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'The Woman With a Garden':

Unearthing the Artistry and Activism of

Constance Markievicz 1908-1927

Mary P. Caulfield

A thesis submitted to the School of Drama, Film and Music at the University of Dublin, Trinity College, in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2011

Declaration

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For my parents Jack and Dolores Caulfield
Dad for my Gaelic soul
Mom for my garlic strength
Thank you

Summary

Constance Markievicz, one of Ireland's founding figures, would not define herself solely as a journalist nor playwright yet her playtexts and rhetorical outputs were just as much a part of her activism as her military efforts. Markievicz was born Constance Gore-Booth in 1868. In her short 59 years she proved herself as revolutionary Nationalist, Suffragist, artist, actress and playwright. She was the first woman elected to the British House of Commons though she did not take her seat and along with the other Sinn Féin *Teachta Dála* (TDs) formed the first *Dáil Éireann*. She was the first woman in Europe to hold a cabinet position (Minister of Labour of the Irish Republic, 1919–1922) and she died from peritonitis in 1927, from working in the Dublin poorhouses.

Markievicz wrote a total of three complete plays, two of her plays *Blood Money* (1925) and *Broken Dreams* (1927) have not been published and are located at the National Library of Ireland. Her one act play *The Invincible Mother* was published in 1977 in the *Journal of Irish Literature* out of The University of Delaware, the original manuscript is held there. These plays are at the core of my dissertation. There is one small fragment of a play entitled, *Easter Monday Morning* in the Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington Papers at the National Library of Ireland, and while most of it remains indecipherable, it is testament to Markievicz's need to express herself through playtext. Her life has been the subject of six major biographies, all of which focus primarily on the expositionary aspects of her life. Sari Oikarinen's published doctoral dissertation offers a keen insight to Markievicz's political ideologies and while her plays and journalistic outputs have received little critical attention, Karen Steele has shed light on their existence.

In dialogue with her plays, this dissertation also analyses Markievicz's journalistic contributions primarily within three particular series, which she wrote specifically directed toward her female constituency in an effort to foster women's agency and activism within the Nationalist pursuit in Ireland. These contributions will be considered in tandem with her other rhetorical expressions including her lectures, unpublished typescripts, poems, artistic renderings and finally, her sense of selfhood. This dissertation aims to recover Markievicz's playtexts and journalistic outputs in an effort to re-inscribe her integral and immense contributions to the cultivation and sustainment of the Irish political and cultural Nationalist movement starting with her involvement in 1908 until her death in 1927.

Primary source material, especially her playtexts and journalistic renderings, unearthed from the National Library of Ireland, the University of Delaware Library, Trinity College, Dublin Library and the New York Public Library were essential to my research. When a primary resource was available in lieu of its final published form, I relied on the initial source. Contemporaneous periodicals, letters, advertisements, unpublished typescripts, drawings, paintings, and photographs were essential in locating my conclusions. This dissertation is not strictly chronological and while factual, it does not aim to be an additional biographical offering, however, to locate the very ontological core of this figure, reflections on aspects of her life were sometimes necessary to fully critically analyse her plays and journalistic expressions. This dissertation is offered as an act of recovery for the artistry and activism of the integral involvement of Constance Markievicz during Ireland's fight for Independence.

"It's awfully funny being 'on the run'! I don't know which I resemble most: the timid hare, the wily fox, or a fierce wild animal of the jungle. I fly round town on my bike for exercise, and it is too funny seeing the expression on the policemen's face as they see me whizz by! There are very few women on bikes in the winter, so a hunted beast on a bike is very remarkable."

-Constance Markievicz

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Introduction

Constance Markievicz's plays and journalistic prose unearthed and fostered a dialogue conjoining Nationalist Irishwomen both past and present. By employing different theatrical and rhetorical strategies, Markievicz revealed an alternative landscape and potential for women and for Ireland. This dissertation unearths the contribution of the artistry and activism of Constance Markievicz to the cultivation and sustainment of the Irish political and cultural Nationalist movement starting with her involvement in 1908 until her death in 1927. My research will focus specifically on Constance Markievicz's plays, journalistic accomplishments, and the subversive nature of her very corporeality, which became wholly inscribed in her ability to renegotiate the borders and boundaries of political activism at the time. This dissertation aims to locate how Markievicz's varied bodies of literature—both rhetorical and theatrical—speak to each other and how her artistry, in all its forms, was also a means to examine themes of insurgency and political strife as they relate to both Ireland and further women's efforts during the process of nation-formation.

"And this was Connaught ..."[1]

Constance Markievicz would not experience her Nationalist awakening until some forty years after her birth. In spite of her foreign married surname, Constance Markievicz (1868-1927) was indeed born Constance Gore-Booth on the 4th of February in 1868 at Buckingham Gate in London, England. In her short 59 years she proved herself as revolutionary Nationalist, Suffragist, artist, actor and playwright.

[1] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, Saturday, August 18, 1923, p. 3. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Constance grew up as a child of Lissadell, Sligo where she would spend the majority of the first thirty years of her life. Markievicz's biographical narrative is often written like a fairytale. Biographers such as Anne Marreco[2], Jacqueline Van Voris[3], Sean O'Faolain[4] and Anne Haverty[5], paint a picture of her childhood as picturesque and rugged. She is described as "handsome", "a country tomboy", "resourceful," "fearless," "spartan" and "enterprising" whose only brush with nationalism in her first forty years was when she would glance at pictures of Robert Emmet on the cottage walls of her family's tenants for whom she was bringing aid.[6] While her life's details are romanticized in her biographies, this dissertation considers these narratives as indicative of the obstacle that Markievicz overcame to attain authenticity within the movement.

Markievicz's autobiographical column in *Eire* describes her childhood and her childhood home as a fixture within the Connaught landscape:

> We lived on a beautiful, enchanted Western coast, where we grew up intimate with the soft mists and the coloured mountains, and where each morning you woke to the sound of the wild birds the sad wintery cry of starvation that came like a keen from the throat of the phillabin driven from its haunts by the storm winds or the ascending triumphant song of sprint that dropped down from the sky midst the softer patter of the April rain [...] You looked out across a field that materialists would describe as a weed bed, but which really was a tossing multitude of big white daisies, swaying and bending, taking colour [...] Behind the gray, barrack-like house, ranges of mountains lay like a great row of sphinxes against the sky and shut us out from Ireland. Trees and glades sloped down to the bay, across which Knocknareagh rose [...]. And this was Connaught ...[7]

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[2] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967).
[3] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967).
[4] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
[5] Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: an Independent Life* (London: Pandora, 1988).
[6] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 2.
[7] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, Saturday, August 18, 1923, p. 3. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz describes the Sligo landscape in great detail linking her birth and birth-rite with one of the most Nationally 'sacred' steeped terrains in all of Ireland, Connaught, "the Connaught whither Cromwell banished the tradition of the Gael in all its splendour when he and his horde of barbarians trampled into the mud by alien feed [...]."[8] In spite of her Anglo-Irish connections, Markievicz's perceived authenticity is buried in her relationship to the Sligo landscape and "with each little blade of grass pushing up to life from the blood-drenched soil that was the burying place of generation after generations with their dreams of freedom and peace;" sprung Markievicz and her Nationalist inclinations, her own growth would forever be linked with the natural properties of Ireland. Markievicz's play *Broken Dreams* hosts her 'ideal' Nationalist woman, Eileen O'Rourke. This play is also set in Sligo[9] and this connection between an ideal woman and an ideal landscape would have implications on Markievicz's own Nationalist writings and experiences.

Initially, as sympathetic landlords in Sligo at Lissadell, the Gore-Booths had little to worry of national politics and 'far off' political strife. Markievicz's childhood is detailed in many of her biographies as active and wholesome. Her father Sir Henry Gore-Booth was a self-motivated arctic explorer, her mother Lady Georgina Gore-Booth was from a long line of landed Irish gentry and while described by Markievicz as old fashioned and strict with her four children, Lady Gore-Booth was always generous with her tenants. Local memory of the Gore-Booths are plenty and long-standing. Markievicz's ancestry is engrained deep within the colonial presence in Ireland. Her great great grandmother Letitia Booth brought the second surname from her husband Paul Gore-a favourite of Queen Elizabeth's, and is most likely the source

[8] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, Saturday, August 18, 1923, p. 3. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[9] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 306.

of Markievicz's renegade spirit. Local legend claims Letitia dressed only in white, which earned her the nickname of "Banshee Bán" and shoed her horses only with gold. One afternoon at the Derk of Knocklane, a semi-circular chasm at the sea's edge and home only to the gulls that could reach it at 200 feet above sea level, Lady Letitia insisted upon being driven at the very edge. When her coachman refused, she drew her pistol on him insisting he proceed and miraculously, he accomplished the feat.[10] One could only imagine Markievicz some hundred years later accomplishing just the same however, she would have taken the reins herself.[11] Letitia's grandson and Markievicz's grandfather Sir Robert Gore-Booth was alive for the first eight years of Markievicz's life. His memory is most often associated with the Great Famine (1845-1847) and he is described as being both tragic yet philanthropic. Sir Robert's tragedy known as "The Affair of the Seven Cartrons" would etch the Gore-Booth name even deeper into the perceived tyranny of the Anglo-Irish landlord.[12] Seven Cartrons, a small town in Sligo and home to both fishermen and small landowners, was the site of absolute devastation for many of its townsfolk. Sir Robert Gore-Booth bought several small surrounding towns and in an attempt to clear the land, he offered alternative land to its inhabitants or passage to America with compensation. Most took passage to America, however, the ship that was commissioned was unseaworthy and sunk just miles off the coast of Lissadell killing everyone aboard.[13] This tragedy would plague both the reputation and the conscience of the Gore-Booths in spite of their sympathetic and generous acts as landlords. Markievicz's privileged childhood sets the perfect contradiction to her quest for Ireland's freedom. Born to English ancestors, in class and politics she was on the

[10] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 1-5.
[11] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 1-5.
[12] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 1-5.
[13] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 18-19.

'right' side of the political coin. She was privileged, child of the Queen and Protestant. These given circumstances highlight the distance Markievicz travelled to shed her Ascendency background to become a Nationalist. Of her upbringing she writes: "I met no people with ideas beyond our own happy little circle… Sport, art, and the doings of friends and relationships were the interests of our elders, and consequently of our generation."[14] Markievicz was the eldest of four children, her sister –suffragette activist, poet and playwright-Eva Gore-Booth[15] (1870-1926) was the closest of all Markievicz's siblings. Later in life, when Markievicz was fully devoted to the Nationalist cause she would speak of Eva as her only living relative especially after her many imprisonments which were met with disdain by her Mother. Markievicz is arguably echoing the relationship she shared with her parents in the characters of both Mr and Mrs O'Reilly in her full-length tragedy, *Broken Dreams* (1927)[16]. This is perhaps best explained in her initial stage directions in Act I, where she describes her protagonist Eileen O'Rourke's mother as: '*not hard nor does she seem to be unkind but has been very well trained in an old fashioned way, and believing all she heard when a child, tries to force her opinions on those she lives with.*'[17] This combined with the first five pages of dialogue, which is a conversation between Eileen's parents Mr. and Mrs. O'Rourke's arguably demonstrate the tension between how Sir and Lady Gore-Booth conceivably regarded Markievicz and her life's work, for example:

> Mrs. O'Rourke: I tell you that girl will never settle down, we'll live to see her disgrace us yet.

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[14] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, August 18,1923, p. 3. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[15] Eva Gore-Booth moved to Manchester at the turn of the century where she worked alongside her life-long friend Esther Roper, to advocate for women's suffrage.
[16] *The Evening Herald,* Wednesday, December 7, 1927. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[17] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> Mr. O'Rourke: You're too hard on her, Maria, it's a burden on a young heart to be mated too young. Let her have her turn of play…
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: Turn of play, indeed! What has she ever done but play? When I was her age hadn't I a house of my own and childer to mind, and was I any the worse for that?[18]

Eva had a tremendous affect on Markievicz both politically and artistically.[19] In her first published article in *Bean na hÉireann*, from a speech entitled "Free Woman in a Free Nation" in January of 1909, Markievicz paid tribute to Eva by quoting her poetry: "I know that Liberty is best, and no man sadder than a slave."[20] Markievicz along with her other siblings was taught to ride horses and shoot at a very young age, a talent which she would re-appropriate in her career as soldier for Ireland, and Markievicz was often described as the finest at both horse riding and hunting of her three other siblings, Mabel, Eva, and brother Josslyn. Her father was extremely lenient with his children and was responsible for teaching Markievicz how to ride horses, sail, and hunt.

The stories of the Gore-Booths are picturesque and romantic and read as if they were the inspiration of many Victorian era fictions. The rustic landscape of Sligo was the setting for two of Markievicz's later dramas, *Blood Money* (1925) and *Broken Dreams* (1927). The West of Ireland provided the ideal terrain for Markievicz's ideal woman soldier—an 'unmanageable' and 'uninhabitable' wilderness for the colonial oppressor. In a rare entry in her unpublished journal written in 1892-1893 she writes, "*8 April*: Planted the Beautiful Bed of White Arabis with coloured Hyacinths. All day I worked barring lunch and tea. In the Evening the

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[18] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1-2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[19] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 19.
[20] 'Maca', "Free Women in a Free Nation," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 3, January 1909, pp 8-10. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Maca was one of Markievicz pen names. Armid was another she wrote under in *Bean na hÉireann*.

canoe was launched and I paddled out and sailed back before the wind."[21] Landscape and an admiration for nature would later inform Markievicz's writings, drawings, poetry and dramaturgy. It was her self-sufficient nature inspired by her rural and isolated upbringing that answered the cry for autonomy within the Nationalist cause, what Sari Oikarinen calls the "do-it-yourself"[22] philosophy of the Gaelic revival inspired by journalist and activist D.P. Moran's "Buy Irish" campaign of the late nineteenth century. Earlier images of Markievicz's romantic childhood are best encapsulated in W.B. Yeats' later poem *On a Political Prisoner*:

> When long ago I saw her ride
> Under Ben Bulben to the meet,
> The beauty of her countryside
> With all youth's lonely wilderness stirred,
> She seemed to have grown clean and sweet
> Like any rock-bred, sea-bourne bird.[23]

Parallels to Markievicz as a free flying bird, 'gazelle' and other wild animals, are plentiful and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. It is here that once again Markievicz is fused with themes of landscape, nature and natural forces, which are metaphoric for notions of freedom and Independence.

As a young poet Yeats began a letter correspondence with Markievicz in 1894 and subsequently visited Lissadell twice between 1894-1895.[24] His visit was Markievicz's first introduction to the ideas behind the impending cultural Nationalist renaissance and Gaelic Revival, however his effect would not be actualized until some fourteen years later. Yeats writes of such occasion in his letter to sister Lily (Susan Mary) Yeats on the 23rd of November 1894:

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[21] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 44. Constance Gore-Booth (Markievicz) only kept a journal for this year.
[22] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 21.
[23] W.B. Yeats, "On a Political Prisoner," in *W.B. Yeats: The Poems*, ed., Richard J. Finneran (London: Macmillan, 1983), 183.
[24] Letter to "Constance Gore-Booth," dated June 28, 1894 in John Kelly, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 393. In Kelly's footnote it reads "WBY seems to have been meeting Constance Gore-Booth in the summer of 1894."

> I have been staying at Lissadell for a couple of days and have enjoyed myself greatly. They are delightful people. [...] All the while I was at Lissadell I was busy telling stories—old Irish stories—first to one then another and then telling them over again to the sick Miss Gore upstairs.[25]

Yeats was responsible for sending Markievicz some books regarding Irish history and heroic tales. One in particular was Standish O'Grady's history of Ireland.[26] Yeats and Constance along with Eva shared an interest in the occult, the mythic and the spiritual and while on a visit in London, Constance took Yeats to a séance and he in turn had arranged for fortune telling sessions for both herself and Eva.[27] Markievicz became interested in the occult and mystical from stories of 'the good people', fairies, which would concern themselves with disenfranchised humans. There is an account of Markievicz and her sister Mabel embodying the ideals of such 'good people' on the behalf of an extremely poor and remote family of eight living on the outskirts of Lissadell.[28] She along with her sister Mabel and friend Mr. Roulette set out to surprise this family with food and gifts. With her dressing trunk, a treasure chest of disguises that would benefit Markievicz throughout her life, Markievicz costumed each of them to disguise themselves as 'good people' for the children of this family and they succeeded in their benevolent ambush. Markievicz's inclination to disguise, dress, and renegotiate her self-image would certainly last with Markievicz throughout her political career.

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[25] Letter to "Susan Mary Yeats," dated November 23, 1894 in John Kelly, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 413. Yeats writes on to describe Lissadell as "an exceedingly impressive house inside with a great sitting room as high as a church and all things in good taste [...] outside it is grey square and bare yet set amid delightful grounds. They talk of my going there again to interview some old man who is believed to have much folk lore." Letter to "Susan Mary Yeats" dated 23 November 1894 in John Kelly, *The Collected Letters of W.B. Yeats* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 412-3

[26] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 23.

[27] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 22-23.

[28] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 32.

Alongside Markievicz's isolated life at Lissadell, Nationalist fervour was growing exponentially. Questions of Home Rule, land and land ownership were pervading the country. The West of Ireland also saw smaller yet no less devastating famines from 1879 through to the 1890s as well as the evictions of almost 40,000 tenants. The Gore-Booths were hands on within the relief effort however they were seen in the eyes of an Irish Catholic native as a direct link to the monarchy and therefore synonymous with colonial aggression. The Gore-Booths felt a responsibility to the impoverished, however Markievicz later on in her life criticized her family for a lack of political discourse and awareness within the Household:

> [...] no one was interested in politics or economics... Every one accepted the status quo [...] it was absurd to try and to alter it, for that led nowhere and only made trouble. It was unlucky that landlords had been so bad, for if only they had done what they ought, everything would have been all right now [...] Irish history was also taboo, for "what is the good of brooding over past grievances?" [...] Growing children take their ideas from the people around them [...] hence [...] [o]ne took the conquest as a fait accompli and as irrevocable and believed that "things weren't too bad nowadays." One knew no history, one realised none of the responsibilities that one inherited. Thus it was with me [...][29]

Written in 1923, this reflection is of course hindsight for in the late nineteenth century Markievicz was very much embedded in Dublin Castle society. In 1889 she was presented at one of Queen Victoria's Courts and declared the new Irish beauty[30] and as Mr. Godley of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers proclaimed all of Ireland was in love with Constance Gore-Booth "like all Ireland to a man"[31] perhaps anticipating her blurred position as both 'woman warrior' and symbol of female involvement with the process of Nation building. Markievicz's only journal, from 1892-1893 demonstrates a hint of want for something greater than society life and belief in something grander than herself: "I feel the want. Women are made to adore and sacrifice themselves,

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[29] Constance de Markievicz, "Memories. Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organisation," in *Eire,* vol. 1, no. 31, p.3. 18.8.1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[30] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 35.
[31] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 34.

and I as a woman demand as a right that nature should provide me with something o live for, something to die for."[32] This would predate Markievicz's political aspirations by fifteen years yet it is eerily prognosticating her Nationalst predestinations.

Sydney Gifford Czira states that Constance had "a very marked talent for painting, and for many years her name was known, not as the leader of a political party, but as one of the ablest of the modern Irish artists."[33] In 1893 Constance had become an amateur yet practicing artist and she convinced her parents that art was her passion and attended the Slade Art Institute in London. In 1898 she took her talents to Paris and attended Monsieur Rodolphe Julian's studio where she earned the nickname '*Vélo*' as her bicycle was always with her, her chariot of independence[34]. Here Markievicz wore a ring on her wedding finger and declared her love and marriage to art. In 1899, while a student at the Académie Julian in Paris, Constance met her husband Casimir Dunin-Markievicz, a recently widowed Polish Count six years her junior.[35] They were introduced to each other, at a student ball by Polish writer, Stefan Krywoszewski. They were married on the 29th of September 1900 in St. Mary's Marylebone in London. Sir Robert Gore-Booth had recently passed away and as a result the celebrations were not lavish. Constance purposely omitted the word "obey" from her marriage vows indicative of her non-traditional views on

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[32] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 44.
[33] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000), 98. Sydney Gifford Czira (1889-1974), used the pseudonym 'John Brennan' throughout her writing career as she "felt it gave the impression of a strong Wexford farmer" and not of the daughter of a unionist Protestant. Czira was a journalist, activist, member of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and a friend to Constance Markievicz.
[34] Markievicz's mobility and the importance of the bicycle will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.
[35] Wanda Ryan-Smolin, "Casimir Dunin Markievicz Painter and Playwright," in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, vol. 11 (1995), pp. 180-184.

marriage and motherhood.[36] Constance's "condition" is listed on her marriage certificate as "Spinster", Casimir's as "Widower" (fig. 1)[37].

Her only biological child, Maeve, was born after a very difficult delivery in November of 1901. Markievicz named her daughter after the warrior Queen Maeve, whose tomb could supposedly be seen from every window in Lissadell. Constance's mother raised Maeve. Maeve once said after a brief visit from her Mother: "Well, that's over. She won't think of me for another year."[38] In Amanda Sebestyen's Introduction to *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz*, she quotes a letter from Maud Gonne to Constance's stepson Stanlislau (Stasko), "I have heard people criticise Constance as a neglectful mother. But she was so unselfish she sacrificed everything for Ireland, and in this case did what she thought best for the child...Only people who knew her very closely and intimately knew how deeply she felt the sacrifice."[39] Constance privileged the work of the Nation over her responsibilities as a mother. This is perhaps why the outcome of her play *The Invincible Mother* (1925) is so understandable. Sacrificing her child for the greater good of Ireland was not symbolic, but realistic for Constance if the possibility arrived. Sean O'Faolain spends a considerable amount of time in his Preface to Markievicz's biography questioning Markievicz's role as "wife and mother"[40] or why "Constance did not devote more loving attention to her husband."[41] Haverty's remarks that Constance cared for her

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[36] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xviii.
[37] See fig. 1 in appendix: Casimir and Constance Markievicz, "Marriage Certificate," Photo: 10LG-1C35-04. Kilmainham Gaol Archives: Dublin, Ireland.
[38] Elizabeth Coxhead, *Daughters of Erin* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1979), 87. Casimir Markievicz left Dublin on very amicable terms with Constance Markievicz, and while they remained married he returned to his home country in 1910 not returning for any long period of time until meeting Markievicz on her deathbed in 1927.
[39] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xiv.
[40] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1967), 8.
[41] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1967), 8.

daughter only fitfully, is often cited as an indication of a flaw in her nature."[42] Discussions of Markievicz's outlook on her role as mother and wife emphasize Markievicz's position as a counter-normative figure, challenging gender expectations. After Maeve was born Constance was reported: "to have told a friend that she lost sexual interest in Casimir"[43] as well. Anne Haverty and Sean O'Faolain wrote in their biographies on Markievicz that "she and Casi really liked each other, they were the best of friends but he was not necessary to her" in turn she "neglected her affective and domestic life."[44] O'Faolain attributes this to his thinking that "she was by nature a celibate type"[45] for whom "love was a disembodied passion."[46] Count Markievicz's son Stanislau would later come to live with the Markieviczs in Dublin. Casimir and Constance Markievicz moved to Dublin in 1903 which artist George Russell (AE) anticipated by saying, "The Gore-Booth girl who married the Polish Count with the unspellable name is going to settle near Dublin about Summer time [...] They are both clever it will help to create an art atmosphere. We might get the material for a revolt, a new Irish Art Club"[47]. They were both active in the artistic and theatrical community. Casimir Markievicz wrote many plays, some of which premiered at the newly founded Abbey Theatre. In contrast to Constance's later works, Count Markievicz's dramaturgy was melodramatic in tone, and mainly featured Constance in the leading role.[48] In addition to the excitement of the Markievicz's arrival in

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[42] Anne Haverty, *An Independent Life* (London: Harper Collins, 1988), 53.
[43] Anne Haverty, *An Independent Life* (London: Harper Collins, 1988), 70. Haverty footnotes O'Faolain on this subject.
[44] Anne Haverty, *An Independent Life* (London: Harper Collins, 1988), 70. Haverty footnotes O'Faolain on this subject.
[45] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1967), 8.
[46] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1967), 8.
[47] Letter from AE to Sarah Purser, May 5, 1902, cited in Alan Danson, ed., *Letters from AE* (London: Coracle Press, 1961), 39.
[48] Casimir and Constance Markievicz established and later instructed at the Dublin United Arts Club, AE and Yeats were both a part of this organization. The couple was also involved with the Theatre of Ireland, an unequivocally Nationalist organization. In 1909 Constance was elected vice-president of the Theatre of Ireland. Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: 1974), 15. Sari Oikarinen,

Dublin, AE would also anticipate the arrival of the young poet Padraic Colum, the unknowing catalyst behind Markievicz's call to arms and Nationalist enlightenment, which would happen as if "in a flash" in the summer of 1908.

Based in Dublin since 1903, Markievicz became very much embedded in the Irish Revival and cultural renaissance as opposed to focusing her artistic talents on the continent. Her political involvement according to her own recollections would happen by chance, when living in Padriac Colum's cottage for a short period of time in 1908 and serendipitously coming across two Nationalist publications, *The Peasant* and *Sinn Féin*.[49] Her devoted interests in the Irish Revival permeated into her Nationalist ideologies. It was the notion of buying Irish goods, reading and re-telling Irish histories and the rejection of foreign fabrics, objects, art and philosophies that were at the core of Markievicz's Nationalist beliefs. In 1908, Markievicz expressed to George Russell (AE) her desire to become an active member of the fight for Ireland's freedom. Upon AE's behest in March of 1908 a reluctant Arthur Griffith, originally suspicious of Markievicz's involvement as he assumed that she was an English spy trying to infiltrate his organization, accepted her membership and Markievicz joined the Drumcondra branch of *Sinn Féin*.[50] Striving actively to become an integral and necessary part of the organization, Markievicz began giving radical and enthusiastic speeches under the auspices of *Sinn Féin*. In the summer of 1909 she was elected to the *Sinn Féin* executive[51] and almost concurrently,

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A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927 (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 23.

[49] Constance Markievicz, "Memories –Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, August 18, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[50] Constance Markievicz, "Memories –Mr. Arthur Griffith. The Sinn Féin Organization," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, August 18, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[51] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's vision of Ireland 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 24.

Markievicz began writing for the Nationalist woman's periodical *Bean na hÉireann*[52]. The year 1909 also saw Markievicz's founding of the *Fianna na hÉireann* (soldiers of Ireland), her counter-blow to the English Baden-Powell organization. This boy scouts organization is what Markievicz is primarily known for. In regards to her inspiration for such an organization she stated:

> If I can appeal to the youth of the country, organize and educate them to the folly of hoping for anything of value from the English government. Let us make use of anything and everything at our disposal in the way of libraries and technical schools, Irish classes where they could learn folk songs and dances and give the youth a good healthy outdoor point of view. Then I would be moving in the right direction.[53]

The *Fianna na hÉireann* was formed in Dublin with branches throughout Ireland. Additionally, there were a number of branches in Belfast including a girl's regimen called the Betsey Gray *Sluagh*.[54] From 1908 through to 1913, Markievicz became heavily involved with Jim Larkin and James Connolly, and the Labour Movement becoming an integral part of the Lockout of 1913. Ina Connolly-Heron remembers:

> She threw in her lot with them and worked day and night, giving unsparingly the very best that was in her, where many and other might have lagged. Her first consideration was to get things going. She pleaded with and encouraged all her friends to throw their weight on the side of the poor of Dublin. She organized a soup kitchen at Liberty Hall. This was a highly necessary project and was an immediate success.[55]

Markievicz became a member of both the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen's Army (ICA) that year and under the auspices of the ICA, Markievicz fought as second-in-command under Michael Mallin during the 1916 Easter Rising. This

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[52] *Bean na hÉireann* was conceived in February of 1909. It was conceptualized by Helena Molony and supported by the woman's Nationalist organization *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*. Markievicz wrote under the pseudonyms Maca and Armid. Many of the other contributors wrote under similarly Gaelic warrior inspired pseudonyms as well. It ran for roughly two years of publication. *Bean na hÉireann* and Markievicz's role within will be discussed at great length in Chapter Two: The Activism.

[53] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 2-3. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.

[54] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 2-3. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.

[55] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 6. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.

Rising sent sixteen leaders of the Rebellion to death including Padraic Pearse and James Connolly. What is left out of most historical narratives is that there were eighteen leaders that day, seventeen men and one woman. Markievicz too was sentenced to death, however "commute[d]"[56] to "mercy solely and only on account of her sex"[57] an unexpected reversal of fate cauterizing Markievicz's insatiable crusade for self-sacrifice in the name of a free Ireland. This moment in Markievicz's life will be a recurring topic of analysis throughout this dissertation and discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. In 1918 Markievicz became the first woman elected to the British House of Commons although she did not take her seat.[58] In 1919 along with the other *Sinn Féin Teachta Dala* she formed the first *Dáil Éireann* of the provisional government.[59] As a result, she was the first woman in Europe to hold a cabinet position, the Minister of Labour of the Irish Republic, 1919-1922.[60] In 1927, Markievicz died from peritonitis as a result of working in the Dublin poorhouses. Regarding Markievicz's life work and dedication to Ireland's fight for freedom Sydney Gifford Czira observed: "Should anyone attempt to describe the talents and recount the activities of Constance de Markievicz. to an audience who had never known her, he would seem to be talking not of one woman alone, but of a whole company of great women."[61]

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[56] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[57] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[58] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 9. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch. Subsequent biographies on Markievicz also reveal this information.
[59] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 9. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch. Subsequent biographies on Markievicz also reveal this information.
[60] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 9. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch. Subsequent biographies on Markievicz also reveal this information.
[61] "Jackeen", "Constance de Markievicz – A Memory," in *Sydney Gifford Czira Papers*. MS. 18,817. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Laying the Groundwork: Ireland's early theatre

Although Ireland enjoyed theatre as entertainment for several centuries, in the early twentieth century it would become a means by which Ireland would try to define itself and celebrate and build upon its own distinctive history and culture. Lady Augusta Gregory and William Butler Yeats called upon Irish artists to draw on Ireland's indigenous folk tradition and memory for a new means of expressing oneself in defiance of England. In the 1890s, a renaissance of Irish theatre was on the horizon. It was most notably documented in 1897, when Lady Augusta Gregory, William Butler Yeats and Edward Martyn recognised Ireland's need for a mechanism that would give voice to the emerging Irish nation.[62] From this meeting, Gregory, Martyn, and Yeats established the Irish Literary Theatre. The founders of the Literary Theatre proposed to develop a theatre that would enforce artistic values over commercial success and most importantly be: "rooted firmly in Irish soil"[63], anticipating Constance Markievicz's similar political and cultural philosophies of Irish indigenousness.

