressing and undressing that O'Casey wrote into the play as a means of character development. Acts of dressing and undressing are undertaken mainly by the male characters in the play, and they become a performance of the relationship between dress and the exposition of masculinities in conflict. The multiplicity of masculinities can be analysed through three characters as they struggle to ascertain and assert their national and masculine subjectivity in the midst of national and

[432] 'Search Results – Abbey Archives – Abbey Theatre – Amharclann Na Mainistreach', *Abbey Theatre* <https://www.abbeytheatre.ie/archives/search/plays/the%20risen%20people> [accessed 9 May 2018].
[433] Fearghal McGarry, 'Hard service: Remembering the Abbey Theatre Rebels', in *Remembering 1916* , ed. by Richard S. Grayson and Fearghal McGarry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 86–112 (p. 110).

personal crises. The first character is Peter Flynn, a labourer described in the first act as 'a funny-lookin' little man? […] Like somethin' you'd pick off a Christmas tree'.[434] The second is Jack Clitheroe, a bricklayer and former member of the Irish Citizen Army described as having a face 'in which is the desire for authority, without the power to attain it'.[435] Finally, the third is Corporal Stoddart, who makes a brief appearance at the end of the play, and who 'enters in full war kit: Steel helmet, rifle and bayonet, and trench tool'. [436] Through these characters O'Casey argues that the male image is central to the ideology of nationalism, and their dress articulates concerns around the relationship between militarism and masculinity in Ireland at the time of the Rising and at its commemoration.

Throughout the play each of these characters changes from one costume to another, sometimes even entering in a state of undress or undressing as part of a scene. The play opens with Uncle Peter:

> Sitting at the fire, airing a white shirt […] His face invariably wears a look of animated anguish, mixed with irritated defiance, as if everybody was at war with him, and he at war with everybody […] clad in a singlet, white whipcord knee-breeches, and is in his stocking-feet.[437]

Peter's presence on the stage is one of fervent agitation. He seems to be irritated by everyone else, and they by him. Fluther Good, who considers Peter to be preposterous, explains to Mrs. Gogan:

> He's adornin' himself for th' meeting tonight. (pulling a handbill from his pocket reading) 'Great Demonstration an' torchlight procession around places in th' city to th' memory of Irish Patriots, to be concluded be a meetin', at which will be taken an oath of fealty to th' Irish Republic'.[438]

Peter, highly anxious, is organising his uniform as he prepares to leave for the procession. This is a comical performance. He enters and leaves in various stages of dress, struggling with his collar, which he declares too stiff, or looking for his belt, until he finally re-enters the stage in the full uniform of the Irish National Foresters. This is a performance of militarism as ceremony; the histrionics of Irish military masculinity are on full display. The Irish National Foresters, a friendly society, contributed financial aid to the sick and poor of their community and generally acted as a body of support for its members.[439] Its ceremonial uniform had no association with warfare. The

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[434] O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays*, p. 156.
[435] Ibid., p. 167.
[436] Ibid., p. 234.
[437] Ibid., pp. 152–53.
[438] Ibid., p. 155.
[439] Desmond Keenan, *Post-Famine Ireland: Social Structure: Ireland as It Really Was* (Indiana: Xlibris Corporation, 2006), p. 360.

uniform's vivid green, gold shamrocks, and braiding appeared more appropriate for a leprechaun than a combatant.

Redacted – Photograph of a performance of *The Plough and the Stars* showing Nora Clitheroe speaking to Peter Flynn.

Figure 3.7 – Peter's Irish National Foresters Jacket designed by Catherine Fay for the Abbey Theatre Production of The Plough and the Stars, *2016*

Figure 3.8 – Irish National Foresters Uniform, National Museum of Ireland, HH:1979.36.1, 1900

A close examination of the Forester's jacket designed by Catherine Fay (Figure 3.7) alongside an example from the National Museum of Ireland dating from 1900 (Figure 3.8)

reveals that the production used an accurate replica of what was worn by the Foresters for ceremonial parades, such as the one that Peter attends. Fay used the uniforms in the National Museum as part of her research for the play, aiming to recreate the uniforms as accurately as possible.[440] Each jacket has three gold shamrocks along the lapel, gold fringed epaulettes, gold braiding on the cuffs, and gold buttons on the front. Both are a vivid green. Peter's plumed hat, in particular, captures the imagination of Mrs. Gogan, who observes: 'The Foresthers' is a gorgeous dhress! I don't think I've seen nicer, mind you, in a pantomime […] Th' loveliest part of th' dhress, I think, is th' osthrichess plume!', to which Fluther replies: 'Ah, sure, when you'd look at him, you'd wondher whether th' man was makin' fun o' th' costume, or th' costume was makin' fun o' th' man!'[441] The reference to pantomime brings to light the tradition of costume in pantomime to demarcate the 'canonical fool', who was adorned in bright colours and bells.[442] This shows that it is not just the characters on stage who are ridiculing the Foresters' uniform and their 'patriotic' duty, O'Casey was ridiculing them as well. Peter's historical costume, as part of the system of costumes on stage, sets out the 'foolish' context of uniforms in the play.

Uniforms throughout the play are used as props in the creation of an artificial masculinity and are crucial in rendering military masculinity as foolish. As Fay explains, 'Amongst all the contemporary stuff, and what was going on, the uniforms just smacked of an artificiality in the world that was there, and I think probably even in reality they did […] it's men playing dress-up'.[443] The artificiality of Peter's uniform, and of uniforms in general in the play, draws attention to the lived realities of trying to inhabit prescribed gender roles. Uniforms in the context of revolutionary Ireland contest dominant representations of uniforms associated with imperialism and British authority in Ireland. The authority that uniforms profess to enforce instead becomes farcical.

Jack Clitheroe suffers his own private crisis, which is illustrated through uniform. Through the character of Jack, O'Casey gives an insight into the public and private façade of nationalist bravado centred on motifs of uniform and uniformity. Jack Clitheroe is mocked for 'dressing up' in uniform in his pursuit of an ideal of revolutionary masculinity. Mrs. Gogan observes:

> He wasn't goin' to be in anything where he couldn't be conspishuous. He was so cocksure o' being made one that he bought a Sam Browne belt, an' was always putting' it

[440] Catherine Fay, Personal Interview.
[441] O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays*, p. 188.
[442] Donatella Barbieri, *Costume in Performance: Materiality, Culture, and the Body* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 78–79.
[443] Catherine Fay, Personal Interview.

> on an' standin' in th' door showing it off […] God, I think he used to bring it to bed with him![444]

Jack is promoted within the Irish Citizen Army and takes up his role with a reverence that is reinforced by the uniform he wears, much to the distress of his wife Nora, who appeals to him throughout to not join up at the risk of his own life. Empowered by a new, uniformed sense of purpose, however, Jack joins the violence of the rebellion and loses his life for a cause that Nora believed was futile. Fay dressed Jack in a historical Irish Citizen Army uniform, his image in stark contrast to his contemporary surroundings. Again, uniformity on stage becomes the materialisation of conspicuous nationalism and idealised revolutionary masculinity.

Figure 3.9 (left)– Catherine Fay Costume-Design Drawing for Jack Clitheroe's Working Clothes for the Abbey Theatre Production of The Plough and the Stars*, (Personal Photograph) 2016*

Figure 3.10 (right) – Catherine Fay Costume-Design Drawing for Jack Clitheroe's Uniform for the Abbey Theatre Production of The Plough and the Stars, *(Personal Photograph) 2016*

Figures 3.9 and 3.10 are costume-design drawings by Catherine Fay for Jack, showing his working clothes and the uniform he changes into. The high-vis jacket creates a strong visual contrast between the man he was and the man he is about to become, but both costumes adhere

[444] O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays*, p. 156.

to the desire for 'conspicuous' masculinity. Jack enters as the labourer and hegemonic male, who provides for his wife and fulfils his role as husband and provider. His occupation is as a bricklayer, and his hard hat, combat trousers, and high-vis jacket adhere to masculine stereotypes of a man who defines his masculinity through labour. According to R.W. Connell,

> Heavy manual work calls for strength, endurance, a degree of insensitivity and toughness, and group solidarity. Emphasising the masculinity of industrial labour has been both a means of survival, in exploitative class relations, and a means of asserting superiority over men.[445]

Jack's assertion of his masculinity is evident in his treatment of Nora. He disregards and abuses her. 'You deserve to be hurt', Jack says to Nora upon finding out that she kept his promotion within the Citizen Army from him. For Jack, joining the army and wearing the uniform eclipse even his relationship with his wife.

Redacted – Photograph of a performance of *The Plough and the Stars* showing Jack Clitheroe changing into a uniform while Nora Clitheroe sits on a bed.

Figure 3.11– Jack Clitheroe Putting on His Citizen Army Uniform from the Abbey Theatre Production of The Plough and the Stars, *2016*

Figure 3.11 shows again the process of dressing as Jack puts on his Citizen Army uniform after the argument with Nora. His undressing from his work clothes into his uniform is a rejection of his duties to his wife and an assertion of what he believes to be his true military masculinity. As he changes into his historic uniform, Jack adopts the fantasy the uniform affords him. However, by the end of the play, Jack's uniform is dirty, ripped, and coming apart, just as

[445] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), p. 55.

his resolve and his convictions are shattered.[446] Graham Dawson, in his examination of the soldier hero, posits that the fantasy of the heroic narrative is exposed in the event of a 'choice' between the idea of the lived masculinity and the fantasy.[447] Jack's fantasy of revolutionary masculinity collapses when he encounters the reality of violent conflict. The insight into Jack's private misgivings unmasks the heroic persona and exposes the inner narrative of a crisis of masculinity.

In keeping with Peter Flynn's historic Foresters costume, Fay's decision to keep the Irish military uniforms in the production as period costumes takes on another meaning in the contest of the centenary commemorations of the 1916 Rising. Peter's performance of romantic 'patriotism' in memory of Irish Patriots is a pastiche of the process of commemoration, the ceremonial uniform becoming an unfulfilled symbol of a male fantasy. Jack's historic Citizen Army uniform embodies the fantasy of revolutionary masculinity, which is at odds with his contemporary twenty-first-century costume and the reality of war. Bacon's use of the historical uniform at the end of *The Shadow of a Gunman* was a means of conserving the memory of Civil War as something that 'couldn't be touched', too painful to be brought into the context of living memory in the present. Fay, however, used time and uniforms on the body to dispute the relevance of commemorating war and the myth revolutionary masculinity for people living in Dublin in 2016. Poverty, domestic abuse, and the violence and neglect of a ruling power expose how the fantasy of heroic masculinity collapses into a crisis of masculinities when societal issues of the past echo those of the present.

446 O'Casey, *Three Dublin Plays*, p. 218.
447 Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1994), p. 24.

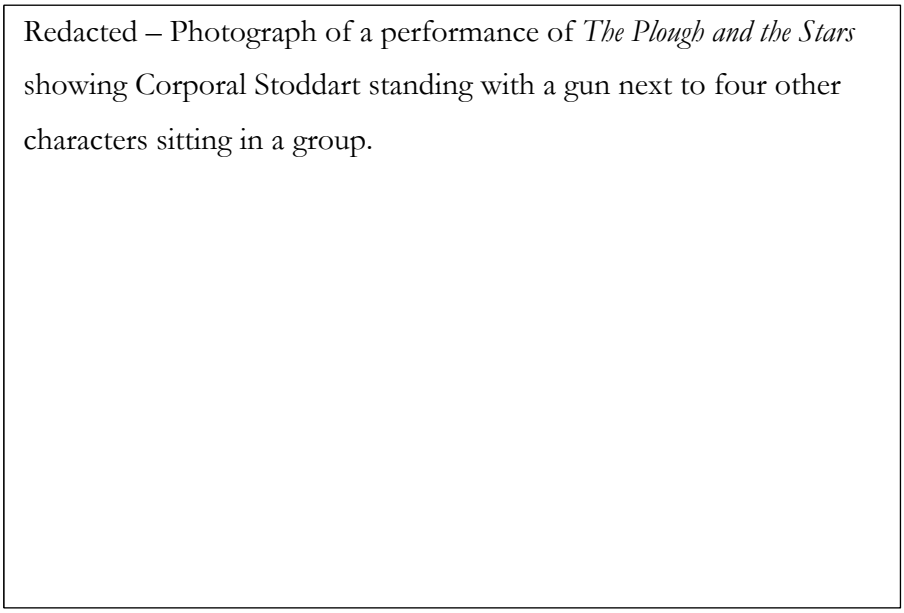

Figure 3.12 – Corporal Stoddart from the Abbey Theatre Production of The Plough and the Stars, *2016*

Past and present bodies collide as the tragedy draws to a close. With the surrender of the leaders of the Rising imminent, Corporal Stoddart, a British soldier, enters the tenements (or, in this case, the block of flats), as seen in Figure 3.12. He dressed in twenty-first-century British Army kit, creating a strong contrast with the historical design of the Irish uniforms. Corporal Stoddart is tasked with carrying out the coffin of a young girl, Mollser, who dies of consumption during the conflict. The Corporal's military uniform is a departure from the 'artificiality' of the Irish uniforms. Fay explained that while the historic Irish uniforms were made by the Abbey's costume department, the British Army uniforms were purchased from surplus military stock, adding a layer of fantasy and reality to the materiality of the objects themselves. The agency of British Army uniforms on stage in a portrayal of a historic conflict juxtaposes the historic conflict with images of conflict in living memory, such as the Troubles in Northern Ireland from the 1960s to the 1990s, and the Iraq War in the 2000s. Fay explained her consideration behind this choice:

> Initially, they were going to be in British period uniform, but then as we were going on with this it became, I suppose, the relevance to now and today, and to the '70s and the '80s and the '90s, and the impact of them walking in, in full British camouflage kit, was just going to hit home in a more impactful way.[448]

The historicity of the Irish uniforms augments the authenticity of the Corporal's uniform and exposes the gap that exists between the real and the imagined versions of history. The British

[448] Fay, Personal Interview.

Army uniforms were purchased from surplus military stock; however, the historic Irish uniforms were costumes made for the actors on stage after the design of uniforms in 1916, establishing a material separation between the ready-made unforms of today and the purpose-made costumes of history. For me, it also raises a question: is it the history of the Rising itself which affords authenticity to the performance, or is it the replica in the performance which emphasises the cycle of mythmaking that commemoration perpetuates? The juxtaposition of past and present plays out on the bodies of the men on stage, performing not just a crisis of masculinities but a crisis of memory as the audience is forced to ask what is being remembered and why.

O'Casey's plays situate the bodies of the poor and the working class at the centre of the story. Leading revolutionary characters are only heard offstage, and they make no appearances in the lives of the characters on stage. This is in opposition to the ceremonial culture of state commemoration, which continues to re-enact the lives and deaths of the political and military elite. In Chapter Two I explained how, in the NMI, replicas on mannequins and actors re-enact bodies outside of the revolutionary elite, foregrounding the forgotten bodies of conflict. So often, the memories, voices, and bodies of the poorest are not heard in official accounts of history or seen through the clothing surviving in museum collections.

For the purposes of this examination, what is of most significance in the comparison of these three plays is the positioning of bodies in historical time to expose the (un)reliability of memory and critique the commemoration of revolutionary masculinities in the present. O'Casey wrote the three plays from an anti-nationalist, anti-war standpoint based upon his experience of living through the Revolutionary Period. They therefore serve as blueprint for further reflection on the futility of conflict commemoration, questioning whether perpetuating narratives of heroism serves the nation at all or, at worst, whether they perpetuate dangerous ideologies that result in crises of masculinity for individuals as well as the catastrophic loss of generations of men who strive to live up to the ideal of history.

Part Three of this chapter further contextualises the impact of commemorative culture in the present by looking beyond the traditional theatrical form. It examines the potential for performance to align revolutionary ideas around national and masculine identity with the expression of gender and sexuality in the present.

Part Three: Queering the Narrative

It is not just O'Casey's plays that have historically provided a stage for poor and working-class experiences of conflict. *The Risen People*, written by James Plunkett (1920–2003) in 1958, was another play staged at the Abbey for the centenary of the 1913 Strike and Lockout. The story, set between 1907 and 1914, follows the lives of Dubliners as they become embroiled in the industrial action leading up to and during the 1913 Strike and Lockout. The overarching theme of *The Risen People* concerns the oppression of poverty.

Niamh Lunny designed the costumes for the 2013 Abbey production of the play and used period images of Dublin's tenement dwellers as a primary resource.[449] Although the costume designs were true to the period of Dublin in 1913, Lunny also mentioned the desire to make the plight of the characters 'accessible' to the contemporary audience:

> I think, as well, when you delve into these 'histories' [you] start to recognize the Dubliners, the folks, as being the people you're meeting now and the people you would recognize now as Dubliners. The links are strong. A lot of the struggles haven't gone away, they just look slightly different. It's a really interesting analogy. But, I suppose in terms of *The Risen People* I mean, we were clear that it still needed to be a period show.[450]

Making history accessible is about connecting human experience across time, aligning issues such as pain, loss, discrimination, and oppression in the present with similar experiences in the past. Rather than analyse the 2013 production of *The Risen People*, which shares many of the same themes and ideas of O'Casey's Three Dublin Plays, I instead shift my focus to the fringes of the Abbey Theatre's commemorative programming. The fringe event that I single out is a speech given by drag queen Panti Bliss (aka Rory O'Neill) after a performance of *The Risen People*, which demonstrates the Abbey Stage's potential for allowing bodies to harness the culture of commemoration to serve issues of oppression in the present.

Panti Bliss and the Noble Call

Throughout the run of the *The Risen People*, select individuals were invited on stage to perform their 'noble call' after each performance. A noble call is an old Irish tradition. At a gathering of friends or family, each person is invited to perform a 'party piece', described by Fiach MacConghail, director of the Abbey Theatre, as 'asking all your guests to respond to the mood

[449] Niamh Lunny, Personal Interview, 2018.
[450] Ibid.

or the atmosphere of the day'.[451] Academics, artists, musicians, etc., were asked to respond to the themes of the play or to draw inspiration from 'what's happened in the last hundred years'.[452]

On the final night of *The Risen People*, Panti Bliss, who describes herself as 'an accidental and occasional gay rights activist', took to the stage to perform her noble call about the enduring nature of oppression on the basis of gender identity and sexuality in Ireland today. Although Panti Bliss made it clear that she is 'painfully middle-class' and the 'grinding and abject poverty' experienced by the characters on stage was not something that she had experienced, however she did know 'what it feels like to be put in your place'.[453] When she delivered her noble call, Panti Bliss, dressed in heels, a blonde wig, and a maroon dress, was surrounded by the cast, who were dressed in their final, most hopeless costumes of grey and black (Figure 3.13). She described the reality of the oppressive homophobia that she experienced in Ireland.

Figure 3.13 – Panti Bliss's Noble Call After the Final Performance of The Risen People, *Rory O'Neill, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXayhUzWnl0, 2013*

Before the 2015 referendum for marriage equality in Ireland, Panti Bliss (dressed not in drag but as Rory O'Neill) argued RTÉ, the country's national broadcast television, that those campaigning against marriage equality were 'homophobic'.[454] Her statement prompted a legal

[451] 'The Risen People – What Is the Noble Call?', *YouTube* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpSNOQBplYw> [accessed 16 May 2018].
[452] 'The Risen People – What Is the Noble Call?'
[453] Rory O'Neill, *Panti's Noble Call at the Abbey Theatre* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXayhUzWnl0> [accessed 18 May 2018].
[454] Liam Stack, 'Panti Bliss, the Accidental Activist of Ireland', *The New York Times*, 21 December 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/20/fashion/panti-bliss-the-accidental-activist-of-ireland.html> [accessed 23 June 2018].

battle over use of the term *homophobia* and became known as 'Pantigate'; a global defence of Panti Bliss ensued, which generated dialogue around the experience of homophobia and oppression.[455] The issue was debated in the Dáil with regards to RTÉ's power to censor topics which could be deemed 'offensive' as well as whether the term *homophobia* could be defined so as to allow space for free speech on the state-funded platform.[456] Therefore, as part of her noble call, Panti Bliss addressed the environment of censorship around the experience of homophobia in Ireland, suggesting that:

> Irish gay people find ourselves in this ludicrous situation where, not only are we not allowed to say publicly what we feel oppressed by, we are not even allowed to think it because our definition has been disallowed by our betters […] to grow up in a society that is so overwhelmingly and stifling homophobic and to somehow escape unscathed would be miraculous.[457]

Panti Bliss refers to the hierarchy 'of our betters', a system of oppression which disallows the visibility of certain bodies but permits others. Panti Bliss was politicising the visibility of bodies by performing an act of gendered protest against the censorship of marginalised people, which specifically denies their experience of oppression. This was played out as the dominant forces in Irish society reproduced oppression through its national broadcaster. Therefore, to consider costuming as an act of embodiment is to 'resist the desire to look at the surfaces alone, to fetishise the object of costume without attending to its possible effects on actor and spectator alike'.[458]

Panti Bliss recounted an instance of abuse by some Irish 'lads', which resulted in her internalising the question 'What is it about me that gave me away?'. This question, Panti Bliss divulged, came to define the oppressive atmosphere around being gay in Ireland in the twenty-first century. Although Panti Bliss is a drag queen and her costume is a performance, Aoife Monks suggests that '[c]ross-dressing allows us to see the connection between costumed performance, and the concept of "performativity": the ability of performance not just to imitate, but also to invent and perpetuate further ways of doing the body'.[459]

Panti Bliss was performing a different kind of gendered body through costume and another form of resistance through dress. Just as the red hand badges on the actors in the

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455 'Rory O'Neill Wants Personal Apology from RTE', *Independent* <https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/rory-oneill-wants-personal-apology-from-rte-29995450.html> [accessed 6 February 2022].
456 Houses of the Oireachtas, 'Broadcasting (Amendment) Bill 2014: Second Stage [Private Members] – Dáil Éireann (31st Dáil) – Friday, 11 Apr 2014 – Houses of the Oireachtas', 2014, Ireland <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/2014-04-11> [accessed 6 February 2022].
457 Rory O'Neill, 'Panti's Noble Call at the Abbey Theatre', *YouTube* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXayhUzWnl0> [accessed 18 May 2018].
458 Aoife Monks, *The Actor in Costume* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 11.
459 Ibid., p. 97.

background speak of resistance to class oppression, Panti Bliss represents resistance to oppression based on living outside of heteronormative expectations. Drag performance is the destabilisation of heteronormative gender roles and gendered experiences through the act of performance. Judith Butler suggests that 'drag fully subverts the distinction between inner and outer psychic space and effectively mocks both the expressive model of gender and the notion of a true gender identity'.[460] According to Butler, the performance of drag succeeds in displacing 'the entire enactment of gender significations from the discourse of truth and falsity'.[461] Panti Bliss' speech legitimizes the drag performance, not as a subversion of gender but as an undermining of the reality of gender. Panti Bliss, as a man dressed as a woman, performs the drag body as an authentic challenge to fixed gender norms on the national stage and embodies a performance that further illustrates the experiences of oppression performed by the actors in *The Risen People*.

After the passing of the Equal Marriage Act in 2015, Panti Bliss, as the 'Queen of Ireland', recorded a video message to the people of the nation, saying:

> I wasn't always sure that Irishness was elastic enough to include someone like me, but I am now. We didn't change the definition of marriage on May 22nd, but we did expand the definition of Irishness to include people like me.[462]

Rory O'Neill donated the dress that he was wearing during his noble call as Panti Bliss to the NMI, and it has now been accessioned into the collection. The museum stated that the dress

> represents many things; the Noble Call speech made by Panti Bliss on the stage of the Abbey Theatre on the night of 1 February 2014, her struggle to be accepted as equal in Irish society and the passing of the Marriage Equality Referendum in 2015. More significantly, it has come to represent the decades' long struggle of the entire Irish LGBTI+ community for human and civil rights in the Irish state.[463]

In response to 'Pantigate' and the attempted censorship of the word *homophobia*, journalist Fintan O'Toole tweeted support for Panti Bliss' noble call, saying it was: 'The most eloquent Irish speech since Daniel O'Connell was in his prime'.[464] Daniel O'Connell was, of course, one of the revolutionary figureheads in the pantheon of revolutionary masculinity

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460 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 186.
461 Ibid., p. 186.
462 TV3 Ireland, 'Queen of Ireland's Christmas Message', *TV3* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vH6vEndT1A> [accessed 11 June 2018].
463 'Panti Bliss’ Noble Call Speech Dress', *National Museum of Ireland* <https://www.museum.ie/en-IE/Collections-Research/Collection/Resilience/Artefact/Panti-Bliss> [accessed 6 February 2022].
464 Fintan O'Toole (@fotoole), 'The most eloquent Irish speech since Daniel O'Connell was in his prime', *Twitter*, 11:53 PM, Feb 4, 2014.

discussed in Chapter One. A Roman Catholic MP for County Clare in the 1830s, O'Connell became known as The Liberator for securing Catholic emancipation in 1829, and he was a champion of Irish people across all levels of society. Thus, Panti Bliss was expanding the idea of what it means to be a revolutionary, a leader, and a voice of dissent to force change.

Expanding the image of revolutionary masculinities to include poor, working class, and marginalised bodies in the history of revolution opens up the possibility of a multiplicity of memories regarding bodies and how they are seen, heard, and remembered. Performance gives body and voice to those marginalised by the practices of national commemoration or those excluded from the historical record. Bodies in crisis can find a conduit through the bodies of actors on stage that they do not have elsewhere.

In the final section I illustrate further how the Decade of Centenaries has created a moment in Irish history where the politicisation of bodies is becoming part of how national identity and national memory are commemorated in the public sphere. I do this by returning to the body of Roger Casement, whose collection of clothing at the NMI has already begun to show how bodies can force a new perspective on established histories and create connections across time with the present.

The Casement Project

Casement has already formed a significant part of my analysis in Chapters One and Two. In Chapter One I analysed how Casement's body disrupted the myth of the revolutionary hero through intersections between the public and private self in state commemoration. Moving from the body to the object, Chapter Two focussed on Casement's public and private body, examining his clothing in storage and on display at the NMI. From my analysis thus far, it is evident that Casement's body has become the contested site of his personal and sexual history, his public consular work, and his execution for treason. Casement is unfixable in history. His life and body are constantly reimagined and re-enacted in relation to the present.

Panti Bliss' noble call on the Abbey stage demonstrated how the national theatre has developed as a space to openly question historic definitions of Irish-ness. In the final part of this chapter, I interrogate dance as commemoration, moving beyond the traditional theatrical form to further unpack the unfixability of Casement's life and work. *The Casement Project* was a contemporary dance series choreographed by Fearghus Ó Conchúir which professed to mobilise bodies and the archive and 'the neglected legacies of the past as a resource for the future'.[465]

[465] 'About', *The Casement Project* <http://www.thecasementproject.ie/about/> [accessed 12 June 2018].

The Casement Project was one of 16 new commissions by the Arts Council for the 2016 commemoration of the 1916 Rising, which aimed to champion 'the value of dance as a form of knowledge that can help imagine and embody better possibilities of living'.[466] Ó Conchúir located the body of Roger Casement at the centre of a performative exploration of the queer body in Irish national memory. The dance project consisted of *Butterflies and Bones*, a choreographed piece for stage; *Féile Fáilte*, a festival of dance on Banna Strand on the southwest coast of Ireland; *I'm Roger Casement*, a short dance film; and two symposia, 'Bodies Politic' and 'Hospitable Bodies: The Casement Symposium', which set out to reflect 'on Casement's legacy and on the work of the contemporary artist as citizen'.[467] The project as a whole focussed on the singular body, image, and documentary record of Roger Casement as a homosexual, Irish nationalist, British Knight, traitor, and martyr in order to 'imagine a national body that welcomes the stranger from beyond the border, as well as the one already inside.'[468] In other words, the project asked what bodies have been remembered, what bodies have been forgotten, and how can bodies inform a new way of knowing the 'outsider' or the 'stranger' from inside and outside of Ireland's borders through dance?

I want to further probe the impact of this project as a means of understanding how the performing body brings issues of sexual identity and the queer body to the forefront of the Decade of Centenaries. Concerning the conflicted and contradictory historical figure of Casement, Ó Conchúir suggested that he hoped to use dance to move away from both traditional forms of historical investigation and commemoration in order to gain a new understanding of this contradictory figure:

> [H]istory is usually recorded as a series of names, dates and places. It doesn't really communicate the sensation of swimming in a river in the Amazon, or [the] physical thrill cruising in the Canaries, or the feel of [a] dress collar. All of those sensations and feelings make a body too. These are facts that are communicated between bodies and passed on from generation to generation. That's why I think that dance is such an important art-form for engaging with the kind of historical legacy that continues to shape our bodies today but which isn't so often addressed in written histories.[469]

Casement's dress, so central to the establishment of his public identity, as discussed in Chapter Two, allows a unique insight into the relationship between the body and dress in the

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[466] 'About', *The Casement Project*.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] 'Choreographer Fearghus Ó Conchúir in Conversation', *14–18 NOW*, 2016 <https://www.1418now.org.uk/news/choreographer-fearghus-o-conchuir-conversation/> [accessed 24 June 2018].

interpretation of sexuality and national identity as well as the political significance of Casement's body in the queering of revolutionary history.

Casement's life and work shows a concern with bodies. In his extensive investigations of human-rights abuses in the Congo and South America, Casement took accounts of and photographed mutilated and abused bodies as evidence. Casement's 1904 report from the Congo detailed how many of the people who failed to meet their rubber-harvesting quotas 'were shot, some had their ears cut off; others were tied up with ropes around their necks and bodies and [were] taken away'.[470] At the same time, Casement continually made admiring observations of bodies. For example, on 31 November 1910, Casement met a 'very fine lad'; he 'gave breeches' to the young man and admired 'his beautiful limbs'.[471] Ó Conchúir drew inspiration from Casement's understanding of bodies, observing that:

> Casement's life teaches us that what bodies do and where they go is political. He was acutely aware of bodies […] And Casement's body and what he did with it was the subject of discussion at Cabinet and of negotiation between governments for fifty years after his death. Casement's story is a way to remind people to pay attention to bodies and to an art-form like dance that knows about bodies.[472]

The performance of *Butterflies and Bones* is an example of how codes and systems of dress can shape, police, and liberate bodies. I argue that *The Casement Project* is part of the legacy of Casement's life. When taken out of the context of historical commemorative practices, it decentres the history of revolution in Ireland by positioning embodied memory at the heart of national commemoration.

[470] Roger Casement (1864–1916), *Casement Report*, 1904, p. 60.
[471] Roger Sawyer, *Roger Casement's Diaries: 1910: The Black and the White* (London: Random House, 2010), p. 105.
[472] 'Choreographer Fearghus Ó Conchúir in Conversation'.

Figure 3.14 – Six Dancers from 2016 Performance of Butterflies and Bones*, http://www.thecasementproject.ie/project/on-stage/, 2016*

The costuming for the 2016 stage performance of *Butterflies and Bones* is neither a historical representation nor the costume of Casement as a person. Rather, six dancers engage performance and costume to dramatize an exploration of queer bodies in history. Figure 3.14 shows six dancers who appear, at first glance, to be dressed in casual and street clothing: t-shirts, ripped jeans, and shorts; however, upon closer examination it becomes clear that words from and images of Casement's life adorn the apparently innocuous, yet recognisable garments.

Figure 3.15 – Close-up of Quote on the Butterflies and Bones *Dancers' T-Shirt, http://www.thecasementproject.ie/project/on-stage/, 2016*

Quotes are printed on the dancers' t-shirts: 'Loved Mightily, Deep to Hilt X', 'Very Deep Thrusts', and 'X' (Figure 3.15). They are taken directly from Casement's 'Black Diaries', which recorded his sexual encounters, and which were circulated to the press during his trial for treason for the part he played in the 1916 Rising.[473] One of the female dancers' shirts features an image of a young man named José Gonzales, which is a photograph taken by Casement (Figure 3.16). Gonzales was a regular sexual partner of Casement, and he posed for several photographs. The Gonzales photograph and Casement's other personal photographs are in the collections at the National Library of Ireland.[474]

Figure 3.16– Female Dancer Shirt Featuring Casement Photograph of José Gonzales, Butterflies and Bones, *http://www.thecasementproject.ie/project/on-stage/, 2016*

In his 'Black Diaries' Casement marked each sexual encounter with an "X' along with some detail about the man and sometimes the person's name, particularly if he was someone Casement met with regularly. These coded words and images adorn the costumes of the dancers, as though they are slogans representing a cause (Figure 3.15). Materialising intimate words and images from Casement's private life on the bodies of the dancers not only challenges the historical image of Casement as a Knight of the British empire and a martyr for Ireland, but also the boundaries of public and private memory. Casement's words are embodied in the performance – his personal desires and private relationships; thus, Ó Conchúir situates

[473] Sawyer, *Roger Casement's Diaries*.
[474] *Roger Casement Photographic Collection*, 1890–1916, NPA CAS, National Library of Ireland.

Casement's sexuality and his complex masculinity at the forefront of his memorialisation. This resistance against the dominant historical depiction of Casement empowers the notion of individuality within national commemoration. Costume on the bodies of dancers in an exploration of the body of Casement performs and enacts power relations. As Monks suggests,

> Modernist and avant-garde artists created […] appearance and truth on stage. Costume was their means to reconfigure what the actor was made of, a way to redraw the boundaries of the self, and to re-imagine the relationship between actors and objects on the stage.[475]

Dancers with the words and images of Casement on their bodies constitute an embodiment of the archive of Casement's life as well as the diaries and images that survive, and they reimagine how costume can open up a dialogue between national identity and individual memory.

Conclusion

All of the bodies discussed in this chapter are fictionalised or imagined. The characters of the Three Dublin Plays are fictional characters, whose words and experiences were imagined by Sean O'Casey and performed at the centenary to give voice and body to those missing from state ceremonials or absent from museum collections. Panti Bliss, a drag queen performed by Rory O'Neill, took to the stage to perform the reality of oppression in Ireland in 2013 compared with that of 1913. *The Casement Project* used dance and the bodies of dancers to re-enact and imagine a queer history for Roger Casement so that the historical archive of his personal life might become a resource for understanding queer history in the future. I have argued that political commemorative practices, such as those outlined in Chapters One and Two, have resulted in the marginalisation of certain bodies from the national memory. Therefore, in this chapter I sought to bring those bodies to light and examine the agency of their absence in other forms of state commemoration. I analysed the living, performing, and dancing bodies of state-funded commemoration as a form of archival activism. Costume reasserts the spectrum of bodies impacted and changed by the revolution in Ireland, creating a new record of the continuing relevance of this period of history for Ireland today.

In Part One of this chapter, I rationalised the history of theatre in Ireland as a political force for defining national identity through the cultural practice of performance. Key figures of the literary elite in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to challenge colonial

[475] Monks, *The Actor in Costume*, p. 77.

stereotypes of Irish-ness by establishing a national stage upon which the status quo could be contested. Sean O'Casey was a leading figure in this movement.

In Part Two I discussed O'Casey's iconic Three Dublin Plays, which provide evidence of the poor and working-class bodies that are largely absent from the NMI collections. The 2011 Abbey Theatre-National Theatre, London co-production of *Juno and the Paycock* presented a historical aesthetic of the poverty and hardship of Dublin in the 1920s. The trauma of the Civil War and the unremembered dead were captured in the character of Johnny, whose costume and body reflected a war-torn nation. The 2015 Abbey Theatre-Lyric Theatre, Belfast co-production of *The Shadow of a Gunman* broke away from the historical setting of the narrative and played with time, calling into question the notion of historical truth and narratives of heroism. Similarly, in the Abbey Theatre's 2016 production of *The Plough and the Stars*, characters' costumes resembling those of present-day Dubliners appear alongside historic Irish uniforms, manifesting a historic crisis of revolutionary masculinity in present-day Ireland. Together, O'Casey's three plays establish the prevalence of many of the issues faced by fictional characters in the lives of people in Ireland today. Through costume and performance, the state-funded Abbey Theatre provided an outlet that allowed forgotten bodies of Irish history to speak to audiences in Ireland during the Decade of Centenaries, forcing them to ask the question: What, if anything, has changed?

In Part Three I shifted the focus to the fringes of the Abbey Theatre stage by considering how bodies within the state-funded structure of commissioned commemoration could assert alternative interpretations of what revolutionary Ireland could look like at the centenary. The speech delivered by drag queen Panti Bliss at the end of a performance of *The Risen People*, a play about the 1913 Strike and Lockout, was a performance of queer nationalism on the national stage. The politicisation of bodies and the recovery of queer bodies from Irish revolutionary history was explored through the performance of a 2016 *The Casement Project* dance piece entitled *Butterflies and Bones*, which focussed on the life and archival record of Roger Casement.

Throughout the chapter I have established how bodies and costume can re-enact history while rewriting the narrative. The examples I have chosen to discuss are demonstrative of the broadening of what it means for a body to be revolutionary in Ireland today. The in-between space of real and imagined and past and present is full of possibility to enact new ways of engaging with history and challenging expectations of how bodies should look, dress, and act.

In the fourth and final chapter of this thesis, my analysis moves beyond the confines of state funding and into popular culture. Theatre, performance, and dance are significant to Irish cultural heritage, but in the contemporary context they are not specifically aimed at popular or mass audiences. The plays and performances that were part of the Decade of Centenaries

programme came with a hefty price tag – Abbey Theatre ticket prices ranged from €25 to €45. Therefore, although I argue that the stage upon which bodies perform has become a place where history is redressed, embodied, and repatriated into revolutionary history, the medium itself is exclusionary, and the recovery of lost history via the stage is privileged. To address more inclusive commemoration of the revolution, my fourth and final chapter shifts the focus to popular culture. Television, film, and historical re-enactments are investigated as living and popular history, which has the potential to commemorate beyond the state and engenders new forms of remembrance.

Chapter Four - Blurring the Boundaries: Popular Memory of Conflict

On 10 March 2016, RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann), Ireland's national broadcaster, aired an episode of *Don't Tell the Bride*, the popular reality TV show. The programme followed the first same-sex couple to marry on the show as they planned their wedding, which had a 1916 Rising theme. When Mark White, an Irish citizen, married his Venezuelan partner, Kerwin Villalobos, the couple wore Irish Volunteer uniforms, and they were married in Liberty Hall in Dublin. During the ceremony they quoted the Proclamation of the Irish Republic: 'The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights, and equal opportunities to all its citizens'.[476]

White and Villalobos were the first same-sex couple to be married on reality TV in Ireland following the 2015 referendum legalising same-sex marriage. To White, the 1916 Rising theme was an important part of being legally married: 'To stand 100 years on and for two men to stand and be totally equal and get married, I felt very patriotic.'[477] For Villalobos wearing the uniform, in particular, made him feel 'important and powerful', knowing that it 'stood for something'.[478] What the uniform stood for in 2016 for Villalobos was very different from what the uniform meant to a rebel in 1916, but the desire to feel 'important', 'powerful', and part of the national story was a shared part of the experience. The Volunteer uniforms worn by the couple as they walked down the aisle re-enacted Irish revolutionary masculinities – not the revolutionary hero but the liberator and advocate for equal rights. It was an interpretation of history for the present and the creation of a new myth of revolution: the Irish revolutionaries of 1916 fought for the freedoms of all in society, including those who feel marginalised, oppressed, or forgotten. This re-enactment was not an act of political remembering, but a personal reflection on what the memory of revolution can mean for the individual and how, through costume, new histories can be (re)written in popular memory.

In this chapter I develop the idea of costume and costuming as a form of historical re-enactment beyond the practice of state-sponsored commemoration that was discussed in Chapter One and which formed part of the funding or frameworks for commemoration in Chapters Two and Three. After the ceremonies and rituals, exhibitions, and performances, where is the revolution remembered and how? Who is doing the remembering and why?

[476] Dublin, National Library of Ireland, 'Proclamation of the Irish Republic' HE:EWL.2.
[477] 'Don't Tell the Bride Groom Loved 1916 Theme', *RTE.ie*, 2016 <https://www.rte.ie/entertainment/2016/0310/773688-dont-tell-the-bride/> [accessed 20 July 2021].
[478] Ibid.

Costume design for performance, as discussed in Chapter Three, empowers the living and performing body to imagine new possibilities for remembering in parallel with the present. Destabilising the narrative of the revolution in Ireland through the practice of theatre has been part of its commemoration since O'Casey's *Plough and the Stars* was first staged in 1925. At the centenary of the Revolution, theatre has become a platform for the interpretation of marginalised or forgotten histories of revolution and demonstrates how they might inform a better, more inclusive form of collective remembering. Within the framework of theatre practice, minority histories are imagined and placed in the spotlight of the Decade of Centenaries. As has been demonstrated, commemorative performance has played with the shape and order of the revolutionary history, challenging fixed interpretations of both conceptions of the nation and masculinities.

In this fourth and final chapter, the commemoration of revolution moves outside a specific framework for remembering, such as museums in Chapter Two or theatre in Chapter Three, and into the realm of 'unofficial knowledge'.[479] Given what has been analysed so far, official history is largely controlled by the state's commemorative agenda; state ceremonials and funerals, museum exhibitions, and state-funded theatre all adhere in some degree to the myth-history of revolution set out by the state. This chapter focusses on popular commemoration available to and consumed by the general population of Ireland through television and cinema as well as individual acts of commemoration as living history re-enactments. Throughout this chapter I chart the development of film and television as forms of popular commemoration from as early as the 1920s, to unpack how digital media has changed the landscape of popular commemoration. I, therefore, discuss film and television beyond the fixed temporalty of the Decade of Centenaries, and as part of a broader trend of national imagining that has become so integral to how the nation remembers. I am moving the focus of my investigation away from the influence of state programming to question how revolutionary masculinities are perceived and re-enacted in popular history and memory.

Popular history and popular memory are accessed by the public in different but not unrelated ways. Popular history encompasses the engagement with historical subjects, through popular historical literature, film, television, and re-enactment. Popular history focusses on telling the stories of history – narratives of key personalities and dramatic events – with the aim of procuring mass engagement with history outside of scholarly academic writing, archives, collections, and libraries, which are generally out of reach for non-specialists. Popular memory,

[479] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Verso Books, 2012), pp. 3–51.

on the other hand, is the adoption of this history by the populous as an account of the past, but it is also within the realm of popular memory that history is made and produced to construct a sense of the past in society.[480] To uncover the impact of popular memory on social modes of history-making, in this chapter I investigate costume in film, television, and re-enactment as forms of living history.[481] Film and television provide an opportunity to examine how Irish masculinities are re-imagined outside of Ireland as well as the possibilities for design in digital media flows that do not exist in live theatre. Film and television not only expand the potential audiences reached but also broaden the influence of other Western depictions of heroism on Irish revolutionary masculinities as they are repurposed for an international audience.