As is well documented, the Theatre's mission statement would express the desire 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."[64] Yeats declared he was looking to develop a "Unity of Culture."[65] They therefore proposed a theatre "which, though made up of many minds, would seem the work of a

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[62] August Gregory recalls this meeting in her book: *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter of Autobiography* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1913), 6-7.
[63] James W. Flannery, *W.B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 134-5.
[64] Augusta Gregory, *Our Irish Theatre: A Chapter of Autobiography* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1913), 9.
[65] W. B. Yeats, *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats* (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1965), 170.

single mind."[66] In the early stage of the Abbey Theatre (1904-1916) Gregory, Yeats and their contemporaries were determined to return to Irish mythology to unify their theatrical voice, thus, a return to Irish 'ideals' in drama.[67] Declan Kiberd suggests that: "This is the overwhelming ambition of many great writers to create a new genre in the act of destroying another."[68] The founders originally anticipated their Theatre to run for three seasons, performing two or three plays each year at various theatre halls around Dublin. The Irish Literary Theatre met some success; however, the major criticism expressed by audiences and Yeats himself was that the English actors hired for the performances were ineffective at portraying Irishwomen and men specifically with regard to the rhythms of Irish speech and the subtleties of the Irish accent. As remedy to this problem, in 1903 Gregory and Yeats joined their company with the Irish National Dramatic Company led by William and Frank Fay resulting in the Irish National Theatre Society (INTS) now more commonly known as the Abbey Theatre.[69]

Among the company were Máire Nic Shiubhluigh and Sara Allgood, as well as Maud Gonne, founder of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann.* The *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* was established in April of 1900. It was a group, which consisted of all women who opposed the Irish Parliamentary Party and Home Rule partition promoting Ireland's complete independence from England. It is important to note, however, that while the *Inghinidhe* were an integral part of the early Irish National Theatre Society, later, they would defect and continue to organize cultural activities as part of their mission to promote national self-awareness. Constance Markievicz joined this organization in

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[66] W. B. Yeats, *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats* (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1965), 170.
[67] Moira Jean Maguire, *The Myth of Catholic Ireland: unmarried motherhood, infanticide and illegitimacy in the twentieth century* (Washington D.C.: The American University, 2002), 4.
[68] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: the literature of the modern nation* (London: Vintage, 1996), 117.
[69] Ernest Boyd, "The Dramatic Movement," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991), 396.

1908. The *Inghinidhe* would also publish *Bean na hÉireann* (Woman of Ireland), a Nationalist journal highlighting the responsibilities and contributions of women towards the Nationalist cause.[70] This periodical published several of Markievicz's lectures and speeches as well as her formative Nationalist women's column "The Woman With a Garden". Markievicz's contributions to this periodical will be analyzed at length in Chapter Two and referenced throughout this dissertation. With the involvement of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, political and cultural nationalism infused to achieve what Shaun Richards describes as the: "[...] manifestation sought to define and determine the basis of Irish claims for political independence from England [...]."[71]

Cultural nationalism is best defined by what it seeks to achieve, the definition and assertion of a group identity that is particular and distinctive. For Ireland this has meant achieving a renaissance of an indigenous Irish culture, without English influence, along with the preservation of the Irish language through cultural and theatrical performance. If the literature of the coloniser was one of the most effective factors in infiltrating the colonised nation then: "Style was the thing to be seized, the zone in which the battle of two civilizations would be fought out [...]"[72] While Yeats believed that from his style a complete man would be inferred, with the involvement of women's political and theatrical groups perhaps a complete nation would be formed. When Markievicz joined this political and cultural Nationalist charge she enhanced a new dramatic form and rhetorical forum, which hosted some of the

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[70] *The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives an online exhibition.* <http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.2.3.pdf>. Accessed: April 23, 2008.
[71] Shaun Richards, "Plays of [ever] changing Ireland," in *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Irish Drama*, ed., Shaun Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I., 2-3.
[72] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland: The literature of the modern nation* (London: Vintage Press, 1996), 117.

fiercest and most energetic fights for nationhood on both the page and the Irish national stage.

Woman-*As*-Ireland

Ireland had to act quickly to legitimize the cultural and political distinctiveness of the nation and the role of women was vital to this process. Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Anthony Bradley offer that:

> The study of gender in Ireland has been suppressed, with some notable exceptions, in the dominant male-centred discourses of historiography and literary criticism, which have until very recently assumed an understanding of culture that marginalizes gender in revising nationalism or in analyzing Ireland's postcolonial status. Not only that, but recognition of the contributions of women historians, writers, and critics, has, as a consequence, been slow to come.[73]

This dissertation aims to illuminate the many diversified and complex ways in which Constance Markievicz engaged with and contributed to Ireland's struggle for Independence. While the majority of literature, historical accounts and historiographies fail to reflect this engagement, Markievicz's and further women's roles within promoting and achieving nationalism were diverse, multi-faceted and dynamic. Benedict Anderson has argued that: "Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse."[74] In rooting out the Nationalist work achieved by Constance Markievicz and her roles as both artist and activist, this dissertation offers a series of artefacts, such as playtexts, journalistic endeavours, lectures and moments of heroic activism and self-representation with which to define and analyse Irish nationalism during its nation-building process. Revisiting the first twenty-seven years of twentieth-century Ireland with regards to its political, social and cultural histories, this dissertation aims to locate a more complete

[73] Anthony Brady and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, eds., *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 2.
[74] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991), 3.

history and a broader range of theatrical and symbolic possibility for women as well as to confront the various depictions of women that were created in the shadow of the masculine Irish nationalism that stand to be revised or challenged.

Why has the Ireland-as-mother or wife icon been so effective in Nationalist rhetoric? It coincides with Ireland's sanctuary of the home and mother 'the patron saint' of it, however, is that imagery enough to move a nation? Antoinette Quinn suggests that it is a combination of the Nationalist defended institution of motherhood and the home, as well as a covert sexuality that appealed to the conservative and sexually repressed Irish Nationalist male.[75] Many years later after the 1916 Easter Rising and the subsequent execution of rebel leader and poet Padraic Pearse, Margaret Pearse, his mother, became a living icon and representative of the selfless mother who gave up her son for the freedom of Ireland. Certainly the ever-present iconography of the Virgin Mary reinforced this ideology. Elizabeth Cullingford describes Mary's role as "the embodiment of maternity reinforces a biological insistence on woman's function as reproducer and nurturer, while adoration of her paradoxical virginity masks a hatred of the unclean female body."[76] James Moran suggests that Pearse became fixated on the "sacrificial ideology embodied in the relationship of Christ and the Virgin Mary."[77] Further, while in his cell awaiting execution by British forces as a result of the Easter Rising, he started to become particularly obsessed with comparisons between his mother and the Mother of God, however, his mother Margaret lost two sons in the Nationalist struggle, making her twice as dutiful. Pearse

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[75] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 46.
[76] Elizabeth Cullingford cited in James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 23.
[77] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 41.

penned two poems while awaiting execution entitled, 'A Mother Speaks' and 'To My Mother'.[78]

Mary Daly has observed that: "The political independence [that] was marked by a decline in the status of women has almost become a truism."[79] Woman's role was confined to the home. Irish iconography would further support this definition and use women to depict a symbolic homeland, 'Mother Ireland'; a figure lost, or damaged.[80] The virility of man and the purity of woman were ideal qualities in a Nationalist. Tamar Meyer contends that:

> In offering myths of Mother Ireland...this dual concept of chastity and rural utopia is posited against all that England stood for ... [and]...ultimately reflects the social forces which amalgamated to carry through the successful Nationalist revolution of 1922."[81]

In addition to this contradiction to the English woman, Ireland as mother or maiden, an institution that needs to be preserved, has other negative and sexist implications as well. Ania Loomba explains: "Women and nations have too often been configured as interchangeable terrain on which colonial power could be deployed."[82] In essence, this depiction of Ireland as maiden or mother romanticizes the ideals of womanhood and motherhood, negating the actual complexities of the Irish woman's plight. For Meyer:

> 'Purity,' 'modesty' and 'chastity' are common themes in national narratives of gender, nation and sexuality. [...] [W]hen a nation is constructed in opposition to the *Other* there emerges a profound distinction not only between *Us* and *Them* but more pointedly, between 'our' women and 'theirs'. Our women are always "pure" and "moral" while their women are "deviant" and "immoral". [...] [T]he favoured members of the nation – the loyal sons – must defend *our* women's "purity" as well as the "moral code" of the nation.[83]

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[78] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 42.
[79] Mary Daly, cited in Karen M. Moloney, "Molly Astray: Revisioning Ireland in Brian Friel's *Molly Sweeney*," in *Twentieth Century Literature*, (Fall 2000) 18.
[80] Anna McMullan, "Unhomely stages: Women Taking (a), Place in Irish Theatre," in *Druids, Dudes and Beauty Queens: The Changing Face of Irish Theatre*, ed., Dermot Bolger (Dublin: New Island, 2001), 72.
[81] Tamar Meyer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.
[82] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 152.
[83] Tamar Meyer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.

Irishwomen have served as the battlefield for both the colonial and colonized, while their identities and contributions to the nation have been ignored or cast away in favour of this detail. The Irish in their efforts towards independence have failed to accommodate both sides of the populace. Loomba defends that while she does not wish to pit "symbolic" and "real" against each other, the Irish writer must remember that "symbolism shapes the real-life roles women are called upon to play."[84]

There are many historical accounts which favour the accomplishments of men such as Michael Collins, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith and Padraic Pearse, however, what is often overlooked are the many stories or as Diarmaid Ferriter has noted "hidden histories"[85] which were occurring concurrently to their efforts. These efforts, specifically those of Ireland's revolutionary women, need to be brought to the forefront in an effort to complete the Irish story of nation-building. This dissertation intends to add to the growing body of scholarship concerning women and women's involvement in Ireland's political and cultural struggle for Independence by recovering the extraordinary efforts of Nationalist artist and activist Constance Markievicz. The next section of this Introduction will address the conditions in early twentieth-century Dublin with regards to the roles of women in spite of their responsibilities within the familial sphere and those, like Markievicz, who have challenged such pre-State or rather, Nationalist prescribed expectations.

Women and Irish Nationalism

Women throughout Ireland's history have engaged with nationalism in many varied and complex ways. However, the majority of plays performed on the Irish

[84] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 152.
[85] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004).

stage have failed to reflect this engagement. Instead, the majority of male-authored plays performed have often depicted women within a narrow range of cultural stereotypes, while women's actual roles within nationalism were comprehensive, exciting and essential. The greatest example of this contribution rests with the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* [The Daughters of Erin]. Established by Maud Gonne in 1900, the *Inghinidhe* were formed out of a protest against Queen Victoria's visit to Ireland in which she awarded 5,000 school children 'treats' as a thank you for their pledge of loyalty to England. The *Inghinidhe na hÉireann's First Annual Report* details such event:

> On the occasion of Queen Victoria's last visit to Ireland, the flunkeys and place-holders of Dublin, unable to get up any popular demonstration of welcome for her, tried to make use of the innocent children, and in the English Queen's name, invited all the school children of Ireland to attend a demonstration, in the Phoenix Park, special cheap excursions trains being run, and free tickets given to children from all parts of Ireland.[86]

The First Annual Report states that out of 35,000 students who were invited most "[...] resisted the inducement of cakes, sweets and oranges held out by the jingo proselytizers" only 5,000 "[...] allowed themselves to be dragged to the Phoenix Park and paraded before the English Queen." [87] As a reaction to this and as a show of support for their "brave little ones"[88] Maud Gonne along with her female cohorts organized "the Patriotic Children's Treat"[89] and gathered 30,000 Irish school children in Clonturk Park and fed them inflammatory speeches through straight verse as well as small plays and tableaux. This occurred on Saturday the 1st of July 1900 and as a result the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* would officially see its first protest and performance in the name of Irish nationalism. Gonne would be elected president of this organization created solely for and by women and while she was born in England

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[86] *Inghinidhe na hÉireann First Annual Report.* IR 94109, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[87] *Inghinidhe na hÉireann First Annual Report.* IR 94109, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[88] *Inghinidhe na hÉireann First Annual Report.* IR 94109, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[89] *Inghinidhe na hÉireann First Annual Report.* IR 94109, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

and her father was a British solider, Gonne in a letter to W.B. Yeats declared: "I have always been instinctively Nationalist."[90]

The *Inghinidhe* would adopt St. Brigid as its patron and set its agenda as being political, social and Suffragist by nature. The women of the Sisterhood opposed the Irish Parliamentary Party and Home Rule and fought for complete autonomy from England and full independence for Ireland. The organization did support the Irish-Ireland movement, a concept developed by *Sinn Féin*, which promoted the notion of self-reliance that included free meals for children in school and women's suffragism.[91] By capitalizing on the interlacing boundaries between political and cultural nationalisms, The *Inghinidhe* simultaneously occupied the public and private, cultural and political, individual and communal spheres. Margaret Ward cites an example of such by revealing that all children attending the *Inghinidhe's* classes, which aimed to teach them of their cultural inheritance, were also pledged never to enlist in the British Army or Navy.[92] The *Inghinidhe* was committed to achieving Irish independence by any means necessary while simultaneously increasing the visibility of women's involvement within the Irish Nationalist cause. Groups such as the Gaelic League, tried to maintain an apolitical stance but political agendas often bled into the ideals of the organisation. The *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, however, embraced the infusion of their politics with culture, maintaining that it would do anything necessary to achieve its primary aim: "[t]he re-establishment of the complete independence of Ireland."[93] Often the *Inghinidhe's* unwavering political stance

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[90] Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares, *Gonne-Yeats Letters 1893-1938* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 438.
[91] *The 1916 Rising: Personalities and Perspectives.* <http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/3.2.3.pdf, article 3.2.3.>. Accessed: April 23, 2008.
[92] Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism* (Dublin: Attic Press, 1995), 21.
[93] Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism* (Dublin: Attic Press, 1995), 19.

obstructed the woman's roles as Suffragists for it usually supported the political objectives of a conservative *Sinn Féin* agenda. Markievicz would later join this group in 1908 at the behest of friend and fellow artist and activist, Helena Molony. While initially suspect of Markievicz, the *Inghinidhe* accepted her and the *Inghinidhe* served as a platform for Markievicz's many outlets for her talent. Later Markievicz would tell Molony that it is was the initial dismissing of her that attracted Markievicz to the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, as it was "the first time she had been any place that she was not kowtowed to as a countess.[94]

The *Inghinidhe* had an unvarying attention to symbols, gestures and associations. Its gendered title was deliberate. As Quinn states: "[...] its adoption of sisterhood as an organizational model signifies the women's conscious defiance of the current male monopoly of political activism and the homosocial bonding promoted in Nationalist ballads and songs."[95] The *Inghinidhe* understood that theatre was a massive tool in promoting Irish nationalism and defining Irish identity. Maud Gonne travelled to Belfast to see Alice Milligan's *tableaux vivants*. Milligan was born Protestant yet was an "indefatigable Suffragette and Nationalist"[96] and her acting, playwriting and directing abilities were an integral part of the 1898 centenary of the 1798 United Irishman Rising.[97] The *Inghinidhe* created a small drama company, which began their canon with *tableaux vivants*, the first of which were performed the

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[94] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 61.
[95] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 40.
[96] Mark Phelan, "Beyond the Pale," Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell and Patricia O'Connor," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 110.
[97] Mark Phelan, "Beyond the Pale," Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell and Patricia O'Connor," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 110.

in addition to a cottage *ceilidh*[98] in the Antient Concert Rooms on Easter Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, 1901 to raise money for children's classes. This company would soon be absorbed into the Irish Literary Theatre subsequently known as the Irish National Theatre Society. The *Inghinidhe's tableaux* would depict events in Irish history, Irish song, or Irish legends. In 1901 Alice Milligan was enlisted[99] to direct while William Fay produced and his brother Frank taught stagecraft and elocution to the players.[100] Quinn states that the *Inghinidhe* was "the first Nationalist theatre organization to recognize the desirability of training an Irish theatre troupe to perform specifically Irish plays [...]."[101] Using an all Irish cast and celebrating only Irish Nationalist histories, the *Inghinidhe* emphatically supported and promoted an 'authentic' Irish narrative as counter to the English dominated theatre, music, and literature in the early twentieth century. The organization's self-proclaimed aims included:

> To encourage the study of Gaelic, of Irish literature, History, Music and Art, especially among the young, by the organising and teaching of classes for the above objects [...]. To discourage the reading and circulation of low English literature, the singing of English songs, the attending of vulgar English entertainments at the theatres and music hall, and to combat in every way English influence, which is doing so much injury to the artistic taste and refinement of the Irish people.[102]

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[98] Defined by Antoinette Quinn as: "an innovative form [which] was a concert where the repertoire of music, songs, and recitations was exclusively Irish and the stage set was an Irish peasant kitchen." Source: Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland* eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, eds., (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 42.

[99] Mark Phelan, "Beyond the Pale" Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell and Patricia O'Connor in Melissa Sihra, ed., *Women in Irish Drama* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 110. Phelan cites a letter written to Milligan by Maire Quinn on behalf of Maud Gonne stating, "We were so please to hear...that you were interested in this project and had so kindly promised to give us the benefit of your experience and assistance in carrying them [the *tableaux*] out..."

[100] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds, Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 43.

[101] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds, Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 43.

[102] Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism* (Cork: Attic Press, 19915), 19.

An illustration of the *Inghinidhe's* infusion of artistry and activism occurred in June of 1901 when the *Inghinidhe* organized a series of *tableaux vivants* as a counter entertainment to the Dublin Horse Show, a deeply loyalist and Anglo-Irish aristocratic event. The *Inghinidhe* wanted to present a Nationalist alternative to the show and performed a series of tableaux including Alice Milligan's *The Deliverance of Red Hugh* (1901), and P.T. MacGinley's *Eilis agus an Bhean Deirce* (*Lizzie and the Beggarwoman*) (1901).[103] These official goals would be inspired by Douglas Hyde's lecture "The Necessity for the De-Anglicanisation of Ireland" given in 1892. Hyde suggested that in lieu of merely degrading all that is English, Ireland should reinvent and reinvigorate its own cultural tradition. Hyde's lecture was seen as the starting point for cultural nationalism in Ireland and the founders of the *Inghinidhe* subsequently agreed with Hyde in what P.J. Matthews deems as: "the realization that the Irish had accepted London as the centre of culture and civilisation for too long."[104]

As the *Inghinidhe* began to use theatrical means more and more to promote their cause, in 1902 the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* under the auspices of the Irish National Dramatic Company staged AE's *Deirdre* and Augusta Gregory's and W.B.Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*[105]. Phelan notes that Milligan's plays "partially paved the way, dramaturgically, visually and politically, for the most famous stage entrance in theatre history: Maud Gonne's onstage embodiment of *Kathleen ni*

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[103] Sinead McCoole in her book recounts, when Yeats saw Alice Milligan's *The Deliverance of Red Hugh*, he was amazed with the power and effectiveness of Irish plays performed with an authentic Irish accent. He therefore decided that he wanted all of his plays performed by players with Irish accents. Yeats believed that the first efforts of the Irish Literary Theatre were failures because his and Edward Martyn's plays were performed by English actors. Source: *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), 22.

[104] P. J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, The Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 8.

[105] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 24-25.

Houlihan in Yeats's and Gregory's 1902 drama."[106] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh describes Gonne's entrance:

> There were no dressing-rooms. We had to dress upstairs and get backstage through the auditorium before the audience began to arrive. This meant that if there were any late-comers amongst the cast they would have to show themselves to the audience before the curtain went up. Maud Gonne arrived late the first night and caused a minor sensation by sweeping through the auditorium in the ghostly robes of the Old Woman in *Kathleen ni Houlihan* the minutes before we were due to begin. Frank Fay pursed his lips and stamped away in annoyance from his peep-hole in the proscenium when he saw the occurrence. 'Unprofessional!' he called it...[107]

Markievicz would 'hear the call' of *Kathleen ni Houlihan* six years later, *Kathleen's* promise "If a man would help me, he must give me himself, give me all"[108] became Markievicz's personal Nationalist motto[109], ignoring the gendered specificity of such a call. It is often questioned as to whether or not *Kathleen ni Houlihan* would have been as successful if Gonne did not create this role, for when this play debuted she was at the pinnacle of her Nationalist career and had a presence so captivating, that she could move a nation.[110] Nic Shiulbhluigh continues about Gonne: "Watching her, one could readily understand the reputation she enjoyed as the most beautiful woman in Ireland, the inspiration of the whole revolutionary movement."[111] With Gonne in the title role for three performances on April 2nd, 3rd and 4th, 1902 at St. Theresa's Hall on Clarendon Street in Dublin[112], the Irish National Dramatic Company would soon become absorbed into the Irish National Theatre Society and hence the

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[106] Mark Phelan, "Beyond the Pale," Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell and Patricia O'Connor in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 114.
[107] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 24-25.
[108] August Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan, " in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 9.
[109] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 155. Letter to Eva Gore-Booth dated September 21, 1916.
[110] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 26.
[111] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 26.
[112] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 25.

Inghinidhe's influence on the conception of the Abbey Theatre. This involvement would also lead to the acting careers of Sara Allgood and Maire O'Neil as they too were Inions (members of the *Inghinidhe*).

The women of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* were typically young working women enjoying an unprecedented freedom in Ireland. As Sinead McCoole suggests, their efforts were exceptional especially in a time when to even "[...] hold an Irish outlook or to profess Nationalism was not only 'unladylike' but 'disreputable.'"[113] Herein lays a notable contradiction. Finding their place within the always shifting terrain that is suffragism and nationalism, the *Inghinidhe* like Markievicz, seemingly put nationalism and their Nationalist efforts before their Suffragist concerns, however, when they spoke out in favour of the Nationalist effort, they were inherently revolutionary women because for a woman's voice to be heard was radical in its own right. Therefore, their strong activist voices and artistic sentiments contributed to a greater visibility for women's groups and roles within the community. As militant Nationalists dedicated to promoting Ireland's independence from England, the *Inghinidhe* found themselves in a difficult position. The *Inghinidhe* understood that depicting Ireland as a mother and the Irish nation as her family was impermeable imagery, as it made the unity of the nation and love of Ireland organic, an absolute necessity in promoting complete autonomy for Ireland. Alternatively, perhaps they realized that this now customary feminised representation was giving enormous leverage to the political male enthusiast, and positioned themselves as daughters versus mothers. This adaptation of Nationalist iconography became a direct rejection of The Gaelic League. The Gaelic League, founded by Douglas Hyde in 1893, concentrated primarily on the reinforcement of Irish as a spoken and literary

[113] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), 23.

language. Not only was its revival seen as a means of preserving the Irish language and Ireland's national identity, it sought to accomplish the 'de-Anglicising' of the Irish people. The League believed that the Irish language was fundamental to the Nationalist's plight and the fight for a free Ireland. According to the League, essential to the preservation and teaching of the Irish language was the mother, as she alone was responsible for the sanctuary of the home. The League idealized the mother emphatically stating:

> [...] the characters of the future citizens of the country are built up in the chimney corner, where a woman tells stories in the twilight to wide-eyed listeners [...] the spark struck on the hearthstone will fire the soul of the nation. If we make our hearthsides Irish we make Ireland Irish [...] if the Gaelic League could get a thorough grip of the cradles all over the country, and keep that grip, its work would be assured.[114]

Considering that the Gaelic League recruited females yet had only a few women on its founding board, the only way to get this grip on these cradles was to inflate and idealize the value of the mother. This presented a problem for the *Inghinidhe* because any organization that inflated the maternal consequently deflated their power as legitimate and equal political activists and essentialised woman's position in Irish society.

It was not until 1903 at the premiere[115] of J.M. Synge's first produced play *In the Shadow of the Glen,* in spite of the death of Anna Johnston, a vice president of the *Inghinidhe*, that the sisterhood launched its first protest on the 'woman-as-Ireland' iconography. The conservative Irish audience negatively reacted to Synge's play, however, not because of Nora's burden but because of what they saw as the

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[114] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre" in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 41.

[115] *Glen* was produced by the then Irish National Theatre Society along with W.B. Yeats's *The King's Threshold* and Gregory's and Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, Maud Gonne did not play 'Kathleen' in this production. Source: Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 111.

misrepresentation of the virtuous Irish woman. Arthur Griffith, leader of the *Sinn Féin* and a fervent Irish Nationalist lashed out against Synge's production in his October 24, 1903 issue of the *United Irishman* and emphatically stated his disapproval with Synge's play. He maintained that Synge's portrayal was a lie and it would not "serve Ireland"[116] nor "exalt Art."[117] Griffith declared that no matter how unhappy the Irish woman might be in her marriage, "she does not go away with the Tramp [...] Irishwomen are the most virtuous women in the world."[118] This could be seen as Griffith's way of laying the groundwork for the later 1937 Constitution stating the Nation's rejection of divorce and confinement of the woman within her home was paramount no matter how dreadful the consequence.

To the *Inghinidhe*, the Irish woman in Synge's play was the sacrificial lamb to the efforts of a political male activist. The *Inghinidhe's* official stance was that they "disapproved of the Society's de-nationalized attitude to female representation as manifested in its staging of *In the Shadow of the Glen* [...]"[119] and the displacement "of the woman-nation's troubles and their replacement by the personal distress of Synge's Nora Burke."[120] As Gonne expressed to Yeats in a letter regarding *Glen*: "It is not helpful."[121] As a result, Maud Gonne, Maire Quinn, honorary secretary of the *Inghinidhe* and former cast member of *Kathleen ni Houlihan* along with Dudley Digges, the man who created the role of Michael Gillane in *Kathleen,* walked out of

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[116] *The United Irishmen*, October 24, 1903. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[117] *The United Irishmen*, October 24, 1903. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[118] *The United Irishmen*, October 24, 1903. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[119] Antoinette Quinn "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 48.
[120] Antoinette Quinn "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 48.
[121] Anna MacBride White and Norman Jeffares, *Gonne-Yeats Letters 1893-1938* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 190.

the premiere.[122] Their protest was on behalf of the original cast of *Kathleen ni Houlihan,* the *Inghinidhe* and its sponsors and they would relinquish their connection with the National Theatre Society. In a letter from Gonne to Mr. Russell (AE) Gonne writes:

> I wish to resign my position as Vice-President of the N.T. Society. When I joined the Society I understood it was formed to carry on National and propagandist work by combating the influence of the English stage. I find it has considerably changed its character and ideals and while I shall always be interested and glad of its success, I can no longer take an active part in the direction and work.[123]

It was believed that Synge's attempt at protesting the right to artistic freedom was as Quinn articulately states: "[...] pitted against the demand for a Nationalist art, and turned on the representation of the Irish peasant woman's sexuality."[124] This position is entirely believable, as the Woman-as-Ireland representation was all encompassing at this time in Ireland's theatrical history. Nora was the next Kathleen and if this was to be the case, this bastardization of the untouchable Woman-as-Ireland archetype was unacceptable. Evidence of Ireland's protest at this specifically Irish representation was most apparent in the audience's reaction to a production of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, running almost simultaneously in Dublin at The Queen's Theatre during the summer of 1903. Joseph Holloway observed that throughout the play some members of the audience at The Queen's Theatre were chattering, drinking, walking in and out at inappropriate moments and completely impervious to Nora's potential walkout at the end of the performance.[125] This reveals that it was not just

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[122] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 112.
[123] In a letter dated sometime after *Glen's* premiere in 1903 from Maud Gonne MacBride to George Russell (AE). Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares, eds., *The Gonne-Yeats Letters 1893-1938: Always Your Friend* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 178.
[124] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 48.
[125] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, *Laying the Foundations 1902-1904* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, Inc., 1976), 65.

woman but rather only the image of Woman-as-Ireland that held the power to move or provoke the audience. Ibsen's Nora could go anywhere she wanted, but Synge's Nora would not be distorted or represented in an immoral way.[126]

Synge's play is the first to confront an Irishwoman's internal conflicts and her personal angst within her home, her sexuality, and her unhappy marriage. With a contemporary reader's sensibilities, it is at first glance revolutionary. However, to the women of the Sisterhood it is believed that Synge was placing the angst of Ireland as woman-nation on the shoulders of Nora Burke. Nora's personal distress and in essence, the Irishwoman's personal distress, was seen to be exploited by Synge in an effort to create a controversial play. Again as Loomba argues women's bodies became "[...] the terrain on which colonial power could be deployed."[127] In this case, it was the terrain on which the Nationalist struggle was fought. Synge displaced the troubles of dependent Ireland and replaced it with Nora Burke's troubles, a female character with so much symbolic potential, however, as seen by the *Inghinidhe* severely distorted for a Nationalist effort. This is where one of the many tensions between Nationalists and Suffragists lay. It was not so much that they agreed with Griffith but rather disagreed with placing the burden of Ireland's fight for Independence on the shoulders of the Irishwoman.

While as both actress and activist, Gonne was operating on a very slippery slope. She was either the activist behind the character or the character herself. For Gonne this delineation was often blurred. Having also achieved a level of celebrity in Dublin, she was constantly in a state of performance as she was no longer just Gonne but also *Kathleen ni Houlihan* herself. Maire Nic Shiubhluigh described Gonne as

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[126] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland,* Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 48.
[127] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 152.

unforgettable with her "rich golden hair, willow-like figure, pale sensitive face, and burning eyes [...]."[128] Through her personal ties with the Nationalist endeavours and her remarkable presence and notability, Maud Gonne, ironically one of Ireland's earliest Suffragists would personify the archetype of Ireland as woman[129]. Gonne was the embodiment of the entanglement between political and cultural activism. In an effort to reconcile her dual position and the dissonance between *Kathleen ni Houlihan* and *In the Shadow of the Glen,* Gonne wrote her own play *Dawn* (1904) that was aimed at creating a woman-centred narrative that would according to Gonne, present a more accurate alternative to the representation of the Irishwoman in the Nationalist narrative. Her play was never performed and it was only published twice in Ireland's history: first in *The United Irishman* in 1904 and again in a collection entitled *Lost Plays of the Irish Renaissance*[130] in 1970. The *Inghinidhe* issued their first journal *Bean na hÉireann* (Woman of Ireland) in 1908, Markievicz was responsible for etching the masthead and contributed journalistically throughout all three years of the periodical's publication. In *Bean na hÉireann* the *Inghinidhe* launched their second protest on the Woman-as-Ireland iconography and spoke out about and against the idealizing of the "pretty barefooted, red-petticoated cailin" stating that this imagery and romanticisation of her poverty was contributing to her neglect and the massive emigration of the peasant woman to countries such as America, Australia, and England.[131]

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[128] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 25.

[129] Máire Nic Shiubhluigh, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 26.

[130] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, eds., *The Lost Plays of the Irish Renaissance* (California: Proscenium Press, 1970).