The design of dress as costume in film, television, and re-enactment enables an analysis of transformable bodies and movable sites and objects of memory in the continually shifting expectations of history in the present. Taking the lead from the revolutionary nuptials of *Don't Tell the Bride*, Part One is a critical analysis the role played by television (particularly RTÉ) in re-enacting the revolution that focusses on two programs: *Insurrection*, a 1966 docudrama, and *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*, a 2016 mockumentary.[482]

Part Two builds on the context of television in Ireland to compare two films that brought the story of the revolutionary period to a global audience: *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (2006).[483] *Michael Collins* was released on the 80th anniversary of the 1916 Rising, and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* was released on the 90th anniversary. Costume designs for the films' principal protagonists are analysed to question how Irish revolutionary masculinities are shaped by contemporary conflict, particularly the representation of violent republicanism, terrorism, and radicalisation. As part of this analysis, a case study of the trench coat demonstrates how a singular garment can come to encapsulate a specific period or moment of history through popular culture. The trench coat is examined as a transformative tool, a weapon of war, and a signifier of shifting perceptions of Irish revolutionary masculinity.

Part Three is concerned with living history and re-enactment groups. It examines how the history of revolution is enacted as popular memory by the individual. All of the questions asked so far about the myth of revolutionary masculinity bear upon this analysis of individual and popular engagement with history as a pastime and a hobby. By situating the body as the

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480 Paul A. Cohen, *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
481 Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. 8–13.
482 *Insurrection*, dir. by Michael Garvey and Louis Lentin, written by Max Caulfield and Hugh Leonard (Raidió Teilifís Éireann, 1966); *Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*, dir. by James Cotter, written by James Cotter (Happy Endings Productions 2016).
483 *Michael Collins*, dir. by Neil Jordan, costume design by Sandy Powell (Warner Brothers, 1996); *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, dir. by Ken Loach, costume design by Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh (Pathé International, 2006).

object and site of public memory, this chapter asks whether narratives of conflict can become porous as the definitions of past, present, fiction, and history become blurred, thereby establishing the history and memory of conflict as ever-present and continually changing.

Thus far, dress and the body have been examined as sites of memory through which the history of conflict is shaped and given form. The bodies of dying and living men are harnessed by the state to establish a history for the nation built upon the myth of revolutionary heroism. I have demonstrated how the bodily practice of commemoration complicates and subverts this myth by destabilising the concept that both the nation and masculinity are fixed in collective memory. This chapter focusses on how popular memory of revolutionary conflict not only disrupts this myth but reimagines it outside of institutional memory practices, which has the potential to inform new ways of doing history. I revisit Benedict Anderson in the analysis of popular memory and the digital flows of tv and film that reimagine the revolutionary hero in a global context. The imagined community also helps to frame my examination of re-enactment as living history involving the formation of digital and real-life communities through the act of dressing up and reliving a moment in history. This chapter asserts that the shape of revolutionary history is no longer supported by the ritual of ceremony, the order and authenticity of the collection, or the structures of performance; rather, in popular memory the revolution is open to interpretation as a form of satire, entertainment, and even a hobby.

Part One: Television and the Flow of National Imagining

Television provides a mirror for collective memory as an immediate response to the reconstruction of the past in relation to the present. As RTÉ is a statuary organisation with a board of directors appointed by the Government of Ireland, I analyse how the medium of television mediates the space between institutional and popular memory of the revolution. To examine the democratisation of Irish revolutionary masculinities wrested from institutional memory and incorporated into the popular psyche, I compare a 1966 docudrama, *Insurrection*, with a 2016 mockumentary, *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*.

RTÉ is Ireland's national broadcaster. It was first founded as a radio station in 1926, and its first television broadcast was made in 1961.[484] As the country's first national television network, RTÉ's mission was to limit or, if possible, eliminate the transmission of programming

[484] John Bowman, *Window and Mirror: RTÉ Television: 1961–2011* (Cork: Collins Press, 2011).

from Britain that could threaten or damage Ireland's efforts to affirm its unique cultural identity.[485] Under Section 17 of the Broadcasting Authority Act 1960:

> In performing its functions, the Authority shall bear constantly in mind the national aims of restoring the Irish language and preserving and developing the national culture and shall endeavour to promote the attainment of those aims.[486]

The aims of RTÉ were clear: re-establish a cultural identity that was deemed to have been lost or forgotten by delivering programming that was 'in harmony with the national aspirations of the people'.[487]

Productions were severely limited, however, by the nation's social, economic, and political concerns, and the network struggled to find funding to establish itself as a national broadcaster in line with the BBC, which was already broadcasting in Northern Ireland.[488] Financial constraints faced by the Irish government and the socio-economic status of its citizens in the 1960s meant that RTÉ was forced to buy pre-recorded British and American programmes.[489] As the technology of television was largely developed in the United States and Britain, it was difficult to avoid importing these programmes, and the newly formed Irish Broadcasting Authority had neither the means nor the infrastructure to rival content coming from the UK and the US.[490] Households in Ireland with the means to obtain a television had access to foreign broadcasts before 1961, thus the flow of media from outside of Ireland was already established. Attempting to institute a national broadcaster with a monopoly on programming that foregrounded national themes and concerns became unrealistic. Although this was not a situation unique to Ireland, as Edward Brennan argues, 'television has never emerged as a purely national cultural form with an entirely national idiom'.[491] The lure of television as a space of reimagining national identity could not operate in cultural isolation, thus the national broadcaster was forced to fulfil its national agenda alongside the cultural influences of Britain and America.

So far, commemoration of the Revolutionary Period has been concerned with national memory, flux of the revolutionary timeline, and the reformulation of ideas of nation and

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485 Lance Pettitt, *Screening Ireland: Film and Television Representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 145.
486 'Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960, §17', *Electronic Irish Statute Book (eISB)* <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1960/act/10/section/17/enacted/en/html> [accessed 11 August 2021].
487 'Interim Report of the Television Committee' (Department of the Taoiseach), 1953, State Paper Office, p. 39.
488 Edward Brennan, 'Cultural and Structural Change in Irish Television Drama', *Irish Communications Review*, 8 (2000), 1–13; see also: Robert J.G. Savage, *Irish Television: The Political and Social Origins* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), pp. 21–29.
489 Pettitt, *Screening Ireland*, p. 150.
490 Ibid., p. 138–45.
491 Edward Brennan, *A Post-Nationalist History of Television in Ireland* (New York: Springer, 2019), p. 7.

masculinity for the purposes of the present to connect with contemporary audiences. But what happens to the shape of revolutionary history when national memory exists within the contexts of global media? By its very nature television is a conductor of cultural flows, and television in Ireland expanded national participation in commemoration.[492] RTÉ played a major role in the 50th university of the 1916 Rising with extensive coverage of the 1966 commemorations, which set a precedent for the broadcaster in disseminating national memory across the country. Even before the network had discussed its schedule for the commemoration, producers set about interviewing veterans of the Rising from the early 1960s.[493] *Portraits of 1916*, which incorporated the interviews, was aired 1966 along with a myriad of other RTÉ productions, including a week-long series of programmes recounting the events of Easter Week 1916 and a colour broadcast of the Commemorations in Dublin and around the country. Part of this ambitious schedule included *Insurrection*, a major eight-part docudrama.[494] *Insurrection* was the jewel in RTÉ's commemorative crown, and I single it out for examination for its narrative format. It was not a documentary but, like the plays discussed in Chapter Three, it employed costume to disturb the margins of time in telling the story of the Rising for a contemporary audience.

Insurrection (1966)

Insurrection was broadcast 10–17 April 1966. Each episode re-enacted key moments from the events of Easter 1916. The final episode recounted events after the surrender and after the execution of 13 of the leaders of the Rising.[495] *Insurrection* merged historical re-enactment with documentary film-making by re-enacting the Rising in 1916 in the form of a live news broadcast with a reporter from 1966, a technique borrowed from a 1964 BBC production on the Battle of Culloden.[496]

Each episode began in the RTÉ studios with the host Ray McAnally (1926–1989), dressed in a 1960s suit, providing an update on the progress of the fighting in Dublin. Sometimes, the host interviewed historical figures in the studio who were dressed in historical

[492] Brennan, *A Post-Nationalist History of Television in Ireland*, p. 8.
[493] 'Portraits 1916', *RTE.ie* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/exhibitions/1993-easter-1916/portraits-1916/763691-intro/> [accessed 17 August 2021].
[494] 'Insurrection Landmark Television', *RTÉ Archives* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/category/media/2016/0309/773625-insurrection/> [accessed 30 November 2018].
[495] Roisín Higgins, "'I Am the Narrator Over-and-Above … the Caller up of the Dead": Pageant and Drama in 1966', in *1916 in 1966: Commemorating the Easter Rising*, ed. by Mary E. Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2014), pp. 149–73.
[496] 'Culloden – History of the BBC', *BBC.com* <https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/anniversaries/december/culloden> [accessed 17 August 2021].

costume, such as the Under Secretary for Ireland in 1916, Sir Matthew Nathan (1862–1939).[497] The programme jumped back and forth between re-enactments of the historical events, such as the Battle of Mount Street Bridge, and the RTÉ studio or live interviews with rebels in the heart of the action. The docudrama format was playing with the dramatization of history across time as current affairs. Raphael Samuel describes the rise of 'living history' in 1960s as a 'cult of immediacy' in response to social, economic, and political changes in Western culture that resisted the idea of arcane 'total history' of the 1950s.[498] In response, programmes like *Insurrection* became popular 'to make the past palpably and visibly present'.[499] *Insurrection* was an indicator of the demand in Ireland for national history to be part of cultural advancements like television; it was about making history relevant to the lives of ordinary people in the present.

Figure 4.1– A scene from RTÉ docudrama series Insurrection*, RTÉ, 2674/091, 1966*

Figure 4.1 is a still from the series in which the reporter (background right) is broadcasting 'live' from Liberty Hall in Dublin's city centre. In the foreground are four critical participants of the Rising (from left to right): (1) Patrick Pearse, wearing the Irish Volunteers uniform; (2) his younger brother Willie Pearse (1881–1916), also wearing the Volunteers uniform; (3) Joseph Plunkett, recognisable from his glasses and neckerchief; and (3) James Connolly in an Irish Citizen Army uniform.

[497] 'TV Eye: Through the Eyes of 1916', *History Ireland*, 2013 <https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/tv-eye-through-the-eyes-of-1916/> [accessed 15 March 2019].
[498] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. 169–205.
[499] Ibid., p. 175.

The narrative focussed heavily on the signatories, in particular Patrick Pearse and James Connolly, whose stories are prominent throughout. Their uniforms are pristine and accurate to what they would have worn on the day. Nora Connolly O'Brien, James Connolly's daughter, described seeing her father in uniform on the morning of the first day of the Rising:

> It was the first time I had seen him in uniform. All the time of the parades and exercises, he never had a uniform. I used [to] joke [with] him about going out in his navy-blue suit and slouch hat, and all the uniformed men behind him.[500]

She also described seeing Joseph Plunkett on the same morning 'in his uniform but his neck was all swathed with bandages; he was just getting over an operation.'[501] An accurate portrayal of these leading historical figures draws into sharp focus the intersection of past and present that existed in 1966 as the commemorations were occurring when many who had fought in the Rising were still alive.

The entire RTÉ programme for the 1966 anniversary focussed on the survivors of the Rising and the living memory of those who had been there, rather than inviting historical analysis of the events.[502] Television, according to Samuel, uses anniversaries to 'bring personal time into line with historical time' and satisfies the public desire to see history come to life in an easily digested eight-episode format.[503] The proximity of the past exists concurrently with the present – the suited reporter from the 1960s broadcasts alongside rebels in the historic uniforms of 1916. The liveness of the events underlined that, although it was a historic re-enactment, the memory of the Rising was very much alive in popular memory at the time *Insurrection* was aired.

The technique of playing with time by juxtaposing historic uniform and contemporary clothing was used by costume designer Catherine Fay in the 2016 production of *The Plough and the Stars* as a storytelling device to draw parallels between the memory of crisis in 1916 and the experience of crisis in 2016, as discussed in Chapter Three. In *Insurrection*, however, the costumes of the 1916 rebels and the suit of the 1960s reporter bring the action of the past and the present together as a 'live' event, which was made possible through the introduction of television. This kind of historical re-enactment had never been seen in Ireland before. As television ownership increased, this was a new way of seeing, understanding, and experiencing the Rising. Writer Colm Tóibín recalled watching *Insurrection* at home in 1966 with his family, particularly the final episode when the Rising was lost:

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[500] Nora Connolly O'Brien, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 286, Bureau of Military History, p. 33.
[501] O'Brien, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness, p. 33.
[502] 'TV Eye: Through the Eyes of 1916', *History Ireland*.
[503] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. 13–17.

> [T]he thing that really began to matter and build up tension in our house were the families visiting those who were to be executed […] my mother who was not given to emotion, I mean I had never seen her cry before, ever, she suddenly stood up and ran screaming I mean crying out of the room […] for us this was immense drama to have something on the television effecting the family in this way.[504]

The impact that *Insurrection* had on the nation's memory of the Rising was profound, so too was its impact on the cultural imagining of revolutionary masculinity. Journalist Fintan O'Toole described the impression the programme had on him as a child:

> I was an eight-year-old kid when that stuff that we were watching earlier on was going on, and I mean it was the most exciting, it was the most visceral, it was the most emotive thing that had ever happened as far as I was concerned. We stopped playing cowboys and Indians, and we started playing Irish and Brits […] And then people were surprised a couple of years later when members of my generation joined the IRA. I mean this is what we were told, it was about blood sacrifice, it was about being prepared to die for your country, and to kill other people for your country was the most important thing, the most important mission you could have in your life.[505]

O'Toole identified the impact of re-enactment and living history on what Graham Dawson calls the 'pleasure culture of war' – how American cultural imaginaries contributed to the 'pleasure culture' of war through the influence of Hollywood films.[506] It was television, however, that advanced the influence of American popular culture in Ireland. During the week of 17 April 1966, *Insurrection* topped the bill with 86,000 viewers in the same week that an American Western, *The Virginian* (1946), had 80,000 viewers.[507] Also screening at this time were other American programmes, such as *The Restless Gun* (1957–1959), *Have Gun – Will Travel* (1957–1963), and *The Fugitive* (1963–1967).[508] *The Fugitive*, according to Edward Brennan, was Ireland's first experience of 'event television', and between 1964 and 1967 it 'became part of national life'.[509] Television was the star attraction of the 1966 commemorations. As Jack White, the assistant controller of programmes on RTÉ, explained, with *Insurrection* they were able to 'capture the heroic drama of that week' for a generation that had not lived through it.[510]

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504 Colm Tobin Interview, '1916 in 1966', *Nationwide*, RTÉ, Friday 25th March at 6.30pm 2016.
505 'How We Remember 1916', *RTÉ Archives* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/2016/0303/772274-remembering-1916/> [accessed 14 March 2019].
506 Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 236.
507 'RTV Guide', 8 April 1966; *The Virginian*, dir. by Stuart Gilmore, costume design by Edith Head (Paramount Pictures, 1946).
508 *The Restless Gun*, prod. by David Dortort and John Payne, costume design by Vincent Dee (American Broadcasting Company, 1957–1959); *Have Gun – Will Travel*, created by Herb Meadow and Sam Rolfe (CBS Television Network, 1957–1963); *The Fugitive*, created by Roy Huggins (United Artists Television, 1963–1967).
509 Brennan, *A Post-Nationalist History of Television in Ireland*, p. 105.
510 'RTV Guide', 8 April 1966.

The action of the docudrama played out in a simplified good-versus-evil format. The historical advisor on the series, Professor Kevin Nowlan (1921–2013), did not have a positive view of the blending of contemporary and historical elements or the influence of American programming, as he explained in an interview with RTÉ in 1991:

> It was a cowboy and Indian arrangement, you know the pursuer […] and the pursued and […] this thing of introducing, for example, television cameras into 1916 when they weren't even invented or […] even thought about was I think most unfortunate.[511]

Although Pearse, Connolly, Plunkett, and the key male protagonists were being presented as historically accurate figures, according to Nolan the Americanisation of the series and the introduction of the present into the past risked misrepresenting history as a story of good and evil. Thus, the leaders of the Rising were being reimagined as heroic outlaws in pursuit of freedom.

Dawson argues that in Britain the 'Wild West imaginary' began displacing the image of imperial heroism, however in Ireland there was instead an alignment with the new image of the revolutionary hero.[512] What was being seen on television was a repurposing of the myth of the revolutionary hero for a generation wishing to re-establish an immediate connection to the past, through this idea of history as living.[513] Although it is important not to overstate the influence that *Insurrection* had on increasing sectarian violence, which broke out in 1969, it did have a lasting impact on how the Irish revolutionary hero existed in popular memory. 1966 was a moment in which this hero had a new image and a relevance for a new generation as the re-enactment of history happened in real-time. Although RTÉ was founded with the aim of decolonising popular entertainment in the homes of ordinary Irish people, it had failed to shelter its scheduling from either the flow of ready-made and well-produced programmes coming from Britain and America or the influence these programmes had on the popular imagination. The pleasure culture of the revolutionary conflict was the result of the social and cultural reimagining of revolutionary masculinities within this Anglo-American framework. Images and ideas consumed through television served to reframe popular memory by providing a new tool for cultural imagining that no longer resided purely within the structure of institutional memory practices.

Costume was paramount in establishing these narratives of heroism as the visual medium of television brought revolutionary masculinities to life in the homes of Irish families. Through

511 'Insurrection Landmark Television', *RTÉ Archives* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/category/media/2016/0309/773625-insurrection/> [accessed 30 November 2018].
512 Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, pp. 236–37.
513 Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 175.

television, viewers could imagine what Dublin in 1916 might have looked and sounded like. Costume is a way into history – a way for bodies in the present to engage in theatrical or dramatic dialogue with those of the past. How can this dialogue serve as a criticism, not just to uncover histories as discussed in Chapter Three, but to subvert the very platform of national television and critique the process of memory-making through costume? I answer this question by once again looking to the fringes of centenary programming – the mockumentary series *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*.

The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916 (2016)

Unable to stem the tide of programming from Britain and America, RTÉ was strict in outlining what should and should not be part of their official commemorative schedule. In 1966, for example, Sean O'Casey's *Plough and the Stars* was excluded from the anniversary schedule as it would 'not be in keeping with the spirit of the occasion', as it acknowledged the detrimental impact the Rising had on the lives of Dubliners.[514] In 2016, RTÉ's centenary schedule was similarly curated to reflect the perceived mood of the nation. Programming included all the key state ceremonials since the inaugural centenary calendar began in 2013, including items such as a documentary series on Irish participation in First World War and extensive coverage of every state ceremonial, including in 2015 the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa as discussed in Chapter One. It was, however, the centenary of the 1916 Rising that dominated the scheduling, which included a dedicated *RTÉ1916* platform and a website with archives of all TV and radio documentaries for past centenary commemorations and an interactive interface for understanding the events of Easter 1916.[515] On the peripheries of this impressive timetable for remembering was a short mockumentary series by a comedy duo from Limerick – Blindboy Boatclub and Mr Chrome, also known as The Rubberbandits (Figure 4.2).

[514] NAI, DT, 97/6/160, quoted in Higgins, "'I Am the Narrator over-and-Above … the Caller up of the Dead", p. 159.
[515] '1916|RTÉ', *RTE.ie* < https://1916.rte.ie/>, [accessed 11 August 2021].

Figure 4.2 – The Rubberbantits, The Rubberbantits Guide to Money*, RTÉ, 2016*

The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916 was commissioned by RTÉ for the 2016 centenary, however, according to Blindboy, RTÉ limited its reach by broadcasting it 'at shit times so nobody actually saw them'.[516] In Blindboy's opinion, the mockumentary was broadcast at 11:00 p.m. on New Year's Eve 2016 'because [RTÉ] were afraid that was too risky'.[517] Indeed, at the launch of RTÉ's 1916 centenary programme, Noel Curran, then Director General of RTÉ, referred to *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916* as 'every Director General's worst nightmare', while also outlining that 'RTÉ want[ed] to engage the public, by telling the stories of the events and protagonists, and also of the ordinary men, women, children, and soldiers'.[518] Maximising public engagement included expanding beyond the usual commemorative programming and allowing for the Rising to be interpreted through satire and comedy, which involved the possibility of opening up the establishment to criticism.

The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916 follows the duo as they attempt to produce 'the official 1916 documentary for the national broadcaster' as requested by the President of Ireland, Michael D. Higgins. Opening with the premise that 'the education system […] let us down', the Rubberbandits set out to tell the 'real' history of Ireland leading up to and after the Rising.[519] Throughout the program the duo maintain their anonymity by wearing distinctive plastic bags over their faces (Figure 4.2 above). The plastic bags cover their faces to distance their public selves from their private selves and avoid what they perceive to be the pitfalls of celebrity

[516] Acast, 'Dumb Blubber Pandy – The Blindboy Podcast on Acast', *Acast*, 2018 <https://www.acast.com/blindboy/dumbblubberpandy> [accessed 22 March 2019].
[517] Ibid.
[518] Noel Curran, 'RTÉ 1916: Remarks by Noel Curran, Director General, RTÉ', 2015 <https://www.rte.ie/about/en/press-office/statements-speeches/2015/1105/739871-director-general-noel-curran-speaks-at-the-launch-at-rte-1916/> [accessed 25 March 2019].
[519] *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*, *RTEPlayer* <https://www.rte.ie/player/show/the-rubberbandits-guide-to-1916-30003777/> [accessed 22 January 2018].

culture. Blindboy explained: 'I don't want to be noticed in public because I am a Z-list Irish celebrity […] you're not special, you're just on the television'.[520] Covering their faces undermines the power of the media to create cultural imaginaries of idealised male figures and, indeed, the power of networks like RTÉ to control the narrative.