[131] From *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 16, 1909. IR 3996 B15. 1910. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

The *Inghinidhe's* involvement with male Nationalists' efforts was both subversive yet purposeful. Mary Trotter writes: "To deny *Inghinidhe's* place in the history of Irish theatre is to veil the true heterogeneity of cultural identity within the Irish Nationalist movement [...]"[132] The *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* created the first Nationalist theatre in Ireland thereby causing us to continue to renegotiate, 'pluralize' and 'unveil' the true account of the Irish political and cultural history. Chapter One takes a closer look at Gonne's *Dawn* and interrogates how it thematically speaks to Constance Markievicz's plays.

The Nation's Narrative: a story only half told.

The national narrative of Ireland's history has relied primarily on the sacrifices and stories of a select few to express the experience of the whole of a nation, for Kiberd: "In Ireland autobiography of self becomes autobiography of nation."[133] Undoubtedly the words and actions of men such as Eamon de Valera, Michael Collins and Charles Stewart Parnell echo in history books and historical fictions alike.[134] Colm Toibín has most acutely recognised this privileging: "[...] the critical moments in Irish history seem more like a nineteenth-century novel in which the individual, tragic hero is burdened by the society he lives in. We have no communards, no rabble in the streets. Instead we have personal sacrifice as a metaphor for general sacrifice."[135] This over-privileging of the personal narratives of such a select few results in an edited or rather censored version of Ireland's history. By focusing on these narratives, traditionally masculine, we inadvertently tell half Ireland's story. Ferriter further warns us of the danger of "acute nostalgia; of shelter from modern-day

[132] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 99.
[133] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London: Vintage Press, 1996), 119.
[134] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 21.
[135] Colm Toibín, *The Penguin Book of Irish Fiction* (London: Penguin, 1999), ix.

concerns by taking mid-century political rhetoric and promises at face value, and applauding a revolutionary generation for the dignity of their aspiration rather than their concrete achievements."[136] While the Irish and those of Irish descent in satellite Irish communities abroad celebrate these personal sacrifices, the complexities and contradictions in the history of Ireland's quest for autonomy are ample especially when we consider women's roles within it.

Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century found itself tentatively resting within the eye of a great storm. With the modest success enjoyed by the agricultural sector due to the downfall of the landlord class, prosperity in rural, farming communities and consequently, middle classes in urban centres began to grow. This resulted in spite of the southern provinces of Ireland being on the outskirts of the Industrial Revolution, which alternatively had a great impact on the northern province of Ulster, specifically, Belfast. Since the Catholic emancipation of 1829, led by Daniel O'Connell, the number of Catholics enjoying an unprecedented freedom began to rise in the South reaching 89.6 percent of the population in 1911.[137] Parnell's death in 1892 at the end of the failed Home Rule revolution did not truncate Ireland's will to prove it was capable of self-governance as well as its: "[...] intellectual, political and cultural self-reliance."[138] There were many practical and immediate obstacles in the way of such self-reliance and the romantic notion of an independent Ireland. Obscured by Charles Stuart Parnell's story and therefore often overlooked are Anna and Fanny Parnell's accomplishments. In the late 1890's Anna and Fanny Parnell organized the Ladies' Land League. When their brother Charles Stuart Parnell and his cohorts were imprisoned, the sisters were expected only to maintain the

[136] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (New York: Overlook Press, 2004), 4.
[137] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (New York: Overlook Press, 2004), 29.
[138] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (New York: Overlook Press, 2004), 32.

administrative duties and the public relations of the Land League. Alternatively, these women rigorously stepped up the number of protests and demonstrations in the west of Ireland and became somewhat more revolutionary and visible than their male counterparts. Trotter notes that: "The men of the Land League wanted the Ladies' Land League to perform clerical duties, but leave the major decisions (and public credit) for them."[139] Upon release from prison, Parnell ignored the Ladies' Land League and ceased funding their organization. This resulted in the Ladies' League collection of a five thousand pound overdraft. The Land League agreed to: "honour the debt only if the women agreed to relinquish their organization, yet stay on to review request for funding submitted to the Land League."[140] The Ladies' Land League was forced to disband and as a result Parnell's sister, Anna, never spoke to him again.[141] Markievicz reminds her female constituency of this male practiced marginalization in her 1915 lecture to the Irish Woman's Franchise League:

> The Ladies' Land League, founded by Anna Parnell, promised better things. When the men leaders were all imprisoned it ran the movement, and started to do the militant things that the men only threatened and talked of, but when the men came out, they proceeded to discard the women—as usual—and disbanded the Ladies' Land League. That was the last of women in national movements down to our time.[142]

After the Ladies' Land League disbanded, women who wanted to involve themselves politically had to join groups such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) or Irish Parliamentary Party.[143] By the very nature of the gendered title of the former group, women's involvement was next to non-existent.

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[139] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.
[140] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.
[141] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.
[142] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen," in *Irish Citizen* October 23, 1915, p. 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[143] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.

Conditions and Contributions of Women in Early Twentieth-Century Dublin

Catholic emancipation brought a modest freedom to many Irishwomen and Irishmen and therefore many were moving to urban areas to seek job opportunities. However, as the population of city centres began to grow so too did urban housing problems. In the years leading up to the momentous Easter Rising of 1916, Dublin was pervaded by squalor, inadequate housing and health conditions and was brimming with a negative tensile energy that would no doubt lead to either revolution or self-implosion. The 1911 Census declared Dublin as having the: "[...] worst housing conditions of any city in the United Kingdom [...] Tenements in inner-city Dublin were filthy, overcrowded, disease-ridden, teeming with malnourished children and very much at odds with the elite world of colonial and middle-class Dublin."[144] *The Irish Times* in a report entitled: "The real squalor in 'Strumpet City'" details an account of two nurses during the Tuberculosis crisis of 1916:

> Nurse Magrane made 269 visits to TB patients in their homes on the north side of Dublin city in April 1916. During the month, the city's Charles Street tuberculosis dispensary, close to Ormond Quay, was notified of 55 new north-side cases to add to the existing caseload of 567. Her colleague, Nurse McKenna, visited a further 153 TB patients. On the south side of the city the existing caseload was not so heavy at 537, but 44 new cases were notified in April, and nurses Considine and Murray visited 456 patients in their south city homes. Some 10 TB patients died in April, 10 houses were declared unsanitary, and 26 reported for disinfection. Their work was disrupted when the military authorities took possession of the clinic, remaining in occupation until May 1st, when the premises had to be disinfected before reopening for business.[145]

This report demonstrates that women were soldiers on all fronts of the political and social struggle within Dublin at the start of the twentieth century.

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[144] National Archives, *Census of Ireland, Dublin 1911*. <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/ >. Accessed: March 30, 2008.
[145] The Irish Times online, "The Real Squalor of 'Strumpet City,"
<http://www.ireland.com/focus/easterrising/sunday/article3b.htm.> Accessed: March 28, 2008.

In addition to poor healthcare and housing conditions, alcoholism and crime were prevalent on Dublin city streets amongst the poorer classes. *The Irish Times* documents that: "In 1910, the national average for crimes including rape and murder was 21.02 per 10,000. In Dublin, this rose to 100 per 10,000. Meanwhile, when 22 Dublin pubs were watched for a two-week period, it was reported that 46,574 women and 27,999 children frequented the bars during that time."[146] Mental illness and the care of the mentally ill was also a grave reality. Tim Pat Coogan points out in his book *1916: The Easter Rising*, "[...] Insanity frequently caused by drinking methylated spirits or turpentine was estimated at 63.5 per thousand".[147] Patients were admitted at the cost of seventy pounds per month, the family was billed although usually unable to afford it and usually admittance was for life.

Another institution that silenced and imprisoned women within the domestic sphere was the Magdalene Laundry. While the iconography of 'Mother Ireland' was central to the Nationalist enterprise, it was the unwed mothers of Ireland that needed the most help but were the most often neglected. Catholic nuns established these Magdalene Asylums for Ireland's "female offenders"[148], as a remedy for prostitution. In 1901 there were an estimated 45 women at the asylum in New Hope while at the same time at the Good Shepherd Institution in Cork there were approximately 196 'vagrant' girls. While poor-healthcare, wages, social constraints and inadequate housing are all extraordinarily restrictive circumstances the most startling example of an oppressive force rests specifically with the Catholic Church. The inmates were required to perform hard physical labour such as laundry work and other various

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[146] *The Irish Times online*, <http://www.ireland.com/focus/easterrising/eventfultimes/.>. Accessed: March 29, 2008.
[147] Tim Pat Coogan, *1916: The Easter Rising* (London: The Orion Press, 2005).
[148] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 48.

domestic and labour intensive tasks.[149] Named after St. Mary Magdalene, the supposed prostitute who reformed herself, repented for her sins and became one of Jesus' most devoted followers, these asylums at their recent close in 1996, incarcerated an estimated 30,000 women against their will. The reformation of prostitutes eventually led to the hopeful reform of women who became pregnant out of wedlock regardless of their circumstances. Rape or abuse was not considered an excuse or grounds for exemption from the Laundry. The nuns at said asylums were in receipt of £3,157 from the state in return for 'reforming' these girls.[150] These women were often the objects of abuse and unlawful incarceration for undiagnosed conditions of mental disability. All were subject to daily humiliation and were deprived of social relations and individuality. Today there lies a mass grave in Glasnevin Cemetery to these 'fallen' women. A tombstone details the names and dates of deaths of these women and as a testament of how insignificant these women were, some dates listed are on days of the month which do not even exist on a calendar, for example one woman is listed as having died on the 31st of April. Most women of the laundries were reduced to begging or prostitution within the Laundry and as Ferriter details in his book, in a publication of 1925 entitled, *Women of the Gael*: "In Ireland, whenever a child is born out of wedlock so shocked is the public sense by the very unusual occurrence that it brands with an irreparable stigma and to a large extent, excommunicates the woman guilty of the crime."[151] Markievicz was a keen advocate for both Ireland's mothers and Dublin's poor. One example of such was her establishing and serving at a soup kitchen for the starving in the Dublin Lock-Out of

[149] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 48.
[150] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 48.
[151] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 322-3.

1913.[152] Sebestyen notes that after Eva's death, Constance spent the last ten months of her life "quietly and almost entirely amongst the poor."[153] Markievicz is said to have contracted Peritonitis, the determined cause of her death, from working in the Dublin poor houses.[154]

The Signs and Symbols of an Independent Ireland

Declan Kiberd describes early twentieth century Ireland as: "[...] a nowhere [...] waiting for its appropriate images and symbols to be inscribed in it."[155] Unfortunately Woman-as-*Eire* found herself as the drafting board for most of this rhetoric and imagery. While promising and prestigious academic institutions seemed to contribute to an optimistic future for Ireland, there was an enormous gap between the romantic notions of Charles Stuart Parnell's and W.B. Yeats's Ireland and the grim reality Irish people were facing at the turn of the century. While the twentieth century brought optimism and improved agricultural conditions in rural areas and material conditions in urban centres, Ireland found itself at a crossroads. It was caught between the hangover from centuries of strife (such as famine, immigration and failed rebellion) and the promise of an independent and prosperous future. This crossroads is often where the cultural and political renaissances of the early twentieth century intertwine.

One group, which sought to define appropriate images and symbols, was The Gaelic League, founded by Douglas Hyde in 1893. This group concentrated primarily on the reinforcement of Irish as a spoken and literary language. Not only was its

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[152] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xi.
[153] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxxiii.
[154] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxxiii.
[155] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (London: Vintage Press, 1996), 115.

revival seen as a means of preserving the Irish language and Ireland's national identity, it sought to accomplish the 'de-Anglicising' of the Irish people. The League believed that the Irish language was fundamental to the Nationalist's plight and the fight for a free Ireland. Angela Bourke asserts that revisionist historians who have also discredited this patriarchal and repressive form of nationalism have inexorably discredited the language.[156] If this critique is made and applied to the League's promotion of the Irish language then the League is inevitably part of the marginalizing process. Essential to the preservation and teaching of the Irish language was the mother, as she alone was responsible for the sanctuary of the home. The League idealized the mother emphatically stating: "[...] If the Gaelic League could get a thorough grip of the cradles all over the country, and keep that grip, its work would be assured."[157] The League wanted to define the role of the mother strictly within the home and did not promote the image of Ireland-as-mother because it took her away from the family. This is one image and symbol, which would plague the women of Ireland for years to come.

As a result in its quest for autonomy, Ireland slowly became identified with the chaste, stoic woman reminiscent of the *aisling* figure in Gregory's and Yeats' *Kathleen Ni Houlihan*, who asked her sons to sacrifice themselves for Mother Ireland. It was, in part: "the Gaelic Nationalist myths of an Ireland who as Mother or Bride awaits redemption,"[158] combined with the Christian myth of blood sacrifice that fuelled the Nationalist movement of the early twentieth century. If these stereotypes

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[156] Angela Bourke, "Language, Stories, Healing," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 299-314.

[157] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back: Maud Gonne and Irish Nationalist Theatre," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 41.

[158] C.L. Innes, *Women and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1993), 47-53.

have a kernel of truth, nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland was seemingly pervaded by restrained, desexualized maidens who were weak and in need of the protection of their young, virile sons. Martin McCloone explains that: "[...] Those who must act are the sons; the role of the female is either to inspire or resist."[159] With the conversion of Ireland to Christianity came a male-dominated society, which allowed only certain female traits to be revered such as innocence, beauty and purity. These traits do not threaten, they inspire. Mary Condren believes that: "[...] the Irish story has...preserved for us the true nature of the event: the matricide that lies at the heart of patriarchal culture."[160] Condren continues: "The Irish male's obsession with history has given him a place to stand [...] but the sacred space of male history has often been carved out, literally, over the bodies of women."[161] In essence, the strong figure of the female was deflated in an effort to inflate the patriarch and the patriarchal myth. However, while traditional Nationalist, theatrical, political and sometimes even economical representations often depict a timeless, subordinate Irish woman, central to the home and the domestic space, the actual accomplishments of women in the early twentieth century compared to the opportunities that were available to them, are astonishing.

Mary Trotter describes Ireland, at the end of the nineteenth century, as a "morally conservative country" with "carefully delineated male and female spheres."[162] Women's worth in society was valued with regards to their relationships with men. She was daughter, wife, mother or sister. Regardless of work and involvement outside the domestic sphere, her duty was primarily to the home. Tasks

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[159] Martin McLoone, "Strumpet City – The Urban Working Class on Television," in *Television and Irish Society* (Dublin: RTE-IFI publication, 1984), 55-56.
[160] Mary Condren, *The Serpent and the Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), 43.
[161] Mary Condren, *The Serpent and the Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), xvii.
[162] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 75.

affiliated with the feminine such as sewing, cooking, child-care, were deemed "unskilled" or rather "natural labour".[163] If a woman worked outside the home, her efforts were only deemed valuable with consideration of how they complemented man's work at this time. Trotter suggests that Woman-as-nation imageries were where women were most useful. As *aisling* or *Shan Van Vocht*, she was incredibly powerful - as everyday labourer, she is seemingly useless.[164] Literally meaning 'vision' in Irish, an *aisling* is a vision poem and an allegorical form which Melissa Sihra describes as being particularly popular with Irish poets and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *aisling* is typically a beautiful young woman as metaphor for Ireland. The *Shan Van Vocht* in Irish means 'poor old woman'. It is another allegorical figure for Ireland. It also served as the title for Nationalist publication *Shan Van Vocht* published by Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston starting in 1896. Trotter defines a hyper-masculinity as the result of taking a 'helpless' woman in need of protection and pairing her with a virile man who is up to the task. She further surmises that: "Irish women became merely passive symbols of the nation-their bodies literally the terrain on which the colonial battle is fought."[165] Women were limited in their cultural, social and political representations and further, they were limited in their allowed contributions to everyday life. "Women's activism has been one of the driving forces behind change [...], from the early campaigns for suffrage, through to demands for greater personal and sexual freedom, and equality of treatment, participation and representation in all spheres of public life."[166] Unsurprisingly the road to freedom and equality was not an evenly paved one for the

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[163] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 76.
[164] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2007), 5.
[165] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 76.
[166] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2003), 6.

women of Ireland. In 1884 for example, only nine female graduates received their degrees from the Royal University of Ireland.[167] In 1898 the Local Government Act permitted women to vote for and to be elected for political seats only, however, within the County legislation. While many women did take advantage of this, they were typically voted into what Trotter describes as "feminine" positions such as advocates for the poor, the sick, and children, with no real legislative voice.[168] Women's roles were secured, however, confined to the local level as Poor Law officers or in public posts such as factory inspectors. While some equality was enjoyed during the pre-Famine and Famine years, the late 1880s proved that with every step forward there were two steps back. While these statistics are helpful in highlighting demographic shifts, they do not consider the specific "socio-economic, environmental and genetic factors"[169] which might detail the individual plights of individual women.[170] The constraints on women's roles within society and politics also contributed to a silencing of women's voices within the cultural sphere however, Myrtle Hill suggests: "[...] that even a cursory glance at the most prominent examples suggests that there was much hidden talent and unrecognised potential."[171] Women were not admitted into the Royal Hibernian Academy until the 1920s; however, many women contributed their work to the Hugh Lane Gallery in an effort to create a significant body of modern art in Dublin. Joan Fowler elaborates: "If at the turn of the twentieth century women artists were, with very few exceptions, regarded as little more than happy amateurs, the closing decades of the century indicate a substantial

[167] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 5.
[168] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.
[169] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 4.
[170] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 4.
[171] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 39.

increase in the numbers of professional women artists who regularly exhibit their work."[172]

Class, geographic location and what Hill defines as "wider economic factors" largely determined women's constraints and contributions.[173] Regardless of these factors, however, the home was considered the woman's domain with marriage and motherhood being a woman's primary goal for personal fulfilment. Hill recalls the sacrifices of several women in an attempt to preserve her family in dire times. She mentions Chrissie Hawkins who pawned her wedding ring the day after she was married so she could buy breakfast for her and her husband. Ellen Preston, for example, remembers:

> [...] I started selling when I was about twelve. Then I got married when I was 19 and the children started coming along and I was selling fruit and flowers off me pram. The men, there was no work for them and the women traders, they *had* to go out, they held the families together. Every day I pushed me pram, *every day*. Some days were miserable with the rain beating off me. If you get five shillings from the pram in them days that'd get you loads of bread and butter and milk. You were just making ends meet....but we reared our families.[174]

While a good husband was allegedly the goal of many women in the early twentieth Century, several went into marriage with little knowledge of her household and maternal responsibilities. Hill includes Sarah Hartney, a former domestic servant's account in 1940: "When you got married you were innocent and you knew nothing, marriage was very unknown. It was a kind of mystery to you. There was no one to tell you the facts of life and girlfriends wouldn't talk. We went like lambs to the slaughter."[175] There were some women's voices that overcame the silencing of this period. Political parties would only allow women to join auxiliary groups, if at all

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[172] Joan Fowler, cited in Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 8.
[173] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 16.
[174] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 19.
[175] Myrtle Hill, *Women in Ireland: a Century of Change* (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2003), 22.

and therefore, women's influence could only be social or cultural at this time. Involvement with groups such as the Gaelic League was permitted, as it was not an ardent political organization. The League sought to promote an indigenous Irish nationality on either side of the political spectrum. However, most historians will argue, that line was often blurred during this heavily Nationalist period. While limiting in their rhetoric, the League allowed women to "construct and perform" national identities alongside men which Trotter describes as "on the streets at rallies and outings, and on the stage through the *feis* (festival) and the *ceilí* (music and dance celebration)."[176]

In addition to the Gaelic League, the first twenty years of the twentieth century invited the organization or re-negotiation of many different organisations. Political groups and risings in Ireland during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have served the protagonists of many contemporary films, such as Neil Jordan's *Michael Collins* (1996) and novels such as Tim Pat Coogan's *Eamon de Valera: The Man Who Was Ireland* and *The IRA*.[177] Ireland's political history is complex, however, there tends to be a generic idea of Nationalist or Republican organisations giving primacy to those masculine histories, while in reality each specific group was varied and differed in their goals, opinions and political aspirations. William Rooney explains: "[...] with most of us politics has begun and ended with Parliamentarianism, but it surely needs but little thought to see that "politics", even in Ireland, is broader than its supposed synonym [...]"[178]

Before the establishment of The Irish Free State in 1922, Irish politics could be outlined in four distinct lines of development. There is often a determination to

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[176] Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 77.
[177] Barnes and Noble, 1999 and Palgrave, 2002; respectively.
[178] William Rooney, cited in P.J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, The Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 101.

create one coherent and consistent form of nationalism, however, as James Moran explains there is a: "[...] conjunction of diverse and often contradictory nationalism."[179] It is this need to create a coherent nationalism that often washes or universalises women's plights with the Nationalists. There are, however, various strands and where suffrage and nationalism is concerned Markievicz often crossed the divide. These strands include but are not limited to; radical nationalism – the underground Irish Republican Brotherhood established in 1858, which practiced "pure and simple republicanism."[180] There were the cultural Nationalists such as Gregory, Hyde, and Yeats who aimed for the renaissance of Irish culture and language. Constance Markievicz, James Connolly and the Irish Labour Movement believed in Irish Socialism, and finally the Home Rule Movement led by John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party. In 1905 Arthur Griffith formed *Sinn Féin*, which was a derivative of the radical Nationalists of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and would later be joined by Markievicz, de Valera and Harry Boland.

While there was a specific Home Rule party founded in 1870 the one common denominator for all these factions was an independent Ireland with its own governing body. In April of 1912, the House of Commons passed a third home rule bill which was opposed by militant republicans and Ulster Unionists who in September of that year drafted the Ulster "Solemn League and Covenant" which was signed by nearly 500,000 in protest of the Home Rule movement. In 1913 a Home Rule Bill passed in the House of Commons but was defeated by the House of Lords. The Ulster Volunteer Force was concurrently formed and as a result the Irish Volunteer Movement was organised in the South as well as the Irish Citizen Army. Amongst the most radical of republicans, there was a growth of dissatisfaction with the idea of

[179] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 5.
[180] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004), 36.

Home Rule leading to the Easter Rising of 1916. On the 24th of April 1916 the Rising occurred in Dublin one day later than planned; and the Proclamation of the Irish Republic was read by Padraic Pearse on the steps of Liberty Hall. The fighting was predominately led by members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Citizen Army. Constance Markievicz and Connolly were present on the front lines in spite of their affiliation with the Socialist Party. Markievicz, however, would later join the *Sinn Féin* movement and continue to play an integral role in the provisional government. The Rising lasted for one week and Nationalists were consequently defeated. *The Irish Times* reports: "In the immediate aftermath of the Rising, the authorities arrested 3,430 men and 79 women thought to be 'Sinn Féiners.'"[181] From the third of May until the twelfth, sixteen leaders of the Rising were shot in Kilmainham Jail including, Connolly and Padraic Pearse.

Markievicz who was on the front lines of the Rising, was stationed at St. Stephen's Green, appropriately so, as her nationalism was always linked with the spectacle of nature and the organic properties of the garden. It is only fitting that she be in defence of such a landscape in the founding moment of Ireland's modern military Rising. Markievicz while a member of both the Irish Citizen's Army (ICA) and *Cumann na mBan* (society of women) fought under the auspices of the ICA. Markievicz was appointed as one of two staff officers by Joseph Connolly and Commandant Michael Mallin was the other.[182] Markievicz notes in her own account of the Rising that: "There were a considerable number of ICA women."[183] Markievicz also writes that she: "was accepted by Tom Clarke and the members of

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[181] *The Irish Times online.* <http://www.ireland.com/focus/easterrising/aftermath/.> Accessed: May 12, 2008.

[182] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 37.

[183] Constance Markievicz's statement on her involvement in the 1916 Rising from "*Cumann na mBan*," vol. II, no. 10, Easter 1926, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 75-77.

the Provisional Government as the second of Connolly's 'ghosts'. Ghosts was the name we gave to those who stood secretly behind the leaders, and who were entrusted with enough of the plans of the Rising to enable them to carry on that leader's work should anything happen to himself."[184] Markievicz on the second day of the Rising took up in the College of Surgeons when supplies became scarce and the Green too hostile for soldiers. The Rising was suppressed after seven days of fighting. Markievicz was held on trial at Kimainham Gaol for execution alongside the other eighteen leaders of the Rising. Eamon de Valera was reprieved due to his American citizenship while Markievicz was sentenced to death yet was reprieved solely due to her gender.[185]

Initially the popular consensus amongst Nationalists was that the Rising was a major failure, however, with de Valera's election to President of *Sinn Féin* in 1917 and further the dominance of the *Sinn Féin* party, the national feeling turned in the favour of the Rising and ultimately turned those involved into martyrs.[186] Sean O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars* (1926) deals with such sentiments in Dublin. At this time the weekly *The Irish Times* published the 286-page *Sinn Féin* Rebellion Handbook, which duplicated the contemporary reports of the Rising and the events that would follow. In addition, it included later accounts of the courts martial, Roger Casement's landing, capture, trial and execution, two commissions of enquiry, full lists of those killed, taken prisoner, those given honours and their subsequent promotions. This would help *Sinn Féin* and those involved with the Rising get a firm

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[184] Constance Markievicz's statement on her involvement in the 1916 Rising from "*Cumann na mBan*," vol. II, no. 10, Easter 1926, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 75-77.

[185] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[186] Sources on 1916 Rising and early twentieth-century groups include; D.G. Boyce, *The Irish Question and British Politics 1868-1996* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 1996), D.G. Boyce, *The Revolution in Ireland 1879-1923* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 1988), R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), Tim Pat Coogan, *1916: The Easter Rising* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2005).

grip on national sentiment in Ireland. The General Post Office stands today as a working monument to this bittersweet event.[187]

Theatre performances were also interrupted. That Easter Monday, at the Abbey Theatre, there was to be a matinee performance of *Kathleen ni Houlihan* yet due to the Rising it was cancelled. *Kathleen ni Houlihan* was set to run alongside, *The Spancel of Death* by T.H. Nally, a play loosely based on actual events surrounding supposed witchcraft in eighteenth-century Mayo. Although Nally's play was sold out, it was cancelled due to the Rising and the play would not be performed until it was revived briefly in the 1980s.[188]

In light of the Rising, with the development of the Irish Free State in 1921 Moran states that there was a blatant attempt to erase women's contributions from the Rising in 1916 stating: "When the machinery of the Independent State remembered the Rising of 1916 all hints of female involvement and women's rights were erased."[189] Arguably, this started just before the rebel surrender when Rising leader MacDonagh sent home more that 200 female soldiers for fear that the mere sight of these women being captured would: "[...] demoralise the majority of already shell-shocked men."[190] Moran also contends that: "[...] after 1921, the Independent Irish Free State ditched the parts of the rebellion that had been associated with female suffrage, in a wearyingly familiar post-colonial manoeuvre."[191] Ironically, it was those once colonised who were now seemingly victorious, colonising the subaltern – England once colonised the Irish male Nationalist, it was the masculine Irish enterprise colonising and marginalising the 'subaltern' Irishwoman. An unpopular

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[187] *The Irish Times online*. "Eventful Times" <http://www.ireland.com/focus/easterrising/saturday/. > Accessed: March 29, 2008.
[188] *The Irish Times online*. "Eventful Times" <http://www.ireland.com/focus/easterrising/saturday/.> Accessed: March 29, 2008.
[189] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 7.
[190] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 27.
[191] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising: 1916 as Theatre* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 6.

statistic in 1921 lists the highest number of women imprisoned with an estimated fifty incarcerated within Ireland. Sinead McCoole surmises that many of these women were untried prisoners. Accounts of such arrests include but were not limited to those of Dr. Ada English of Galway, Eily McAdam of Armagh, Miss Burke and Miss Fenton in Limerick, and Miss Byron of Tipperary. Other women arrested were said to have been for crimes such as collecting money without a permit and failure to pay the fines. Dr. English, however, was arrested after insurgents found a printed document in her sitting room entitled, "*Cumann na mBan.*"[192] Most women who were being held for political or military crimes were imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. McCoole recounts the arrest of Eileen McGrane, who served in Mountjoy Jail as she was found to be in "[...] possession of six revolvers and a quantity of ammunition."[193] When McGrane's rooms at 21 Dawson Street were ransacked they were described as: "[...] a complete temporary office full of papers belonging to Michael Collins. Among documents found were plans for 'introducing typhoid bacillus into the troops' milk."[194] McCoole continues to list endless details and accounts of women who have risked their lives in the name of nationalism however many of these individual histories were hidden in the shadow of the larger political developments. For example, later that year Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith signed '*The Treaty of Peace Between Great Britain and Ireland'*, at Downing Street in London on the sixth of December 1921. As a result Ireland received dominion status and partition created Northern Ireland. In 1922 'The Treaty' was ratified by the *Dáil Éireann* and soon after Griffith was elected President. De Valera and Constance Markievicz as well as *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and *Cumann na mBan* vehemently repudiated 'The Treaty' and in April of that year Civil War began in Ireland. The

[192] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), 80.
[193] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), 81.
[194] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), 81.

Civil War lasted until May of 1923 and on August 27, 1923 a general election saw the first appearance of *Cumann na nGaedheal* (Society of the Gaels), which received 409,000 voted against *Sinn Féin's* 286,000 votes. The end of the Civil War did not bring peace to Ireland. On October 13, 1923, the action returned to Mountjoy Prison when the Mountjoy Prison hunger-strike began inscribing yet another example of the many history-alternating moments in the national narrative, one of many events and performances evoked and executed by Ireland's revolutionary women.

Chapter Outlines

Judith Butler argues that, "[...] gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time-an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts."[195] In this sense, gender becomes a kind of performance, consisting of the 'doings'[196] of the subject being evaluated against the "gender hierarchy."[197] This dissertation locates Markievicz's public activities as performative acts that created gaps and ruptures in the gendered system of meanings embedded within the predominantly masculine hegemony of early twentieth-century Ireland. Markievicz, with her many political and cultural activisms, and through constructing a culturally subversive selfhood, filled such chasms with a new potentiality for women and for Ireland. Butler's discussion of gender seeks to privilege those alternative identities that do not conform to the superficially constructed—though ubiquitous and regimentally maintained—rules that govern 'normative' heterosexuality. Butler understands these rules to be a historical construct, which rely on the repeated enforcement of speech acts, enactment of gestures, and daily mundane activities, to maintain their vitality. As Butler

[195] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 45.
[196] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 25
[197] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xiii.

suggests, "If the 'reality' of gender is constituted by the performance itself, then there is no recourse to an essential and unrealized 'sex' or 'gender' which gender performances ostensibly express."[198] If this holds true, then those same rules that enforce such restrictions, can also be challenged and changed through radical performative acts. In dialogue with Butler, Peggy Phelan argues that the power in these 'daily mundane activities' is not to be underestimated, as they become the performative viscera of the inner workings of ideology.

Phelan's seminal work *Unmarked* maintains that society is compelled towards performance because they look for and therefore construct, their own self-images through encounters with representations.[199] Phelan argues that while one cannot witness her own formation, 'the eye' continues to look for ways—through photographs, films, plays, performances, public spectacles—for the reflection that will confirm who it is we are.[200] Phelan believes that more often than not the answer to this question rests not in what is there but rather, in what is there but what we cannot see.[201] It is in Markievicz's un-categorical performativity, unconventional modes of expression, and in the rendering of her own 'unorthodox' corporeality, that she instigates an "ontological crisis"[202] within the spectator, hence how she "disturbs and destabilizes the comfort embedded in the gender hierarchy"[203]—what Butler determines as the "operative notions of gender."[204] Butler extends Julia Kristeva's counsel for women at risk in a patriarchal sovereignty. Kristeva continually and

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[198] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 527.
[199] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 14-15, 35.
[200] Alisa Solomon, "Seeing and Nothingness". *The Women's Review of Books*, Vol. 10, No. 9 (Jun., 1993), pp. 21-22.
[201] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 14-15.
[202] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xiii.
[203] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xiii.
[204] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xiii.

emphatically suggests that "women must neither refuse to insert themselves into the symbolic order, nor embrace the masculine model for femininity"[205] Markievicz defies such stereotypes and incites radical female agency and mobility, by challenging, revising, and creating a plurality of female behaviours that subverted the draconian systems in place, and led to her political visibility and social change. To that end this dissertation will show that through playtext and personhood, Markievicz's career constituted a performance, which opened up "the fields of possibility for gender without dictating, which kinds of possibilities ought to be realized."[206] Throughout this dissertation, I charge Markievicz's performative Nationalist acts as countering gender-normative constraints in place during the first twenty-seven years of twentieth-century Ireland. I consider both the cultural and political implications of her performative acts as mapped out in this Introduction, in tandem with Butler's definition of the normative, which she determines as "pertaining to the norms that govern gender."[207] In this sense, I consider how Markievicz's plays, rhetorical outputs, and corporeality, countered cultural and political notions of gender, which traditionally conflated women with the home and as national icons—those merely passive and supportive figures in the periphery of the Nationalist ethos and active military action.

Markievicz's plays were just as much a part of her activism as her political and military efforts and served as a means to achieve her Nationalist intensions. In "Woman as Fantasy Object in Lady Gregory's Historical Tragedies", Paul Murphy discusses Friedrich Nietzsche's distinction between commemorative history versus critical history, arguing that, Abbey founder and playwright, Lady Augusta Gregory's

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[205] Julia Kristeva and Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1986) 139.
[206] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), ix.
[207] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xxii.

work must be "subjected to a critical historicisation in order to be saved from the kind of eulogizing which has led to her mummification as a dramatist."[208] Murphy suggests that for an examination of women's contribution to history it must equally be brought before the 'tribunal' and scrupulously examined.[209] In accordance with Murphy's application of Nietzsche I apply this framework when analyzing and critiquing Markievicz's three plays: *Blood Money* (1925)[210], *The Invincible Mother* (1925)[211], and finally her three-act play entitled, *Broken Dreams* (written in 1926 and produced posthumously 1927).[212] Both *Blood Money* and *Broken Dreams* remain unpublished and the original manuscripts are held at the National Library of Ireland. *The Invincible Mother* was published in 1977 in *The Journal of Irish Literature*.[213] The original manuscript is held in Special Collections at the University of Delaware Library.[214]

Benedict Anderson declared that the: "[...] world's multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind."[215] Markievicz's plays serve as cultural artefacts, another example of how theatrical form was used by Markievicz to achieve her political activisms. If Anderson's logic is applied, then it is necessary to recover and analyze these texts in order to paint a more accurate picture of Ireland's past. The discursive relationship between Markievicz's three plays and Maud Gonne's *Dawn* (1904) will be located and discussed in Chapter

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[208] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 14. In her introduction Sihra discusses Paul Murphy's article and lays out his argument.
[209] Paul Murphy, "Woman as Fantasy Object in Lady Gregory's Historical Tragedies," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 29.
[210] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[211] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974". Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[212] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[213] Constance Markievicz, "The Invincible Mother," with an Introduction by Bonnie K. Scott in *The Journal of Irish Literature*, vol. VI, no. 2, (May 1977) pp. 116-119.
[214] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974". Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[215] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso Press, 2006), 4.

One. Markievicz wrote her female protagonists as extensions of her own pre-occupation with subversive female behaviours, countering predetermined gender regularities embedded in iconicity. Questions of agency and visibility are raised looking towards the critical frameworks of Judith Butler, Peggy Phelan, and Julia Kristeva to draw conclusions regarding gendered performances, the power in women's political visibility, and the subversion of patriarchal systems within the cultural and political landscapes of twentieth-century Ireland. This chapter applies Phelan's prescription for "framing more and more images"[216] of the "under represented other"[217] with an aim to provide culture with a means "to name, and thus to arrest and fix, the image of that other."[218] I analyze the unknown plays and little known artistic and activist work of Markievicz in an attempt to employ Phelan's prescription for women's political visibility in *Unmarked.* Reflections on Markievicz's biographical considerations as well as her lectures, artistic renderings, poems, and journalistic accomplishments will also be considered in tandem with her plays in an effort to paint a more complete picture of Markievicz's theatrical and political intentions.

Markievicz's many journalistic contributions were directed towards the "imagining of the Irish nation."[219] Chapter Two specifically considers these contributions, which spoke directly to women in an effort to incite and commemorate women's agency within the Nationalist struggle in Ireland. These public activisms, starting in 1908 and ending with Markievicz's 1923 column "A Memory" in *Eire*, are

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[216] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 2.
[217] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 2.
[218] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 2.
[219] P.J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*,12 vols., Vol. 12, *Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs*, ed., Seamas Dean (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 10.

analyzed in an effort to gain further insight into how her many bodies of writing speak to each other and to the other formative texts of the political and cultural Nationalist legacy. Markievicz's "The Woman With a Garden" uses allegory to foster female Nationalist agency through the reclamation and reinvigoration of Ireland's indigenous 'natural' properties. Her 1915 contribution to the *Irish Citizen* with "The Women of '98", uncovers and recovers those subterranean histories of female activism during the seminal Nationalist year of 1798 and finally, her column "A Memory" or "Memories" serves as a vehicle for a women's narrative voice to recollect Ireland's nation-building process. All three of these journalistic acts share a discursive relationship to Markievicz's plays, poems, lectures, and embodied sense of self. These journalistic renderings created more vocabularies for female agency, and served as a contestation of the masculine hegemonic systems in place in early twentieth-century Ireland.

Judith Butler argues that the "acts by which gender is constituted bear similarities to performative acts within theatrical contexts,"[220] and she declares that her 'task' then is to "examine in what ways gender is constructed through specific corporeal acts, and what possibilities exist for the cultural transformation of gender through such acts."[221] Chapter Three travels a similar trajectory and considers Markievicz's playtexts and rhetorical outputs coupled with her public activities and self-representations. It explores questions of gender identity through Markievicz's implementation of dress, mobility, and iconography contextualized by an analysis of the visual representation of Markievicz in photographs. Markievicz transcended borders of colonial and counter-normative constraints and in her corporeality created

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[220] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 521.
[221] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 521.

a subversive political performance promoting radical female mobility. Employing Phelan's interpretations of Roland Barthes' work regarding the performative nature of the photograph,[222] a selection of photographs of Markievicz are analyzed as 'theatre stills' and each of the varied *mise en scènes* is considered. Her self-proclaimed goal of becoming Ireland's 'Joan of Arc' will also be examined by way of her representation in portraiture, as well as her rhetorical, theatrical, and artistic renderings. Her funeral in 1927 is analyzed as her final moment of public visibility in terms of spatiality, visuality, and representation. Markievicz was denied a State recognized funeral and while no evidence suggests her own involvement in her funeral planning, in public wake she achieves her last subversion of the both the monarch and the masculine hegemonic. Lain to rest in a public cinema, her final corporeal act reveals the tension at the core of her contested selfhood—a powerful figure whose actions demanded public attention, yet caused discomfort as she operated in the periphery of State constructed systems. This final act reveals how deeply penetrative her performative tactics were in disturbing popular ideology with regards to the sexes and the sovereign. Markievicz's agency and efficacy rest in making her corporeal political and public activities visible thus providing language and lens for future explorations of controversial female figures in Ireland's political past.

[222] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 36.

Chapter One

The Artistry

"A good Nationalist should look upon slugs in a garden much in the same way as she looks on the English in Ireland, and only regret that she cannot crush the Nation's enemies with the same ease that she can the garden's, with just one tread of her fairy foot."[223]

When recounting the theatrical contributions of women who were involved in the Nationalist movement of Ireland, historians and critics often consider the parts they played as merely that: play. In any nation's dramatic literature the question always arises, who has the right to represent whom? At the time of the Abbey Theatre's outset, with the exception of Lady Augusta Gregory[224] and Alice Milligan[225], male playwrights such as J.M. Synge and W.B. Yeats were responsible for voicing, eternalizing and universalizing the plight of the Irish woman. Anna McMullan laments: "The lack of women writers is a crisis indeed."[226] This often resulted in the iconic rendering of characters such as Augusta Gregory's and W.B. Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan* (1902). If as Robert Welch suggests *Kathleen ni Houlihan*: "[...] can be

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[223] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.

[224] Born Isabella Augusta Persse (1852-1932). Best known for co-founding the Abbey, Gregory was a published playwright, folklorist, and novelist. For more on Gregory see Elizabeth Coxhead, *Lady Gregory: a literary portrait* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966), Hazard Adams, *Lady Gregory* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1973), Ann Saddlemyer, *In Defense of Lady Gregory, Playwright* (Ireland: The Dolmen Press, 1966), Paul Murphy, "Woman as Fantasy Object in Lady Gregory's Historical Tragedies," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 28-41.

[225] Alice Milligan (1865-1953), was a Belfast born playwright, poet, journalist and activist. For more on Alice Milligan see Mark Phelan, "'Beyond the Pale': Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell, Patricia O'Connor," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), pp. 109-129, Catherine Morris, "From the Margins: Alice Milligan and the Irish Cultural Revival, 1888-1905" (Ph.D. diss, University of Aberdeen, 1999).

[226] Anna McMullan, "Unhomely stages: Women Taking (a), Place in Irish Theatre," Dermot Bolger, *Druids, Dudes and Beauty Queens: The Changing Face of Irish Theatre* (Dublin: New Island, 2001), 27.

read as the foundation stone for modern Irish drama"[227] then alternative representations of women would have an onerous battle from the start of the twentieth century as *Kathleen* enforced the dialectic between women and nation or *as* nation. Postcolonial discourse and Nationalist iconography both prove that the marginalization of women and the privileging of the masculine are not natural but rather hegemonic and cultural restrictions. If we break down these values, Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Anthony Bradley suggest that we have an opportunity to see "[...] historical and fictional characters, their behaviour, and relationships (both the historical and the imaginary), in a different light than before."[228] Therefore, recovering and uncovering the theatrical endeavours of women within the discourse of nationalism is imperative to gain a complete understanding of Ireland's national and cultural history. As Stephen Greenblatt explains "If an exploration of a particular culture will lead to a heightened understanding of a work of literature produced within that culture, so too careful reading of a work of literature will lead to a heightened understanding of the culture within which it was produced."[229] Ironically, in Ireland a land that has been named for a Mother Goddess (*Eire*), depictions of commanding and liberated women are scarce in the theatrical canon. However, many of its plays suggest the symbolic meaning of the feminine, particularly the mother figure, to the Nationalist enterprise.

In their introduction to *The Theatre of Marina Carr: "before rules was made,"* Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan discuss "the importance of symbolization

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[227] Robert Welsh, cited in Lisa Fitzpatrick, "Taking Their Own Road: the female protagonists in three Irish plays by women," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2007), 69.
[228] Maryann Valiulis and Anthony Bradley, eds., *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 2.
[229] Stephen Greenblatt, "Culture," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, eds., Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 227.

for women"[230] as emphasized by Luce Irigaray. Irigaray contends: "[...] women must create a kind of mobile home for themselves within language, a second skin, where other bodies, selves and possibilities can be played out, as well as past traumas [and] hidden histories."[231] Constance Markievicz's plays create a forum for alternative and subversive possibilities for the representation of women in Ireland. For her characters, as well as for herself in the public sphere, Markievicz used the fluid notions of masculinity, femininity, identity, performance and nationalism to create female protagonists who challenged social, historical and cultural limitations on Nationalist iconography and its limitations on women's roles within the Nationalist enterprise. Her plays, written in the wake of the Civil War in Ireland (1921-1922) include, *Blood Money* (1925), *The Invincible Mother* (1925), and *Broken Dreams* (1927). The Republican Players Dramatic Society produced *Broken Dreams* after Markievicz's death in 1927[232]; *Blood Money* and *The Invincible Mother* were produced at the Abbey Theatre on March 1, 1925 as part of a triple bill detailed in the *Evening Herald* as follows:

> 'Mobilization'
> All Republicans Parade
> At the Abbey Theatre
> Tomorrow (Sun) night
> 1st March when
> The Republican Players
> will present three Plays
> *The Invincible Mother*
> A True Story of the Invincible Movement
> By Countess Markievicz
> *"Cruad car na mDatrileiri*
> *a scriobh bean ui trucsam"*
> *Blood Money*
> An Incident of '98 by Countess Markievicz
> At 8 o'clock sharp Doors open 7.30

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[230] Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan, eds., *The Theatre of Marina Carr: "before rules was made"* (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), xxvii.
[231] Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan, eds., *The Theatre of Marina Carr: "before rules was made"* (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), xxvii.
[232] *The Evening Herald,* Wednesday, December 7, 1927. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Special Orchestral Items by the
Clann Lir Orchestra
Popular Prices.[233]

Joseph Holloway, unofficial biographer of the Abbey Theatre wrote of this evening in one of his diaries. While he stated that he missed the production of *Blood Money* he observed that Markievicz's second one-act, *The Invincible Mother*, was better performed than the play in Irish. Holloway writes that at the end of the three performances:

> Calls for the author 'en en' [sic] brought forth the Countess who addressed the crowded audience and told them that the members of the company were all ex-internees and that the proceeds of their performance went to those out of work. Many were writing new plays for them, she wrote her two little pieces in her leisure time to show up phases in the Irish struggle for freedom and she concluded quoting some of John Mitchell's words to the effect that Ireland would be a free country when the British Empire was a thing of the past.[234]

All three of Markievicz's plays host a female protagonist who shatters woman's role as inspirer or resister. At times there are strains on Markievicz's dual position as both Suffragist and Nationalist. Markievicz often favoured her position as Nationalist before her role as Suffragist as she firmly believed that freedom for Ireland's women would not come until the whole of Ireland was free from the British yoke. Markievicz articulates this tension in a letter addressed "To Miss Nora Cassidy and the Young Girls of Ireland"[235]:

> As our country has had her Freedom and her Nationhood taken from her by England, so also our sex is denied emancipation and citizenship by the same enemy. So therefore the first step on the road to freedom is to realise

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[233] *The Evening Herald*, Saturday, February 28, 1925. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[234] Joseph Holloway, *Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*. January-March, 1925, MS. 1892, p. 371. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[235] 'Maca', "To Miss Nora Cassidy and the Young Girls of Ireland" in *Bean na hÉireann* , vol. 1, no 9, p. 14, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Markievicz also deals with her position as Suffragist and Nationalist in a lecture entitled, *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This lecture was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* as "Free Women in a Free Nation" in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no 3, p. 8-10, January 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. It was reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

> ourselves as Irishwomen—not only as Irish or merely as women, but as Irishwomen doubly enslaved, and with a double battle to fight.[236]

This duality was a theme often interrogated in her plays and sometimes efforts for one were truncated in an effort to promote the other. Markievicz in her public personae and in her plays positioned women *as* Nationalist privileging neither gender nor nation but rather putting the needs of both side by side.

A Women's Nationalist Theatre

Preceding Constance Markievicz, Maud Gonne's *Dawn* (1904) would start the charge of a female Nationalist theatre. Victoria White reminds us "Cathleen ni Houlihan is not a playwright."[237] Indeed Kathleen (viz. Cathleen) did not write her story. However, Maud Gonne, the very actor that embodied the iconic character, wrote a play entitled *Dawn* which began the critique on the romantic iconography of 'Mother Ireland'. This play was Gonne's attempt at reconciling her political and Suffragist stance after her creation of the character of *Kathleen ni Houlihan* in 1902.[238] Gonne's three tableaux play, follows the story of a family during the second Famine to hit County Mayo in the 1890s. Bride, a widow, her daughter Brideen, whose husband has just emigrated to America, and Brideen's young son, Eoin were evicted from their home. Like many Catholic peasants at this time, this family was displaced and tensions within the home and the community drove them to rebel against their British oppressors. The stage was pictured in '*three lights—evening,*

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[236] 'Maca', "To Miss Nora Cassidy and the Young Girls of Ireland," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no 9, 1909, p. 14, IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[237] Victoria White, "Cathleen ni Houlihan is Not a Playwright," *Theatre Ireland*, No. 30 (Winter, 1993), 30.

[238] August Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991). *Kathleen ni Houlihan* was first performed in 1902 at St. Theresa's Hall in Dublin, Ireland as part of the Irish National Dramatic Company along with Maud Gonne's *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* (Daughters of Erin). Source: Máire Nic Shiubhluigh, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 24-25.

night and dawn.'[239] Gonne insisted on using all mediums available to her in the early twentieth century.[240] She appreciated the documentary value that the photograph brought to the stage, as it emphasized the factual nature of her play and negated the less romantic elements of nationalism that her contemporaries were presenting.[241] Her photographs captured pictures of destroyed homes and the horrific conditions that the Relief Work construction schemes brought to the people of Mayo. Gonne described the sight of young women working with pickaxes carrying huge stones barefoot in the pouring rain and old women hunched over with canes, with nothing but two pieces of Indian cornbread to eat per day.[242] Gonne wanted to bring the Nationalist play back to clear issues of land and land ownership, colonialism, and community activism, as well as expose the factual hardships that so many peasant women were enduring. In her criticism about Queen Victoria Gonne writes of Victoria's hypocrisy:

> And in truth, for Victoria, in the decrepitude of her eighty-one years, to have decided after an absence of half-a-century to revisit the country she hates and whose inhabitants are the victims of the criminal policy of her reign, the survivors of sixty years of organised famine, the political necessity must have been terribly strong; for after all she is a woman, and however vile and selfish and pitiless her soul may be, she must sometimes tremble as death approaches when she thinks of the countless Irish mothers, who, shelterless under the cloudy Irish sky, watching their starving little ones, have cursed her before they died.[243]

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[239] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6, Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.
[240] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 52.
[241] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back," *in Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 52.
[242] Antoinette Quinn, "Cathleen ni Houlihan Writes Back," in *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, eds., Anthony Bradley and Maryann Gialanella Valiulis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 52.
[243] Maud Gonne, "The Famine Queen," in *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism*, ed., Margaret Ward (Cork: Attic Press, 1996), 11-14. Gonne's article was originally published in her Paris-based journal *L'Irlande Libre* and again in *The United Irishman* on April 7, 1900.

Gonne believed Victoria pretended to endorse family values, while she evicted so many peasants from their homes in the Irish west, condemning women to mass emigration and in some cases prostitution.[244] Gonne, like Markievicz, was born in England yet in spite of her birth connections to the Empire, as both President of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and former Vice President of the Irish National Theatre Society she was a likely candidate to challenge this topic. Gonne's play was never performed and it was only published twice in Ireland's history: first in *The United Irishman*[245] in 1904 and again in Robert Hogan and James Kilroy's *Lost Plays of the Irish Renaissance* in 1970.[246] This chapter will reveal the dialogue between *Dawn* and Markievicz's playtexts.

Markievicz and her female protagonists counter and subvert archetypal and often stereotypical depictions of women. This dissertation examines and analyses work by Markievicz as a means to locate a specific cultural and historical moment in the first twenty-seven years of twentieth-century Ireland in an attempt to uncover how Markievicz destabilized and thus realigned the predominantly patrilineal narrative of Ireland's nation-formation. Julia Kristeva insists on the subversion of all solely patriarchal systems:

> At the moment, this is all there is, and that's not bad. But will there be more? A different relationship of the subject to discourse, to power? Will the eternal frustration of the hysteric in relation to discourse oblige the latter to reconstruct itself? Will it give rise to unrest in everybody, male or female? Or will it remain a cry outside time, like the great mass movements that break up the old system, but have no problem in submitting to the demands of order, as long as it is a new order?[247]

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[244] Maud Gonne, "The Famine Queen," in *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism*, ed., Margaret Ward (Cork: Attic Press, 1996), 11-14. Gonne's article was originally published in her Paris-based journal *L'Irlande Libre* and again in *The United Irishman* on April 7, 1900.
[245] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6, Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.
[246] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, eds., *Lost Plays of the Irish Renaissance* (New York: Proscenium Press, 1970), 246.
[247] Julia Kristeva and Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 10.

Kristeva warns that to just integrate these playtexts is not enough; to weigh these texts on their own merit and illuminate that which has been left in the dark is the goal of this dissertation. While the subversion of the iconic figure of Mother Ireland is the tactic Markievicz employed in her playtexts, female agency does not lay merely in the subversion of iconic roles and therefore, it is not enough to take Kristeva's prescription just to the level of subversion. The "different relationship of the subject to discourse, to power"[248] occurs when those gaps and ruptures that occur as a result of such subversions, are filled with female visibility, agency, and power thus rendering those previous "set of meanings"[249] that have limited female expectations, irrelevant and passé. Judith Butler determines Kristeva's consequence of the maternal body as holding a specific "set of meanings"[250], which was established "prior to culture itself."[251] While Markievicz cannot be disassociated from the political and cultural climates in and against which she was performing, Markeivicz's texts should be considered in their own right in an effort to not only disturb but rather, to reconstruct the established canonical order not 'prior to culture', but rather counter to culture. This dissertation does not wish to contribute to what Kristeva describes as a "negative imprint of the maternal phallus"[252] but rather serve a means of affirmative action for female-authored texts in an effort to disseminate the patriarchal sediment, what Kristeva determines as "the demands of order."[253] A homogenous canon is not what this dissertation is striving for as there are specific moments of women's interaction with nationalism and the national project that were inherently different

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[248] Julia Kristeva and Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 10.
[249] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 101.
[250] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 101.
[251] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 101.
[252] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 135.
[253] Julia Kristeva and Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 10.

from that of their male contemporaries and must be acknowledged as such for to accomplish even the smallest moment of either their activism or artistry, during this particular historical and cultural moment, was to move mountains.

***Blood Money* (1925)**

Constance Markievicz, like Gonne, would not define herself solely as an actor nor playwright yet her playtexts were just as much a part of her activism as her military efforts. This chapter analyses Markievicz's playtexts and makes them available for public witness to more fully unearth her role within Ireland's Nationalist theatre history. Markievicz's unpublished play *Blood Money*, performed in March of 1925[254], is a meta-theatrical presentation of gendered Nationalist iconography.

In a speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League in 1915 entitled: "The Future of Irishwomen" Markievicz instructed: "Dress suitably in short skirts and strong boots, leave your jewels in the bank, and buy a revolver."[255] Not only were her plays improvising on iconic representations of gender, Markievicz was consistently confronting the various depictions of women that were created in the shadow of Irish nationalism. The specific focus of this section considers how Markievicz defies traditional representations of the Irish woman by subscribing to them and then reversing them, suggesting that a dependency on these images on either side of the political coin were a source of power for women. Woman's bodies were often the symbolic terrain on which the colonial and colonised could deploy their traumas and power struggles.[256] The morality of the respective nation, in this case Ireland or England was directly related to the assumed virtuousness of 'their' women. The

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[254] *The Evening Herald*, Saturday, February 28, 1925. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[255] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen," published speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League on the 12th of October 1915 in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, p. 136-7. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[256] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 152.

dramatic literature of the early twentieth-century and political rhetoric and iconography also suggest the significance of maintaining an image of woman as chaste, passive and maternal, though women have played an active and integral part in the nation's turbulent political and social past.

Markievicz's female characters intentionally improvise on this gendered position and iconography and thus subvert such seemingly restrictive expectations. Markievicz knowingly posits her heroine, Peggy, in *Blood Money*, between both forces of the Irish revolution - that of the rebel Irish and the oppositional forces. This section will analyze Markievicz's female character of Peggy O'Byrne and disassemble how she renegotiates Nationalist iconography in order to achieve her activist intentions. Markievicz was speaking directly to her female constituency with her plays, reminding them of both their responsibility and their capability.

Blood Money is a play in one act. Its plot follows the actions of Peggy O'Byrne, a young Irish girl, who enters an enemy hideout to offer a bottle of *poteen* in exchange for the body of her rebel lover that was seemingly 'killed' by English forces. The body of this assumed 'dead' rebel, Donal McCarthy, is present with bandaged eyes and laid out on stage during the action of the play. As Markievicz's title suggests, the two fallen Irishmen present, MacGuinness and Mullen, believe they killed Donal and are to receive fifty pounds 'blood money' as commission from the "British Army of Occupation"[257]. Peggy has organized the trade before the start of the play through the Widow McCarthy, Donal's mother, who spoke to Ames, the Sergeant in charge of this oppositional unit. Yet as Markievicz's plot resolves it is Peggy who sets herself and her lover free. Peggy is the essential Nationalist. Markievicz describes Peggy as: '*Slim, dark and pale. Dusky red skirt with dark*

[257] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p.1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

bodice and big black shawl over her head.'[258] Peggy's appearance is reminiscent of the *Roisin Dubh* or Dark Rosaleen, another example of the allegorical form for Mother Ireland.[259] Examples of such figure appear in not only theatrical presentations such as *Kathleen ni Houlihan,* but in political propaganda and not surprisingly Ireland's banknotes for the majority of the twentieth century.[260] Markievicz's re-appropriation of an active and aggressive *Dark Rosaleen* indicates a journey away from her initial employment of this figure as a passive or inciting woman to a figure of active resistance. In her lecture "Love of Country" published in *Bean na hÉireann* 1910 she wields the figure of the Dark Rosaleen in a similar vein as Gregory's and Yeats's *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, in her lecture she says:

> To many of us Dark Rosaleen has come in our dreams, pale and sad we have seen her and loved her. To a few of us she has whispered the secret she has never whispered in vain, and put into our hands the naked glittering steel that she knows will one day set her free [...]."[261]

Peggy O'Byrne similarly holds persuasive currency as demonstrated in Markievicz's stage notes. Markievicz delineates good characters from bad by aligning them with their political affiliation while Peggy serves as the median line in between. Peggy is seemingly the terrain for which either side must weigh its allegiance to its cause, in Markievicz's eyes; she is litmus for which the men must test their political purity. Before Peggy is described Markievicz lists the three oppositionists: first is Sergeant

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[258] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p.1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[259] Details and historicizing of the *Rosin Dubh* can be found in the Introduction/section: The Signs and Symbols for an Independent Ireland. A*isling* poems were first categorized in the eighteenth-century Gaelic *genre* as poetry which "envisages Ireland in a dream vision as a beautiful woman pleading for rescue from the invaders, or, less frequently, as a harlot collaborating with them," quoted from C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 19. Innes states that Ireland's best-known Irish *aisling* poet is Aogan O Rathaille (1675-1729), translated by Thomas Kinsella.

[260] 'Mother Ireland' was also found as the watermark on the Irish one-pound note in 1928 with painter Lady Hazel Lavery depicted as the *Roseen Dubh* – another version of the New State's construction of woman as nation. Lady Lavery (née Hazel Martyn, 1880-1935) was almost completely replaced in 1976 by another literary construction *Medb*, the legendary Queen of Connacht. Both notes were decommissioned in 2000 with the changeover to the Euro.

[261] Constance Markievicz, "Love of Country" lecture published in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol., 1, no. 20, 1910, p. 9-10. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Ames. He is described as: '*English Accent, Smart*, Mullen as: *Irishman. Thin, stooping with high plaintive voice* and MacGuinness as *Irishman. Robust voice and personality.*'[262] All three men are described as: '*members of the British Army of Occupation.*'[263] Listed below Peggy O'Byrne with both first and surnames, are Donal McCarthy (the dead rebel) described as wearing: '*no coat. Knee Britches*'[264], then Patsy O'Carrol with '*Shirt sleeves, knee britches*'[265] then finally '*Two lads and several Rebels*'[266] are listed in Markievicz's character descriptions, and their affiliations and loyalties need not be detailed. These character descriptions, much like those in Gonne's *Dawn*, are improvising on the stock characters or iconographic symbols of the nation.