The act of covering their faces with plastic bags and fashioning a distance between personal identity and public performance is in the first instance a ridiculous, anarchic act – the thing that children are told to not do with plastic bags. The 'masks' resemble head coverings like balaclavas, which have connotations of criminal or insurgent violence and antisocial behaviour. The most striking comparisons are with the IRA's use of the balaclava throughout the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the New IRA's continued use of face coverings to conceal identities during demonstrations and commemorations.[521] At the same time, however, balaclavas are associated with social activism, as is the case with Pussy Riot, the feminist protest group.[522] Pussy Riot adopted the balaclava as a gesture of female empowerment, subverting a symbol of male violence. The balaclava itself was named after the 1854 Battle of Balaclava during the Crimean War (1854–1856), where it is believed to have been first used as a garment in combat.[523]

On a personal level, the Rubberbandits are protecting their private identities; however, more broadly they are embodying a disenfranchised subculture of working-class Irish masculinity by wearing hoodies and tracksuits, clothing which can also be seen as a site of protest against normal dress codes – it is a performance of subversive masculinity.[524] The adoption of a working-class style of dress and the use of masks to withhold identity are acts of refusal – meaningful subversive acts of resistance made through dress or, in this case, a refusal to show the face.[525] The physical presentation of the Rubberbandits embodies voices from the margins of Limerick City's disenfranchised youth, which are brought to the centre through the format of comedy on platforms like the national broadcaster. This decentred sartorial image is a masquerade in which the Rubberbandits use their masked identity to satirise the social performances of commemoration and popular memory.

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[520] Rubberbandits, *WHY DO I WEAR A PLASTIC BAG?*, *YouTube* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kU0mnjXYqDY> [accessed 4 December 2018].
[521] David Lowe, *Policing Terrorism: Research Studies into Police Counterterrorism Investigations* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 129–30.
[522] Bogomir Doringer and Brigitte Felderer, *Faceless: Re-Inventing Privacy Through Subversive Media Strategies* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), p. 42; see also: Barbara Brownie and Danny Graydon, *The Superhero Costume: Identity and Disguise in Fact and Fiction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). p. 127.
[523] M. Katharina Wiedlack, 'The Spectacle of Russian Feminism: Questioning Visibility and the Western Gaze', in *Subcultures, Bodies, and Spaces: Essays on Alternativity and Marginalisation*, ed. by Samantha Holland and Karl Spracklen (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2018), pp. 133–151 (p. 143), see also: Alex Games, *Balderdash & Piffle: One Sandwich Short of a Dog's Dinner* (London: Random House, 2010), pp. 35–36.
[524] Joanne Turney, 'From Revolting to Revolting: Masculinity and the Body Politic of the Tracksuit', in *Fashion Crimes: Dressing for Deviance*, ed. by Joanne Turney (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 23-33.
[525] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture* (London: Routledge, 2013).

The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916 subverts the strategies of historical documentary film-making by using historic footage and images, voice-overs, battle re-enactments, and interviews to tell the story of Irish history in the lead up to the Rising.[526] They exploit the format to highlight the inaccuracies inherent in the standard format of documentary film-making and the dissemination of popular memory through film and television. While the mockumentary outlines the history of the 1916 Rising, it criticises major institutions, including the education system, the church, and RTÉ, for how Ireland's revolutionary history has been commemorated in the past.

Figure 4.3 – Blindboy Boatclub (left) and Mr Chrome (right) In Costume Opposite the General Post Office, The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916, *RTÉ, 2016*

The Rubberbandits wear historic costume as a documentary narrative technique, which gives them the opportunity to emphasise how popular history can open spaces for inaccuracies or generalisations. Figure 4.3 shows Blindboy and Mr Chrome standing opposite the GPO (General Post Office) in Dublin's city centre. Blindboy states: 'In order to honour the heroes of the Rising we went to O'Connell Street dressed as Pearse and the lads; unfortunately, we got a couple of things mixed up and went as Black and Tans instead'.[527] They are wearing a combination of mismatched garments: different coloured puttees, conflicting designs of jackets and trousers, and Blindboy (left) is incorrectly wearing a Sam Browne belt, with one strap falling off his shoulder. However, both are wearing the black beret of the Black and Tans.

[526] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 13.
[527] *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*.

Wearing the uniforms of the RIC and the Auxiliaries outside the GPO to 'honour' the heroes of the Rising in the framework of a historical documentary trivialises the historicity of the re-enactment. In *Insurrection*, the leaders' historically accurate uniforms became part of a heroic story about 'good guys versus bad guys' in a re-enactment that blurred popular history and living memory. By wearing the Black and Tan uniform to re-enact Patrick Pearse's speech, the duo also perform a critique of the commercialisation of commemoration, not just through film and television but through the collective amnesia of successive governments' attempts to accurately remember the ideals of the political and social and military leaders. Blindboy discussed wearing the Black and Tan uniform on his podcast series:

> [W]e did a documentary for RTE on the 1916 Rising, right, and one of the things in this documentary that I was trying to do is, outside the fuckin GPO right, you've got a statue of Jim Larkin, who is a socialist, […] but then we were asked to do this documentary on 1916 in 2016, but on looking at this statue of Jim Larkin outside the GPO […] with his socialist ideals but all around him was fuckin Burger King, Starbucks – the opposite of fuckin socialist ideals – so I figured right, ok […] in order for me to reflect that hypocrisy then I then have to read out the Proclamation outside the GPO dressed as a Black and Tan because that's as offensive as fuckin Jim Larkin being beside a Starbucks.[528]

Blindboy highlights one of the key pitfalls of commemorative practices – the loss or misrepresentation of the ideals of the various factions of the Irish revolutionary movements. The documentary also suggests that this collective forgetting of the complexities of the Rising was set in place by de Valera's government: '[T]he revolution was a working-class revolution. All you hear in the history books is the poet, the painter, the teacher, the lawyer, no working-class men, that is a post-de Valera narrative'.[529] Indeed, the mockumentary continually references the reiterated misconceptions and omissions of the Irish Revolutionary Period, citing the impact of the Rising on the poorest of Dublin's population as a significant exclusion.

The issue of the representation of class in previous commemorations of the Rising was also discussed on RTÉ by Fintan O'Toole in the 2006 *Late Late Show* broadcast referred to above. Like the Rubberbandits, O'Toole questioned the impact of selective memorialisation through successive commemorations:

> [W]ho made the blood sacrifice in Easter Week? How many rebels died in Easter Week? The smallest category of people who were killed in Easter Week were the rebels. The blood sacrifice was mostly made by innocent, uninvolved and very poor citizens of this city we are sitting in now.[530]

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528 'Jockeys Porridge – The Blindboy Podcast on Acast', *Acast*, 2018 <https://www.acast.com/blindboy/jockeysporridge> [accessed 22 March 2019].
529 Ibid.
530 'How We Remember 1916', *RTÉ Archives*.

O'Toole asserted the need to remember the 1916 Rising in all its complexity at the 90th anniversary. Acknowledging this complexity was a part of RTÉ's centenary programme in 2016, thus it commissioned programs like *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916*.

RTÉ, as a statuary organisation, largely adheres the state framework of revolutionary history, with extensive coverage of state rituals and ceremonials as a staple of the commemorative schedule. The global influence of British and American programming, however, had a lasting impact on how RTÉ commemorates revolutionary masculinities. The Rubberbandits demonstrated how the national broadcaster could be used – and subverted – to perform a critique of social practices of media commemoration, which can be seen as part of the democratisation of national television. As with *Don't tell the Bride*, The Rubberbandits employed Irish revolutionary masculinities for their own agenda. *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916* exposes and challenges the implications of 'the pleasure culture of war' for popular memory, specifically the representation of revolutionary heroism.[531] Their masked identities call into question the power of the uniform in historical re-enactment, performing instead a masquerade that exploits the space between myth-history and popular memory.

I have highlighted *Insurrection* (1966) and *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916* (2016) to unpack costume as a tool for determining and disclaiming Irish revolutionary masculinities in popular memory. In each program, costume – uniform and civilian clothing – is employed to bring history into line with the present, but to different ends. *Insurrection* attempted to control the narrative of heroism, but in light of the new medium of television, restrained management was not possible. American and British programming influenced how the heroes of 1916 were portrayed and perceived, thus shaping popular memory of the Rising in 1960s Ireland. From the centre of RTÉ's scheduling in 1966 to the edges of its commemorations in 2016, *The Rubberbandits Guide to 1916* serves as an example of how dress can represent dissent and critique popular commemoration. In Part Two, I move beyond the context of national television to the domain of film to consider how the fictionalisation of the Revolutionary Period for an international audience has shaped national memory within Ireland.

[531] Darragh Murphy, 'The Rubberbandits' Guide to 1916 – and Other Stories', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/the-rubberbandits-guide-to-1916-and-other-stories-1.2492506> [accessed 4 December 2018].

Part Two: Fiction and Film

Having examined the impact of television on the re-enactment of revolution and the subversion of the medium within the context of commemoration, I now move on to discuss the change of scope and scale for these potentialities in cinema. According to Joanne Garde-Hansen, 'it seems we are not able to understand the past without media versions of it, and the last century, in particular, shows us that media and events of historical significance are inseparable'.[532] Narrativising the history and memory of conflict through film enables audiences to emotionally connect with the traumatic and painful experiences of historic characters. Paul Grainge also argues that cinema is a technology with the ability to 'embody the temporality of the past' which 'has become central to the mediation of memory in modern cultural life'.[533]

Cinema in Ireland has always provided a platform for national self-identification on a global scale. In a 1995 documentary about representations of Ireland on screen, Irish director Jim Sheridan observed that Ireland has tended to use cinema as a way of asking questions about what it means to be Irish:

> [T]o me, it's a lack of self-possession and a lack of self-centeredness, it's kind of like we're always trying to figure out who we are, we're always trying to figure out our identity because somewhere deep down we feel maybe we don't have one.[534]

This chapter looks into the idea of questioning Irish national identity through historical narratives in film, exploring how costume, specifically, provides access to the experience and memory of the past and can reveal contemporary anxieties around self-identification in Ireland. My analysis focuses on *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (2006), two films that made significant contributions to the popular representation of the Revolutionary Period of Irish history.[535]

From the very early days of cinema, the Irish Revolutionary Period was represented in film. *Irish Destiny* (1926), a silent film released on the tenth anniversary of the Rising, follows the story of an IRA soldier who is captured by British forces.[536] The film was made and produced in Ireland and is a very early example of the narrativization of the Rising for an Irish audience for

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[532] Joanne Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 1.
[533] Paul Grainge, *Memory and Popular Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 1.
[534] *Irish Cinema: Ourselves Alone?*, dir. by Donald Taylor Black (Centenary Productions, 1995).
[535] Barry Monahan, *Ireland and Cinema: Culture and Contexts* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Raita Merivirta, *The Gun and Irish Politics: Examining National History in Neil Jordan's Michael Collins* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009); Mark Connelly, *The IRA on Film and Television: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014); Debbie Ging, *Men and Masculinities in Irish Cinema* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Dawn Duncan, *Irish Myth, Lore and Legend on Film* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013).
[536] *Irish Destiny*, dir. by George Dewhurst (I.J. Eppel, 1926).

whom the Rising still existed in living memory. The Irish film industry failed to flourish, however, in the early twentieth century, mainly due to lack of economic investment by the Free State following the Civil War, and Irish-made films became unsustainable.[537] The Revolutionary Period did, however, capture the imagination of film studios outside of Ireland, and constant revivals of the story have been seen since the 1920s.

British film studios made several Irish-revolution-themed films after the end of the Civil War, including an 1929 adaptation of Sean O'Casey's play *Juno and the Paycock* directed by Alfred Hitchcock.[538] Similarly, American film companies began to see Ireland's potential as a site and subject for cinema.[539] Just over ten years after the end of the Irish Civil War, American studios began to produce and distribute films on Irish revolutionary themes, such as *The Key* (1934), *The Informer* (1935) and *Beloved Enemy* (1936).[540] Irish-American director John Ford adapted O'Casey's play *The Plough and the Stars* for the big screen in 1937 and later returned to the theme of the Irish War of Independence with one of his best-known films, *The Quiet Man* (1952).[541] *The Quiet Man* was a massive success at the time. These films demonstrate that there was a sustained demand for films on Irish revolutionary themes among British, American, and Irish audiences.

Jerome de Groot argues that national film often has a political or polemic purpose in the pursuit of national catharsis, contending that in Spain national film (that is, film that is primarily funded, filmed, and produced in the country depicted) has been employed to tackle difficult histories, such as the civil war and Franco's dictatorial reign.[542] Therefore, film made outside of the nation-state is not restricted by the same political agendas or economic restrictions. As is seen in the British and American narrative films from the first half of the twentieth century, Irish revolutionary themes had mass audience appeal.

The exploration of Irish revolutionary themes in popular American films began to align the period of conflict with nostalgic memory – a form of memory that emphasises looking back

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537 Lance Pettitt, *Screening Ireland: Film and Television Representation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) pp. 28–29.
538 *Juno and the Paycock*, dir. by Alfred Hitchcock, art dir. by J. Marchant (British International Pictures, 1929).
539 This was due, in part, to the large Irish immigrant population in America, which fled from poverty and religious discrimination in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century, a link which was strengthened by first president of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, who travelled to America in 1919 to secure recognition of the Irish Republic from American President Woodrow Wilson and campaign for the support of and funding from the American people; see: Dave Hannigan, *De Valera in America: The Rebel President's 1919 Campaign* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2012); see also: Kerby A. Miller, *Ireland and Irish America: Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration* (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2008).
540 *The Key*, dir. by Michael Curtiz, costume design by Orry-Kelly (Warner Brothers, 1934); *The Informer*, dir. by John Ford, costume design by Walter Plunkett (RKO Radio Pictures, 1935); *Beloved Enemy*, dir. by H.C. Potter, costume design by Omar Kiam (Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1936).
541 *The Plough and the Stars*, dir. by John Ford, costume design by Walter Plunkett (RKO Radio Pictures, 1937); *The Quiet Man*, dir. by John Ford, costume design by Adele Palmer (Argosy Pictures, 1952).
542 Jerome De Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 210.

or yearning for a more romantic or idyllic imagined past.[543] Patricia Goldstone suggests that Ireland recommended itself to the American film industry because of 'an embarrassment of rich scenery along with a talented and energetic English-speaking population'.[544] From 1993 onwards, with the introduction on the Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Bill by the then Minister for Arts, Culture, and the Gaeltacht, Michael D. Higgins, new funding also became available to reactivate the Irish Film Board.[545] These factors ushered in a new era of Ireland on film and of national identification. O'Toole suggests that by 1996,

> It was no longer possible to envisage Irishness as merely the other side of Britishness […] after centuries of imagining itself in the shadow of a bigger, more powerful and above all richer neighbour, it was faced with the necessity, not just to think again, but to find whole new way of thinking.'[546]

This new way of thinking involved the reframing of national memory in response to a changing and more globalised Ireland.

Michael Collins (1996)

One of the films made during the early days of the Irish Film Board's renaissance was *Michael Collins* (1996). Michael Collins was a militant Irish republican who fought in the 1916 Rising, was a member of the first Dáil (Irish parliament) in 1918, and became Director of Intelligence for the Irish Republican Army during the War of Independence. Collins was heralded as a keen military strategist and for his use of guerrilla warfare against British forces during the War of Independence. After the ceasefire and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, of which Collins was the chief negotiator, Collins became Commander-in-Chief of the National Army in 1922. Shortly after this appointment, on 22 August 1922, Collins was assassinated by anti-Treaty forces in Béal na Bláth, County Cork.[547] Collins was an imposing man, described by many who knew and worked for him as 'a tall, athletic-looking man'[548] who was 'meant to be in command'.[549]

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[543] Emilie Pine, *The Politics of Irish Memory: Performing Remembrance in Contemporary Irish Culture* (Basingstoke: AIAA, 2010), p. 8.
[544] Patricia Goldstone, *Making the World Safe for Tourism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 139.
[545] The Irish Film Board is the state's development agency for the Irish film industry. It originally produced films from 1980 to 1987, until its funding was cut. It was re-funded in its current form in 1993; see: Houses of the Oireachtas, 'Ceisteanna – Questions. Oral Answers. – Film Industry. – Dáil Éireann (27th Dáil) – Thursday, 29 Apr 1993 – Houses of the Oireachtas', 1993 <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1993-04-29/11> [accessed 27 February 2019];.
[546] Fintan O'Toole, *The Ex-Isle of Erin*, (Dublin: New Island Books, 1997), p. 11.
[547] Tim Pat Coogan, *Michael Collins: A Biography* (London: Head of Zeus Ltd, 2015).
[548] James W. Cunningham, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 922, p. 4.
[549] Joseph Good, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 388, 1950, Bureau of Military History, p. 1.

Many films were made about or were inspired by the life of Michael Collins, including *Beloved Enemy* (1936) mentioned above. However, it was Neil Jordan's 1996 epic that brought Collins's story to the Hollywood stage. *Michael Collins* was a co-production by both American and Irish companies. The Irish Film Board funded 10–12% of the overall budget, while the remainder came from the Geffen Film Company and Warner Brothers, major American production companies.[550]

It is within the space of popular culture that gender and national identity are reimagined, not as a true representation of the experience of conflict but as a mirror held up to the nation reflecting its expectations of Irish revolutionary masculinity. Chapter Two analysed the collection, exhibition, and interpretation of Michael Collins in the National Museum of Ireland. In the context of the museum, Collins's body is framed within the history of the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the Civil War, and Collins's bloodstained greatcoat is displayed alongside Liam Lynch's makeshift uniform to balance the depiction of masculinity on both sides of the conflict. As already discussed in Chapter Two, the greatcoat is one of the few surviving objects that attest to the authentic body of Michael Collins, and it only pertains to the last days of his life and death in the newly formed Irish Free State. While Michael Collins looms large as a mythic figure in Irish revolutionary history, the truth of his life and death have long been sidelined for the story of a heroic leader in life and a martyr in death.[551] His life has been adapted into songs, poems, novels, plays, and even a musical. In this section I examine how the Collins myth took on a new life when seen through the Hollywood lens, which has shaped the perception of Collins as a soldier hero in Irish popular memory.

Anne Dolan and William Murphy describe the various ideas of Collins that built up around him in both life and death, which created a deeply embedded myth of Michael Collins in the Irish psyche.[552] While there was Collins the financier, the negotiator, the propagandist, and the politician, Collins the 'fighting hero' endured in popular memory.[553] In 1996 the 'fighting hero' became the protagonist of Neil Jordan's *Michael Collins*.

The film follows Michael Collins, played by Irish actor Liam Neeson, from the end of the 1916 Rising to his death in 1922. The film was criticised for its historical inaccuracies and for glamorising violence, but it brought Michael Collins 'the hero' to a global stage at a time when the Irish government was seeking to rebuild its global image and cross-border negotiations were

[550] IMDB, '*Michael Collins* (1996)', *IMDB.com* <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0117039/> [accessed 23 October 2017].
[551] Anne Dolan and William Murphy, *Michael Collins: The Man and the Revolution* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2018), p. 413.
[552] Ibid., pp. 139–45.
[553] Ibid., p. 143.

drawing closer to a peace agreement.[554] However, the commercial success of the film was affected by the political tensions in Ireland at the time. For example, after the Provisional IRA ended an almost two-year ceasefire in February 1996 because of ongoing dissatisfaction with political negotiations, the ending of the film was changed at the request of Warner Brothers to focus on the relationship between Michael Collins and Kitty Kiernan rather than the breakdown of the pro- and anti-Treaty negotiations.[555]

To investigate how the film framed Collins for an Ireland on the verge of coming out of another conflict, I examine promotional posters for the film. I question how the image of the hero mirrored international expectations of revolutionary Irishness. After all, political tensions at the time of the film's release directly challenged the subject of the film and, as this research demonstrates, this tension played out through the sartorial image of the character of Michael Collins.

Promotional materials, such as advertisements and posters, are an essential source of information regarding a film as they often distil the main themes, characters, and tone to not only impart information but also entice audiences to see the film. An analysis of posters for *Michael Collins* highlights ongoing cross-border tensions in Ireland at the time of the film's release and illustrates how the costuming of Collins was key for reimagining his character in light of tensions, both fictional and historic. Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 are two posters used to promote the film in 1996. The initial poster design depicted Collins brandishing a rifle (Figure 4.4). However, after a bomb was detonated in London on 9 February 1996, killing two people and ending an IRA ceasefire, Warner Brothers withdrew the initial poster, replacing it with a still from the film showing Collins delivering a speech to a crowd (Figure 4.5).[556] In addition to the obvious removal of the rifle and flag, Collins's costume was also changed in the second poster, altering the tone of the composition.

[554] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Border: The Legacy of a Century of Anglo-Irish Politics* (London: Profile Books, 2019), pp. 114-16.
[555] Goldstone, *Making the World Safe for Tourism*, p. 139.
[556] Steve Daly, "'The Fighting Irish": Liam Neeson and Director Neil Jordan Waged a 12-Year Battle of Their Own to Bring the Story of Controversial Irish Revolutionary Michael Collins to the Screen – and the Rest is History', *Entertainment Weekly*, 18 October 1996, quoted in; Tony Shaw, *Cinematic Terror: A Global History of Terrorism on Film* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), p. 218.

Figure 4.4 (left) – Initial Poster Design for Michael Collins, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0117039/, 1996

Figure 4.5 (right) – Second Poster Design for Michael Collins, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0117039/, 1996

In Figure 4.4 Collins wears a tie and shirt. His sleeves are rolled up, his waistcoat is open, and he does not have a jacket. The deconstruction of Collins's costume emphasises a disregard for his appearance and his self-image. The rolled-up sleeves reflect a determination to get the job done. Collins's civilian costume says nothing about his role as a politician, diplomatic negotiator, or military leader; instead, it suggests a man like any other – a labourer or a factory worker. The civilian costume paired with a dynamic gesture and the wielding of a rifle certainly invokes violent action, but it does not necessarily signify military action. Rather, it represents civil resistance. This shift from militant to civil resistance echoes what Tony Shaw explains as a post-war rationalisation of terrorism in cinema as acts of 'resistance' carried out in the name of patriotism.[557] The dramatic tableau is emphasised by the inclusion of the Irish flag in the background, which was deemed, in the context of the end of the ceasefire in 1996, to overemphasise the film as a patriotic and nationalist story.