The scene is set and remains in the '*Outskirts of a little wood*'[267]. Traditionally many playwrights that have used gendered Nationalist iconography have set their plays in the cottage kitchen such as Gregory and Yeats with *Kathleen ni Houlihan*. Markievicz, however, takes us out of the domestic interior and straight into the heart of enemy territory. Cathy Leeney has described such tactic as using: "[...] spatial images to propose subversive representations of female identity."[268] This is not unlike other female dramatists such as Augusta Gregory's *Grania* (dated either 1910 or 1912)[269]: '*SCENE. Interior of a rough tent. The door opens on a wood outside. A bed strewn with rushes. Diarmuid lying on it asleep. Grania is moving*

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[262] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p.1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[263] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p.1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[264] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[265] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[266] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[267] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[268] Cathy Leeney, "The Space Outside: Images of Women in Plays by Eva Gore-Booth and Dorothy Macardle," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Press, 2007), 55.
[269] Lisa Fitzpatrick, "Taking their Own Road: The Female Protagonists in Three Irish Plays by Women," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire: Palgrave Press, 2007), 69.

about and singing.'[270] Gregory places her heroine into the woods reconnecting women with nature and landscape, divorcing them from their spatial confinement to a domestic interior and calling back to an almost pre-Brehon, Celtic notion of woman, what colonialists might simplify as the Wild Irish Girl. Markievicz improvises on both notions of the Irish woman, placing her heroine into the woods yet recognizing that in order to bring her brave woman out of the cottage kitchen and into enemy lines she has to arm Peggy with elements associated with the domestic and the prescribed role of woman to the home, as artillery. Peggy's dress and demeanour is playing on such stereotypes; they are a subversive critique on Nationalist and colonial notions of femininity. Peggy enters for the first time with "two lads"[271] carrying the keg; she curtsies and says to the sergeant most timidly:

> Peggy: If you please your honour, I have the stuff with me.
>
> Ames replies: You're a fine bold girl, Peggy, and you won't be too proud to drink with us to the fortunes of the flag.
>
> Peggy: I have a nice baked cake and two fine fowls with me in the basket; your honour will be hungry. The boys have the poteen in a wee keg.
>
> Ames: (Goes up to basket) She is a thoughtful little girl, is Peggy.[272]

The fowl and the bread equip her like a rifle would a soldier in battle. They are key signifiers for her male counterparts indicating that she is safe and trustworthy. Her costume of shawl and bodice are a gendered uniform and a tactical manoeuvre, which dresses Peggy as would a uniform for a soldier in battle. Markievicz destabilizes Nationalist rhetoric and imagery through her employment of domestic signifiers. The domestic does not restrict Peggy; she is empowered by those objects associated with

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[270] Lady Gregory, "Grania," in *The Collected Plays*, Volume II, *The Tragedies and Tragic Comedies,* ed., Ann Saddlemyer (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1971), 25.
[271] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[272] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

it. Women in their traditional roles as mother or maiden were essentially invisible. Their individuality was eclipsed by their assigned roles:

> Ames: I think Miss Peggy knows her own value too well to waste her time on an uneducated private. Eh Peggy?
>
> Peggy: And what would you be talking that way to a poor girl for, Sergeant? A poor girl too that had the roof burn over her head, and saw her whole life destroyed before her eyes, and her helpless.[273]

So long as Peggy is adequately dressed in her maiden uniform, she can take liberties with expressing her point of view. Ames replies:

> Surely a person of your refinement should understand that we are bringing civilisation and happiness to this unhappy country.[274]
>
> Peggy: Aye, that may be true...(X.R.) but it's hard for those that you are bringing civilisation and happiness to.[275]

Peggy Phelan argues that in "seeing the blind spot within the visible real we might see a way to redesign the representational real."[276] Therefore Peggy's success depends on the level at which she compensates for the gap between her conflicting positions as soldier ('real') and maiden ('representational real') and further, the faith, belief and dependence on such representations by the oppositional forces. Phelan suggests "the real inhabits the space that representation cannot reproduce"[277] making Peggy's commitment to her *façade* even more essential for any threat to her assumed role as maiden threatens the successful outcome of her mission. Women at this time in their prescribed roles were merely accessories, what C.L. Innes describes as the "passive icons"[278] or as W.I. Thompson declares, the "pretty idealogues"[279] of the National

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[273] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[274] Here Markievicz is highlighting the colonial predisposition to considering the Irish uncivilised, what L.P Curtis would later describe as the Irish 'Apes' versus the English 'Angels'. Source: L.P. Curtis, cited in C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 14.
[275] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[276] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 3.
[277] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 126.
[278] C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 3.

liberation movement. Peggy's apparent role as maiden "unmarks"[280] her, rendering her seemingly powerless and essentially, invisible to her male audience. Phelan negotiates the tension between visibility and power stating that they are not always a direct outcome of the other yet dependent on who is looking at whom. Under Sergeant Ames' gaze, let us now consider Peggy's 'invisibility' or her "unmarked"[281] position; as the *mis*-marking of her and further female potential. While representation is a source of power according to Phelan, misrepresentation is not always to the detriment of those who are mistakenly marked. This *mis*-marking of female agency gave way to more varied and subversive possibilities for active female representations, divorcing them from pure iconicity and promoting them as figures with a multiplicity of potentiality. Women in their *mis*-marked positions were able to covertly transport arms, letters, top-secret information, and serve as some of the most important facilitators of the revolution.

In addition to Peggy, Markievicz peppers her script with other examples of female agency and her voice could be heard echoing through every female character's voice and actions. One example rests with Mullen. When discussing his 'traitorship' and loyalty to the British even from an early age, he indicates that it was his mother who was an adamant Republican. Mullen says: "It is sympathy you say, Sergeant? Sure was't I the man that always shouted for the redcoats from the time I could reach to look over the half door? And didn't my mother beat me for it more than once?"[282] While Nationalist rhetoric suggests that it was the young virile sons who were to act and protect the nation, Markievicz here uses Mullen as an example of where an Irish son failed 'her'. Markievicz suggests that even in their assigned role as perceived

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[279] W.I. Thompson, *The Imagination of an Insurrection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 39.
[280] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 1.
[281] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
[282] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

mother or Colleen sometimes the real warriors can be women. One almost gets the sense that Markievicz is provoking her female audience by pervading her script with moments where the 'represented' Peggy truly succeeds in fulfilling gender expectations:

> Peggy: It's little we have to be grateful for these times, and it's a poor thing when the best that's left to a people is a clean corpse and a decent burial.
>
> Ames: A pretty girl like you must not waste her time sighing over a dirty rebel. Some fine fellow in a smart red coat would find it easy and pleasant work to teach you that we are the best friends you Irish have.[283]

Susan Gubar states that: "the female body has always been feared for its power to articulate itself."[284] Markievicz gives articulation and agency to the active female Peggy. To present characters such as Peggy and unveil her plays nationally was to open Pandora's Box: for a woman to have an articulate voice was to detract from the uniform message behind the symbolic potency of 'Woman-as-Ireland'. The active female body combined with eloquence and agency was a distraction to the national personification and further, the national project. Peggy and 'Woman-as-Ireland' are both the subject and object of Nationalist rhetoric however Peggy is not confined by this. It is the self-awareness of such that gives Peggy agency and mobility whereas, the stoic representation of 'Woman-as-Ireland' remains stagnant and denies an accurate representation of the multiplicity of the Irish woman's opinions and experiences. While Nationalist rhetoric depends on the synonymity of Ireland with a chaste and maternal woman, Peggy is ironically, the object of sexual desire. George L. Mosse, charges that a theatre, which generates "sexed bodies as public spectacles [helps] to instil through representational practices an erotic investment in the national

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[283] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[284] Susan Gubar, cited in Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 6.

romance".[285] Lynda Hart reminds us: "As feminist criticism has taught us, Woman and Nature have been equated in patriarchal discourses, thus woman becomes the screen onto which men project their fantasies of women, or rather of Woman – the monolithic Other."[286] Peggy is Ames' class 'Other', his gender 'Other' and his political 'Other'. She is the screen on which all his perversions and fantasies can play out. For Ames she is the screen, as written by Markievicz, she is the screenwriter. It is a combination of the Nationalist defended institution of motherhood and the home, as well as a covert sexuality that appealed to the conservative and sexually repressed male soldier. As timid maiden she is immediately trusted and when she is marked as 'dirty rebel', a label that is synonymous with a masculine nationalism at this time, she is powerless and deceiving, or scathed. The female body as a soldier body immediately evokes a confused and adverse reaction from Ames and jeopardizes Peggy's ability to carry out her covert military operation. Markievicz throughout her short script tests her theory. When Peggy forgets her *façade* as petticoated colleen, she loses her temper and ultimately provokes uncertainty and distrust in the oppositional forces. Specifically, with Mullen, an Irishman that she grew up with, her 'representational real' is visibly at discordance with her 'real' as rebel. She says: "His Majesty's soldier you've named yourself, and what worse could I name you? You traitor...you soldier... you...Do I mind the day that you were anything but a curse to those who knew you and a heartbreak to the mother that bore you!"[287] Sergeant Ames becomes suspicious of her and her 'green' tongue:

> Ames: Now look here, Peggy. It seems to me that there was more in this than meets the eye...you can't deceive me...so speak up and tell me how you came to know Mullen so well...what was that man to you? You were a different little girl when you met me this afternoon and told me a long tale of Widow

[285] George L. Mosse, "Nationalism and Sexuality" in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed., Andrew Parker (London: Routledge, 1992), 12.
[286] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 3.
[287] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> McCarthy and her only son. You talked of the generosity and chivalry of an English officer, and regretted that there was war between your country and mine…you little hypocrite, with your soft Irish tongue. You think that you'll deceive me! You damned little rebel! A pretty girl is always a pretty girl, but I don't trust you…[288]

Here Markievicz is equating British soldier with Irish traitor. Markievicz is condemning the practice of British conscription. For Peggy, however, prescribed gender roles are awry. The paradox of Peggy being both "pretty girl"[289] and "rebel"[290] causes her immediate abjectification due to the annihilation of Ames' inherent belief system. Feminist scholarship, most ardently with Sarah Benton and Edna Levy, claims that society takes for granted images of male soldiers and their inherent masculine 'naturalness'. Levy asserts: "[…] the public image of the soldier […] is built upon a gendered system of meaning"[291] and describes the desired soldier body as "active and moving and also decidedly male."[292] It is the male body that is associated with the soldier. The male body is the norm; the active, hard and aggressive figure. The female body is a soft, fixed and contained 'accessory'. Man's role as soldier is unquestioned, restricting what Levy determines: "both women's and men's sense of their proper place in the national community"[293] therefore placing limitations on and distorting the expectations of ideal citizenship. Images during Ireland's first twenty-two years of the twentieth century, leading up to its independence, would promote an image of an ideal Irish soldier that was rugged, masculine, righteous, created out of the image of Cuchulainn which would raise Ireland up as an autonomous nation of high culture with political independence.

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[288] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[289] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[290] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[291] Edna Levy, "Women Warriors," in *Women, States, and Nationalist: At home in the nation?*, eds., Sita Ranchod-Nillson and Mary Ann Tetreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 197.
[292] Edna Levy, "Women Warriors," in *Women, States, and Nationalist: At home in the nation?*, eds., Sita Ranchod-Nillson and Mary Ann Tetreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 197.
[293] Edna Levy, "Women Warriors," in *Women, States, and Nationalist: At home in the nation?*, eds., Seta Ranchod-Nillson and Mary Ann Tetreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 197.

Sarah Benton describes such as a distinct "Gaelic character"[294] dependent on an assumed tradition that was essentially military and vital to Ireland's creation story. Benton defines 'brotherhood' as an essential component in times of war. In the very essence of its gendered name and the national liberation's dependence on it, the 'brotherhood of war' immediately makes women's participation in both the mythic and actual struggle, unnatural and unnecessary. Dick Hebdige describes these collectively assigned yet unarticulated roles as the inner workings of ideology. "Ideology [...] thrives *beneath* consciousness. It is here, at the level of 'normal common sense,' that ideological frames of reference are most firmly sedimented and most effective, because it is here that their ideological nature is most effectively concealed."[295] Markievicz's characterizations and representations are a meta-theatrical play on the process of such imposed ideologies. These ideologies fuel the collective unconscious, which are imposed through popular images, symbolization through literature, political propaganda and of course the media. What happens when that soldier has a 'pretty face'? What happens when the Irish Colleen, an essential component of the Mother Ireland tripartite, becomes the soldier and acts rather than resists? Or when the polarities of: strong/weak, resistance/action, protector/prey and finally feminine/masculine, are no longer presented as absolutes, mutually exclusive from one another. For Donal McCarthy there was no confusion, he was a rebel and Ames knew he must dispose of that apparent threat. Levy describes the desired soldier body as: "active and moving and also decidedly male"[296], Peggy as Colleen is

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[294] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-23," *Feminist* Review, no. 50, (Summer, 1995), pp. 150. Benton blames the failed insurrections against Britain in 1798, 1803 and 1867 for this militarized tradition: "Irishmen had risen insurrections against the British in 1798, 1803, 1867, and that these insurrections had failed through inadequate preparation or betrayals. No civic innovations, for instance, local government, formed part of the tradition."
[295] Dick Hebdidge, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979), ix.
[296] Edna Levy, "Women Warriors," in *Women, States, and Nationalism: at home in the nation?*, eds., Sita Ranchod-Nillson and Mary Ann Tetreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 197.

accepted, hence Ames' willingness to allow her into the inner sanctum of oppositional forces. When Peggy intersects her essential iconic representation with her 'real' position as soldier, she evokes a confused and aggressive reaction in Ames. When Markievicz presented herself as soldier she was often met with disdain and opposition. Mervyn Wall's letter regarding the Easter Uprising of 1916 exposes such:

> Years later a woman whom we employed...told [my wife] that she, when a girl of sixteen, when going to work on Easter Monday, passed along St. Stephen's Green. She saw a column of British Soldiers led by an officer emerging round the corner from Harcourt Street, and saw 'that slut Markievicz walk right out into the middle of the road and shoot that lovely young officer dead. I seen it, Ma'am, with my own two eyes.'[297]

This observation proves several things. Firstly, it displaces the burden of privileging a patriarchal Nationalist narrative from solely men and indicates that women were also part of this collective subconscious contributing to images of female restraint. Secondly, it demonstrates that when Markievicz revealed herself as soldier, she destroyed the mutually dependent relationship of woman and nurturer. She was woman and soldier. For this young woman, these terms were mutually exclusive. The use of the term 'slut' to describe Markievicz is ironic, considering she was dressed from head to toe in a soldier's uniform. The implications of female provoked violence could only be attributed to a 'dirty' woman, of easy sexuality, both unclean and unchaste. This has religious allusions as well. The ever-present iconography of the Virgin Mary undoubtedly reinforced such restrictive ideologies. Elizabeth Cullingford describes: "Mary's role as the embodiment of maternity [that] reinforces a biological insistence on woman's function as reproducer and nurturer, while adoration of her paradoxical virginity masks a hatred of the unclean female body."[298] To 'soldier' herself and in essence, carry a gun and ultimately kill a man, was to

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[297] Mervyn Wall, cited in Dermot Bolger, ed., *Letters from the New Island: 16 on 16/Irish Writers on the Easter Rising* (Raven Arts Press: 1988), 11-12.
[298] Elizabeth Cullingford, cited in James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 23.

disgrace the institution of mother/womanhood and further disgrace the purity of Ireland's women.

Peggy, unlike Markievicz in this instance, must maintain her 'represented self' until she succeeds in actualizing her initial intention. Peggy says:

> [...] Didn't I put my trust in you when I came here a lone girl with none to protect me? (*Confidentially*) And haven't I here for you Sergeant what the widow McCarthy would trust to none, only me, and I to give it into your hand, just between the two ayes of thus?[299]

Ames asks the men to leave and the stage directions read: '*Ames watches the men march off. Peg with her eyes fixed on him seizes a pistol from where it is lying with the other arms and hides it under her shawl.*'[300]

> Ames: And now my pretty, what have you hidden for me under that shawl? Golden guineas for your gallant Sergeant?
>
> Peggy: If i[t] is not gold, it is what has done better work for the country, aye and will do it again [...] Come here til I give you what you earned...you've earned it well...and God will forgive me. (*the Sergeant makes a step towards her. She shoots him with the pistol.*)[301]

Peggy is Markievicz's embodiment of the ideal female Nationalist. As President of the women's Nationalist organisation *Cumann na mBan* Markievicz often voiced her contempt with women who did not use their power in a way she saw useful to women and to the Nationalist cause: "Today the women attached to national movements are there chiefly to collect funds for the men to spend. These Ladies Auxiliaries demoralise women, set them up in separate camps, and deprive them of all initiative and independence."[302] *Cumann na mBan* facilitated the men of the movement in obtaining arms and funds, Agnes O'Farrelly in her inaugural address states the subordinate role of women in the revolt: "Each rifle we put in their hand (the men's

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[299] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[300] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[301] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 6. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[302] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen," in *Irish Citizen*, October 23, 1915, vol. 4, no. 23, p 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Report of speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League on October 12, 1915.

hands) will represent to us a bolt fastened behind the door of some Irish home to keep out the hostile stranger. Each cartridge will be a watchdog to fight for the sanctity of the hearth."[303] O'Farrelly underlines the role of women as supportive figures rather than having agency in the military resistance. These sentiments are exactly what Markievicz was reacting against in her speech to the Franchise League and further in Peggy's actions in *Blood Money*. The women in her play; the Widow McCarthy, Mrs. Mullen, and Peggy O'Byrne have agency, they drive the action of her play. Markievicz saw the movement as a collective and equal one, not as women playing a subordinate role. As a result of this the Countess received much criticism even as so recent as Margaret Ward's article *Marginality and Militancy: Cumann na mBan 1914-1936* where Ward suggests that Markievicz: "never used her considerable energies to change the situation [...]."[304] This dissertation argues that Markievicz's artistry and dramatic efforts were just as much a part of her activism as her military actions and associations such as those with *Inghinidhe na hÉireann, Cumann na mBan, Fianna na hÉireann* and the Irish Citizen Army.

Blood Money evokes the tradition of grassroots rebellion efforts against the British hegemonic. She extends this custom by placing the success of the rebellion at the efforts of women. It is the men who disappoint. MacGuinness and Mullen, the two Irish informants who dress and serve as British soldiers are brought to their 'deserved' fate:

> *Shots heard off. MacGuinness and Mullen rush in towards where they left their weapons. MacGuinness is shot dead. Mullen throws himself on his knees. The boys and a few rebels rush in.*
>
> Peggy: Aye, the traitor. T'was he that led the soldiers to where the boys were hid in the cove beyond at Muldoons'...He in his ugly red coat. Aye Danny

[303] Agnes O'Farrelly, cited in Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 45.
[304] Margaret Ward, "Marginality and Militancy: Cumann na mBan 1914-1936," in *The Irish Women's History Reader*, eds., Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (London: Routledge, 2001), 59.

> Mullen, it was not for nothing that you were afraid of the poor dead corpse, for he's the last man that you will set eyes on in this world.
>
> Donal: Take him and hang him, and leave him swinging there, a lesson to all Irishmen who wear England's livery.[305]

This theme of male-practiced treason would run through all of Markievicz's plays most unequivocally in her final play *Broken Dreams*. Markievicz ends her play controversially. Donal McCarthy is not dead at all. He was severely injured and forced to fake his death. Peggy, in essence, has rescued him. She is the unforeseen hero of the play and the two lovers triumph in what is a reversal and re-gendering of the Irish Nationalist narrative.

***The Invincible Mother* (1925)**

Constance Markievicz's next play, *The Invincible Mother* (1925) is a play which not only warns of the consequences of informing, as both *Blood Money* and *Broken Dreams* define, but also focuses on the heroic sacrifice of Mrs. Fagan, Republican mother to rebel soldier Jim Fagan. Markievicz's play operates on two levels of instruction; firstly it succinctly deals with the recurring theme of traitorship and betrayal and secondly, Markievicz revises an essential component of Nationalist visual and literary rhetoric, 'Mother Ireland'. In Markievicz's original typescript she crossed out her initial title 'Jim Fagan' in favour of her play's official title *The Invincible Mother*.[306] This is primary source proof for Markievicz's perspective on her protagonist. Mrs. Fagan is the true heroine of this Republican fable. She is a female 'soldier' of the war once again taking seditious refuge in her 'perceived' stance of 'silent' mother or crone.

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[305] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 6-7. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[306] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 1. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

The play is not set during any particular time period as no mention of any date is specified, however, Markievicz's stage directions indicate the setting as Mountjoy Jail[307] therefore the play must have occurred after the jail's construction and establishment in 1850. Eight pages in length, it is a short play reminiscent of earlier nationally inspired one-acts performed on the early Abbey stage such as *Kathleen ni Houlihan* and Gregory's *The Gaol Gate* (1906) as it harbingers an elusive woman strategically yet seemingly unassumingly influencing male activism. Markievicz, however, takes this narrative convention one step further as Markievicz's 'Mother Ireland', recognizes the strength and wisdom associated within her stance of the seemingly benign signifier, invoking the strength and courage of Gonne's protagonist Bride in her 1904 drama *Dawn*. Mrs. Fagan, like Bride, is the head of her household surviving in spite of destitution and isolation:

> Mallon: You love him I know, and you're a wise woman and will do your best for him.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: Why wouldn't I love him when he's all I have.[308]

The Invincible Mother concerns Mrs. Fagan's invitation to visit her son in prison as a result of his successful plot to murder and inform against English authorities. Police Commissioner Mallon has sent his Detective Smith for Mrs. Fagan in her home in Mullingar. They have told her that Jim confessed everything to them and they believe that she will convince her son to reveal his co-conspirators. If she convinces him and he complies, they have promised that Jim Fagan will be reprieved of his crime and given a third-class ticket to America. Simultaneously the English police have implemented a plan in which they have told each prisoner held responsible for this plot that his co-conspirer has revealed his cohort in hopes of getting full confessions

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[307] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 1. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[308] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 7. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

and ultimately sending each rebel to the gallows. In the final moment of the play it is revealed that Mrs. Fagan has agreed to this visit not to convince her son to confess but rather to ensure his patriotism and dedication to his Republican legacy.

The start of the play's action is set in the:

> *Scene of the interior of a small room in Mountjoy Jail. There is a table somewhere near the centre of the stage, a high desk with a stool (at right), a door (at left). Windows with bars and no curtains (at left). Mallon, commissioner of police is turning over some papers at the table.*[309]

This setting would be a familiar site for Markievicz as she spent some time immediately after[310] the 1916 Rising in Mountjoy Prison as well as years 1920-1921. In a letter to her sister Eva dated May 16, 1916 Markievicz describes Mountjoy as:

> [...] not exactly a bed of roses, still many rebels have had much worse to bear. The life is colourless, the beds are hard, the food peculiar, but you might say that of many a free person's life, and when I think of what the Fenians suffered, and of what the Poles suffered in the 'sixties, I realize that I am extremely lucky.[311]

This letter, combined with the strident Republican overtones of her play's message still reflects a very hopeful and optimistic Markievicz with regard to nationalism and her Nationalist ideals. This is in stark contrast to her drama *Broken Dreams*, which is a critical reflection of her involvement and those who have settled for partition in Ireland's quest for Independence. Markievicz's *The Invincible Mother* once again hosts a triumphant and active female protagonist seditiously operating through and around embedded gender restrictions, however, a different kind of women's agency is revealed. This time it is the sacrifice and silence of the Republican mother versus the

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[309] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 1. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

[310] Markievicz was initially brought to Kilmainham Gaol for trial and execution along with her fellow Rebel leaders. Markievicz was imprisoned in Kilmainham for the duration of her colleagues' executions and sat trial on May 4, 1916 for her part in the Easter Rising. She was sentenced to death and court-martialled on the May 6, 1916. After her reprieve she was subsequently brought to Mountjoy Prison to serve out her life sentence until she was transported in August of 1916 to Aylesbury Prison in England until her release in June of 1917.

[311] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 140.

rifle yielding activism as demonstrated with her *Blood Money* protagonist Peggy O'Byrne. Markievicz implores her entire Republican constituency to take action, not just the young sons and daughters of the 'Nation'. Not everyone is in a position to take arms yet every woman can be active and dedicated to Ireland's cause for freedom. Markievicz's rebuttal of the 1921 Treaty for Partition in front of *Dáil Eireann* emphatically reveals how she then saw women's involvement in Republican activism:

> Now, with regard to the oath, I say to anyone—go truthfully and take this oath, take it. If they take it under duress there may be some excuse for them, but let them remember that nobody here took their Republican Oath under duress. They took it knowing that it might mean death, and they took it meaning that. And when they took that oath to the Irish Republic they meant, I hope, every honest man and every woman—I know the women—they took it meaning to keep it to death.[312]

Mrs. Fagan as Republican woman and mother chooses an expression of unconventional heroism. In Markievicz's "Women, Ideals and the Nation" she called for every woman to find "place in the nation."[313] Mrs. Fagan found 'her place' and chose the act of heroism that was available to her, the journey to Dublin under the guise of the 'silent' mother to instruct and remind her son of his duty to the Republican cause. This "expression of heroism"[314] is similarly revealed in Teresa Deevy's play *Katie Roche* (1936). Katie surrenders to her loveless marriage with her much older husband, as it is as Lisa Fitzpatrick describes: "the only expression of

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[312] Constance Markievicz, cited by "The Deputies of *Dáil Eireann* Public Session December 6, 1921-January 1 1922."<http//:historicaldebates.oireachtas.ie:en.toc.D.T.19211214.html.> Accessed: September 4, 2009.

[313] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan*. An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[314] Lisa Fitzpatrick, "Taking their Own Road: The Female Protagonists in Three Irish plays by Women," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 71.

heroism [...] that is available to her."[315] Indeed Mrs. Fagan's silence is her power, the silence marked in her apparent agency-less demeanour as mother:

> Smith: We have the woman, Fagan, here now, sir. She was tired after her journey, and I told the porter's wife to give her a chair here by the fire and wet her a cup of tea to put the heart in her.
>
> Mallon: Does she realise the danger her son is in? Have you made it quite clear to her?
>
> Smith: Well she seemed a bit dazed like, and she has more Irish than English, but she is no fool.
>
> Mallon: These Irish natives have such peculiar ideas of right and wrong you never know what they'll do or say next. The country's in a terrible state.
>
> Smith: Indeed, sir, there is no respect for law and order at all.
>
> Mallon: Did she seem anxious about her son?
>
> Smith: Well now, she did. She was saying that he was always a decent, quiet boy and that it was a pity for him to have got himself into this trouble.[316]

The Invincible Mother is the most controversial of all Markievicz's three plays as she unapologetically exploits the Nationalist ethos of woman-as-symbol for Ireland specifically, the impermeable Irish Nationalist institution of 'Mother Ireland.' Throughout England and Ireland's colonial history, 'she' has been artistically rendered through myriad incarnations. According to C.L. Innes she is: "Hibernia, Eire, Erin, Mother Ireland, the Poor Old Woman, the Shan Van Vocht, Cathleen ni Houlihan, the Dark Rosaleen."[317] As testament to 'Mother Ireland's' omnipresent influence, in 1922 the connection between Ireland and the Mother figure was explored by the Freudian inspired psycho-analyst Ernest Jones who in his paper to the British Psycho-Analytical Society, "The Island of Ireland: A Psycho-Analytic Contribution to

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[315] Lisa Fitzpatrick, "Taking their Own Road: The Female Protagonists in Three Irish plays by Women," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 71.
[316] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 1. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[317] C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 2-10.

Political Psychology" hypothesized that Ireland as Island associates itself with "ideas of woman, virgin, mother, womb adhering to the then newly psycho-analytic ideas of the Oedipal wish of the male child for "sole possession of the mother" denouncing any English fatherhood.[318] Jones points out that many of Ireland's heroes were indeed only Irish on their Mother's side including Eamon de Valera, Padraic Pearse and Erskine Childers. While it is assumed that Jim Fagan is Irish on both sides of his lineage, it is Mrs. Fagan who will continue the Republican legacy as she survives her son and husband. Mrs. Fagan must actualize the myth of Irish blood sacrifice through the deaths of her male kin. This is not unlike Markievicz who in being denied a hero's death was denied the opportunity to be immortalized in the Nationalist narrative of 1916 and forced to metaphorically shed her martyr blood through her literary incarnations. So too will Mrs. Fagan be forced to find catharsis in her son's heroic act as the only means of heroism available to her to express at this point in her career as Republican:

> I knew it. No son of mine could ever be a stag and an informer. All the Fagans died true. Didn't your father die in '48, and your grandfather on the gallows in '98. No Fagan was ever a stag and an informer. Kiss me, boy, till I feel the kiss of a hero on my own lips.[319]

This also highlights the importance of the indoctrination of the fictional Jim into the legacy of the Republican tradition, as Mrs. Fagan's roll call of the seminal years such as '48 and '98 demonstrates the Republican obsession with dates as landmarks for sacrifice and rebellion. Jones continues in his discussion on 'Mother Ireland', to identify several names for 'her' including *Caitlin ni Houlihan* and *Sean Bhean Bocht* citing several poetic and literary examples to further express the idea that the Irish man is indeed organically linked with Ireland as woman and mother. Jones cites

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[318] Ernest Jones, cited in Simon Partridge, "Mother Ireland," in *Fortnight*, no. 435 (April-May, 2005), p. 15.

[319] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

Michael Collins's comment at the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty Conference in London "I made it quite clear that Ireland was a Mother Country with the duties and responsibilities of a Mother Country"[320] articulating the link between motherhood and an autonomous Ireland as sacrosanct and women as the ideological reproducers and 'cultural corners'[321] of the nation. However, as Rob Doggett notes "Nationalist discourse, though frequently centered on morality, should not be dismissed as a singular force, a type of oppression that may be summarized simply as an outmoded Puritanism,"[322] the condition for women within such discourse is more complex than that framework offers. Doggett insists that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Irish nationalism certainly involved power formations that depended on morality but also extended past it "involving the peasant female as both the symbol of domesticity and an object of exchange within Ireland's rural economy- both positions working in conjunction to deny her unmediated access to political and economic power."[323] Markievicz invoked the morality of the Irish mother yet destabilized the conventions of ideal motherhood. Markievicz's mother nurtured a rebellious child: "Stand back, Jim Fagan. They tell me that a son of mine will say the dirty word. Before you kiss tell me that your lips are clean. Tell me that they lied."[324] In the anti-Treaty periodical *Poblacht na hÉireann,* published under the direction of Markievicz, there was a column entitled "Just Like a Woman"[325] which used the 'letters' of

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[320] Ernest Jones, cited in Simon Partridge, "Mother Ireland," in *Fortnight*, no. 435 (April-May, 2005), p. 15.
[321] Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Woman-Nation-State," in *Nationalism*, eds., John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 315.
[322] Rob Doggett, "In the Shadow of the Glen": Gender, Nationalism, and "A Woman Only," in *ELH*, vol. 67, no. 4 (Winter, 2000), pp. 1011-1034.
[323] Rob Doggett, "In the Shadow of the Glen": Gender, Nationalism, and "A Woman Only," in *ELH*, vol. 67, no. 4 (Winter, 2000), pp. 1011-1034.
[324] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[325] "Being a letter to a T.D. From his mother," in *An Poblacht*, vol. 1, no. 9, Tuesday, February 28, 1922, p. 7 and subsequent, "JUST FANCY!! Being a Letter to a T.D. from his Aunt in England," vol. 1, no 11. March 8, 1922.

women addressed to the now 'Free State men' in their lives to provoke Republican thought, mock Free State policies and articulate the anxieties of the Republican woman forced to live in a 'Free' State. While the subsequent 'letter' subtitled: "Being a letter to a T.D. From his Mother", does not indicate authorial credit there are resonances of Markievicz's preoccupation with being 'on the run' and there are echoes of Mrs. Fagan in the words of this mother whose son complied with Free State policies:

> My dear son I know you will be surprised at receiving this, as it's not often I put pen to paper. I generally leave your father to do both the writing and the talking; but this time I can't help it, for I want to ask you not to write so much about politics to him, or you'll have the man altogether.
>
> During the trouble he was quiet enough. Of course, he never believed in the Republic, but, like a lot of others he had to keep his mouth shut, and besides, he couldn't well say against you and Tom while you were on the run. So we had peace in the house at any rate. But now that you and your friends have thrown the Republic over, and are marching into the Empire with your heads up and your eyes shut and your mouths open there's no standing him at all.
>
> What made you do it Jem? He only reads part of your letters out for me, but I can hardly believe it's the same boy writing as you were only a year ago. He says you've grown out of your dreams and got sense, and that it's glad I should be if I wasn't unpractical, sentimental old woman I know it's the fashion now with the Free Staters to make little of the same women, young and old, that they were praising up to the skies a while ago. We were all right so long as we were marching with you on the straight main road, but we're all wrong when we won't follow you down the brooked [*sic*], blind lane, I wonder are you on the same cry as the rest? Anyway, you can't call us the changeable ones this time. [...]
>
> [...] —Your loving
>
> Mother.
>
> P.S.—I am sending you a few pairs of socks and a muffler. While I was knitting them for you, I was thinking of the time when you were on the run. Glory be to God, what a change![326]

[326] Anonymous, "Just like a Woman," in *An Poblacht*, Tuesday, February 28, 1922, vol. 1, no. 9., p. 7. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Mrs. Fagan, like 'your mother' in the previous 'letter', indicates the link between ideal Irish motherhood and active republican hero – she occupies two spheres of the Irish heroic ethos. While renderings of 'Mother Ireland' can be distilled into three distinct forms: mother, maiden, or crone; seemingly restrained and submissive yet may we now consider subversive and purposeful. To Markievicz she certainly was. Markievicz's mother indeed embodies the anthropomorphic qualities of an island. She is self-sufficient, stoic and autonomous and Markievicz unapologetically presents 'Mother Ireland', relying on the authority of such symbolic currency. Markievicz's dramaturgical tactic of silencing the Mother is an ironic choice in contrast to the play's title. This dichotomy emphasizes the importance of her silence and the agency in her stoicism. The economy exercised in Mrs. Fagan's dialogue emphasises the importance in her final words "They tell me that a son of mine will say the dirty word. [...] Tell me that they lied"[327]. Most of Mrs. Fagan's dialogue is otherwise narrated from the English police officer's perspective, highlighting the distance between the officer's assumptions that Mrs. Fagan will comply, which is at great variance from the Mother's actual objective. Mrs. Fagan does not speak for the first half of the play until she is called into Smith's quarters before she is to speak to her son. Her silence places her within a comfortable sphere for the English officers while simultaneously allows, her covert agency. Female silence or rather the silencing of the female has traditionally been a point of contention within feminist discourse as articulated by Kristeva:

> While stressing the negative consequences of patriarchal monotheism for women, who find themselves reduced to the role of the silent Other of the symbolic order; she also emphasizes the necessity of upholding the Law and

[327] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS.. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

> sexual difference as long as one remains within the framework of patrilinear, class-structure capitalist society.[328]

Markievicz once again subverts the traditional expectation behind the Mother's silence. Mrs. Fagan is assumed to be subscribing to the framework within this patrilinear society and she too 'emphasizes the necessity' yet she subverts it in her final act of sacrifice by using it as a means to get close to her son and thereby ensures that her son will not inform. Like Peggy O'Byrne in Markievicz's *Blood Money*, Mrs. Fagan can infiltrate enemy territory by camouflaging herself behind the silent symbolic currency of 'Mother Ireland'.