Figure 4.5 is the post-bombing, revised version of the poster. Marked differences include the removal of the rifle and flag as well as a change in Collins's costume. In the revised poster Collins is dressed in a matching three-piece suit with a shirt, tie, and watch chain. The costume is unremarkable and not what one would expect of a man who, according to the text on the poster, 'forged a nation's destiny'. However, when analysed alongside the first version, it is clear that

[557] Shaw, *Cinematic Terror*, p. 45.

costuming Collins appropriately was integral to his reimagining. The suit, which is cut from a brown or dark-green wool, is a closer to what Collins wore as a political campaigner. Figure 4.6 is a photograph of Collins addressing a Dublin crowd in 1922 during his campaign to gain support for the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Neeson's costume in the second poster is almost identical to Collins's clothing in Figure 4.6. The revised poster divorces the real-person-fictional image of Collins from violence (both actual and fictional), instead showing him as a political negotiator and orator, thereby aligning the character with a particular historic image of the real Michael Collins.

Figure 4.6 (left) – Photographic print of Michael Collins addressing a meeting, in Cork, National Library of Ireland, 1921-1922. HOGW 69, 1922

Figure 4.7 (right) – Statue of Michael Collins, Michael Collins Centre, Clonakilty, County Cork, 2002

The fact that the poster changed in the wake of the abrupt end to the ceasefire reveals how the narrative of the film was being aligned with the progression of cross-border tensions in Ireland. The reimagining of Michael Collins as a revolutionary leader was being shaped by conflict in the mid 1990s as the image of terrorism increasingly became part of the global vocabulary. Clothing was part of this vocabulary, as Cheryl Herr suggests in her analysis of women's fashion during the Troubles: 'Republican newspapers, British tabloids, and American news magazines render up a weary visual litany of balaclavaed [*sic*] men and women, dressed in

American-style fatigues and carrying Armalite rifles'.[558] Posters for *Michael Collins* laid the foundations for an alternative representation of Collins for a global audience.

Depicting Collins as a 'fighting hero' rather than a terrorist was a response to both the legacy of terrorism and political tensions in Ireland in the 1990s and the influence of the American imaginary of Irish revolutionary masculinity. The implications of this film for popular memory in Ireland are evident from an event held in County Cork in 2002. On the 80th anniversary of Collins's death, Cork County Council had a new statue of Collins erected in the town of Clonakilty, near where Collins was shot in Béal na Bláth. The statue depicts Collins in civilian clothes and in a dynamic posture (Figure 4.7).

Liam Neeson was invited to unveil the statue, thereby aligning the memory of Collins with Neeson's portrayal ten years earlier. Figure 4.8 shows Neeson at the unveiling, and similarities between the man and statue are plain. Neeson is dressed in a brown suit and tie, not dissimilar to his *Michael Collins* costume (Figure 4.5) or photographs of Collins himself (Figure 4.6). Neeson declared before the crowd, 'He is my hero', and even treated those gathered at the unveiling to an impression of Collins.[559] In this moment, Neeson, an Irish Catholic from Northern Ireland, is embodying Collins in an act of remembrance in the Cork town where Collins died. There is no other connection between the two men except for the portrayal of Collins by Neeson in the film, but this portrayal found life beyond the film screen. As discussed in Chapter One, these kinds of re-enactments generally occur at gravesides, like Pearse's speech at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa, and they take part within the official structure of state memory practice. The statue unveiling, however, was an embodied re-enactment of Collins as a 'fighting hero' – of Ireland and of Hollywood. A point of connection was formed through the body of Neeson across geographies and time.

[558] Cheryl Herr, 'Terrorist Chic: Style and Domination in Contemporary Ireland', in *On Fashion*, ed. by Shari Benstock and Suzanne Ferriss (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), pp. 235–66 (p. 248).
[559] 'Michael Collins In Bronze', *RTÉ Archives* <https://www.rte.ie//archives/2017/0822/899137-michael-collins-in-bronze/> [accessed 2 March 2019].

Figure 4.8 – Liam Neeson at the Michael Collins Statue Unveiling, RTÉ, 2002

Off the back of the film's success, Neeson's unveiling of the statue was covered across the world, especially in America. A story in the *Los Angeles Times* read, 'Monumental Honor for Slain Irish Leader'.[560] The *Seattle Times* went with 'Irish Hero Comes to Life in Homeland' and focussed on the similarities between the assassination of Michael Collins and that of JFK.[561] Outside of the national history of revolution, Collins became – in no small part because of Liam Neeson's portrayal – a transatlantic hero of the revolution, shifting the Irish revolutionary hero beyond the boundary of Ireland and into a global framework for commemoration in popular culture. Neeson was, at this time, most famous for playing a Jedi knight and rebel leader fighting against an evil empire in the *Star Wars* series.[562] BBC Northern Ireland's coverage of the 2002 unveiling story included an image of Neeson in his role as Qui-Gon Jinn in *Star Wars: Episode I – The Phantom Menace* (1999).[563]

Reimagining Neeson as an embodiment of Michael Collins represents a new Irish-American revolutionary hero – one that exists outside of the cyclical history of heroes and martyrs that Irish national memory was built upon, as discussed in Chapter One. This embodiment deviates from both the historic image of Michael Collins and the contemporary image of anti-imperialist violence; hero and celebrity became blurred in popular memory. At this

560 'Monumental Honor for Slain Irish Leader', *Los Angeles Times*, 2002 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2002-aug-23-fg-collins23-story.html> [accessed 24 August 2021].
561 Brian J. Cantwell, 'Irish Hero Comes to Life in Homeland', *The Seattle Times*, 2007 <https://www.seattletimes.com/life/travel/irish-hero-comes-to-life-in-homeland/> [accessed 24 August 2021].
562 *Star Wars: Episode I – The Phantom Menace*, dir. by George Lucas, costume design by Trisha Biggar (Lucasfilm, 1999).
563 'Neeson to Unveil Patriot Statue', *BBC*, 23 August 2002 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/2209403.stm> [accessed 24 August 2021].

moment, the narrative of colonialism in Ireland expands in the context of popular culture by drawing on global models of heroic masculinity – from Michael Collins to JKF to Liam Neeson as a Jedi Knight. Geography, history, and even reality are no longer imperatives in the imagining of Irish revolutionary masculinities.

The film *Michael Collins* and the rendering of the body of Liam Neeson in Cork onto the anniversary of Collins's death forged a sufficient conduit of history to embody the memory of Collins, which ruptured the shape of revolutionary history and the extended pantheon of Irish heroes. In Chapter One the shape of Irish revolutionary history was built upon the dead, living, and re-enacted bodies of specific individuals and fixed in collective memory through ritual acts of remembrance. In cinema, as demonstrated by this analysis of *Michael Collins*, the body of Collins became part of a global reimagining of the Irish hero, which was, in turn, embraced as a national (re)imagining.

The Wind that Shakes the Barley (2006)

Throughout the Celtic Tiger era (mid-1990s–late-2000s), Irish cinema saw an increase in state investment, and by 1996 cinema attendance in Ireland was the highest in Europe.[564] Film was an opportunity and a vehicle for the Irish government to invest in extending the Irish cultural imaginary beyond the nation's borders. Parliamentary debates from this period reveal that the government invested in the production of films exploring the Irish revolution, and it was mindful of the impact such films have on national memory. In a 2006 Dáil debate, John O'Donoghue, a Fianna Fáil TD (Teachta Dála) MP, pointed out one of the successes supported by public funding:

> A civil war story with a €6 million budget which received €500,000 in funding from the Irish Film Board, "The Wind that Shakes the Barley", subsequently became the highest grossing independent Irish film ever at the Irish box office. To date, the film has taken more than €20 million worldwide, proving that there is an international market for Irish stories.[565]

Independent TD Finian McGrath similarly made the point that

[564] Pettitt, *Screening Ireland*, p. 240.
[565] The debate occurred in the context of increasing the tax incentives of the Irish Film Board in order to encourage the production of films in Ireland. Houses of the Oireachtas, 'Irish Film Board (Amendment) Bill 2006 [Seanad]: Second Stage. – Dáil Éireann (29th Dáil) – Thursday, 14 Dec 2006 – Houses of the Oireachtas', 2006 <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/2006-12-14 [accessed 10 December 2018].

> [i]n the context of history, films such as "Michael Collins" and "The Wind that Shakes the Barley" make a very important contribution to Irish life by opening up the debate on Irish history and challenging those who have a revisionist view of history.[566]

Postcolonial critiques of Irish history suggest that revisionism is viewed as 'pro-British' and presented as a version of history that differs from reality or the 'truth'.[567] Within political discourse, films – in particular, *Michael Collins* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* – were being heralded as ushering in a new era of popular memory that would challenge false histories. There was a sense that cinema could get to the truth of history; however, the reality is that films add another layer to the process of history making rather than clarifying the mythic past. Collective memory, according to Maurice Halbwachs, is in a state of perpetual development and, 'however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not possess'.[568] How, then, have the boundaries of time and space shifted the parameters of popular memory through the bodies and stories of fictional Irish men in cinema? To answer this question, I move from the Hollywood blockbuster to a 2006 independent film directed by the English filmmaker Ken Loach: *The Wind That Shakes the Barley*.

Although both *Michael Collins* and *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* were made during the Celtic Tiger period and before the economic crash of 2008, re-examining them solely in the context of economic prosperity risks omitting the political and social complexity of the period, as does an analysis of the films as being either true or false. Anne Dolan argues that the idea of doing history in 'peace times' risks focussing on the notion of a 'shared history' rather than acknowledging existing divisions, and she suggests that 'we are simply exchanging a muzzle for a straightjacket'.[569] Dolan implies that re-enacting historic conflict as something confined to the past, rather than as a lived experience with implications for the present and future, perpetuates the divisions of historic conflict – such as in the example of Kate Carroll's husband, who was shot in 2009, which was discussed in the Introduction.

Ken Loach has similarly argued that the impact of the Celtic Tiger has been overstated and, in fact, the disparity between rich and poor was widening during this period. In *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, Loach reassigns agency to the poor and working-class characters in the film by telling the story of oppression in Ireland and setting out how the consciousness of conflict

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566 Oireachtas, 'Irish Film Board (Amendment) Bill 2006 [Seanad]'.
567 Desmond Fennell, *The Revision of Irish Nationalism* (Dublin: Open Air, 1989), p. 66.
568 Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 51.
569 Anne Dolan, 'Divisions and Divisions and Divisions: Who to Commemorate', *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution 1912–1923*, ed. by John Horne and Edward Madigan (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013), p. 147.

can live on after the fact through the continual retelling of the history of resistance. Loach has suggested, for example, that the film is about the politicisation of people and could be taken as a metaphor for the Iraq War (2003–2011; 2014–).[570] Indeed, the film was released five years after 11 September 2001 terror attacks in the United States, known as 9/11, when conceptions of 'terrorism', 'extremism', and 'radicalisation' were being re-examined across Europe and America, not just in global politics and security, but in popular culture.[571]

The move from *Michael Collins* (and Michael Collins) to *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* further broadens the space and time of Irish revolutionary history by shifting from specific bodies or specific historical personalities to the idea of the 'everyman', whose part in the Revolutionary Period is fictionalised in a way similar to Sean O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, where the key leaders of the Rising – Pearse, Connolly, de Valera, etc. – were sidelined in favour of fictional characters representing ordinary people, as discussed in Chapter Three. This shift results in the performance of forgotten bodies. I analyse the costuming of the two 'heroes' of *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* to question how costume on the body illustrates the contingency of history and animates the agency of non-state and non-elite historical actors. I also argue that the materiality of costume is something that lives on after the performance and, as such, does not restrict the embodied memory of historic conflict to the past. Unlike the carefully conserved museum objects from Chapter Two, I demonstrate how film costumes add another dimension to the embodiment of 'authentic' memory.

The Wind that Shakes the Barley begins at the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1919. Unlike *Michael Collins*, the film focuses on 'ordinary' Irishmen and fictionalised characters. The film follows two brothers – Damien O'Donovan (played by Cillian Murphy) and Teddy O'Donovan (played by Pádraic Delaney) – as revolution in Ireland brings them together and eventually tears them apart.

Loach's approach to film-making focuses on real people and places aligned with the fictional people and places in the story. *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is set and was filmed in County Cork, where much of the fighting occurred during the War of Independence. Costume designer Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaig took an approach similar to Loach's: 'I wanted it to have a feeling of a community'.[572] As she explained to me, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig had the suits for Cillian

[570] Stuart Jeffries, 'Come out Fighting', *The Guardian*, 16 June 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/jun/16/1> [accessed 6 March 2019].
[571] Stephen Muzzatti, 'Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Popular Culture in the Post-9/11 Context', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.123>.
[572] Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview, 2019.

Murphy's character, Damien, tailor-made by Moynihan's Tailors in Cork City, an establishment well-known in the city since the late nineteenth century (Figure 4.9).[573]

Figure 4.9(left) –Costume for the Damien O'Donovan Character (Played by Cillian Murphy) in The Wind that Shakes the Barley *Made by Moynihan's Tailors, Cork City, (Personal Photograph) 2018*

Figure 4.10(right) – Suit Worn by Damien O'Donovan (Played by Cillian Murphy) in The Wind that Shakes the Barley, *(Personal Photograph) 2018*

As a costume designer, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig understands the power of costume both in the act of storytelling and as an artefact of historical significance. Ní Mhaoldomhnaig and another Irish costume designer, Veerle Dehaene, founded the Irish Costume Archive Project to 'collect, preserve and exhibit Ireland's film and television design heritage and promote the collections by highlighting their importance as part of our national film culture'.[574] Ní Mhaoldomhnaig kept many of the protagonists' costumes from *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, which are now stored on the site of Ireland's main film studio, Ardmore Studios, in County Wicklow. Currently, the costumes are not formally catalogued or displayed and there is no public

[573] Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview; 'Tailoring Life to Suit Family A New Life', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/health/tailoring-life-to-suit-family-a-new-life-1.1001763> [accessed 25 April 2019].
[574] 'Irish Costume Archive Project – About', *ICAP: Irish Costume Archive Project* <https://icap.ie/about/> [accessed 25 August 2021].

access to the collection. However, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig kept the costumes to show that 'costume design is much more than the copy of a picture in a history book'.[575]

In 2018, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig took me to see the costume store in its semi-unpacked state in a storeroom at Ardmore Studios. The process of seeking out costumes from *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* amid others from the periods of Henry VIII (*The Tudors*) and Jane Austen (*Becoming Jane*) was an experience of bodies across time and genre in suspended animation, because costumes from multiple productions hung side-by-side on the packed rails.[576] Amongst the gowns, capes, and crinolines, however, were a number of slim-cut, inconspicuous, and well-worn suits, shirts, jackets, and trousers.

Figure 4.10 is a photograph of the suit worn by Cillian Murphy throughout the film. According to Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, the blue pinstripe suit was made of a soft blue wool and tailored from an original 1920s pattern to complement the era of the film.[577] As can be seen in Figure 4.10, the soft suit drapes over the shoulders, and there is very little re-enforcement or padding in the front and shoulders. Because of the soft wool and the lack of re-enforcement, the suit was not just fitted to Murphy, but also took on the shape of his body. The pockets gape from where he put his hat in his pocket, and the lining is stained at the neck from wear.

The suit was made in Cork to tell a story about local people from the area in a film that was shot in locations around Cork where the actual conflict took place. The context of the costume contributes to the idea that the garment is more than a costume – it stands as witness to an authentic re-enactment of events of the War of Independence. Therefore, the costume exists in the space between artefact and replica. Very few examples of working-class men's dress from the early twentieth century survive in museums, either in the UK or Ireland.[578] It is even rarer to find examples of working-class or lower-class men's dress from Revolutionary-Period Ireland. The National Museum of Ireland has no examples of menswear other than formal evening dress and military uniforms. The suit from *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* is an artefact of a re-enacted history. It tells the story of a 1920s working-class man from Ireland in the 2000s. The garment becomes a fictionalised witness to the history of a national conflict, which lives on in the archive after the re-enactment in part because of the absence of 'authentic' material culture.

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575 The Hunt Museum, 'Entwined In The Fabric', *The Hunt Museum* <https://www.huntmuseum.com/home/museum-from-home/entwined-in-the-fabric/> [accessed 25 August 2021].
576 *The Tudors*, created by Michael Hirst, costume design by Joan Bergin (Showtime Networks, 2007–2010); *Becoming Jane*, dir. by Julian Jarrold, costume design by Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaigh (Buena Vista International, 2007).
577 Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview.
578 A survey of the V&A fashion collection, for example, revealed only five suits from the 1920s period, most of which were formal suits, such as dinner jackets and morning suits <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/> [accessed 25 April 2019].

Figure 4.11 – The O'Donovan Brothers – Damien (Cillian Murphy) and Teddy (Pádraic Delaney) in The Wind that Shakes the Barley, *2006*

At the end of the film, Damien has been arrested and is due to be executed. His brother Teddy, not wearing his Free State Army jacket, pleads with Damien to support the Treaty. 'I want out of this uniform', Teddy declares. His cuffs are bloodied. Both brothers come to embody conflicting manifestations of their outer and inner selves (Figure 4.11). The shirt and waistcoat worn by Damien echo the *Michael Collins* poster (Figure 4.4 above) in that the shirt is the embodiment of an everyman willing to roll up his sleeves and do the work.

Shirts as garments are historically bound up in the classification of work and masculinities in relation to the private body and private time, as discussed in Chapter Two. Here, however, the shirt can be contextualised as a signifier of social class in public. For example, the term *white-collar worker*, coined in the late nineteenth century, referred to middle-class men working in non-labouring clerical work, in contrast to the term *blue-collar worker*, which referenced the blue denim or twill uniforms often worn by manual labourers or factory workers.[579] Throughout the 1920s, shirts were used as shorthand to identify fascist groups, such as the Blackshirts in Italy, the Blueshirts in Britain, and the Brownshirts in Germany.[580]

In the context of *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, shirts serve to strip away political allegiances and present both men as vulnerable and in a state of undress, the shirt also being a form of underwear.[581] The blood on Damien's cuffs is also reminiscent of the blood-stained shirt of James Connolly, also discussed in Chapter Two. The character's intimate garment is revealed

[579] Cecil Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *The History of Underclothes* (Chelmsford: Courier Corporation, 1992), p. 202.
[580] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Martin Pugh, *Hurrah For The Blackshirts!: Fascists and Fascism in Britain Between the Wars* (Random House, 2013); Bruce Campbell, *The SA Generals and the Rise of Nazism* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2004).
[581] Shaun Cole, *The Story of Men's Underwear* (New York: Parkstone International, 2018).

by peeling away the lawyers of outer garments. Although the blood is not his own, Damien's bloody cuffs are evidence of the lives he has taken. At the same time, he about to lose his own life on his brother's orders, echoing Macbeth's tragic comprehension after an act of murder: 'Will all great Neptune's Ocean wash this blood Clean from my hand?'[582]

Ní Mhaoldomhnaig explained that she wanted the costume to be subtle. She wanted it to tell the story of the brothers' diverging ideologies throughout the course of the film in an almost imperceptible way, until at 'the end Teddy is standing in uniform in Kilmainham about to have his brother executed, and he's just got his shirt and a waistcoat and a pair of trousers, and he just looks like any guy on the street'.[583]

Figure 4.12– Waistcoat Worn by Damien (Cillian Murphy) at the End of The Wind that Shakes the Barley, *(Personal Photograph) 2018*

Figure 4.13– Waistcoat with Mechanism for Simulating Bullet Wounds, (Personal Photograph) 2018

At the end of the film, Damien (Cillian Murphy) is killed by firing squad on his brother's orders. Figure 4.12 is the brown-wool waistcoat worn by Murphy, which is damaged with a series of 'bullet holes'. In the image they appear to be areas of damage, although without any simulated blood. Ní Mhaoldomhnaig explained that a number of versions of the waistcoat were made because a new one was required each time the execution scene was filmed. One of the waistcoats still contains the mechanism for recreating the bullet wounds (Figure 4.13). When the guns were

[582] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth: A Tragedy, in Five Acts, as Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Printed Under the Authority of the Managers from the Prompt-Book* (Paris: T. Barrois, 1822), p. 34.
[583] Eimer Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview.

fired, a small electronic charge inside the waistcoat burst outwards to create the illusion of being hit by a bullet and a small bag of simulated blood burst to add further realism.

Though costume violence becomes a fabricated and repeatable act – the character is shot dead, another waistcoat is put on, and he is shot again. Costume is the integral component in the accurate re-enactment of death, and fake blood and electronic charges add a painful realism to the emotional end of the film. In this way the waistcoat occupies different spaces: a piece of historically accurate costume that reproduces a specific time and place, a piece of technology designed to mimic realistic violence on the body, and a record of the performance. So far in this thesis, blood has been discussed as a substance that imbues a garment with an authenticity that exists within a specific time and space. Michael Collins's greatcoat in Chapter Two, for example, is an exceptional witness to his assassination – blood-infused fibres attest to his death and vindicate his position in Irelands history as a hero and a martyr; the coat is the materialisation of Collins's 'blood sacrifice'. Instead of situating the body of the character Daimen in a specific space and time, the waistcoats in Figures 4.12 and 4.13 endowed the actor Murphy with the agency to experience history as living. Director Ken Loach described how Cillian Murphy became part of the character of Damien:

> I think all the great actors allow themselves to be vulnerable. To make something that matters, you cannot withhold anything. You have to be vulnerable in a way to be strong. Otherwise, you don't risk anything. Let's just say Cillian made the part his own. It is him now.[584]

One of Murphy's co-stars, Liam Cunningham, also described the performance as 'being as close to himself as anything he has ever done. There's a quiet intensity in the Damien character that is there, too, in Cillian. And an honesty and a generosity in his approach'.[585] A member of Murphy's family was killed by the Black and Tans during the War of Independence, which he said informed his approach to the role because 'you get some idea of what life was like, how ordinary men were changed utterly by the things they had to do in a war'.[586]

The delineation between character and actor is no longer clearly defined in popular memory. The costume acts as a witness to this fluid re-enactment of history, which shifts between memory and the imagined. Aoife Monks argues that costume becomes a 'ghost' of 'an incomplete body, brimming with potential and memory, imprinted by a body but no longer of it

[584] Sean O'Hagan, 'Sean O'Hagan Meets Cillian Murphy', *The Guardian*, 2006 <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/jun/11/features.review1> [accessed 29 August 2021].
[585] Ibid.
[586] Ibid.

and offering a ghostly and inanimate outline of a body of its own'.[587] In 2015 the Irish Costume Archive Project curated an exhibition at the Little Museum of Dublin entitled 'Ireland at the Movies' that displayed the waistcoat alongside an explanation about how the gunshots were re-created. On the exhibition label, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig is quoted as saying 'a lot of the crew cried real tears when Damien died in the film'. The display of the waistcoat outlines costume's power to create a 'real' experience while at the same time maintaining an illusion.

In Chapter Two I examined the display of the First World War to show how uniforms attest to a constructed framework of war in which men's bodies are useful cogs in a military machine that become mangled and torn by that same machine. While bodies become corpses on the battlefield and, in turn, are imagined as sacrifices around which society grieves and remembers, the tunic or the blood-stained vest remains as a site of embodied memory.[588] In the same way, costume functions in a constructed framework of imagined experiences formed in the spaces between fiction and history, the past and the present, and the real and the imaginary. In the wake of late-twentieth-century global cinema on the Irish revolution, there were new opportunities for creating a living history made on the fluid boundaries of history and fiction. As evidenced in both *Michael Collins* and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, the bodies of the fictional characters – the historically informed Collins and the fictional Damien – show how costume presents the body as existing in both history and fiction, and its interpretation is continually changing within the framework of contemporary experiences of conflict.

During my meeting with Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, our visit to the Irish Costume Archive, and our discussion of her costume designs for *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, I was eager to understand her research process and the sources of inspiration for the designs. In considering my questions, Ní Mhaoldomhnaig stressed the landscape's influence on the design of the costumes for the IRA flying column. Ní Mhaoldomhnaig described how she was inspired by the colour of the landscape in Sean Keating's (1889–1977) painting *Men of the South* (1921) (Figure 4.14):

> [I]t is a really important painting […] it's almost desert colours, but they are the colours of the macs and the coats that they all wear in the landscape. The landscape is hugely important […] we kept away from any kind of bright colours or things that would stand out, so there was a palate there that was very much browns and greys and greens. They are colours that are quite neutral, and then there are points where I just loved seeing that in the landscape.[589]

[587] Aoife Monks, *The Actor in Costume* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009), p. 140.
[588] Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*.
[589] Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview.

Nicholas Saunders identifies how, during the First World War, the landscape became inseparable from the bodies of the men who fought and died within it: 'Men were physically and symbolically folded into the landscape and emerged remade'.[590] Men's bodies were transformed by the landscape both through being embedded in the trenches and through memorialisation – the body and landscape became inseparable. Ní Mhaoldomhnaig designed the costumes of *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* to serve the same purpose, evoking guerrilla warfare by relating the body to the hills and vegetation of the southern counties of Ireland.

Redacted – Painting of men in trench coats, painted by Sean Keating, 1921

Figure 4.14–Men of the South, Oil on canvas, by Seán Keating, 1921

The trench coat, in particular, was part of the visual language. It distorted the boundaries between character and landscape. According to Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, the garment naturally camouflages the body in the Irish landscape. She described how vital the trench coat was as a storytelling device. It divulged information about the class or status of a person: 'not everybody would have been able to afford' a coat, but also they were coats for life that could 'take on the shape of the person'.[591] In the film the coats were not just used to historically represent what men wore during the War of Independence; Ní Mhaoldomhnaig viewed them as an opportunity to uncover more about each character and the truth of their experiences. For Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, the trench coat's soft tailoring was illustrative of the unfixed and precarious

[590] Nicholas J. Saunders, *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 9.
[591] Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview.

lives these men were living. By wearing the trench coat, she explained, 'they can become civilians, or they can become soldiers – it is this amazing piece of clothing'.[592]

Ní Mhaoldomhnaig used the trench coat to not only obscure the bodies of the characters but to emphasise how they needed clothing to change with them in order to tell the story of the conflict in which the characters were entrenched. Ní Mhaoldomhnaig went on to reflect on how the trench coat 'crosses lines' – between the character and the landscape as well as the limitations of identity. The trench coat, she suggested, is like the hoody of today: 'If somebody is wearing a hoody, they've just thrown it on because they are going out to shop or going to meet a friend, or are they going to pull the hood up and go in and brawl?'[593] The body becomes transformable through the trench coat, including for acts of intelligence gathering or guerrilla warfare. To fully explore the implications of this transformable body, the trench coat warrants closer examination because it formed an important part of the material and visual culture of the Revolutionary Period, whereby Irish revolutionary masculinities were reimagined through various bodily transformations. In fact, I argue, the Irish Revolutionary Period contributed to the image of the trench coat in popular culture and confirmed the garment's association with violence, military intelligence, and espionage.

The trench coat in its own right has received only minimal historical investigation. Laura Ugolini references the trench coat in the context of patterns of menswear consumption in Britain between 1880 and 1939.[594] Jane Tynan writes about Burberry's development of the trench coat during the First World War, focusing in particular on the notion that the garment purported to transform and improve men's bodies in war and leisure. The 'myth' of Britain's glorious military heritage, according to Tynan, incorporated Burberry into 'national historical conquests' through the visual imagery of the trench coat.[595] The trench coat was made of a waterproof 'gabardine' developed by Burberry, which was commissioned by the War Office to design new service uniforms for Officers as early as 1902.[596] The name *trench coat* was applied to many styles of coat designed at the time, varying from double to single breasted and from khaki to beige; however, all were waterproof and designed for outdoor pursuits.[597] Available to purchase by civilians as well as soldiers, the trench coat became a transformative garment, acting as a visual signifier of the physically fit and leisured gentleman as well as the soldier on the western front.

[592] Ní Mhaoldomhnaig, Personal Interview.
[593] Ibid.
[594] Ugolini, *Men and Menswear*.
[595] Jane Tynan, 'Military Dress and Men's Outdoor Leisurewear: Burberry's Trench Coat in First World War Britain', *Journal of Design History*, 24.2 (2011), 139–56, p. 152.
[596] Ibid, p. 146.
[597] Ibid, p. 149.

According to Tynan, Burberry's trench coat became synonymous with the 'civilian in uniform'; however, the trench coat also came to symbolise Irish revolutionary masculinity, rendering a garment of military power part of the sartorial image of the ungovernable body of the Irish rebel.

From as early as the 1920s, American and British films about the Irish Revolutionary Period depict revolutionary leaders and members of the IRA in trench coats. American film stars like Humphry Bogart, who wore one while playing Rick Blaine in *Casablanca* (1942), made the trench coat an icon of the heroic protagonist.[598] The trench coat was associated with criminal gangsters in films like *Little Caesar* (1931), *Carlito's Way* (1993), *Public Enemies* (2009), and *The Iceman* (2012), which all have trench-coat-wearing main characters.[599] The trench coat is also continually revived in espionage and detective stories, like *The Pink Panther* (1963), *Trenchcoat* (1983), and *Sherlock* (2010–2017), the BBC's most recent Sherlock Holmes revival.[600]

Long before its cinematic depictions, the trench coat was part of the iconography of spies working for the IRA during the War of Independence. For example, it was described in republican folk songs: 'An old trench coat that's so battled stained and worn. And Breeches almost threadbare at the knees. A Sam Browne belt, with the buckle big and strong'.[601] Paintings like Keating's *Men on the South* (Figure 4.14 above) made the coat an icon of the war by cementing the trench coat as the uniform of the Flying Columns and of Irish revolutionary masculinity of this period, which inspired the costume designer for *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*.[602] Keating's painting was exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy in Dublin in 1922, and at the time *The Irish Independent* reported that it was a 'historical monument' to the 'boys' it depicted.[603] The image of the unkempt guerrilla fighter, whose job it was to gather intelligence and remain 'invisible', has formed a crucial part of the visual language of Irish revolutionary masculinities, which has installed the trench coat in popular culture further afield.

The garment was widely worn during the War of Independence, making the trench coat a desirable symbol of revolutionary masculinity.[604] Primary evidence from the period, including

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598 *Casablanca*, dir. by Michael Curtiz, costume design by Orry-Kelly (Warner Brothers, 1942).
599 *Little Caesar*, dir. by Mervyn LeRoy, costume design by Earl Luick (First National Pictures, 1931); *Carlito's Way*, dir. by Brian De Palma, costume design by Aude Bronson-Howard (Universal Pictures, 1993); *Public Enemies*, dir. by Michael Mann, costume design by Colleen Atwood (Universal Studios, 2009).
600 *Trenchcoat*, dir. by Michael Tuchner, costume design by Gloria Musetta (Buena Vista, 1983); *The Pink Panther*, dir. by Blake Edwards, wardrobe supervised by Annalisa Nasalli-Rocca, wardrobe by Yves St. Laurent (United Artists, 1963); *Sherlock*, created by Mark Gatiss and Steven Moffat, costume design by Sarah Arthur (BBC and Masterpiece Theatre, 2010–2017).
601 Derek Warfield and Raymond Daly, *Celtic & Ireland in Song and Story* (Cork: Warfield and Daily, 2010).
602 Éimear O'Connor, 'Emulation and Legacy: The Master-Pupil Relationship between William Orpen and Seán Keating', in *The Concept of the 'Master' in Art Education in Britain and Ireland, 1770 to the Present*, ed. by Matthew Charles Potter (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), pp. 169-189.
603 'Irish Art', *Irish Independent*, 15 August 1922.
604 Gavin Foster, *The Irish Civil War and Society: Politics, Class and Conflict* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). pp. 94–95.

insurgents' memoirs and witness statements in the Bureau of Military History, reference the trench coat as a uniform of the IRA understood to simultaneously signal a sense of uniformity and uncertainty. Michael Collins, as Director of Intelligence for the IRA, coordinated groups of Flying Columns around the country and provided some funds for arms and equipment. However, each individual fashioned their own sense of what the uniform should be. According to the autobiography of IRA volunteer Frank O'Connor (1903–1966):

> [I]n the absence of proper uniform, our Army tended to wear riding breeches, gaiters, a trench coat and a soft hat usually pulled low over one eye, and I managed to scrape up most of the essential equipment, even when I had to beg it, as I begged the pair of broken gaiters from Tom MacKiernan.[605]

Tom Barry (1897–1980) (Figure 4.15), who was commander of the 3rd West Cork Flying Column, also wore a trench coat throughout the War of Independence. In his autobiographical account of the war, Barry describes the unkempt and mismatched uniforms of the West Cork flying columns: 'Their boots and leggings were muddy, their trench-coats hung open, no collars adorned their necks and their caps when not stuck on their belts, were worn with the peak to the back or over their shoulders'.[606] Although clearly a disorganised unit, Barry describes them with pride as a 'cocky lot', who would have looked to Barry as their leader for inspiration.[607]

Figure 4.15 – Tom Barry, commander of the 3rd West Cork Flying Column, photograph, 1920-21

Witness statements and recorded reminiscences from members of the IRA during the War of Independence provide further information about the use and function of clothing during

[605] Frank O'Connor, *An Only Child and My Father's Son* (London: Penguin UK, 2005).
[606] Tom Barry, *Guerilla Days in Ireland* (Dublin: Anvil Books, 2010), p. 113.
[607] Ibid.

the conflict and make particular references to volunteers wearing the trench coat. BMH witness statements detail the garment's significance. It provided camouflage when carrying out guerrilla manoeuvres, but it could also be adapted for life in the field. Michael Crowley, a member of a Cork IRA flying column, suggested that the trench coat was 'the greatest requisite for men almost continuously on the move in all weathers'.[608] It was a garment that enabled the wearer to transform themselves and respond to their environment. The trench coat identified them as members of the IRA, so men were left vulnerable to identification by members of the RIC or the Auxiliaries. However, it also could be sufficient to camouflage bodies in the Irish landscape.

The trench coat was perfect for adaptation and concealment. One Flying Column officer cut slits in the pockets of his trench coat so he could drop his gun through the hole if suddenly stopped and searched by members of the RIC or the Auxiliaries.[609] P. J. (Paddy) Kelly, who used his trench coat to threaten an RIC officer when he was questioned on the street in Newport, Country Mayo, recounted: '[I] stuck my right hand into my trench-coat pocket and stuck out my thumb, saying "I would advise you to leave me alone and don't ask questions"'.[610] Another member of the IRA, Joseph Good, recalled an interview with Eamon de Valera in which they discussed the trench coat's suitability as a uniform for the Irish Volunteers because of its adaptability:

> He asked me what I thought most desirable for the Volunteers […] I said to de Valera that I though some mark or insignia was necessary for any military body, and that perhaps the failure of the Wexford revolution could be [attributed] in some measure to this lack of uniform. De Valera said he has considered this matter and has designed a trench-coat which has pockets fit to contain the necessaries for taking the field. It could be put on or off so that men could be uniformed easily. On reflection on what I thought and suggested, and on de Valera's reply, I knew soon after that conversation that we were both in the grip of romanticists [*sic*], because not six months later I realised that a hard core of realism was necessary.[611]

This quote reinforces the idea that Volunteers sought the power of uniformity, while at the same time they resisted normative ideas of uniformity and military masculinity associated with imperial forces. Just as the trench coat was instrumental in augmenting wartime associations between the countryside and a romantic ideal of England and masculine adventure, in Ireland the trench coat became associated with a conflict fought in the land for the land. This was, however, as Good

[608] Michael Crowley, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1603, 1957, p. 28.
[609] Thomas Hevey, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1668, Bureau of Military History, p. 26.
[610] Kelly P. J. (Paddy), Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1735, 1958, Bureau of Military History, p. 9.
[611] Joseph Good, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 388, p. 30.

suggests, 'romantic' thinking, because with a shortage of men and supplies, the idea of an official uniform alone would not have improved their military prospects.[612]

There was a level of uncertainty around identification and the trench coat, as it was also worn by Black and Tans, which destabilised the reliability of identification through dress. Mrs. Anna Hurley-O'Mahony, a member of Cumann na mBan in County Cork, described a situation in which members of a Flying Column were mistaken for a British Auxiliary Officers because of their 'trench coats and bandoliers and semi-uniform look'.[613] Patrick Whelan, who joined the 4th Battalion of Flying Column in 1919, also described how the trench coat was a visual signifier of being part of IRA, which could put you at risk of being identified by British forces. In 1920, in the lead-up to a planned ambush of an RIC patrol, he passed a RIC officer known to him:

> He had not seen me for the previous few months, and now he was looking at me wearing a trench coat and cap, items of apparel which I had never previously worn in his presence. I remember wondering if he suspected something was afoot.[614]

In addition to these written records, representations of the trench coat in paintings, songs, photographs, and films insert Irish revolutionary masculinities into the fashion history of the trench coat. The Irish revolutionary became part of the visual and material language of the trench coat as a garment of spies, sleuths, and detectives, which not only challenged the distinctions between civilian and soldier or the IRA and the Black and Tans, but also between reality and fantasy or between history and fiction. Culturally, it also resists the privileging of male bodies, because it is worn by women, such as Audrey Hepburn in *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961), and it is now a fashionable garment frequently revived and revised in the paradigm of Western fashion cycles.[615] Focussing on the trench coat shows how a garment can transform bodies in conflict as well as traverse the line that divides the real and the imagined, particularly in global cinema, where Irish revolutionary masculinities play a significant part.

I opened this chapter with an analysis of television and its role in commemorating the revolution in Ireland. I investigated how the nation's fledgling national broadcaster tried (and failed) to shield the dramatisation of the Rising from the global imagining of heroic masculinities that impacted upon popular memory in the 1960s. However, cinema of the late twentieth century signalled a new era for imagining revolutionary masculinities. In 1996 *Michael Collins*

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612 Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation and Not a Rabble: The Irish Revolution 1913–23* (London: Profile Books, 2015).
613 Anna Hurley-O'Mahony, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 540, 1951, p. 4.
614 Patrick Whelan, Bureau of Military History, 1913–21 Statement by Witness. Document No. W.S. 1449, Bureau of Military History, p. 45.
615 *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, dir. by Blake Edwards, costume supervised by Edith Head, principal wardrobe for Audrey Hepburn by Hubert de Givenchy (Paramount Pictures, 1961).

blurred the boundary between the historic hero and international celebrity, while *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* broke new ground by fictionalising the male experience during the War of Independence and the Civil War. Televised and cinematic interpretations of revolutionary masculinity have reimagined the stories of real and imagined characters from revolutionary Ireland. In the twenty-first century, popular and digital media have also democratised the body as a site of popular memory outside of the geography of Ireland. The commemoration of revolutionary masculinities is no longer tied to specific bodies, objects, or sites of memory. Instead, the Irish revolutionary hero flows in and out of Ireland via digital media, committing revolutionary history to popular memory.

Popular remembering is part of the act of living history, where history is re-enacted in response to the present. Linking the past to the present through reconstruction, virtual reality, simulation, replication, and, of course, re-enactment makes living history a unique form of historical practice. Raphael Samuel describes living history as an approach to 'the past as though it was an immediately accessible present […] it blurs the distinction between fact and fiction, using laser-beam technology and animatronics to authenticate its invention and produce a variety of reality-effects'.[616] In the final section, I examine the line between fact and fiction in the act of living history, without the platforms of television or film and without the fake blood and simulated bullet holes used so far to re-enact revolutionary conflict.

If the trope of Irish revolutionary hero is part of global cinema and, indeed, global fashion, what happens to popular memory and living history at the local and individual level? How does living history relate to the present when the frameworks of the state cycle of revolutionary history – funding, anniversaries, and restrictions – are gone, when the 'authentic' objects of conflict are safeguarded within the walls of museums, and when the performances of history have no scripts? This final section examines the body and costume in the re-enactment of history as a pastime, when the memory of revolution in everyday life affords agency to the body of the individual.

Part Three: Re-enactment and Individual Agency in Living History

In this final section I refocus on the agency of the individual in the re-enactment of revolution. Sociologist Rafael F. Narvaez argues that collective memory 'links up bodily schemata, to mental

[616] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 197.

schemata, to social frameworks', and 'this perspective can give us a distinctive understanding of how social groups relate to time'.[617] Re-enactment as living history relates to the timeline of history in a different way than to the other forms of re-enactment discussed thus far. In Chapter One re-enactment was used by the state to reanimate the words of Patrick Pearse and commemorate the body of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, establishing history as a cycle of martyrdom determined by heroic death, reincarnation, and re-enactment. In Chapter Two re-enactment in the museum played with the site of authentic memory by re-enacting the experience of 1914 Irish soldiers departing for Gallipoli from the Collins Barracks, now the site of the National Museum of Ireland. I now consider re-enactment within popular memory as a form of individual agency, which acts on the timeline of history through a bodily engagement with history in the present.

As discussed in each of the preceding chapters, re-enactment can take different forms: theatrical re-enactments, re-enactments for historical films or documentaries, and living history re-enactments.[618] Living history re-enactments recreate an event or period of history. They usually focus on recreating the liveness of history or a 'quest for immediacy', which is, according to Raphael Samuel, 'the search for a past which is palpably and visibly present'.[619] Re-enactments can take place in museums or schools, at local venues, or outdoors in site-specific locations. They engage with all aspects of re-creating the past, such as activities, food, music, and costumes.[620] Re-enactment as popular history-making 'depends on an understanding of the past as proximate to the present, positioning subjects not adjacent to but *within* the historical narrative'.[621] Re-enactors situate themselves in the historical narrative by embodying a historical character, which often initially happens through the wearing of historical costumes. Social networking platforms, local media coverage, community websites, and questionnaires completed by four re-enactors provide the main source material for my analysis, which unpacks more unmediated and 'unofficial' representations of Irish masculinities.