> Mallon: Well Mrs. Fagan, so you've come to get your son out.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: If so be it's God's will, sir.
>
> Mallon: Did Mrs. Smithson give you a nice cup of tea?
>
> Mrs. Fagan: Thank you your honour. No blame to her if I wasn't taking any.
>
> Mallon: You'll be anxious to see your son. I'm sure. He won't be long, and you'll be able to take him out and have your tea together... *(Mrs. Fagan just looks at him and he becomes somewhat disconcerted.)*[329]

By seemingly integrating herself into the 'role of the silent Other' the officers can project onto her their perception of what is safe and acceptable for them within her archetypical colonial persona therefore allowing her close proximity to her son. Officers Smith and Mallon should have heard Alice Milligan's warning in her *The Last Feast of the Fianna* (1900) where Fionn warns "Dreaming poet, have you not learned three things are not to be looked for – leaves in winter, snow in summer and

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[328] Julia Kristeva and Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 138.

[329] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 7. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

the silence from a woman."[330] Her strength is also found in her awareness of her 'silent' position with regards to the two officer's perspective:

> Mallon: Don't you think it was a little unwise to encourage such men about the house?
>
> Mrs. Fagan: I was always a neighbourly woman and no man ever found my door closed on him. [...]
>
> Mallon: He told me how they used to come in and gather round your fire and how they planned the whole horrible conspiracy. But of course you heard them all talking about it.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: I was always a good mother and minded my house, and when I would find time to mind the talk and the jokes that would be passing between the boys?
>
> Mallon: Don't you think that you were somewhat to blame? A mother has great influence with her boys, and your boy is such a good lad.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: He always attended to his duties.
>
> Mallon: A good son always does what his mother advises.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: He was always a good son to me, God bless him.
>
> Mallon: But did you never feel afraid that he would get himself into trouble?
>
> Mrs. Fagan: What trouble? Into trouble? And how was an old woman like me to know where a boy's wishes were?[331]

Performed under the bill "'Mobilization' All Republicans Parade at the Abbey Theatre Tomorrow (Sun) night 1st March" and performed by The Republican Players"[332] her audience would most likely be Nationalists and would essentially co-conspire with Mrs. Fagan and encourage this female soldier's final acts of rebellion heightening the tension for when and where this mother would exercise her Republican ambition:

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[330] Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna*, in *Volume 2 Irish Drama Series*, including Edward Martyn's *Maeve: a Psychological Drama in Two Acts* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 1967), 50.
[331] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 5. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[332] *The Evening Herald*, Saturday, February 28, 1925. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> Smith: I told her he was well and wanting to see her. "No one could be well in that place," said she. "That's true indeed," says I, "but he might be worse. I told her that the governor has a great liking for him and sees that he is as comfortable as he can be made, and the priest is with him every day, and aren't they all saying what a pity it is for such a fine fellow to be mixed up with a lot of informers and murderers. That he had asked to see her, and that the governor had allowed him that privilege, and that I had come with the message for her.
>
> Mallon: And what did she say to that?
>
> Smith: Nothing at all. She just nodded her head.
>
> Mallon: And she agreed with you?
>
> Smith: Surely she did, and I told her that he would be going before the magistrate in a few days and that he'd only have to speak the truth and that he'd be going back home with her. "Is that the truth you're telling me?" said she. "Sure," said I "and with no slur on his character at all." "And how should that be?" said she. So I told her how Michael Farrelly was after telling the magistrate how Fagan was in it from the beginning, that it was he that was in command and when the others held back it was himself that took the gun out of Kivlahan's hand and fired the fatal shot.[333]

Mrs. Fagan's silence, eventually leads to her perceived ignorance on behalf of the officers interrogating her:

> Mallon: Well, I suppose young men will be excitable and foolish. I quite understand and feel for him and for you Mrs. Fagan.
>
> Mrs. Fagan: Your honour is too kind. [...]
>
> Mallon: I suppose these men had great influence on him?
>
> Mrs. Fagan: What's that you mean? [...] He was always a good son, and attended to his duties regular.[334]

While improvising on the symbolic potential of the Irish mother and crone, Mrs. Fagan joins a lineage of Irish mothers who make literal sacrifices. Bride in Gonne's *Dawn*, Mrs. Fagan, and Mary Cahel in Gregory's *The Gaol Gate* see the loss of their loved ones as a direct result of the fight for Ireland's independence truncating the

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[333] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 3. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[334] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 5. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

distance between woman and symbol. Mrs. Fagan has lost her father, her husband and as Markievicz's plot unfolds, so too will Fagan lose her son. Bride, sees the loss of her husband, her home and as the play continues, her daughter. In *Dawn* Bride utters to her dying daughter: "Daughter of mine take courage, the night is coming on, and it is very dark, but the day will dawn, and little Eoin will laugh in the dawn and the sunlight because you did not leave the country – because you have been faithful to me."[335] Bride like Fagan reminds her child of her responsibility of her loyalty to her and ultimately to the Nationalist legacy.

Markievicz throughout her writings improvised on the emblematic cogency of 'Mother Ireland' however her lectures, plays and journalism clearly promote active rather than allegoric female agency. In an essay Markievicz wrote to her constituency as a *Sinn Féin* executive she asks: "Have we the children of the Dark Rosaleen proved true to our Mother?"[336] What reconciles this contradiction is not only do her plays decrease the distance between woman and icon, but she also makes an equal appeal to the Irish sons and daughter to act with 'her' and for 'her'. Karen Steele argues: "Irish women writers – like their male counterparts – sometimes passively absorbed political and cultural ideas about femininity and Irishness."[337] It could be argued that Markievicz saw the role of Mother itself as symbolic. Markievicz neglected her affective and domestic life when her life in the national milieu took off.[338] In 1908 her seven year old daughter Maeve was sent to live and be raised by her grandmother Georgina, her stepson Stanislau was sent to boarding school and while Markievicz

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[335] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6, Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.
[336] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript" in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[337] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 6.
[338] Anne Haverty, *An Independent Life* (London: Harper Collins, 1988), 70. Haverty footnotes O'Faolain on this subject.

found it easier to relate to her stepson than daughter, Stanislau wrote in his diary that "he wept and shook his head when she first inquired 'You won't be ashamed to kiss your mother when you come back from school, like some boys?'"[339] Markievicz distanced herself from her domestic responsibilities, however threats upon specific women were equally the subject of Markievicz's artwork. One in particular entitled: "Midnight Assassins. Raid on Mrs. Eamon de Valera" (fig. 2)[340] depicts Mrs. de Valera and her six children standing in their white night dress at English gunpoint. In this painting, Markievicz presents a stoic and strong Mrs. de Valera, unaffected by the attack on her family. Markievicz recognized efforts by 'real' disenfranchised women in Ireland throughout her career, most ardently as Labour Minister in the shadow government of *Sinn Féin*, when she fought as an advocate for their rights.[341] She expressed in a letter to J.P. Dunne "If I am ever free I will see you and consult with labour as to what I can best do to help Ireland do justice to their mothers in their great work."[342] This is in part linked to the Nationalist struggle and her Nationalist ideals as Markievicz saw the need to protect mothers while their 'fathers' were on the run as the children of such patriots were the future of Ireland[343].

As a deliberate piece of propaganda, a self-expressed trait of her plays, Markievicz's play also articulates the colonialist belief in the distance between 'Us' and 'Them', a tactic she uses equally throughout her journalism and her lectures in an effort to provoke her Republican audience. The English perception of the Irish as

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[339] Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 70.
[340] See fig. 2 in appendix: Painting by Constance Markievicz, *Midnight Assassins. Raid on Mrs Eamon de Valera*. Library Reference Number: 3062 TX, Reproduction Rights owned by the National Library of Ireland.
[341] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 135.
[342] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 135.
[343] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 135. Markievicz writes of this connection in a letter to her sister Eva in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 266. Markievicz and her daughter Maeve lived apart for most of Markievicz's life.

'wild', 'ape-like', and untameable was developed as a means to make Ireland a comprehensive 'Other' in lieu of its proximate distance to the core of the colonial empire. Mallon and Smith discuss such:

> Mallon: They are very poor people I believe?
>
> Smith: Indeed they are and they live in the most terrible place. [...] When I knocked at the door I got no answer, so I lifted the latch and walked in. It was dark inside and a hen burst out past me with a screech. The old woman was sitting by the fire, trying to warm herself over a sod of turf. She took no heed of me, so I just crossed the floor to where she was sitting. "Is it yourself, Jim?" says she, "No, ma'am but a friend," says I. With that she rose and gave me welcome and asked what news I had, and was he well. [...][344]

This concern is also dealt with similarly in George Bernard Shaw's *John Bull's Other Island* (1904) when the Irishman Doyle mocks his English partner's understanding of 'Irishness' and England's place within Ireland:

> Doyle: No: he's too lazy to take the trouble. All he has to do is to sit there and drink your whiskey while you humbug yourself [...] he's not an Irishman at all.
>
> Broadbent: Not an Irishman! [...] But he spoke—he behaved just like an Irishman.
>
> Doyle: Like an Irishman!! Man alive, don't you know that all this top-o-the-morning and broth-of-a-boy and more-power-to-your-elbow business is got up in England to fool you [...]? No Irishman ever talks like that in Ireland, or ever did, or ever will.[345]

Broadbent continues:

> Broadbent: Never despair, Larry. There are great possibilities for Ireland. Home Rule will work wonders under English guidance.
>
> Doyle: Tom: why do you select my most tragic moments for your most irresistible strokes of humor?
>
> Broadbent: Humor! I was perfectly serious. What do you mean? Do you doubt my seriousness about Home Rule?
>
> Doyle: I am sure you are serious, Tom, about the English guidance.

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[344] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 1. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[345] George Bernard Shaw, "John Bull's Other Island," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: Norton, 1991), 128-9.

> Broadbent: Of course I am. Our guidance is the most important thing. We English must place our capacity for government without stint at the service of nations who are less fortunately endowed in that respect; so as to allow them to develop in perfect freedom to the English level of self-government, you know. You understand?
>
> Doyle: Perfectly. And Rosscullen will understand you too.[346]

Dramatically these are moments of great comic capacity when understood and implied with irony. There are resonances of Shaw's sentiments in Markievicz's own *Blood Money* with Ames' line: "Surely a person of your refinement should understand that we are bringing civilisation and happiness to this unhappy country."[347] Within the majority of Markievicz's journalist writings, there is also a clear and definite delineation between 'Us' and 'Them'. For example in her column in *Bean na hÉireann* entitled "The Woman With a Garden":

> We, the Irish nation, are to have the men belonging to the vilest of foreign armies forced into our homes, bringing in their train all the misery, vice, immorality, and disease that they have already brought to those of our towns that are garrisoned by them—the English Army.[348]

Markievicz uses this journalistic and dramaturgical opportunity to remind her Irish audience of the colonial opinion that Ireland is in need of English instruction on civility. She parodies the English colonial perspective of rural Ireland as she improvises on the perceived 'Otherness' of the romanticized peasant. Hibernia would

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[346] George Bernard Shaw, "John Bull's Other Island," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: Norton, 1991), 131-2.

[347] Markievicz here is again highlighting the colonial predisposition to considering the Irish as what L.P. Curtis would later describe as the Irish 'Apes' versus the English 'Angels' Source: L.P. Curtis, cited in C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 14. Innes describes this as the need for the colonial rescue of the Irish from the Irish themselves. Innes quotes a letter from parson and novelist Charles Kingsley to his wife illustrating similar sentiments "But I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country. I don't believe they are our fault. I believe there are not only more of them than of old, but that they are happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure are as white, as ours," L.P. Curtis, cited in C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 14.

[348] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

often embody this perceived 'Otherness' and Ireland's 'our' women versus 'their' women was an essential bargaining chip for national versus colonial rhetoric, however this distinction was more proximate in its nature. C.L. Innes describes it as "Hibernia's image is likely to stress racial similarity, as befits a desirable wife or daughter whose relationship with England is to be a domestic one,"[349] Irish men were to be civilized by rule and order, Irish women would be civilized by sex, marriage or an English father's ruling fist. Mrs. Fagan embodied this perceived 'Otherness' through the gaze of Smith and Mallon and would be civilised by urging her son's 'confession'.

Markievicz provides her audience with a first hand look into the gaze of the Stranger, a trait essential to a Nationalist drama. With the mention of a hen running wild, the warmth of a sod of turf and dark, dampness of the home, there is a sense of essentialising the Irish peasantry returning to earlier Abbey notions of the noble savage quality of the romanticised West. These facts, however, are recollected from the gaze of the Detective Smith-'the Stranger':

> Mallon: By Jove, you're a plucky man, Smith, to put your head into the hornets' nest. Do you think the neighbours smelt a rat?
>
> Smith (*realises*): I think they did. I saw faces peeping out on us as we passed, and the doors were all closed.[350]

Traditionally it is through the Republican protagonist's gaze that we articulate the thoughts and ideals of 'the Stranger'. *Kathleen ni Houlihan* speaks of the strangers in her 'house', while 'the Stranger' in Markievicz's play speaks for himself and narrates the experience of his visit for Mrs. Fagan. Similarly in Gonne's *Dawn* the threat of 'the Stranger' is fore grounded by the starving, rural Catholics: "Bride wouldn't have

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[349] C.L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society 1880-1935* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 14.

[350] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 3. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

gone; she never goes far from her land; each day she wanders round the fields that was hers – it's that which angers the Stranger against her."[351] This simultaneously links the female body with the Irish landscape, which as implied by Gonne's 'Stranger' is literally and figuratively infiltrated by Colonial penetration, the 'Stranger' says to Brideen: "Have you heard from your husband? Ha, ha! You will wait a long time for that, I think. You had better take my offer and go up to my farm [...] I like you, Brideen, and I have a fancy to have Bride's daughter for my servant."[352] By writing dialogue for 'the Stranger' Markievicz de-mystifies the colonizer reducing and revealing them as merely mindless annoyances. It is this articulation juxtaposed with her reserved protagonist, which gives Mrs. Fagan her covert agency. While it is true that Mrs. Fagan does live in this rural home in the midlands of West Meath, her nobility lies not in her peasantry but rather in her actions and willing sacrifice of her son for the Republican cause- the last act of Republican heroism she can perform within her means. Of course this plot line has religious allusions, which cannot be ignored with the ever-present resonances of the sacrifice of Christ as template for the young sons of Ireland to explain the myth of the Irish nation. Renderings of the Virgin Mary often demonstrate how symbolism and iconography sometimes shape the real-life roles women are forced to play while simultaneously setting women up for failure to achieve such goals, what Lia Mills describes as the "model of inhuman perfection"[353]. This model has traditionally set the gap between the 'real' woman and her symbolic expectations enormously wide.

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[351] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6, Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.
[352] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6, Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.
[353] Lia Mills, "I Won't Go Back to it': Irish Women Poets and the Iconic Feminine" in *Feminist Review*, No. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), pp. 69-88.

Markievicz's plays and her revisions of the nationally inspired agency-less feminine tropes show that this capacity is within everywoman, everywhere.

Markievicz also returns to the use of space, landscape and the architecture of the home as an extension of the condition her women operate within. Peggy O'Byrne occupied a liminal space *between* home and a link with nature in the "*outskirts of a little wood*"[354]. Eileen O'Rourke, Markievicz's protagonist in *Broken Dreams*, suffered ebbs and flows within her personal and professional pursuits as manifested in her spatial confines. Eileen's childhood home was a place of traditional comfort in stark contrast to her marriage home, which was a place of dilapidation and subject to infiltration. Mrs. Fagan is a woman in transition between two tropes of Republican rhetoric and early Nationalist drama; the rural Irish home and the urban Irish gaol. This play represents the final stage in the life cycle of Markievicz's ideal Republican woman. One can almost imagine Mrs. Fagan as the aged Peggy O'Byrne, a woman who finds agency throughout the timeline of her Republican career. Markievicz is knowingly improvising and revising for counter-colonial purposes the Nationalist trope of Woman-as-Ireland. Like many Irish Nationalists, *Kathleen ni Houlihan* inspired Markievicz, which reveals another great contradiction for Markievicz as her prose and plays demanded active female agency. Reconciling this stance it is necessary to reiterate that Markievicz first was a Nationalist and second was a Suffragist. She believed that freedom for women was only possible within a free country and appealed to such inspiring Nationalist imagery at times in her career especially as a budding Irish Republican. She wrote in a letter to her sister Eva from Mountjoy Prison her feelings regarding Gregory's and Yeats's play:

> You remember 'They shall be remembered for ever.' What we stood for, and even poor me will not be forgotten, 'and the people shall hear them for ever?'

[354] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> That play of W.B.'s[355] was a sort of gospel to me. 'If any man would help me, he must give me himself, give me all.'[356]

It is revealed that Mrs. Fagan was not travelling to Dublin to implore her son to confess it all. She was in fact travelling all that way to ensure his silence and his pure devotion to his compatriots, his family and the Nationalist cause.

> Mrs. Fagan: *(Motioning him back)* Stand back, Jim Fagan. They tell me that a son of mine will say the dirty word. Before you kiss tell me that your lips are clean. Tell me they lied.
>
> Jim Fagan: They lied, Mother.
>
> Mallon: *(Aside to Smith)* The old schemer.[357]

With Mrs. Fagan's final words Markievicz plants Mrs. Fagan and her son into the narrative and heroic legacy called for by *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, simultaneously Markievicz's play would join the mores of Irish Nationalist writing whilst promoting a different kind of active female agency:

> Mrs. Fagan: Now kiss me, Jim Fagan. Sure I knew it, Jim I knew it. No son of mind could ever be a stag and an informer. All the Fagans died true. [...] Me true boy *(long pause. Turning to Mallon.)* There's your dirty third-class ticket. *(Throws ticket on the table.)* Now I'll walk the long road to Mullingar, my old feet dancing to the tune of my light heart, and tell the neighbours before I did that my son stood true. *(To Mallon)* You can count on a Fagan, even when he is facing the gallows. *Curtain*[358]

Gregory's Mary Cahel in the *Gaol Gate* (1906) echoes similar joys to Mrs. Fagan in the sacrifice of her young son dying for a friend and fellow soldier as if her legacy will survive in his death:

> Mary Cahel: The child he left in the house that is shook, it is great will be his boast in his father! All Ireland will have a welcome before him, and all the people in Boston. I to stoop on a stick through half a hundred years, I will

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[355] During Markievicz's life W.B. Yeats claimed sole authorship of *Kathleen ni Houlihan.*
[356] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 155. Letter to Eva Gore-Booth dated September 9, 1916.
[357] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[358] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

> never be tired with praising! Come hither, Mary Cushin, till we'll shout it through the roads, Denis Cahel died for his neighbour! *Curtain*[359]

Markievicz's *The Invincible Mother* joins the literature of the Nationalist narrative yet diminishes the gap between woman and symbol, revising such restrictive iconography in an effort to give power to women. Sari Oikarinen argues that during the Treaty debates it was recalled that: "[...] women had not "cried surrender"; but had inspired the men to resist during the whole period of the terror. In the previous century it was the women who handed on the tradition of independence from generation to generation, to Pearse and Eamon de Valera for example."[360] Mrs. Fagan would not only inspire and 'hand on' the tradition of rebellion but also ensure its survival. Markievicz in essence revises the perception of the sign itself, the sign that is the perceived silent trope of the Nationalist rumination, 'Mother Ireland'.

***Broken Dreams* (1927)**

Markievicz wrote her three-act play *Broken Dreams* just before her death in 1926. It was never published and was produced after Markievicz's death by the Republican Players Dramatic Society at the Theatre Royale for a "Four Martyrs Commemoration on December 11, 1927."[361] *Broken Dreams* is an exploration of women's relation to ideology, nationalism and gender expectations and how they operate within love of and loyalty to, Nation. Her female characters in this play represent the tension between the position of woman as mother or wife and the Irish woman's varied and integral engagement with nationalism. Lynda Hart contends that

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[359] Augusta Gregory, *The Gaol Gate*, in *Lady Gregory Selected Writings*, eds., Lucy MacDiarmid and Maureen Waters (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 362.
[360] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 158.
[361] *Evening Herald,* Wednesday, December 7, 1927. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Markievicz mentions her writing *Broken Dreams* in a letter to her sister Eva dated "About May or June 1926." Source: Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 306.

if "the female body is the root of male fear, the blank space that he must master, then it also has great power for the woman playwright as a medium for articulation"[362] this most firmly holds true for the *Irish* woman playwright. The pen of the male Irish writer, with few exceptions, stifled the symbolic potential for women. Markievicz locates this anxiety and experiments with it, using her power to create her protagonist Eileen, who elicits subversive depictions of female identity and serves as a means to 'articulate' Markievicz's own fears, frustrations and her personal relationship with the national pursuit and project. As Hart suggests "[we must] re-present women through their own looking glasses"[363] The act of writing these plays was not only a great vehicle of propaganda for the National cause but also a means for seizing political agency and reaching self-actualisation, and catharsis in the tenuous struggle that was women versus nation; woman and nation. In many ways this play is both a call to arms and a reflection on arms taken over her past twenty-five year relationship with the National pursuit. It is the story of Markievicz's own relationship to and involvement with the national liberation movement. Act I is a reminiscence of Markievicz's hopeful and idealistic nationalism, Act II reflects the tenuous years of military strife and imprisonment and finally Act III attempts to reconcile her disappointment with the Treaty for Partition and a divided Ireland. For a complete analysis of the play, reflection on earlier times in Markievicz's artistic and political career is necessary.

The title *Broken Dreams* immediately foreshadows a dilemma or a greater tragedy that rests with one woman in this particular playtext but is emblematic for the greater tragedy of womankind at this particular moment in Irish history. The

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[362] Lynda Hart, ed., "Introduction," *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 6.

[363] Lynda Hart, ed., "Introduction," *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 3.

dénouement of the play is heralded by the title and as a result the play serves as reminiscence or a nostalgic return to a more innocent and hopeful time but indicates disappointment in the Free State government as it stood in 1926. Writing and producing plays that confronted the Free State's failure, liberated women in a way that they were not fully in the Free State Constitution as *Pobhlact na hÉireann* originally promised. Cathy Leeney similarly describes Dorothy Macardle's *Witch's Brew* (1928; publ. 1931)[364] as another example of an attempt at self-liberation. Leeney argues that Macardle uses the supernatural as an indirect means of expression within the patriarchal structure, which traditionally allowed no space for expression or recognition.[365] While Markievicz's women were up against the infinite romanticisms of an allegorical Mother Ireland, Macardle who was writing just after Markievicz's death in the 1930's was writing as post-Revolutionary women were starting to assume actual power within the Free State. Leeney cites Gerardine Meaney's warnings, that this kind of powerful woman created anxieties: "Anxiety about one's fitness for a (masculine) role of authority [...]"[366]. With *Broken Dreams*, Markievicz begins a collective narrative which written just three years after the creation of the Irish Free State, foreshadowed the anxieties of this powerful woman and her threat to the State-prescribed institutions of mother-and-maidenhood. *Broken Dreams* is the story of an Irish woman reconciling her desire to be wife, woman and soldier. Markievicz's play forces a deliberate and unapologetic promulgation for women within the patriarchal structure. Lynda Hart maintains that the "Feminist adjustment of the lens to the background reveals the singular perspective that has placed women outside of

[364] Cathy Leeney, "The Space Outside: Images of Women in Plays by Eva Gore-Booth and Dorothy Macardle," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire: Palgrave Press, 2007), 62.
[365] Cathy Leeney, "The Space Outside: Images of Women in Plays by Eva Gore-Booth and Dorothy Macardle," in *Women in Irish Drama* ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire: Palgrave Press, 2007), 62.
[366] Cathy Leeney, "The Space Outside: Images of Women in Plays by Eva Gore-Booth and Dorothy Macardle," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire: Palgrave Press, 2007), 62.

representation-hidden, offstage, invisible – while representation has nonetheless been grounded in women."[367] Markievicz like her female characters are not offstage. They are at the centre of the action and therefore at the epicentre of the national endeavour. Patriarchal privileging within the canon of Irish literature since Markievicz's death in 1927 has not only placed her plays and therefore her women offstage, but rather in the annals of the Irish theatrical and political *his*torical narrative. As James Moran states "[...] after 1921 the Independent Irish Free State ditched the parts of the rebellion that had been associated with female suffrage, in a wearyingly familiar post-colonial manoeuvre."[368]

The plot of *Broken Dreams* concerns the protagonist Eileen O'Rourke, described as "Officer of *Cumann na mBan.*"[369] She is a young woman of about twenty and heavily devout to the Nationalist cause. She is the object of affection for two men; Seamas, an educated shop owner's son, schooled in Dublin yet took a job in London, and Micael, a "soldier of the IRA,"[370] brother to Eileen's best friend Bride and a schoolteacher. Eileen's first love is Ireland and while heavily persuaded by her mother and her local parish priest to pick one of the two men, she insists on remaining unwed. Upon realising that Seamas has defeated the Black and Tans during a battle in Grange, she instantly falls in love with him. They marry and live together on the run until as the title suggests, her love of Seamas and her belief in him as a fellow devout Nationalist is shattered.

Act I is set in the '*Dining room of the O'Rourke's House*'[371]. Markievicz's descriptions are rich and specific. The house is described as:

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[367] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 2.
[368] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 6.
[369] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[370] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[371] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> *[...] a comfortable, well furnished living room in a two storied farm house. There is a fireplace with the fire lit. The grate has hobs, and a kettle is singing on the hob. There is a window...the table stands rather to the Right of the centre of the stage. There are chairs round it and against the walls. Two easy chairs, and one dining room chair stand by the fire. There are spring flowers in vases on the mantelpiece and sideboard. Mrs. O'Rourke and Mr. O'Rourke are sitting by the fire talking, she is on an easy chair and is knitting a stocking, he on a dining room chair smoking a pipe.*[372]

Markievicz revealed the time and place in her 1926 letter to her sister Eva as "a thrilling story during the Tan war and in Sligo"[373] more specifically, during the war of Independence (roughly 1919-1922). The "Tans"[374] is a reference to the Black and Tans, a paramilitary force known officially as the Royal Irish Constabulary organized by Britain in 1920 to suppress rebellion in Ireland. Alternatively to *Blood Money*, in which Markievicz places Peggy in '*the wood*'[375], *Broken Dreams* returns to the homestead reminiscent of *Kathleen ni Houlihan*. This deliberately frames the start of action within the domestic sphere anticipating the Free State's rhetoric, which would eventually place the family at the centre of Irish society and woman as the sole preserver of it. Mrs. O'Rourke is performing a traditionally female task and is placed in an easy chair, which suggests her association with a femininity that is leisurely and passive. She is described as:

> *a small stoutish woman of about 45, with greying hair, and gentle, soft manners. She wears a dark, full old-fashioned skirt and a little black apron and bodice with belt. Her bodice has a high neck with a touch of white round it. On her head she has a black lace cap with a violet bow [...] has been very well trained in an old-fashioned way.*[376]

Juxtaposing the title of the play with this calm, comfortable setting immediately places a value on Markievicz's stance on the inflation of the domestic and her

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[372] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[373] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 306.
[374] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 306.
[375] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[376] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

contempt with the family residing as the centre for Irish society. Markievicz, mother and wife herself, was constantly at odds in her own life with the expectations prescribed to both these roles and would consider a woman who rested and existed merely within the familial sphere as old fashioned. One example of such happened on Easter Sunday, April 19, 1908. Markievicz was in Manchester assisting her sister Eva Gore-Booth who at the time was working with the Salford Women's Trades Council. There was a blizzard and it being just days before the North-West Manchester election, the streets of Manchester were crowded with speeches, parades, and potential traps for a rebel sympathizer. In spite of this, Markievicz expertly drove a four-in-hand through the crowded streets for her sister. She was heckled by the crowd; one man shouted: "Can you cook a dinner?!"[377] Without hesitation she answered: "Yes, I can. Can you drive a coach-and-four?"[378] If Nationalist Ireland was to honour the figure of the woman-nation, a figure designed to return Irish men to a sense of their inherent masculinity, Markievicz, as woman-soldier would place her at odds with public expectations of her gender.

Eileen in *Broken Dreams*, like Markievicz, is a force to be reckoned with. She cannot be controlled by conventional limitations such as the Church, Father Monaghan, and the State prescribed expectations of an antiquated femininity as represented by Mrs. O'Rourke. Eileen is the reconstruction of the young woman Markievicz was appealing to during her Nationalist career and the embodiment of Markievicz's early years in her commitment to nationalism. In a lecture delivered by Markievicz on March 28, 1909 to the Students' National Literary Society in Dublin, she detailed exactly where she thought women of the Nationalist struggle should be:

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[377] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 62.
[378] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 62.

> A Free Ireland with no Sex Disabilities in her Constitution should be the motto of all Nationalist women. [...] You will go out into the world and get elected on to as many public bodies as possible. By degrees through your exertions no public institution-whether hospital, workhouse, asylum or any other-and no private house but will be supporting the industries of your country. [...] regard yourselves as Irish, believe in yourselves as Irish. Arm yourselves with weapons to fight your nation's cause. Arm your souls with noble and free ideas. Arm your minds with the histories and memories of your country and her martyrs, her language, and a knowledge of her arts, and her industries. And if in your day the call should come for your body to arm, do not shirk that either. [...] May this aspiration towards life and freedom among the women of Ireland bring forth a Joan of Arc to free our nation![379]

Eileen would demonstrate all these qualities although written eighteen years after this speech perhaps both nostalgically and ideologically as this play serves as reflection on Markievicz's work during her twenty-five year relationship with Ireland.[380] The character of Mrs. O'Rourke would detail the dangers of the contradiction of the ages and how hard it was for women to move forward when those who were rearing young women were products of the past, the dilemma those same women Markievicz spoke to some sixteen years before:

> Mrs. O'Rourke: I tell you that girl will never settle down, we'll live to see her disgrace us yet.
>
> Mr. O'Rourke: You're too hard on her, Maria, it's a burden on a young heart to be mated too young. Let her have her turn of play...
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: Turn of play, indeed! What has she ever done but play? When I was her age hadn't I a house of my own and children to mind, and was I any the worse for that?[381]

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[379] 'Maca', *Women, ideals and the nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). Written under the pseudonym Maca, this lecture details Markievicz's first public allusion to her self-proclaimed fate as Ireland's Joan of Arc. This dissertation will later discuss how Markievicz positioned herself as such.

[380] In dialogue with this speech was Seamas O'Kelly's *The Shuiler's Child* (1909), written and performed by the Theatre of Ireland in April of 1909, Markievicz played the Inspector General. O'Kelly's play was the story of a young boy who was abandoned by his mother and taken from the workhouse by a wealthy farmer. His mother eventually returns to reclaim him only to find that she cannot afford to look after him, leaving her once again in the hands of the prosperous farmer. O'Kelly, inspired by the women of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, articulated the inner thoughts of many women of this time; motherhood was no longer at the top of many women's concerns or at least, they could not afford for it to be. While contemporaneously this could be read as an alternative representation of women it also suggests the position of mothers and motherhood if Ireland continued to abandon its women. The fate of all children would rest within the hands of the ascendancy and further the English. Seamas O'Kelly, *The Shiuler's Child* (Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 1909).

[381] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Written in the wake of the Civil War (1922-1923) Markievicz asks both herself and her female constituency was it worth it? Mrs. O'Rourke's question speaks directly in line with the notions of Arthur Griffith and other sexist Nationalist expectations. A major portion of Markievicz's early Nationalist work in the years leading up to the Rising in 1916 focused primarily on revising the mindset of young women especially with regards to what was asked of them by male Nationalist leaders such as Arthur Griffith who since as early as 1899 was publically declaring that a Nationalist woman's best serving work is that done within the home. Griffith maintained to "perpetuate a true national spirit in the country by seeing that their homes were kept sacred from the contaminations of the British press and music hall jokes."[382] The answer to this question creates the tension and the through-line for Eileen's actions. Eileen is not present until eight pages of expository dialogue regarding her are completed. Teresa Deevy's play *The King of Spain's Daughter* (1935) operates similarly with Annie Kinsella, Deevy's protagonist, not entering until halfway through the play, however, the opening scene is filled with expository information regarding Annie. Lisa Fitzpatrick points out that the topics discussed in Deevy's opening scene, "allow the range of meanings in operation in this community to emerge, as well as forming the basis for the audience's impression of the central protagonist."[383] Similarly within the first fifteen pages of *Broken Dreams* we are presented with a debate between old Ireland versus new which manifests in Mrs. O'Rourke's perspective on her daughter Eileen's Nationalist actions:

> Mr. O'Rourke: Whisht woman! Can't you have a little sense. Times is changed since you and I were young. Haven't all the girls the greatest respect for her? And isn't she the leader of the Cumann na mBan? And wasn't she

[382] Arthur Griffith, *The United Irishman*, 1899. Reel 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[383] Lisa Fitzpatrick, "Taking their Own Road: The Female Protagonists in Three Irish plays by Women," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 71.

> Secretary of the Gaelic League til the war began? And isn't she serving her country as well as any man? And if the work she is doing brings her together with the boys, sure isn't it for the old cause? I remember when Parnell…[384]

It is within the character of Mr. O'Rourke that Markievicz's first contradiction rests. Markievicz equates Eileen's father's opinion with that of the sympathetic Nationalist male. Kristeva reconciles this tension "[…] if women refuse this role of the unconscious 'truth' of patriarchy, they are forced to identify with the father, thus turning themselves into the supports of the very same patriarchal order. […]"[385] It is here where she is perhaps eulogizing and honouring her dear friend James Connolly. An integral contender during the Labour dispute in Dublin, Markievicz worked very closely alongside James Connolly. Connolly saw the dispute of labour as deeply embedded within that of the Suffragist plight declaring: "The militant women, who, without abandoning their fidelity to duty, are yet teaching their sisters to assert their rights, are re-establishing a sane and perfect balance that makes more possible a well-ordered Irish nation."[386] Markievicz uses Mr. O'Rourke, as sympathetic character towards women's involvement in nationalism. He stands as the patriarchal reaffirmation that women's Nationalist groups were, just as important if not more than, motherhood. Mr. O'Rourke had the luxury of thinking this way as Mrs. O'Rourke is confined to and product of her upbringing and social obligations. At first glance Eileen is reaffirming this patriarchal hierarchy. This marks Markievicz's first seditious moment. Eileen need not concern herself with the tediousness of her own gender struggle as her father serves as her mouthpiece. She is not even present during this argument and upon entrance her first order of business is that of a militant "I must

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[384] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1-2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[385] Julia Kristeva, cited in Toril Moi, ed., *The Kristeva Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 139.
[386] James Connolly, *The Re-Conquest of Ireland* (Sioux Falls: NuVision Publicans, 2007 originally published 1917), 47.

start for Grange on my bike at once."[387] This at once reaffirms women's integral position and visibility within the Nationalist struggle. Mr. O'Rourke is described as:

> *a tall good-looking man of about 50. He is happy-go-lucky and kind. The tradition he was brought up in is the Fenian tradition. Less educated than his wife, he admires her, though he often contradicts her in a kindly, humorous manner. He wears an Irish homespun suit. Later on a frieze coat.*[388]

Markievicz, born in England and raised in Sligo, a member of the ascendancy class and of the Anglo-Irish tradition, was often at odds with her devout role as Republican. This play is her attempt at re-writing her own narrative to that of girl with a Catholic Fenian upbringing. Markievicz's nationalism was inspired while Eileen's Republicanism is a birth-rite. Mrs. O'Rourke would embody many of the qualities that Markievicz's own mother Lady Georgina would have. She is a product of her class and was raised in an old fashioned tradition:

> Mrs. O'Rourke: (*Interrupting*) Parnell was a gentleman, and he did not have all the young girls in the country straveging round the rounds with eggs for him. Eggs, moryah! I've yet to see the hen that would sit on them. No, indeed, when Parnell held a meeting it was Mr. Brady that took the chair, and the gentlemen all wore their Sunday clothes and their beautiful shiny tall hats, and none but married ladies went and they in their best. I remember the lovely new dolman and the fine bustle I wore. I was a proud woman that day; it was all the new London fashion, and I was the first to wear it in Maugherow. The girleens stayed at home and minded the house those times. We didn't go in fear of being raided, and no one ever put the name of 'Gun woman' on me'.[389]

Juxtaposed this passage are notes on Eileen's appearance. She is described as:

> *tall, slim and good-looking with short brown hair softly and naturally curling round a striking face [...] she wears well made short tweed skirt and coat, with shirt blouse or jumper, simple hat and good strong country walking shoes with low heels [...].*[390]

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[387] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 8. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[388] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[389] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. One cannot ignore Markievicz's comedic irony here when Mrs. O'Rourke calls Charles Stuart Parnell a gentleman with only "married ladies attending in their very best". Parnell had a very public extra-marital affair with Kitty O'Shea. This shows that Markievicz not only intended this play as propaganda as this comedic element calls for an audience reception.
[390] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 7-8. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Shiny tall hats, dolmans and fine bustles were the costumes of another time. Markievicz would attend her last Dublin Castle ball in 1908 and with that, she shed her costume of the ascendancy and simultaneously an antiquated femininity. This play is not only recollecting the past, but rather *her* past. It is a story of Markievicz's coming of age with each character serving as an insight into her inner thoughts and turmoil. Act I serves as a forum for debate on the ideal qualities of femininity. Markievicz is offering two constructions of such with Mrs. O'Rourke serving as Eileen's foil. Mrs. O'Rourke posing as the antiquated femininity holding women back and Eileen as the ideal new woman of an ideal new Ireland. During the play's fifteen-page debate on old versus new femininity, Markievicz provokes her audience with dialogue on how a woman should act, whom she should marry and how she should dress. Mrs. O'Rourke's ideal woman sees domesticity and fashion as intrinsic to her safety and success. This is what Leeney describes as the "[...] ideological control of femininity"[391]. Markievicz demonstrates her discomfort with such ideas through the suggested pace of Eileen's dialogue. Like a demon to a crucifix, Eileen is harried, anxious and obviously vexed by the notion of home and the traditional ideals of femininity that both Mrs. O'Rourke and Father Monaghan present:

> Eileen: (*joking*) There you all are again! Matchmaking for poor me. I won't say "*Go mbeannuigh Dia air bhur obair*".
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: And what should a mother be doing, if not trying to settle her child comfortably, that she may die with a mind at ease.
>
> [...]
>
> Eileen: But I really can't wait.
>
> Fr. Monaghan: I'm not asking you to wait, I'm asking you to hurry.

[391] Cathy Leeney, "The Space Outside: Images of Women in Plays by Eva Booth-Booth and Dorothy Macardle," in *Women in Irish Drama*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire: Palgrave Press, 2007), 55.

> Eileen: No need to be asking me that, Father; I'm always in a hurry these days [...] But what is it you're all so impatient about?
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: What for indeed? If it was not to see you comfortably settled.
>
> Eileen: (*laughing*) But I am quite comfortable. At least as comfortable as a girl can be in a country that has not its freedom.[392]

Eileen's devout and singular love of Nation in lieu of her love for either of these men evokes a confused and nervous reaction from her mother and Father Monaghan:

> Fr. Monaghan: Is there no hope of getting her to marry the one or the other?
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: For myself I might as well be talking to the cat. But I'm always hopeful that in the end she'll follow your guiding, Father.
>
> Fr. Monaghan: But does she show no preference for one over the other?
>
> Mrs. O'Rourke: I wish I could think she did. She's quite unnatural. She doesn't even seem to take more interest in the boys than in the girls.[393]

Mrs. O'Rourke's use of the word "unnatural"[394] suggests that Eileen's devotion is associated with the perverse causing distrust in her affiliation with the Republican movement and consequently placing her sexuality in question. Eileen is operating outside the normative for women at this time as Markievicz often did. Catherine Belsey describes this as operating outside and beyond the 'normative' range in a given society.[395] Their behaviours are deemed "psychotic."[396] In Eileen's case she was "unnatural"[397] and sent to the parish priest in an effort to exorcise her from her devotion to the Nationalist cause. Markievicz was often the subject of this anxiety even within the ranks of those who gathered in the same name of freedom. In December of 1909 an unscheduled and secret meeting of the *Sinn Féin* executive board was called in an effort to join *Sinn Féin* and the All for Ireland League together.

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[392] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 8-9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[393] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[394] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[395] Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), 5-6.
[396] Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), 5-6.
[397] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz spoke out against Arthur Griffith and vehemently opposed such policy arguing that it was an effort on behalf of William O'Brien to capture *Sinn Féin* and use it to his and his compatriot's advantage. Griffith saw it as a means to extend *Sinn Féin's* power. Markievicz and her sympathizers thought it unimaginable to work with parliamentary power on any level and in the end her argument would win. After Christmas, Markievicz returned from her family home in Sligo to the cold and "suspicious" atmosphere at the regularly scheduled *Sinn Féin* executive meeting in Dublin. No one would speak to her except for her friend Jenny Wyse-Power. Consequently *The Irish Nation* printed a special edition on 23 December about the secret meeting that took place on 21 December. It would detail the events and policies debated in the meeting. At the meeting Wyse-Power asked: "I want to ask you something that none of the men have the courage to ask you [...] you are being blamed for giving an account of the secret meeting to the press."[398] This accusation was an attempt to intimidate her into giving the paper an incomplete account of the meeting.

Markievicz never backed down. She would often be hailed in the British press in the years following the Rising when her military efforts would become most visible as "the most sinister figure who had even appeared in Irish history"[399], credited with having one room in her house entirely decorated with human skulls.[400] This stands in line with Belsey's notion of woman as the 'psychotic' for woman as soldier is immediately abjectified, placing her outside 'normal' societal conventions and into

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[398] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33, Saturday, September 1, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[399] Sydney Gifford Czira, "Our Shot that Echoes Round the World," in *The Czira Papers*, MS. 18,817: Folder 9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[400] Sydney Gifford Czira, "Our Shot that Echoes Round the World," in *The Czira Papers*, MS. 18,817: Folder 9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

the realm of the "unnatural"[401], the informant, and the perverse. Markievicz's stance as rebel could only be reconciled within the media by marking her as a 'witch' capable of having a room full of human skulls. This simultaneously intrigues and terrifies. This draws on Tamar Meyer's argument that "purity,"[402] "modesty"[403] and "chastity,"[404] are common themes in national narratives of gender. Colonial rhetoric depended on the relationship between nation and sexuality and the essential distinction between *our* women and *theirs*. By villianizing Markievicz, England's women would remain the purest and most moral of women. Ireland's women would remain 'deviant' and 'immoral.' In Eileen's case she is the subject of male desire, a wild animal to be tamed. As Mrs. O'Rourke claims: "There's no more putting control on her than on the swallows that blow in on us with the spring breezes from the south [...]"[405] These women are simultaneously the objects of desire and threatening objects, a lethal combination for a woman operating at this particular moment in history. Any suggestion of their power being legitimate detracts from the myth of the nation and threatens the male Nationalists' sense of their own masculinity as well as the apparent morality of the Irish woman in the eyes of the Colonial threat. Containment is therefore necessary. Containment within a sensible marriage for Eileen, and for Markievicz it was containment within her suspected villainy or 'witchcraft' and ultimately the many prisons she was sent to during the years 1916-1923. Eileen's instance on remaining single foreshadows the turmoil and creates the

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[401] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[402] Tamar Meyer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.
[403] Tamar Meyer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.
[404] Tamar Meyer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10.
[405] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

tension that would come to a head in Acts II and III. Act I ends when Eileen falls in love with one of her suitors, Seamas:

> *Enter Seamas with the air of a conquering hero. He goes straight to Eileen [...] Seamas Gillen is tall and good looking [...] His eyes are small and suspicious. They are his only bad feature. His hands are white and nervous and he fidgets and balances his foot when sitting still. He is rather smartly dressed in foreign clothes, but wears a trench coat and Trilby hat like the other boys.*
>
> Eileen (*to Seamas*): You're risking your life for Ireland every hour of the day.
>
> All: Bravo, Seamas, you are the boy.
>
> Seamas: (*rising and crossing to Eileen who is at the window*) And what has Eily to say?
>
> Eileen: Seamas, I was wrong in all I thought of you...You're great.
>
> Seamas: Eily, Eily, cannot you love me yet?
>
> Eileen: Oh, Seamas, I'm very nearly loving you.
>
> Seamas: I'll make you love me. Marry me tomorrow.
>
> Eileen: But I don't want to marry anyone. I want to work for Ireland [...] Perhaps at the end of the war, Seamas.
>
> Seamas: Perhaps...perhaps I'll be dead.
>
> Eileen: Dead!
>
> Seamas: Dead for Ireland, Eily.[406]

The National narrative is once again reversed. Eileen's love for Ireland manifests in Seamas' devotion to Ireland, it is not Seamas' love of the woman-nation that inspires him to love Eileen. Seamas is the inspirer. He is Eileen's Nationalist accessory. Even Mrs. O'Rourke, who would discourage violence encourages Seamas in his victory: "Mr. Parnell didn't encourage fighting, but I suppose time are changed. Now

[406] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 26. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

I'm proud to be entertaining you."[407] At Seamas' declaration that he'll die for Ireland Markievicz writes:

> *A lorry is heard outside. A crash comes on the door and the Tans burst in. A general fight ensues, A Tan officer seizes Eileen, wrenches her gun from her and twists her arms behind her back, cursing her. Seamas intervenes and is wounded by the Tan officer. Micael shoots the officer dead. The other Tans are captured and killed. Eileen rushes to Seamas, kneels by him and raises his head on her knee.*
>
> Eileen: Seamas, Seamas, are you dead?
>
> Seamas: Not this time, only wounded, thanks to Micael. [...] Eileen my darling do you love me now?
>
> Eileen: Oh, Seamas, my hero, what can I say?
>
> Seamas: Will you marry me tomorrow? [...]
>
> [*Enter*] Fr. Monaghan: What's all this? Terrible, terrible...
>
> Seamas: It's great. Eileen has promised to marry me, Father.
>
> Fr. Monaghan: Eileen, what?
>
> Eileen: Yes, Father, will you marry us tomorrow? (*Curtain*)[408]

At the shedding of Tan blood and the sacrifice of his own Seamas proves himself a worthy Nationalist, Eileen like Markievicz's Peggy, is the litmus for the test of true patriotism. It is Eileen's love that makes him pure. For Markievicz, the need to reach catharsis through bloodshed began after the executions of the fifteen men who were at the head of the Easter Rising in 1916. Markievicz, while sentenced to death, was reprieved of her fate due to her gender: "The finding and sentence was 'Guilty'. Death by being shot. The Court recommend the prisoner to mercy soley and only on account of her sex."[409] This finding affirms Sarah Benton's argument that "women's political subordination is not natural. It is made by defeats, by military necessity, by

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[407] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 27. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[408] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, pp. 32-34. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[409] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

the settlements men arrive at to finish wars."[410] Markievicz's fate was not met at the Rising, and therefore she was not placed amongst the ranks of her male compatriots who were held as martyrs and the heroes of a new Ireland. She was expunged from the myth of the national origin. She asked to be executed along with her cohorts for that was the ultimate sacrifice, the act of Christian blood sacrifice that was essential for an authentic relationship to her nation, however, only men were allowed to make this sacrifice, thus making their love of nation organic and their blood essential to that of a Free Ireland. Markievicz unknowingly or not, felt that this would have detrimental effects on her percieved authenticity as a soldier in the national cause. Markievicz's self association with Joan of Arc is something this dissertation will later detail. She could not shed blood that would count, she could only live through her lust for it and therefore Eileen's lust for the man whose blood counted. It was this distance, actualized in Markievicz's exoneration, that would forever keep women on the outskirts of the Nationalist struggle. Benton sees it as the consequence of the militarization of the movement:

> The myth of foundation is extraordinarily important for women. It is in that myth that women are often deleted from history and the peculiar 'warrior' qualities of men are elevated to heroic status. The myth of foundation tells who are the founding father or the 'authors' of the nation, and thus defines what acts and styles are 'authentic' and whose voices have authority. It is in this telling of national myth that the political authority of women has so often been expunged. A vital thread of this foundation tradition, or myth, was that there was a distinct 'Gaelic character' and this was essentially military."[411]

The Easter Rising in 1916 owed as much to earlier ideas regarding rebellion and Irish autonomy, but subsequent history recreated the Rising as the 'founding' moment of the Irish Free State most romantically with Padraic Pearse's reading of Ireland's *Poblacht na hÉireann* or the proposed Irish Constitution, on the steps of the

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[410] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923" in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 150.
[411] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923" in *The Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 150.

General Post Office. The narrative was validated by the executions of the sixteen of the eighteen leaders (deValera was reprieved due to his birth in America, Markievicz as a result of her gender).[412] This association is etched deep within Irish history and the legend of the Easter Rising would live on as one of Ireland's greatest exports. James Moran states: "When the making of the Independent State remembered the rising of 1916 all hints of female involvement and women's rights were erased."[413] Ina Connolly recalls the frustration of being held in the margins of the organization of the Rising:

> When we heard that guns had been run in at Howth and us sitting pretty a few miles away, it nearly broke our hearts. How could we face up to Belfast and father and say we knew nothing and did less? It looked as if we were not to be trusted – we, who had been called upon at all times and under any circumstanaces, and had always turned to when wanted. Nora took me by the arm and led me away from the boys, telling me not to show my feelings so plainly. 'A good soldier takes disappointment and defeat with his chin up...' This was poor comfort, but she did her best to heal the wound. 'Had I been a boy,' I said, 'I should not have been overlooked.'
>
> The next day we were on the go from dawn til midnight, here, there and everywhere, delivering orders regarding the safety of the guns. When I heard I was to take small-arms to Belfast and was told of the consequence if we were stopped, it made up for the earlier disappointment. The dear Countess said: 'You are the first women to run guns to the North. Show what you're made of. Deliver them safely is all I ask. I have every confidence in you...You must be prepared to take full responsibility...and if you're caught, you know nothing, heard nothing, but only got the chance of a lift home from your holidays with this stranger you met at a dance. Is that clear?"[414]

This passage by Ina Connolly is telling of several things. First, there was an underlying fear shared by the women of the movement that they would be left out of the making of the Irish nation. Secondly, even Nora's use of 'his chin up' proves that there was a masculine naturalness pervading and inherent in the militarized efforts of the rebellion. Finally, it demonstrates that in lieu of the masculine priveledged myth, women were intrinsic in the military strategy but in their 'unmarked' position inherent

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[412] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923" in *The Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 148.
[413] James Moran, *Staging the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), 7.
[414] Margaret Ward, ed., *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1991), 57.

in their gender, they could move through enemy lines relatively unquestioned and unscathed. Markievicz was very much a militant in spite of many of her compatriot's and friend's dedication to pacifism. Markievicz's militant stance is evident with Eileen's fascination and immediate love of Seamas once he is realized to be an actual soldier, someone capable of sheding enemy blood and risking his own blood sacrifice for the nation. For both Eileen and Markievicz it is the catharsis in man's ability to shed blood that fascinates them yet separates them from an organic relationship with nationalism.

Act II is set in "*A miserable cabin.*"[415] At the start of the scene a newly married Eileen greets her friend Bride. Markievicz destabilizes the cosy interior of Act I by collocating it with Eileen and Seamas' dilapidated reality. When single, Eileen flourished. As a married woman her reality is dismal, Bride: "I had no idea what a terribly poor place you were fixed in, Eileen."[416] Melissa Sihra contends: "The recurring interior of the home on the Irish stage has come to signify an enduring association and conflation of family and nation."[417] Markievicz's interior disassembles such ideological constraints. Maud Gonne's *Dawn* was one of the first examples of undermining such an association. Her stage directions state '*Scene. A ruined, roofless cottage by the roadside on the edge of a bog.*'[418] The main action of *Dawn* is set within the abandoned, barren ruin of a home as Bride, Brideen and Eoin live just outside it in the rubble. Gonne is critiquing Synge's 'Tramp' and his romantic diatribe about living under the heavens as well as removing the female from the security of a cosy homestead. While *Dawn* was never staged, Gonne's notes were

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[415] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 35. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[416] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 38. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[417] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 3.
[418] Maud Gonne, "Dawn," in *The United Irishman*, October 29, 1904, p. 3, reel 6. Dublin: Dublin City Library, Pearse Street branch.

very careful directions as to how she wanted her *mise en scène* established. Gonne used photos she took during her time as a relief aid to inform the tableau she wished to present on stage. It was a roofless, ruined and isolated cottage. It served as a constant reminder of the barren home. If the home is associated with the Irish woman, then it served as a reminder of the vandalized Irish woman. Markievicz's *Broken Dreams* like *Dawn* would take that 'cosy' homestead and distort it. It was not a place of comfort but rather a place of portentous confinement. The notion of a house being a place of comfort and safety was foreign to Markievicz during her Nationalist career. In many ways she was suspicious of her own home as it was the subject of many raids during the Anglo-Irish war: "No one knows at what moment they will be arrested on some vague charge, and any house may be raided at any moment."[419] During December of 1919, while on the run, her home at Surrey was one of 188 that were raided, a raid that resulted in thirty-two arrests and nine deportations without any charge at all:

> Was it not lucky that I was away? I hear that Mrs. Clarke asked to see the warrant, and that the detective in charge said that there was none, she then asked what I was charged with and was told that they did not know, they had orders to arrest me and that was all. There were some police and a lorry load of soldiers. They searched the house to her great amusement—she made them look everywhere and waste a lot of time! If you see Cecil you might try and inspire him to find out what awful crime I am charged with this time! It's enough to make one curious [...] It was wonderful, when you come to think how few were caught. Of course we are on the run most of the time and no one who respects themselves lives much in their homes.[420]

Eileen and her best friend Bride's conversation, takes on this humorous undertone in stark contrast to the serious nature of what is being discussed. They would recall some of Markievicz's own experiences suggesting the autobiographical nature of her play:

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[419] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 213.
[420] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 213.

> Bride: There's been a lot of talk of you, and what a great shot you are.
>
> Eileen: Well if I did there was nothing ever proved against me…just a lot of stories floating around […].
>
> Bride: You're one of the patient ones, Eily. Soon! And you nine long days in a dirty police barracks, with no sight of a woman near you. Without a change of clothes and with little to eat and an old plank to lie on, and those villains peeping at you through the spy hole. I heard all about it. [421]

In between bouts of imprisonment Markievicz would spend a great deal of time 'on the run' along with the other members of the *Sinn Féin* executive board especially in the years directly after the Rising (1917-1918), during the War of Independence (roughly 1920-1922) and throughout the Civil War (roughly 1922-1923). The romance of a sinister female figure operating seditiously throughout the country-side of Ireland provoked many great myths about Markievicz much like the one detailing her "great shot" at Stephen's Green in 1916 and the account of her "room full of human skulls."[422] Markievicz found humour in many of the stories about her and outwardly revelled in her abjectified status. Eileen, like Markievicz, is very keenly aware of her contradictory stance as woman and soldier.

> Eileen: Maybe they thought they would get me to talk. There was one fellow kept pushing himself on me with his English accent. How I hated him! […] He pretended to be sympathetic with our cause, and was always hanging around and saying silly things. […] He told me he heard I was a great shot…and wanted to know if I had really shot anyone…He had heard such a lot about me, and was so interested to meet me and so on.
>
> Bride: And what did you say?
>
> Eileen: I was just very polite and discreet, and I looked very surprised at his questions.
>
> Bride: Oh, I can see you, it's you can play the shy colleen to perfection. No one would guess you were anything but a fool![423]

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[421] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 38. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[422] Sydney Gifford Czira, "Our Shot that Echoes Round the World," in *The Czira Papers*, MS. 18,817: Folder 9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland
[423] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 39. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz like Eileen and seemingly undaunted by her way of life on the run, would mirror Bride and Eileen's sentiments as their relationship would emulate Markievicz and her sister Eva Gore-Booth's relationship. Markievicz also reveals that she was very much aware of her favourable position of an 'unmarked' woman: "It's awfully funny being on the run. I don't know whether I am most like the timid hare, the wily fox or a fierce wild animal of the jungle. I go about a lot, one way or another."[424] Markievicz appears fascinated with the term 'on the run'. She refers to her renegade status with great pride and enthusiasm:

> It is rather wearying when the English Man Pack are in full pack after you, though I get a good deal of fun out of it. Even the hunted hare must have a quiet laugh sometimes. You don't know what a joke it is to speak at meetings, and get through with it, in spite of their guns and tanks and soldiers and police. I had some very narrow shaves.[425]

Her revelling in being hunted like an animal, read in tandem with the positioning of Eileen in a dilapidated house suggests a woman who was caught in the struggle between self, nation, love and love of nation. Melissa Sihra cites Gaston Bachelard's notion of how: "All great, simple images reveal a psychic state. The house, even more than the landscape, is a 'psychic state'."[426] Eileen O'Rourke is vulnerable to the outside whilst inside is no safer. Her marriage cottage is dark, cold and visibly cracked. Gayle Austin describes such notions of the home setting as being "another device used in these palimpsestic works is that of confinement. Very often female characters felt space anxiety in houses or rooms."[427] Anthony Roche describes it as

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[424] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 217.
[425] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.
[426] Gaston Bachelard, cited in Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[427] Gayle Austin, "The Madwoman in the Spotlight: Plays of Maria Irene Fornes," in *Making a Spectacle*, ed., Lynda Hart (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 77.