Some scholars signal alarm at the kind of history-making that results from popular re-enactments. Vanessa Agnew, for example, argues that 'the privileging of experience tends to sacrifice broader interpretative questions, investigating the self in place of the political'.[622] Others,

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[617] Rafael F. Narvaez, 'Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time', *Body & Society*, 12.3 (2006), 51–73, p. 52.
[618] Katherine Johnson, 'Performing Pasts for Present Purposes: Reenactment as Embodied, Performative History', in *History, Memory, Performance*, ed. by D. Dean, Y. Meerzon, and K. Prince (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 36–52 (p. 38).
[619] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, p. 175.
[620] Ibid., pp. 169–202.
[621] M. J. Rymsza-Pawlowska, *History Comes Alive: Public History and Popular Culture in the 1970s* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press Books, 2017), p. 118.
[622] Vanessa Agnew, 'Introduction: What Is Reenactment?', *Criticism*, 46.3 (2012), 327–39, p. 334.

such as Carolyn Dinshaw, challenge the linear temporality of Western historical paradigms by welcoming the experiential body into the practice of history. Dinshaw coined 'queer historical touch', a method for re-interpreting medieval history that examines connections between the past and the present through deviant bodies.[623] According to Dinshaw, 'queer historical touch' privileges the effect of bodies upon time:

> I speak of the tactile, 'touch', because I feel queerness work [*sic*] by contiguity and displacement; like metonymy as distinct from metaphor, queerness knocks signifiers loose, ungrounding bodies, making them strange, working in this way to provoke perceptual shifts and subsequent corporeal response in those touched.[624]

Positioning in the physical body in history is the point at which the past comes into contact with the present within popular memory. Popular memory can be reshaped, reinterpreted, and re-enacted outside of academic histories when the body becomes the archive, the museum, and the conductor of popular memory. Paul Cohen argues that popular memory in the form of stories is an integral part of a community's sense of its shared past, and these stories are distinguished from the more academic idea of a shared history.[625] These popular memories of a collective past are maintained through their continual re-enactment, but their re-enactment occurs 'under the influence of the current social milieu'.[626] As discussed in Chapter One, stories of the Revolutionary Period shaped and honed by the state have articulated a particular masculine framework for revolutionary time, which is centred on the male body and the events of 1915 and 1916. So far, this chapter has analysed how popular culture has again re-imagined revolutionary masculinities through a lens of popular memory, which unfixes the story of the hero from a shared national past and responds, instead, to a broader global present. Historical re-enactment presents a new possibility for engaging with the stories and tropes of revolutionary masculinities in a way that goes beyond the specific dates, sites, and personalities of that history. Historian Stephen Gapps describes re-enactment as presenting the 'self as museum', arguing that unstable subjectivities might 'somehow be stabilized by aligning the self with the archive'.[627] Considering the self as museum or archive allows for the re-enactment of stories of popular memory, which gives agency to the individual within the timeline of history. Building on Dinshaw's idea of queer historical touch, a focus on the body and costume of the re-enactor as

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[623] Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
[624] Ibid., p. 151.
[625] Paul A. Cohen, *History and Popular Memory: The Power of Story in Moments of Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 193.
[626] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 49.
[627] Stephen Gapps and Iain McCalman, *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* (New York: Springer, 2010), p. 50.

the site of popular memory opens up new possibilities for the self as archive to act upon the shape of history.

Living history re-enactors in Ireland are primarily concerned with the recreation of medieval and Viking battles, such as the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and the Battle of Clontarf (1014).[628] There are, however, a small number of re-enactment groups that focus on re-enacting specific events from the 1912–1923 period, such as the 1916 Rising and particular ambushes or battles of the War of Independence. Most of these groups exist as independent and amateur organisations without state or institutional affiliations, and they invite people from all backgrounds to join and take part. While they vary in size and expertise, most groups communicate exclusively through Facebook, the social-media network. The primary amateur re-enactment Facebook groups in Ireland are: (1) *Collins22 Society*, (2) *Irish Military Re-enactment Group*, (3) *Irish Re-enactment and Living History Page*, (4) *Dublin Brigade Irish Volunteers History Group*, (5) *Living History Ireland*, and (6) *Lord Edwards Own*.[629] These Facebook groups, which range from 400 to 1,940 members, are forums for communicating information about upcoming events, sharing images of past events, exchanging advice about historic clothing, and even exchanging or selling items. It is not uncommon for members to be re-enactors and collectors of memorabilia and uniforms. They often arrange events and invite other re-enactors to purchase items they do not have or view displays of memorabilia. Because they provide a wealth of information about how re-enactors can put together and maintain their costumes, the groups represent a space where the image of the Irish revolutionary is mediated, not by designers, producers, or creative directors but by members of the re-enactment community. Although these online digital networks are potentially trans-national forums simultaneously outside and within national borders, they nonetheless function as spaces of national imagination and popular memory.

To investigate the re-enactment environment, I joined the six primary Irish re-enactment Facebook groups. When joining, I highlighted my particular interest in the re-enactment of the Revolutionary Period and my intention to use information provided by the groups in my research. By framing the Facebook pages as an online archive of the groups' activities, events,

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[628] De Groot, *Consuming History*, p. 108.

[629] 'The National Collins22 Society, Dublin Branch', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/592972977410165/about/>; 'Irish Military Re-Enactment Group', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/456616241099750/about/>; 'Irish Re-Enactment and Living History Page', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1644906342400548/?notif_id=1552928095499254&notif_t=group_r2j_approved>; 'Living History Ireland', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/geolog.10/about/>; 'Lord Edward's Own', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/lordedwardsown/about/> [accessed 18 March 2019].

and communications, I was able to compile a body of evidence to better understand how members engaged with costume to re-enact the Revolutionary Period.

Costume comes to the forefront in many of the conversations concerned with how re-enactors can act authentically in the performance of memory. For example, the groups' social-media pages feature discussions and exchanges about the construction of Irish Volunteer uniforms. In September 2015 an American member of the *Dublin Brigade – Irish Guards* group posted an image of a First World War British-Army-Officer's uniform jacket and requested the advice from the other members on how the uniform could be adapted into a 1916 Irish Volunteer uniform. The other members' advice is thorough and ranges from detailing the best way to achieve the right colour (e.g., 'most of the IV uniforms are some kind of greyish-green or forest green') to providing advice about how to ensure the correct rank is represented through the uniform.[630] In February 2018 an American member of the *Dublin Brigade Irish Volunteers History Group* asked if his First World War uniform trousers and puttees would be suitable for an Irish Volunteer uniform. Again, many other members offered advice, including historical context regarding original suppliers of the uniforms for the Irish Volunteers.[631] In a 2014 discussion on *Lord Edwards Own*, a member requested advice about where to source the correct type of wool to make his own ICA uniform.[632] These examples indicate that the re-enactors have a very clear idea of what constitutes 'historically accurate' clothing for re-enactment purposes, and social networks like Facebook provide an enclosed, online space for the exchange of information about the re-enactors' images of historical Irish revolutionary masculinity.

I was particularly eager to ask individuals from each of the Facebook groups questions about the role that costume played in their experience of living history, where they sourced their costumes, and the importance of authenticity or historicity in their re-enactments. To reach out to the groups' members, I posted a call for participants willing to answer a questionnaire on re-enactment, historic clothing, and living history. The questionnaire included ten questions focussed on costume and re-enactment as well as a final question that asked participants to describe their own personal experiences of re-enacting events from 1912–1922 (Appendix C). As the number of re-enactment groups in Ireland is relatively small, the response to my call was disappointing. Only four participants responded to my post and sent me completed

630 '(1) Dublin Brigade-Dublin Guards', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/187774814602610/permalink/955075827872501/> [accessed 19 March 2019].
631 '(2) DUBLIN BRIGADE IRISH VOLUNTEERS HISTORY PAGE', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/232813720226095/permalink/907655756075218/> [accessed 19 March 2019].
632 '(1) Lord Edward's Own', *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/groups/lordedwardsown/permalink/702923139739338/> [accessed 19 March 2019].

questionnaires. Due to the limited scope of the research, I analysed individual responses in their own right rather than as a quantitative survey. There is, however, enormous potential for this line of enquiry to further unpack the relationship between costume, the body, and re-enactment as living history. My brief analysis is significant in that it opens up a dialogue between the individual and popular memory as well as a consideration of how dressing the body informs and shapes that experience.

One of the central ideologies of re-enactment as a pastime, and something echoed by each of the participants, is the importance of historically accurate costume.[633] A survey question gauged the significance of sartorial accuracy: How important or unimportant is it for clothing or uniform to be historically accurate in re-enactment? In response, re-enactor Dave Swift suggested that, if the uniforms are not historically accurate,

> the exercise is not living history but rather alternative history or fantasy. It is incumbent on the wearer to be as accurate as possible. The materials used, colour(s), dress accessories, cut of the cloth, and finish must be as close to the originals as possible.[634]

Kai Urbanczyk, who re-enacts numerous periods from the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) to the Irish War of Independence, had a similar response: 'I don't just want to look the part, I want to experience how it felt for the people of the period'.[635] Historical accuracy is about creating an authentic lived experience for both audience and re-enactor. Cultural historian Tavia Nyong'o questions the ethics of this kind of performance of history:

> Most accounts of historical memory are preoccupied with truth: the possible deviation from the recorded truth that memory affords, the performative acts of reconciliation that truth-telling ostensibly effects, or else the higher truth that embodied, experiential memory somehow obtains over dry written documents. By contrast, I am preoccupied not with the virtues of getting it right but with the ethical chance that may lie within getting it wrong. What does it mean to mistake a memory, to remember by mistake, or even to remember a mistake?[636]

In popular memory, the truth of history is not always a paramount concern. In the 1966 docudrama, *Insurrection*, the revolutionary hero was imagined in the context of and in response to Anglo-American popular culture. However, rather than drawing on an interpretation of history from popular culture, re-enactors view authenticity as 'a mark of performance competency […] it divides the serious from the not-so-serious'.[637] Re-enactment has developed as a form of public

[633] Iain McCalman, *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn* (Basingstoke: Springer, 2010), pp. 53–53.
[634] Dave Swift, 'Re-enactment of the Revolutionary Period', Questionnaire, 2019.
[635] Kai Urbanczyk, 'Re-enactment of the Revolutionary Period', Questionnaire, 2019.
[636] Tavia Nyong'o, *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 136.
[637] Stephen Gapps, 'On Being a Mobile Monument: Historical Reenactments and Commemorations', in *Historical Reenactment: From Realism to the Affective Turn*, ed. by Iain McCalman (Basingstoke: Springer, 2010), pp. 50–62 (p. 52).

pedagogy – living history events are often staged for members of the public, schools, or local communities. There is a pedagogical responsibility that goes to the heart of why authenticity is so important for many re-enactors. In response to a question about his experience of re-enactment, Barry Walsh explained that portraying the Crown Forces was of particular interest to him as a means of 'exposing some of the myths that grew up after the treaty'.[638] For Walsh, a preoccupation with the ethical implications of truth was tied to the public-facing nature of re-enactment. Walsh elaborated on the advantages of re-enactment for the public:

> [I]t sparks the imagination and opens up a window for people to understand what it was like physically for people in the past. The disadvantage is that living history must be well done; backed up with lots of research and conveyed without bias.[639]

In reflecting upon his own experiences of re-enactment, Walsh noted that 'in each and every occasion it was important to know I and my colleagues were appearing in the best-researched, accurate, and properly worn kit and clothing, along with proper drill and weaponry'. Similarly, Declan Gaffney outlined the responsibility he feels as a re-enactor to 'give as accurate an impression as you reasonably can in order to aid the understanding of the public'. Wearing a historical costume as a re-enactment of history is not perceived as entertainment or even as a form of popular commemoration; rather, it is a role voluntarily undertaken both to have a personal historical experience and to educate the public. The re-enactor not only presents the 'body as archive' but creates a contact across time – the re-enactor identifies *with* time that is not dictated by the state, by official commemorative narrative, or even by popular culture. The agency of the individual re-enactor is in their self-imposed ethical responsibility to do good history and achieve an authentic experience of the past – in essence, to be considered a legitimate archive.

In contrast to collaborative media like films and television programmes, the re-enactor designs their own costume and acts as the sole interpreter of the historic role. To offer that 'higher truth', as suggested by Nyong'o, re-enactors derive inspiration for their costumes from archival research, photographs, documentary sources, uniforms from the period in museum exhibitions. They often make their own wardrobe based upon this research. Barry Walsh's research process, for example, involves 'using photographs from curated collections and studying actual uniforms from the period. Many items of uniform are described by "regulations" which can be read and compared to photographic and surviving evidence'. Declan Gaffney also uses photographs as well as 'any museum exhibits of original clothing I can find. If it is older, I

[638] Barry Walsh, 'Re-enactment of the Revolutionary Period', Questionnaire, 2019.
[639] Ibid.

will research drawings and paintings, plus any fashion or textile references that I can discover, plus, of course, any museum originals'. According to Gaffney, 'correctly researche[d] clothing will completely change the atmosphere as it allows greater immersion in the moment, rather than looking at one's fellow-reenactors while thinking "That belt is wrong, those work-boots are wrong, that shiny waistcoat is wrong!"'.

Because it sits outside of documentary historical records, statutory and heritage organisations, and educational institutions, re-enactment challenges the notion of authentic memory through the positionality of the body as the archive. Re-enactors use their own bodies to create a record of history through dress, space, and time. Relying on their own experience, they re-enact certain conflicts at specific dates or sites in historically accurate uniforms, which creates an archive of living history that contributes valuable knowledge to our understanding of the legacy of revolution in Ireland.

Not all re-enactors fashion their own costumes, of course. The ideal of the 'historically accurate' Irish revolutionary is also available for purchase. There are a small number of sites where re-enactors can buy complete, ready-made costumes, such as thehistorybunker.com. On The History Bunker Ltd's site, the IRA costume in Figure 4.16 includes a lengthy description:

> On the 28th November 1920 the IRA scored their first major success against the Auxies, at Kilmichael, County Cork. Up until this event the ADRIC had been seen by the IRA as being almost invincible, however, the West Cork Flying column, led by ex-British soldier, Tom Barry, succeeded in ambushing two Crosley Tenders carrying 18 Auxies, killing 17 and wounding 1. The Flying Columns were basically armed civilians, obviously as a civilian each member was dressed differently, but a typical Flying Column member would be wearing and what we will supply I – overcoat/raincoat, collarless or penny collar shirt, waist coat, highbacked trousers, workman's flat cap, ammo bandolier – boots, Sam Browne belt, and rifle not supplied.[640]

[640] 'IRA Flying Column Outfit West Cork Brigade', *The History Bunker Ltd* <http://thehistorybunker.co.uk/IRA-Flying-Column-outfit-West-Cork-Brigade> [accessed 11 December 2018].

Figure 4.16 – IRA Costume Advertised on The History Bunker Ltd's Website, https://thehistorybunker.co.uk/IRA-Flying-Column-outfit-West-Cork-Brigade, 2019

In response to my question about sourcing costumes, however, participants suggested that these ready-made costumes are often too expensive and claimed that piecing together your own costume was an important part of the process of re-enactment. Dave Swift outlined how the Claoimh Solas group was unlike other groups that 'buy their uniforms off the shelf': 'We have deemed these […] to be of insufficient quality'. Kai Urbanisk also suggested that the 'best quality products are mostly from fellow re-enactors that managed to make a business from their hobby'.

The re-enactors' preoccupation with historical accuracy is emphasised through costume, not though the body. While film or TV productions limit representation to actors and performers of a certain age, gender, height, or weight, re-enactment is for anyone who wants to take part. It is a hobby and a pastime adopted by communities who want to have their own experience of revolutionary history. For example, members of Kilkenny Motor Club, which is named after a Flying Column that took part in the War of Independence, meet once a week 'for training' (Figure 4.17). They must wear a uniform of a 'trench coat, flat cap or hat, bandolier, imitation rifle or revolver, and a Sam Brown belt'.[641] The varying trench coats, caps, and belts create individual interpretations of the prescribed IRA uniform.

641 'Kilkenny Motor Club – Vintage Car Club, Kilkenny, Ireland – KILKENNY FLYING COLUMN', *Kilkenny Motor Club* <http://www.kilkennymotorclub.com/2012/12/22/kilkenny-flying-column/> [accessed 11 December 2018].

Figure 4.17– Kilkenny Motor Club, http://www.kilkennymotorclub.com/2012/12/22/kilkenny-flying-column/, 2018

Similarly, the roles of 'rebel' or 'soldier' are not confined men. Women also take part in the War of Independence re-enactments. The female body, both absent and present, ruptures the imaginary of the Irish revolutionary by going against the idea of accurate history, which privileges the male body in historical uniform. The agency of the re-enactor in shaping the embodiment of history, however 'historically accurate', complicates the idea of popular memory because it is subject to the interpretation and the body of the individual.

In re-enactment as living history, the individual bypasses prescribed ideas of the revolutionary hero and the calendar of commemoration to engage in a personal experience of history. The re-enactor, in the words of Walter Benjamin, 'remains in control of his[/her] powers, [wo/]man enough to blast open the continuum of history'.[642] Equally, it has the ability to pull the past into the present – the costumed bodies have an experience in the present. Interestingly, re-enactment of the Civil War was not in the repertoire of any of the groups studied. The notion of the revolution being unfinished or ongoing can be seen in the reluctance to engage in a conflict that has a less clearly definable ending.

The films once screened in cinemas around the world are now available online and among the RTÉ programmes screened in the homes of people in Ireland. They are accessed via digital flows that intersect with Anglo-Irish and Irish-American cultural spaces. Non-linear flows of popular memory function in unregulated spaces like social networks and online forums, which provide a platform for establishing non-mediated nationalist (and trans-national) spaces. Arjun

[642] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, 01 edition (New York: Random House Inc, 2002), p. 254.

Appadurai suggests that 'electronic media provide resources for self-imagining as an everyday social project'.[643] From the re-enactment examples discussed above, it is clear that popular memory of the Revolutionary Period, and in particular the Civil War, is complicated at the local and individual levels. In the continual re-enactment of these conflicts, re-enactors are continually 'doing history' in relation to their own responses to and memories of history. The live body in historic costume unfixes history. It changes the shape of the past and present – shifting from the linear narrative to the manifold interpretation of past conflict, people, and movements.

Conclusion

From the research set out above, it is evident that dress and the body are at the forefront of the reimagining of Irish revolutionary masculinities in popular memory. Global imaginaries of the Irish revolutionary hero have been reinterpreted in the national context. RTÉ's commemorative programming, for example, was a space in popular culture to challenge institutional memory through the subversion of embodied memory. Film played an important role in reimagining the Irish revolutionary hero as a product of a global imagination, which was, in turn, embraced as a national imagining. Both *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (2006) demonstrate how costume can blur the boundaries of embodied memory, which crosses the borders between history and fiction or past and present. The history and cultural context of the trench coat further illustrates the link between historical and popular representations of the Irish revolutionary hero as a continually changing and transformable figure. And, finally, the body and costume in the re-enactment of history as a pastime open up sites where the memory of revolution in everyday life affords agency to the body of the individual.

This chapter set out to investigate dress and the body to uncover the impact of popular culture on social modes of doing or knowing history. Bodies create a common point of access into historical narratives, while dress facilitates an interaction between bodies across time, which generates points of contact between then and now, past and present. Both past and present can exist simultaneously through dress, forcing an immediate relation between bodies in conflict and opposing the linearity of history. Costume design and dress in television programs, films, and re-enactments enables an analysis of transformable bodies and the movable sites and objects of memory, which speak to the continually shifting ideals of national and masculine identity in popular memory. The flow of Irish revolutionary masculinities across the different forms of

[643] Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, p. 4.

popular media demonstrates that the study of dress opens up a new space between the boundaries of past and present as well as fiction and history. The continual reshaping of history occurs in these intimate encounters with 'what-has-been' – fashioning one's body in a costume of the past touches the present on the body.[644] It is not just an image of the past in the present, but a dialectical exchange between the body in the now and the costume of history.

Affording the agency in reimagining history to individual bodies breaks out of grand narratives, memories, and experiences tied to leading revolutionary figures, allowing instead the telling of stories of the everyday from the perspectives of ordinary people. According to Thomas Cauvin and Ciaran O'Neill, the rise of popular memory and living history in Ireland 'means that historians within the academy are unlikely to be able to ignore the outside world to the same extent ever again'.[645] They suggest that this is not 'necessarily a good thing for either party, as the academy loses (arguably) some legitimacy and leverage if the trend continues, and the public stands to lose valuable historical professionalism and expertise'.[646]

Television, film, and re-enactment open up the notion of the historical archive beyond divisions of legitimate or illegitimate forms of knowledge. Analysing dress and bodies as popular history expands the range of social groups who contribute to shaping narratives of revolutionary masculinities for the next generation. As this chapter has set out to prove, however, knowledge is not lost in the growth of popular memory or living history when an interdisciplinary approach is taken to unofficial forms of knowledge. In an investigation of how memory shapes history and the formation of identities, this is an invaluable approach for understanding how history informs the creation of knowledge in the present and the future.

644 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 463.
645 Thomas Cauvin and Ciaran O'Neill, 'Negotiating Public History in the Republic of Ireland: Collaborative, Applied and Usable Practices for the Profession: Negotiating Public History in the Republic of Ireland', *Historical Research*, 90 (2017), 810–28, p. 827–28.
646 Cauvin and O'Neill, 'Negotiating Public History in the Republic of Ireland', p. 828.

Conclusion

This research began in 2017, amid the Decade of Centenaries that commenced in 2012 and continues until 2023. The questions set out in this thesis remain relevant as collective memory of the Revolutionary Period continues to shift in response to ongoing cultural, political, and societal changes. I initially set out to question the impact of images, objects, performances, and stories of revolution on constructions of national and masculine identity in Ireland. I wanted to investigate interpretations of Irish revolutionary masculinities when the history of revolution no longer exists in living memory, all while the attention of the nation is focussed on remembering. Since beginning this research, events across the world have given new meaning to the questions I have asked about history, memory, conflict, and identity. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2019, the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan and the ensuing takeover by the Taliban in 2021, and the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 are just some of the crises that have impacted, directly or indirectly, my approach to this research since I began. In different ways and with different outcomes, participants and observers of these critical events in world history draw upon narratives of history and memory to legitimise, excuse, vilify, or condemn the action or inaction of those in power. How we remember has consequences for how we live, and in drawing my research conclusions, I am reminded that history is never truly finished; it is simply being reshaped for the purposes of the present.

Key findings and contribution to knowledge

This thesis has demonstrated how an examination of dress and the body can destabilise the notion of official history and memory of conflict and force new perspectives on past events with the continual reshaping of material culture through remembrance. This destabilisation is evidenced through my positioning of the body and dress at the centre of the narrative of conflict. Throughout this thesis I have analysed objects, exhibitions, performances, ceremonies, films, and photographs and observed and participated in the commemorations happening around me. I have researched archives, libraries, and collections from government debates to TripAdvisor. I have also interviewed designers, makers and re-enactors to investigate if and how the perception of bodies and masculinities have been re-imagined as part of Irish national identity since the beginning of the Decade of Centenaries. From this research it is evident that the process of exclusion will always be part of the practice of commemoration, where certain people, stories and conflicts are privileged over others. This is in part because the uniformed body remains a

site of contested history, as seen in the oppositional re-enactment of the funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa by Sinn Féin in 2015. In contrast to the single historical re-enactor at the state's official commemoration, Sinn Féin re-enacted the entire funeral and lying-in state with a full complement of historically uniformed Irish Volunteers and a crowd of costumed mourners in a performative a reclaiming of the narrative of revolution. Similarly, in 2022 the names of those members of the Black and Tans who died during the Civil War were removed from the memorial wall in Glasnevin Cemetery because it had been vandalised so often and so badly, that the Glasnevin Trust could no longer afford to keep repairing it. The gendered body is also an object of contestation as historical discourse around conflict remains, in many areas, fixed within a gendered binary. This is evidenced by the ongoing emphasis on the key male protagonists of the Revolutionary Period, and the continued visibility of soldiers, insurgents, and rebel fighters in the commemoration of war.

One of the most important findings of this research, however, is that bodies and the clothes they wear create space within commemoration for other histories to be told, and other voices to be heard. The visibility of women in conflict commemoration and their role in the revolution has been an important part of the Decade of Centenaries, as historians, performers, curators and re-enactors have persistently worked to re-dress the gender imbalance of the history of conflict.[647] The Abbey Theatres *Waking the Feminist*s movement in 2016 was a response to the lack of female representation in the Abbey's centenary programme and is evidence that forging space in commemoration to contest history is an act of reclaiming national memory. Although this research has focussed on the bodies and objects of men and masculinities, this work contributes to making space within the history of revolution by questioning what has not been collected, what has not been displayed and questioning why. I have also demonstrated how an in-depth analysis of the bodies and objects can complicate myth history and reveal the multiplicity of revolutionary masculinities. By examining the public and private bodies of Roger Casement in the NMI, for example, I have challenged the idea of revolutionary masculinity as singularly heroic within the entrenched and deeply mythologised history of the 1916 Rising, to explore the intimate and queer body of Casement. Further evidence of this development within professional practice is the accessioning of Panty Bliss's dress into the collections of the NMI. This dress in the museum's collections signals a national consciousness of a new kind of revolutionary body in Ireland. These findings use both dress and the body as a critical lens for historical enquiry, and the constructions of historically-situated national and masculine identity

[647] Linda Connolly, *Women and the Irish Revolution: Feminism, Activism, Violence* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2020); Oona Frawley, *Women and the Decade of Commemorations* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021).

that uphold it. These critical lenses have shown how commemoration uses dress and the body to make space for historically under-represented narratives, disrupting the discourse of Irish revolutionary history as unitary and fixed.

Commemoration is a process which is in a constant state of flux, as Rebecca Lynn Graff-McRae argues:

> Commemoration simultaneously inscribes, reinscribes[sic] and transgresses the borders between history and memory, between memory and politics and between politics and history. It is not an act or a word, not is it inaction or silence. Commemoration is itself constantly under negotiation.[648]

To negotiate this continually shifting mnemonic paradigm, I needed to separate commemoration into four separate platforms through which dress was designed or interpreted. The first was state commemoration, which followed a ritual framework for remembering where funerals and ceremonies focussed on military uniform and 'official' memory of the revolution. The NMI provided a framework for thinking about authenticity and contested histories of conflict. Contested histories of the First World War, for example, are located on the body and the physical manifestation of Irish participation in a war alongside and as part of the British Army. I therefore examined how the NMI engaged the replica and reconstructed body within a museological framework to bring those contested bodies into context with the Revolutionary Period. Within the structure of state sponsored collecting and exhibition programming, I challenged the version of history on display by examining the private body and revealing how the experience of private time exposes alternative constructs of revolutionary masculinities.

In my examination of performance and the live body, I reveal how male and female bodies have been performed to bring issues of sexuality to the exploration of intersectional masculinities through the performance of *The Casement Project* in 2016. Men and women danced to explore Casement queer life and legacy beyond his execution in 1916. Beyond state-funded performance, the Revolutionary Period has been narrativised for film and television and a global audience, for whom the concept of a revolutionary hero is not tied to the act of national self-identification. Not only do these films and television programmes show an ongoing fascination with the Revolutionary Period as a subject, but the way in which key protagonists, like Michael Collins through Liam Neeson are embodied in the present through these digital forms. The culmination of my research is an examination of commemoration as re-enactment undertaken as a pastime or hobby, demonstrating that history is shaped by the embodiment memory and

[648] Rebecca Lynn Graff-McRae, 'Forget Politics! Theorising the Political Dynamics of Commemoration and Conflict' in Mary E. Daly and Margaret O'Callaghan, *1916 in 1966: Commemorating the Easter Rising* (Royal Irish Academy, 2007), p. 221.

historical encounters between the past and the present. I have expanded Benedict Anderson's theory of the imagined community by situating the Irish revolutionary body as the focus of collective remembering across each of these four platforms and have thus discovered how history is made and remembered through the body and dress.

A key finding of this research has been that the historical framing of the male body is tied to the creation of national identity through memory practices such as funerals, re-enactment, and exhumation. I have established that new myth of the revolutionary hero was created in 1915 in which all revolutionary heroes existed together in time and space, through ideas of resurrection and re-enactment. By examining military uniform and the uniformed body in state ceremonials, the cycle of commemorative practice, beginning and ending with 1916, emerges as a legitimisation of the state, the nation, and the revolutionary hero. In analysing key militant figures such as Patrick Pearse and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, I have established how the revolutionary hero was modelled on certain personalities of the revolutionary movement and how the myth of the revolutionary hero is perpetuated through the ritual commemoration of their deaths.

Military uniform is a key thread woven through each of the four chapters. In living history re-enactment, examined in Chapter Four, the historical accuracy of military uniform is paramount in order to achieve the desired authentic experience of history. The rise of immersive theatre, discussed in Chapters Two and Three, demonstrates how using the established institutional structures of the memory of war centred around the image of the uniform can be engaged to tell individual stories and portray the pain and suffering of war as evidenced from my analysis of *Pals* performed in the NMI in 2015. The soldiers' uniforms in this performance betrayed differences in age, class, and experience, as the characters prepared to depart Dublin for France and the front line of the First World War. Again, in Chapter Four the Rubberbandits subverted the visibility of uniform by wearing Black and Tan uniforms in their documentary about the 1916 Rising. They exploited the platform of the national broadcaster, RTÉ, to call into question the validity of the format of documentary film making and of the inaccuracy and 'hypocrisy' with which this period of history is often portrayed in popular media. The uniform has been employed by the state to uphold the cycle of official history has at the centenary but has also provided a means of challenging and subverting the very idea of official history and a fixed revolutionary masculinity.

As discussed in Chapters One and Two, an examination of bodies as well as uniforms can begin to unfix the cycle of revolutionary history. This is demonstrated through my analysis of the contested body of Roger Casement whose intersectional masculine and national identity destabilises the image of the revolutionary hero. Casement's work as a British consul, his

knighthood, sexuality, and his lack of support for the 1916 Rising complicate the image of uniformity set forth by people like Pearse. Casement has transpired to be important figure across each chapter in this thesis due to his position as a key political figure of the Revolutionary Period, his status as a martyr executed in 1916, but also as one who sat outside the established norms of militarism and heteronormative masculinity. In Chapter Two Casement's clothing in storage at the National Museum of Ireland introduced the idea of the 'person/thing'. The person/thing is a central concept in this thesis for how the body and dress can challenge interpretations of revolutionary masculinity as singular. Casement's private clothing, his pyjamas and undershirts, attest to a plurality of masculinities and result in compressing the experience of time from one of national time to personal and private time.

The idea of the person/thing enabled me to establish a dialogue within institutional practices of the museum to expose the conflict between body and object and question where the memory of conflict resides. I have examined dress in the museum as a mnemonic object that is unique in its proximity to the skin and so sits apart from other forms of material culture that survive war or conflict. Proximity of the body to the object can alter our perceptions of time, as personal and intimate objects collapse the vast expanse of national or military history into the experience of personal time. The proximity of the body to the object and the universal bodily experiences of pain, loss, and even the everyday act of dressing begin to chip away at the foundations of the grand narratives of history. The body again becomes a site of contestation in my analysis of the removal of Michael Collins' blood-soaked cap from display in the NMI. The caps removal is evidence for how the interpretation of the body and violence can change within the institution, but at the same time evoking resentment in public, raising questions around censorship and the authority of museums to re-interpret the narrative of conflict. Chapter Two also highlighted the 1916 Rising as a critical moment when national time was framed with the example of the Easter Week Collection and discussed how patterns of collecting and curating objects frames the male body in national memory. I problematised the conflict between the state agenda and knowledge that comes from an in-depth examination of the object on display and in storage to determine how space between the collection and the exhibition breaks down the idea of bodies in history as fixed and unchanging. The introduction of the private body into the examination of national memory is a major contribution of this research to the significance of dress and the body in the making of history.

Objects are considered as sites of authentic memory because of the unique space and time of their origin. Blood, bone, and the stains of conflict contribute to an object's authenticity,

to its 'aura'.[649] Such objects are collected and displayed in the NMI to bear witness to the sacrifice and loss of great leaders and the making of martyrs. But what of those bodies and objects that were not collected? In course of this research, I have identified spaces within commemorative practice in Ireland where forgotten or marginalised bodies have been remembered and alternative narratives of history were explored through costume. Plays such as the *Juno and the Paycock, The Plough and the Stars*, and *The Shadow of a Gunman* have all portrayed the stories of Irelands poor and labouring classes and the impact of war and revolution on their lives. Issues of class inequality and poverty were largely excluded from Ireland's commemorative tradition following independence. The poor were no longer simply the product and evidence of British oppression, but were charges of the new Irish state, and to an extent hampered the new vision of as self-governed Ireland.[650] The revolutionary plays discussed in Chapter Four leave out the key figures so prominent in commemorations of Chapter One and Two. Costume in these plays brings the bodies of the poor and working class to the forefront of their own stories, whereas their clothing and bodies are missing from the collections of the museums discussed in Chapter Two. This research has demonstrated how costume and costuming provides a new platform for imagining Irish revolutionary masculinities.

Throughout this research I have broadened the discussion of what constitutes revolutionary bodies beyond militants and martyrs to include widows, labourers, and even drag queens. Panti Bliss's speech at the end of the performance of *The Risen People* in 2013 was a performance of visibility, setting a challenge to the very idea of what it means to experience and resist oppression in Ireland at the centenary of the 1913 Strike and Lockout. That Panti Bliss' dress was accessioned into the collections of the NMI is evidence of a new desire to include bodies in the national collection that exist beyond narrow definitions of historical heroism. Sexuality and Irish revolutionary heroism were, again, brought to the stage through the body of Roger Casement, who was the subject of a contemporary dance project exploring his life as a gay man at the centenary of his death in 2016. The costumes and bodies of the dancers were demonstrative of the blurred line between past and present and between history and memory, as the history of conflict interpreted through and on bodies reminded audiences that human experience exists in the present even after conflict is consigned to the annals of history. When memory and commemoration move from state and institutional structures and into the public domain, Irish revolutionary masculinities are reclaimed and re-interpreted by the popular imagination as discussed in Chapter Four. The body as the object and site of public memory and

[649] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, (London: Random House, 2002).
[650] Conor McNamara and Padraig Yeats, *The Dublin Lockout 1913: New Perspectives on Class War & Its Legacy* (Merrion Press, 2017), pp. 1–2.

popular commemoration was analysed in this chapter by investigating how uniform and civilian clothing are translated into costume in the popular commemoration of conflict. I examined Irish revolutionary masculinities from the perspective of living history, outlining the impact of popular culture on social modes of doing history and on the creation of 'unofficial historical knowledge'.[651] The body, instead of being rooted in historical legitimacy, shifts between history and fiction and the real and imagined. Legitimacy is gained instead from an embodiment of the history as something living and experiential. By analysing costumes in film and television, supported by interviews with costume designers, I was able to bring this research into the public and popular realm of imagination, establishing how an object like the trench coat can move from history into fiction, from its invention as a military garment by the British in the First World War to the unofficial uniform of the IRA in the war of independence and then finally as a cinematic trope of espionage. I have introduced clothing as part of the vocabulary of national conflict, not just as part of the theatre of war, but as an integral element of how we relate to the experience of war through the body. From my analysis, it is evident that dress is key to the visual and material culture of war commemoration and an agent of creation of national memory, and not simply a product of war. Dress provides access into the embodied experience of the past unlike other forms of material culture, and it enables an examination of the changing face of historic militarism in Ireland, as historic conflict is commemorated in the context of contemporary crises.

The further removed one is from the memory of war the more open to interpretation representations of Irish revolutionary masculinity can be. Complexities play out in how men are designed as heroes or anti-heroes of the Irish revolutionary story. Damien, in *The Wind that Shakes the Barley*, is an ordinary man from a poor family who shows how radicalisation can occur through suffering and inequality. Raising consciousness of oppression through the impact that conflict has on the body is evident from the examination of objects like Damien's vest or the bloodied shirt. Traces left in the clothes, real or imagined, historical or fictional, play a part in portraying the impact of conflict on the body, and thus how that body is perceived. Costume is used to popularise the changing nature of national memory and affords agency to the bodies of individuals to engage with and act on the timeline of history. I have accessed new and emerging archives in conducting this research, including the Irish Costume Archive and the collection of uniforms at Cathal Brugha Barracks. These objects are in storage and bear little relation to each other; however, through my research I have succeeded in identifying a unifying narrative to re-frame Irish commemorative history across social, political, and cultural spheres.

[651] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, 2nd revised edition (London; New York: Verso Books, 2012), pp. 8–13.

This thesis initially set out to out to question the impact of the commemoration of conflict on constructions of masculine and national identity. From the research I have carried out, it is clear that this impact is not something that suddenly occurred at the centenary, or at the 50th anniversary, or even at the 10th anniversary. Instead, commemoration of the Irish revolutionary hero was part of the strategy of revolutionary Ireland. The Irish revolutionary hero was established in the rhetoric of conflict alongside its commemoration, as evidenced in the words of Pearse in 1915: 'from the graves of these patriot men and women spring living nations.'[652] Chapter Three explores this further with *The Plough and the Stars* by Sean O'Casey, which was staged just three years after the end of the Civil War in 1926, and set out to counteract the memory of the Irish revolutionary hero by placing the worst affected at the forefront of the narrative, reducing the revolutionary leader to an 'unnamed voice' offstage.[653] History and memory have no clear beginning or end; they are not linear nor cyclical. History changes shape in relation to the present as new knowledge is made and memories are made or erased, and as this research has demonstrated, this relationship in flux is experienced and documented through the body.

I have argued that material culture of the body is evidence of the impact that commemoration has on constructions of revolutionary masculinities. The stories and memories of individuals complicate national history by re-inserting the voices and bodies of those who have for so long been excluded from it. Challenging the exclusivity of history to male or militant bodies redefines the revolutionary legacy of the men, women, and children who died as causalities of or in pursuit of Ireland's independence. Memory of conflict changes through the representation of heroes, shifting constantly based on the social, economic, and cultural context. Looking to 2023, revolutionary masculinities and national identity are called into question again under the context of the commemoration of the Civil War. So much of the rhetoric, and indeed the archives (i.e., the Bureau of Military History), have fallen short of the Civil War, and so its commemoration will require a new analysis of the impact this will have on constructions of masculine and national identity.

Throughout this research I have amassed knowledge of the body in conflict and commemoration and created an interdisciplinary methodology for analysing both the material and the documented body. This is a methodology that acknowledges and takes advantage of the notion that bodies and the traces they leave behind are political, and these traces shape how a

[652] Padraic Pearse, *Collected Works of Pádraic H. Pearse; Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin: Dublin Phoenix, 1916), p. 133.
[653] Sean O'Casey, *The Plough and the Stars*, main edition (London: Faber & Faber, 2001).

national community moves forward and looks backwards. In particular, this analysis of the body accounts for how conflict is remembered and informs a collective future. 'Fundamentally', Nicholas Saunders suggests, 'war is the transformation of matter through the agency of destruction', and, as evidenced in this thesis, commemoration is the transformation of the memory of war in the context of now.[654]

Avenues for further research

This thesis has brought together a number of areas that have previously seen little or no in-depth academic investigation. In the first instance, the study of Irish masculinity has only recently become the focus of serious investigation with works such as *Masculinity and Power in Irish Nationalism* (2016) and *Ireland and Masculinities in History* (2019); this is a relatively new area of enquiry and holds huge potential for further research. The study of gender and Irish nationalism generally has seen a revival since the beginning of the Decade of Centenaries, but there is capacity to develop this even further, particularly thinking about the interwar period and the Irish involvement in World War Two.

As part of my primary research, I engaged with re-enactors online to reveal the role dress plays in their re-enactments and the importance of dress in the dialogue between living history and collective memory. As this avenue of research only formed a minor aspect within a much larger set of primary material analysis, I only pursued this line of enquiry with the re-enactors online. I have, however, just begun to scratch the surface of an investigation into dress in war re-enactment, and there are further questions to ask about grassroots engagement with national history, and the implications it has beyond the experience of the individual.

From 2019, the negotiation of commemoration in Ireland has entered a new and more complex phase, with the centenary of the War of Independence, and in 2022 of the Civil War, and the partition of Ireland in 2023. Although, since 1998, Ireland has seen an expansion of '[…] forms of memory made possible by the peace process', there has been a conspicuous lack of memorialisation of the civil war dead.[655] With the Commemoration of partition and the Civil War on the horizon, the body remains conspicuous in its absence from the advice released by the Department of Taoiseach for the 'second phase' of commemorations for the Decade of Centenaries. The first guideline for state commemoration reads:

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654 Nicholas J. Saunders, *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory, and the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 5.
655 Pine, p. 15.

> A state ceremonial strand which will comprise a limited number of symbolic acts of national commemoration focusing on themes of remembrance and reconciliation and on the commemoration of all of those who lost their lives during this period.[656]

And on the specific commemoration of the Civil War:

> The State's task is to encourage a reflective and a reconciliatory tone that recognises that neither side had the monopoly of either atrocity or virtue, and this was true of words as well as actions. The Advisory Group recommends that a ceremony of remembrance and reconciliation be held on a neutral date in remembrance of all of those who lost their lives during the Civil War.[657]

These commemorations are also being planned at a significant moment in Irish history. In 2020, for the first time since 1923, parties on either side of the Civil War divide formed a coalition government, purporting to 'see an end to civil war politics in Ireland.'[658] This research is at the forefront of this new context for remembering in Ireland, of the emerging literature of the Revolutionary Period, and in the midst of the uncompleted Decade of Centenaries. With the continuation of the Decade of Centenaries into 2023, the questions posed in this thesis remain relevant when considering the commemoration of the partition of Ireland, and the outbreak and end of the Civil War. The material culture of conflict has marked potential for further research, especially when thinking about contemporary history, such as The Troubles in Northern Ireland. Museums have only just started collecting from this period of history, as mentioned in Chapter Two, with the Ulster Museum now actively collecting from the period of The Troubles. These objects carry the potential to tell different histories about how objects relate to our experience of time and conflict that still exists in living memory.

Conclusion

I want to conclude with an image, not so as to engage in further analysis, but in order to demonstrate how this research will enable a better understanding of the relationship between history and collective memory, and how that memory is constantly being reframed and reimagined through material culture. Figure 5 is a photograph of the Battle of Ashbourne re-

656 'Publication of "Decade of Centenaries: Second Phase Guidance, 2018–2023" by Expert Advisory Group. – Decade Of Centenaries' <https://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/publication-of-decade-of-centenaries-second-phase-guidance-2018-2023-by-expert-advisory-group/> [accessed 2 July 2020].
657 'Publication of "Decade of Centenaries: Second Phase Guidance, 2018–2023" by Expert Advisory Group. – Decade Of Centenaries'.
658 Ronan McGreevy, 'Historic Coalition Agreement Ends Almost a Century of Civil War Politics', *The Irish Times* <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/historic-coalition-agreement-ends-almost-a-century-of-civil-war-politics-1.4290514> [accessed 2 July 2020].

enactors in July 2020. Dressed in trench coats and caps typical of the 1920s, the re-enactors are pictured carrying out rifle drills in preparation for their re-enactments. Their coats, caps, and rifles are a re-enactment of the Revolutionary Period, situating their bodies in the past. However, the re-enactor at the centre of the image is also wearing a face mask in light of the rules imposed by the Irish government as a result of the Coronavirus pandemic, which started to spread across in late 2019. Their re-enactment is pulled into the present by the need to control the virus by wearing a mask. Conflict of the past and the bodily crisis of the present co-exist through this re-enactment. This picture emphasises how, through the body, history is never truly in the past as we relate to the collective trauma of a new reality presented by the first pandemic in almost a century.

The trench coat, the khaki tunic, the balaclava, and the bloody shirt are just some of the objects that constitute the material culture of revolution in Ireland, and which are used to commemorate the historic body in the present. Our present is similarly marked by a series of material reminders of the crises we face as a world, whether they are red Make America Great Again (MAGA) caps, blue European berets known as the 'bEUret', the yellow vests in France, the white helmets of the Syrian Civil Defence, and the orange life jackets handed out in their thousands to those fleeing conflicts in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan seeking asylum in Europe. What bodies do and what they wear carries meaning for how their experiences are remembered; they leave a memory trace through what they leave behind. But it is not just the objects themselves and the traces of the bodies that inform how we understand the past. It is the context in which they are framed and the dynamic and ever-changing relationship between past and present and history and memory.

Figure 5 - The Battle of Ashbourne 1916-2023 Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/battleofashbourne1916, 2020

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