"in here"[428] versus the "potential of 'out there'"[429]. Eileen experiences vulnerability on both sides of the wall. She tried to find freedom on the run with her lover, away from the prescribed notions of familiar femininity yet alternatively she found claustrophobia and confinement both in her relationship and her shelter. Concurrently, another narrative is operating which seems in contrast with her glorified 'on the run' status. While Markievicz writes of her time on the run with great esteem and revelry, for Eileen she is framing this time within the dilapidated ruins of her marriage cottage suggesting an underlying resentment towards her involvement. Eileen discusses her disappointment with her husband's continued absence and reflects on the warmer times she shared in her family home:

> Bride: Bless you...Don't you be very lonesome here, with Seamas away all the time with the column?
>
> Eileen: I'm not saying but that I was terrible lonesome at first without father and mother [...] But I suppose a girl will always feel strange for a while when she marries and leaves the house where she was born and reared.[430]

These resonances of earlier 'peasant-play' elements such as the cottage setting serve as another means of articulating the forces between an 'old' and 'new' Ireland. Eileen's solitary confinement is reminiscent of the diminishing of Republican support especially those who were formally staunch advocates for an autonomous Irish Republic. Markievicz's tactics are an improvisation on the Nationalist rhetoric epitomized in the cottage setting. The cottage in this *Broken* Nationalist drama is decayed. The hardships Eileen encounters in this cottage and while on the run underscore the hardships experienced by women who operate outside the 'normative' feminised systems. Eileen the would-be-allegorical 'Mother Ireland' is alone at the

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[428] Anthony Roche, "Woman on the Threshold," in *The Theatre of Marina Carr*: "*before rules was made*," eds., Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), 17.
[429] Anthony Roche, "Woman on the Threshold" in *The Theatre of Marina Carr*: "*before rules was made*," eds., Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), 17.
[430] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 36. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

centre of the struggle with her favoured son Seamus nowhere to be found. It once housed an ideal Irish nationalism, now it is decaying and unsafe for those who dwell in it. During Bride's visit, Micael, Bride's brother enters:

> Micael: And how are you. Eily? Is it that Seamas is not keeping steady again?
>
> Eileen: Oh, Micael, it's awful...poor Seamas...if he'd only leave the drink alone...I sometimes feel I can't go on...and he such a great soldier...I would not like the boys to know. (*she says this very simply*)
>
> Micael: That's great of you, Eileen. I love his dash and courage, but I come near to hating him sometimes these days.
>
> Eileen: It's no use hating him; we must try to help him.
>
> Micael: Was he home lately?
>
> Eileen: About three weeks ago...he had drink on him when he came in.
>
> Micael: Again!
>
> Eileen: Aye, and he was so queer and rough, and seemed suspicious like of me...there was nothing of the old Seamas in him at all.[431]

If a free Ireland was a comfortable cottage then a decaying one implies constraints and vulnerability. Eileen is betrayed to the abuse of her husband as Markievicz saw Ireland dismembered as a result of the Treaty of Partition. In a free Ireland lives a free woman, any limitations on that freedom mean constraints on her. Eileen's relationship to Seamas would symbolise and reflect Markievicz's views on the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, which was given legal effect in the UK through the Irish Free State Constitution Act of 1922. Written three years into this legislation *Broken Dreams* would express her disappointment in the proposed bill. Prefacing this legislation, in 1921 in a letter to a friend Dr. W.J. Maloney in New York she writes:

> This Home Rule Bill is surely the climax of all the hypocritical legislature that the English government have ever devised. It is produced at this moment because England considers it absolutely necessary to try and convince the

[431] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 60. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> world that she is sincere in her support of the principle of self-determination. But the last thing she wants is to confer any power on Ireland, that might allow that country to become prosperous, populated and united. So this Bill for the better subjection of Ireland is termed a Home Rule Bill, though it contains little or no powers of ruling the home.[432]

This broken cottage houses Eileen's broken marriage and the relationship that the Nationalist cause had with many of its 'brave soldiers' that conformed to the Treaty. Similarly, in a letter to her sister Eva circa 1922:

> We are all frightfully busy here, preparing for the elections. Though personally I should not be surprised if they were put off again. The Register is a farce. Griffith is afraid that if it is revised he will be beaten. None of the Volunteers are on. We brought in a Bill to enfranchise women under 30. Griffith turned it down. Quite spontaneously the demand arose here, women everywhere throughout the country suddenly finding their position to be humiliating, and it was the fight that did it. They say they must have a say as to the Treaty, and that if they are good enough to take part in the fight, they are good enough to vote.
>
> Things are *awful* here. There are more people being killed weekly than before the truce.[433]

Michael Collins was one of Ireland's favoured sons who endorsed and agreed to the Treaty. Seamas "smartly dressed in foreign clothes"[434] and with his English education would in many ways resemble Collins. Upon the ratification of the Treaty for Partition Markievicz clearly expressed the true "grief" for the women of the struggle stating their outlooks and visions had been: "[...] keen and direct [...] no terror could cow them, and today the grief of the women is not for their loved ones who died true, but for those who were weak and who have not the clear vision."[435] For Markievicz, one of the greatest hypocrisies that the Treaty posited was the oath to the King of England. In the *Dáil Eireann* debates on the Treaty she was documented as saying: "I'd sooner die than give a declaration of fidelity to King George or the

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[432] Letter from Constance Markievicz to W.J. Maloney. Source: *The Maloney collection of Irish historical papers, 1857-1965* (bulk 1913-1922). New York: New York Public Library.
[433] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 298.
[434] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 26. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[435] Constance Markievicz, a typescript of a speech, *John McGarrity Papers*, MS. 17, 463. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

British Empire."[436] The oath she took when she married Seamas demonstrates the failure and betrayal that the Treaty's oath presented. Signing the Treaty for Markievicz meant giving up her idealism, it meant breaking the "spirit and soul of Ireland."[437] Seamas' nationalism, like Collins' and those who supported the Treaty, became compromised. Seamas is portrayed as drunken, not to be trusted and inconsistent. He enters the cottage with Micael and Eileen speaking. He grows suspicious and threatens to murder Micael for his supposed affair with Eileen. Micael and Seamas become the allegorical Ireland. Micael represents the hopeful nationalism embedded in the anti-Treatists, the reaffirmers of the Republic and Seamas is his foil, the fallen Nationalist in support of a partitioned Ireland. Their bodies embody the terrain for which Markievicz's Nationalist frustrations were fought on:

> Seamas: (*excitedly*) I'm going before you drive me mad.
>
> Eileen: What have I done?
>
> Seamas: I'm in the dock here with you all the time. You should not have married me if it's only to watch and judge and condemn me. Any way I'm going.
>
> Eileen: Wait, Seamas, wait. I don't condemn you…I know you are worn out with your wound and with the great work you are doing for Ireland…
>
> Seamas: Stop that rot, Eileen…nag…nag…nag… Ireland indeed! What's that got to do with it?
>
> Eileen: (*emphatically, and raising her hand with the gun in it to make and arresting gesture*) Wait!
>
> Seamas: (*quite wildly*) So you'd threaten me now!
>
> Eileen: (*holding gesture with gun*) You cannot go…[438]

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[436] *Dáil Eireann*, "Debate on Treaty" 3.1.1922, p. 183.
[437] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 152.
[438] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 65-66. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

This ends Act II. Here Eileen, like Peggy, seizes her male counterpart's gun unabashedly countering gender and military normality. Benton suggests: "The protective state will take care of those who offer it their first loyalty. This is one reason why the political place of women is always contested – for surely women owe first loyalty to husband and family, not the state?"[439] Eileen most 'egregiously' was threatening her husband, turning her back on her assumed familial loyalty and a supposed hero and soldier of Ireland. Here Markievicz is struggling to rectify the tension that is woman's duplicitous place in a relationship that is not organic. There is an inherent masculinity in the singleness of purpose and the unity of Ireland. The character of Micael, one of Eileen's suitors articulates this tension: "I always understood you Eily. I understand you now. You are so sure, so strong, so brave, and then just a woman in the end, who wants a woman's share of life and love and happiness and home."[440] Eileen represents the tension between the position of woman as wife and the Irish woman's 'unnatural' involvement in the fraternity that was the military and political realm of Ireland at this time. As Benton describes it "the ideal form of relationship in war is the brotherhood, both as actuality and potent myth. The mythology of brotherhood creates its own myths of women (as not being there, and men not needing them) [...]"[441] Eileen in this moment could never be seen as a soldier defending herself, only a wife betraying her husband.

Act II ends with Eileen on a threshold between wife and murderer, woman and soldier. Markievicz in the spring of 1926 was too on a threshold, reflecting on her past and the personal sacrifices she has made which ultimately never resulted in a 'free' Ireland. At this time the Republicans were once more reconfiguring their

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[439] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923" in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 150.
[440] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 79. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[441] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923" in *The Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 148.

shattered organization in the wake of losing many of their most active and influential members. It was ten years since the Rising and the untimely deaths of her compatriots most hauntingly her friend James Connolly and it had been roughly thirteen years since her husband Casimir left to act as a war correspondent in the Balkans.[442] The Treaty was ratified at the end of nine long years of imprisonment, running, and divisions within their ranks. Markievicz since was redirecting her efforts towards strengthening the *Cumann na mBan*. Her official plan for the organization was to "continue its military training and at the same time fit itself for other spheres in the national life."[443] She also returned to her work with the Dublin poor. It was a time of reflection for Markievicz and it is this state of reflection that her play was born out of. She wrote to her sister:

> I don't know what started me, but somehow a situation came into my head and I wrote a scene and then I simply could not stop. Wherever I went I had an old copybook and whenever I was not actually using my hands I wrote. I had to go and drive for an election in the middle—such hard work—and one day I got my car out at 7.0 and never stopped driving round until weary and sleepy I rang up a house at 2.30 to beg for a bed. But every minute I had to wait for someone outside a house—out with my old book and anyhow the play is finished at last. Of course it is not literary, only just a story during the Tan war and in Sligo, but I think it is human and natural."[444]

Markievicz's letter to Eva reveals that *Broken Dreams* in many ways was a stream of consciousness work, as if a confessional or autobiographical. It flowed out of her as if the act of writing it in and of itself was a means of catharsis.

While the gun never sounds, at the start of Act III the action returns to a "*nice, tidy, well-to-do farmhouse*"[445] The setting of the homestead is described in great detail and is juxtaposed in absolute opposition to that of Eileen and Seamas' marriage cottage at the start of Act II. Markievicz crafts her stage directions, specifically those

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[442] Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 113.
[443] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 335.
[444] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 306.
[445] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 68. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

of her domestic interiors, to 'match' the women she is placing in them. Eileen while on the run was set in a "*miserably poor two roomed cottage [with] [...] an improvised dresser [...] creepy stools [...] no curtains or pictures.*"[446] Alternatively, Mrs. Doolan and Mrs. O'Rourke, the representations of an antiquated notion of femininity, are set in a "*little parlour [which] is very conventionally furnished with a suite of Early Victorian furniture. [...] The whole room gives the uncomfortable impression of not being lived in, and only used when visitors appear.*"[447] This presents a counter-association between home and woman however, both homesteads in different ways, offer a means of containment for these women. Mrs. O'Rourke and Mrs. Doolan rest in their *passé* notions of femininity and Eileen as prisoner in her marriage to a fallen 'hero'.

The action starts with Mrs. Doolan and Mrs. O'Rourke discussing how Seamas was shot dead and Eileen is the prime suspect. Eileen's aunt Mrs. Doolan explains:

> [...] it's a sad and a disgraceful time for our family. What indeed would poor mother think – and she so quiet and respectable – in a fine oak coffin – and her daughter's daughter after escaping from jail to be running for her life from the police and that for shooting her husband.[448]

Throughout the play Mrs. Doolan and Mrs. O'Rourke have served as the mouthpieces for negative implications of Eileen enforcing the polemics between an old Ireland, which rests within the conventional familial systems, and the 'new' Ireland as presented by Markievicz's female protagonists. This tactic emphasizes Markievicz's insistence on the dangers of an antiquated femininity and her unfaltering opinion that an individual woman's actions are integral to the promotion of an equal and free Ireland. Mrs. O'Rourke emphasizes this:

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[446] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 35. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[447] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 68. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[448] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 68. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> It's plain as plain...I'm not a bit sorry for Eileen, she had a right to tell her mother. She was always headstrong. She married herself without consulting those she should, and she thought she'd find her own way out of marriage when things didn't go as she liked.[449]

Eileen's rebellious nature and involvement in an intrinsically male movement causes her mother to be convinced that Eileen must have killed Seamas. For Mrs. O'Rourke, this progression is natural as Eileen's behaviour has and continues to be, "unnatural"[450]. This "unnatural"[451] and deviant behaviour was apparent in Eileen even as a child, Mrs. O'Rourke:

> I remember well how she spilled and messed a bowl of milk I left down on the table...and she only a youngster...and when she denied it didn't Micky say it was two young calves that he got straveging round the kitchen, and blaming it on me, saying it was the way I left the half-door open when I went down to the dairy.[452]

Eileen was born aberrant. This divorces Mrs. O'Rourke from the responsibility of having raised her to be so 'peculiar'. For Markievicz, positing Eileen in this light from Mrs. O'Rourke's perspective once again emphasizes the human nature of Eileen's trauma for clearly she is not a deviant. Gayle Austin suggests that women authors used a madwoman "not merely, as she might be in male literature, as antagonist of foil to the heroine," but as "the *author's* double, an image of her own anxiety and rage."[453] Markievicz posits Eileen as a sane woman and therefore she uses the opposite tactic disassociating madness from female rebellion. To Markievicz's antiquated characters, this woman on the run, a known rebel, must have killed her husband. This playwright reverses this notion; her protagonist is sane and able. Markievicz takes her away from the psychotic and demonstrates that it is society's anxieties and rage that seemingly incarcerate this revolutionary woman.

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[449] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 69. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[450] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[451] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 5. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[452] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 68. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[453] Gayle Austin, "The Madwoman in the Spotlight: Plays of Maria Irene Fornes," in *Making a Spectacle*, ed., Lynda Hart (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 73.

This further highlights the fatuousness in deeming a revolutionary woman as 'unnatural', a threat and most ludicrously a madwoman or witch.[454]

Upon her entrance in Act III, Eileen declares her self-exile in America. She knows she did not kill Seamas but would rather carry the false burden of murderer than go against the crooked and cruel 'English' judicial system and most passionately, she would rather sacrifice her innocence if she could not sacrifice her blood, than have the presumed killer Micael take the fall. She chooses exile and in essence chooses to protect another one of Ireland's 'sons'. Markievicz often wrote of how her prison sentences and her exile were perceived as "better for the cause"[455] and "our arrests carry so much further than speeches. Sending you to jail is like pulling out all the loud stops on all the speeches you ever made or words you ever wrote!"[456] These letters dated circa 1916 followed by the second one in June of 1918, speak of containment and exile as necessary components in a Nationalist soldier's lifecycle. Considering her earlier thoughts on imprisonment with the soon discovered unnecessary and unjustifiable exile of her protagonist Eileen, Markievicz rewrites her initial romantic ideas about imprisonment revealing female containment as a patriarchal means of restraint. In Markievicz's case it kept her out off the frontlines of rebellion, in Eileen's case it was her only means of self-sacrifice, admitting false guilt and setting Micael free from accusation while perpetuating the popular image of her esteemed 'IRA' husband Seamas. Eileen, while not actualizing her martyrdom in bloodshed or in actual self-sacrifice resulting in death, is the true, selfless hero of Ireland. Once again the Nationalist narrative is reversed. Markievicz herself was the allegorical reversal of the traditional Nationalist representation and narrative.

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[454] Gayle Austin, "The Madwoman in the Spotlight: Plays of Maria Irene Fornes," in *Making a Spectacle*, ed., Lynda Hart (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 78.
[455] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 143. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[456] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 79. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Underlying this heroic sense of martyrdom, however, is a sense of disdain or regret with regard to the state of the 'Nation'[457]. This is most evident in her depiction of the traitorous Seamas. Seamas the perceived embodiment of the ideal Nationalist soldier is eventually revealed as a violent drunk, and most horrifyingly a traitor to the Republican cause. Much like in *Blood Money* Markievicz's play once again hosts an Irishman turned traitor:

> Micael: We shot him...and why? Why? Seamas...
>
> Eamon: He was a spy and informer.
>
> Micael: He never was that!
>
> Eamon: We proved it.
>
> Micael: You couldn't prove it. Look at his record; he led us at Grange like a young Robert Emmet [...].
>
> Eamon: And booze...you must have been blind Micael if you did not see the way he was going. Anyhow we have absolute proof.[458]

Not only was Seamas' fate a warning to pro-Treatists, so too were some of Seamas' last cries as articulated by Eileen:

> Just before he went out to his death he cried out, Eily, Eily, you can't love me now. Why couldn't God have let me die fighting that day at Grange.. I'm not fit to be near you now, and then he burst out shouting "I'm an outcast in Hell this day the curse of Cain is on me.[459]

In contrast to Markievicz's earlier *Blood Money*'s unmerciful stance on treason, here Markievicz reveals pure human disappointment and sadness in the loss of so many friends on either side of the political and military front:

> Micael: But I can't help sorrowing over him [Seamas]. I could never forget him, nor feel bitter.

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[457] Nation is placed in inverted commas, as Markievicz would argue that a partitioned Ireland is not yet an actualized Nation. The national pursuit is still very much alive until Ireland is one Nation, North and South.

[458] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 83. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[459] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 90. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> Eamon: Any why should you? He was your friend. And aren't we all sorry he went wrong, and we cannot be too sorry for it, but we must not forget.
>
> Eileen: He paid for it. God rest his poor tortured soul.[460]

Markievicz ends her play with the words of Eamon, the Republican soldier who shot Seamas. His final speech is like that of a sermon—his words set to fall upon the ears of an audience of Free State politicians:

> Weak and vain men trying to exalt themselves only lose themselves. He lost himself in treachery. With self respect went hope and faith and courage. Love became a delusion and a mockery. All that made life worth while to him was gone... (*thoughtfully*) Men like him are their own slayers... (*very simply*) God only gives happiness to those who give all; it is only where there is no self that there is God.[461]

Amanda Sebestyen in her introduction to Constance Markievicz's *Prison Letters* writes very briefly about *Broken Dreams* and makes no mention of Markievicz's other two plays. She writes of Markievicz's sadness and how that sadness can be read in both the silences "notable in Constance's letters to Eva from the time of the Civil War onwards"[462] and "through the play she wrote so excitedly about in her last year of life."[463] The remainder of the passage reads: "It starts with a woman realising she has wasted her life on her brutal IRA husband; it closes with the man exposed, shot as a spy, and a right-on Republican rescuer named Eamon."[464] Sebestyen highlights the theme of disillusionment. This feeling is what echoes throughout the pages of *Broken Dreams*, "Eileen: Poor, poor Seamas, I shall never understand...and he so brave."[465]

Gayle Austin maintains that: "Women writers coped by *revising* male genres, using them to record their own dreams and their own stories in *disguise*. Gilbert and

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[460] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 92. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[461] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 93. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[462] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxiii.
[463] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxiv.
[464] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxiv.
[465] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 88. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Gubar call these works 'palimpsest' works whose surface designs conceal or obscure deeper, less accessible (and less socially acceptable) levels of meaning"[466]. While true, Markievicz never held herself to the confines of societal female expectations however, she used theatre as a means to 'play-out' the trauma of an alternative narrative for her and ultimately for Ireland. In Markievicz's earlier dramas there is the presentation of a selfless and glorified woman validated by the hope of a free Ireland. In *Broken Dreams* there is an underlying pessimism. Eileen's nationalism does not come without cost and while she has agency, it does not come without the prospect of counter-normative violence, and ultimately a broken heart and shattered dreams. Considering all three of Markievicz's plays in tandem, we are presented with the lifecycle of a Nationalist woman. Concurrently, there is a through-line of traitorship and betrayal that pervades all of Markievicz's works, however never so serious or dark as that of Seamas. *Broken Dreams* is the actualization of Markievicz's greatest fear, a partitioned Ireland. Markievicz's Seamas is the allegory for all of Ireland's Michael Collins', those who once fought on the side of an Independent and autonomous Ireland who were now an integral part of the Free State government. Eamon, Brid's husband says: "There was a traitor even among the twelve apostles, and if you get a traitor even among the twelve chosen men, chosen by the Son of God himself, you may expect to find them in a mere human movement."[467] This is the one of the few times that Markievicz refers to the Nationalist pursuit as something other than a call from God and her journey something more human than that of Joan of Arc's. In calling what Markievicz dedicated the last twenty years of her life a "mere human movement"[468] her reader is immediately left with a sense of melancholia and

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[466] Gayle Austin, "The Madwoman in the Spotlight: Plays of Maria Irene Fornes," in *Making a Spectacle*, ed., Lynda Hart (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 73.
[467] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 85. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[468] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 85. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

disappointment. In *Broken Dreams* we once again see that Markievicz was a woman who had to make choices, had to suffer, loved and lost and also was deceived. She is not the triumphant heroine of *Blood Money* or *The Invincible Mother* but she is brave soldier in a "mere human movement"[469].

Markievicz on many occasions seized the gun and shot it, choosing the duties of soldier over wife and mother to her two children. What if she privileged those positions over that of her insatiable quest for freedom of Ireland and an organic relationship to the military and political pursuit? *Broken Dreams* is an attempt at an alternative narrative for her and Ireland's past as well as, insight to Markievicz's own past and personal contemplations. Sebestyen's writes in her Introduction:

> At no time in the five prison sentences that filled the last ten years of Constance Markievicz's life would you ever get any idea from her letters that she was really in danger. In the year 1920, 203 unarmed civilians were killed by the Black and Tans and British Auxiliaries. There were thirty-six assassinations in gaol—and Constance, serving her third term, would have been a prime target. But "Con(vict) 12"[470] seems to have stayed always, and incredibly, "cheerful though captive". As she wrote to a friend: "One is just a little more careful to be ready to die, that is all."[471]

While Markievicz's letters and demeanour were seemingly optimistic, Markievicz's final play was born out of a darker place of introspection. *Broken Dreams* was Markievicz's means of release regarding her personal and professional life and sacrifices. It is her unknowing confessional and the expression of a protagonist who questions whether or not there is a choice beyond submission or death for a woman of the Nationalist project.

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[469] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 85. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[470] "Con (vict)" followed by her prison identification number was one of the many ways Markievicz signed her letters to her sister Eva Gore-Booth when she was serving one of her seven jail terms. Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987).
[471] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xxii.

The Life cycle of a Nationalist Soldier

When considered together these plays are a cyclical, collective Nationalist narrative revealing the real warriors of the revolution: the women who defended, rescued and were betrayed by men they are fighting with and for. Markievicz's female characters wear the emblematic uniform of 'Woman-as-Ireland' as a strategy of war. They appear weak and without agency, yet their actions have proved subversive and purposeful. These plays cannot wholly be described or defined as feminist yet Markievicz in her life along with her subversive representations in her theatrical works, creates what Teresa de Lauretis describes as "spaces of contradiction"[472] a space where women writers can "destabilize" and "alter the meaning of representation."[473] Markievicz fills this space with strong women who have agency contributing to a collective narrative that widens the spectrum of symbolic potential for the remarkable Nationalist woman.[474] De Lauretis adds: "[...] while culture originates from woman and is founded in her captivity, women are all but absent from history and cultural process."[475] By looking at these plays within the context of cultural documentation, we relocate women's multifarious and essential roles. Lynda Hart states: "The drama then must be challenged not only on the basis of what it represents but how it reproduces meaning through representation."[476] In the case of Markievicz's plays it is not only how she reproduces meaning but also how she reverses expectations by placing political and military agency into the hands and hearts of Ireland's women and thus broadens the possibilities of representation for Ireland's female characters. Markievicz's theatrical renderings subvert the iconicity

[472] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 2.
[473] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 2.
[474] Teresa de Lauretis, cited in Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 11.
[475] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 2.
[476] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 3.

of traditional representations of women and contest "the place and authority of the masculine position"[477] in both the political ethos of the time as well as stage representations of the Nationalist male figure. Chapter Two will consider these plays in dialogue with Markievicz's Nationalist journalistic renderings.

[477] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xxviii.

Chapter Two

The Activism

"I am going to give a few simple hints to the women who wish to make the most of that little bit of their native land that falls to their share in this life."[478]

As one of the founding playwrights, activists, and journalists of the Irish Nation, an examination of Constance Markievicz's political commitment, public activities and rhetorical expressions is necessary to reassemble a political movement that has been overshadowed by a patriarchal privileged narrative. Investigating, performing or reading the myriad moments of Markievicz's activism and public activities brings her ideologies to life. Every written word, each play, every speech, each uniform, violent act, and philanthropic gesture is a specific enactment and stylized repetition performed to achieve her many activisms. There are moments of fascinating contradictions and symbolic subversions all specifically designed to attain an autonomous and thriving Independent Ireland. P.J. Mathews notes in his Field Day monograph *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement:*

> By 1908 the major cultural, political and educational institutions of the 'post-British-Irish state' – the Gaelic League, the Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, and the National University of Ireland – had all been established, largely due to the efforts of the revivalists and with little help from mainstream politicians. With the development of these national institutions and the emergence of a new wave of Nationalist newspapers, an infrastructure was put in place, which allowed the 'imagining' of the Irish nation.[479]

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[478] Constance Markievicz, "The Woman with a Garden" in *Bean na hÉireann* vol. 1. no. 4, February 1909, p. 3. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[479] P.J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*, 12 vols., Vol. 12, *Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs*, ed., Seamas Dean (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 10.

This chapter specifically analyses Markievicz's journalistic contributions that are directed towards both the "'imagining' of the Irish nation"[480] and the fostering of female agency within the Nationalist pursuit in Ireland. Starting in 1908 and ending with Markievicz's 1923 column "A Memory" in *Eire*, this chapter interrogates her journalism, her lectures, Nationalist songs and poems in an effort to gain further insight into how her many bodies of writing—both rhetorical and dramatic—speak to each other and to the other formative texts of the political and cultural Nationalist legacy. To locate this dialogue is to understand the very ontological core of one of Ireland's founding figures. Women, according to Butler, struggle to find language to define themselves, and thus fail to achieve full representation, in contrast to the "universal person,"[481] or rather, the "masculine gender."[482] Women are therefore subject to the inadequacies of both representation and languages of expression.[483] Butler underlines Kristeva's position that "poetic language is the recovery of the maternal body within the terms of language, one that has the potential to disrupt, subvert and displace the paternal law."[484] To this end, Markievicz uses 'the law' in this particular case, the law standing as both the press and the masculine tradition within the Nationalist legacy, to give language to female activisms. I consider Markievicz's potent use of image and metaphor and her highly expressive writing style as another tactic in expressing her cultural and national politics, another essential part in her 'repetition of acts' which sought to create the language needed, in what Butler describes as a "linguistic absence,"[485] to define her own place and further

[480] P.J. Mathews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*, 12 vols., Vol. 12, *Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs*, ed., Seamas Dean (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), 10.
[481] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 12.
[482] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 12.
[483] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 10-12.
[484] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 99.
[485] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 10-12.

women's place within the practices of representation during Ireland's myth of creation.

Markievicz's Introduction to the Nationalist Press

Karen Steele in her book *Women, Press and Politics During the Irish Revival* claims that Nationalist periodicals tended to lie dormant until the 1890s when "successive revolutionary newspapers came into their own with later papers taking up where earlier ones left off."[486] Women's groups in particular used the medium of the periodical to involve and evoke women's participation in the Nationalist debate, as it was a means for widespread circulation and access to Nationalist cohesion when groups such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the Irish Land League were denying female involvement. The template for female journalistic solidarity was Alice Milligan's *The Shan Van Vocht* (1896-1899) which, as Steele describes: "focused on centenary activities that recalled the ideas, methods, and example of this earlier republican movement"[487] as the centenary of the United Irishmen Uprising of 1798 was fast approaching. This 'earlier republican movement' inspired Nationalist impulses throughout the building and conceptualising of Ireland's national identity with Markievicz re-appropriating the different historical imaginings necessary in the commemoration of the 1798 Rising and subsequent heroic traditions, throughout her artistic and literary renderings. Markievicz believed that the women of the movement were the fiercest of Irish Nationalists and earlier dailies such as *The Freeman's Journal* and *The Independent* were not radical enough as they promoted ideas

[486] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 3.
[487] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 4.

regarding Home Rule through a Parliament located in Britain.[488] She would not tolerate anything short of an established and Free Republic of Ireland[489], a concept that female authored and edited periodicals such as *Bean na hÉireann* and the later the *Irish Citizen* wrote and published in favour of exclusively.

Bean na hÉireann (1908-1911)

In November of 1908 the first issue of *Bean na hÉireann* was published after several women from the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, including Markievicz, met in an effort to start a periodical for women fighting for Ireland's complete Independence from Britain. It would be at this time the only journal devoted to women's national interests as its precedent *The Shan Van Vocht* ceased publication in 1899. Sydney Gifford Czira writes fondly of this first meeting in 1908:

> As I walked into the committee room, feeling rather overawed, I had a romantic picture in my mind of what these women would like. They would be just like the heroines of '98 which I had often seen on the supplements to the *Freeman's Journal* I was sure. There was nothing dramatic, however, in the sight that met my eyes in that room. A few women were sitting round a table, earnestly discussing the plans for launching the paper [...]. Soon after the meeting started there was a dramatic interlude. The door opened, and a radiant creature burst quickly into the room. She was a tall, beautiful woman, with classical features and a delicate complexion. [...][490]

This "radiant creature" was Constance Markievicz arriving at her first meeting with the women of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*. She arrived late to this meeting from an event at Dublin Castle and was met with scepticism and disdain from her soon-to-be compatriots as she cast her shoes off and set them by the fireside. Markievicz eventually won the trust and confidence of her colleagues and was appointed to the committee formed to execute the project. Her work in *Bean na hÉireann*, specifically

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[488] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 3.
[489] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 56.
[490] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.

her allegorical column "The Woman With a Garden", was important, only for the Nationalist enterprise but personally and professionally, it was her first published body of work within the canon of rhetoric on Nationalist principles. Czira continues:

> I find it interesting to recall this incident for that night Madame must have been making one of her last appearances in fashionable society. By the following year, 1909, she had turned her back on the gay life she had once led in art circles in Paris and in London and Dublin society.[491]

Markievicz's involvement with *Bean na hÉireann* and her subsequent initiation into the *Inghinide na hÉireann* would encourage her literal and figurative disrobing of her ascendancy 'costume'. Markievicz would start to revise her public image and debunk her affiliation with England by authoring several journalistic examples of propaganda and by planting her 'Irish feet' in the soil of an Irish garden, she re-appropriated and revised a symbol traditionally associated with bourgeois English homes and cottages.

Bean na hÉireann sold for a penny and Helena Molony, the first woman of her generation arrested in the name of a free Ireland[492] would serve as its editor.[493] It was every *Inghinidhe*'s responsibility to demand of her friends "for one shilling a month to pay the printer, the only expense."[494] Molony, also secretary of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, was determined to make *Bean na hÉireann* "a woman's paper, 'advocating militancy, separatism and feminism'."[495] In its January 1909 issue in an article

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[491] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.
[492] Helena Molony, editor of *Bean na hÉireann*, was arrested in 1910 when the new King George of England and Queen Mary visited Ireland. Molony was arrested for throwing stones at a huge pair of spectacles that served as a welcome for "George" and "Mary" over the Yeates's opticians shop at the corner of Nassau Street and Grafton Street. Markievicz bailed Molony out of jail some hours later. Molony was sentenced to one month in prison or a 40s fine. With that she declared, "You will get no money from me sir" and officially became the "first woman of her generation to go to jail for a political offence." Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 98.
[493] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 6, p. 10, April 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland
[494] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance de Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 62.
[495] Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 72.

addressed "To Our Sisters" the women of *Bean na hÉireann* clearly staked their claim in the Nationalist periodical circuit:

> We believe there is in Ireland too much preaching and too little practice. The chief fault we find with men is that they talk very big and do very little, and we would like to foster amongst Irishwomen a desire to work, rather than talk about it in the columns of newspapers. [...][496]

Markievicz was responsible for drawing the masthead (fig. 3)[497]. It read *Bean na h-Éireann* in parentheses (The Woman of Ireland) on a banner held by a woman with qualities vaguely reminiscent of earlier renderings of Hibernia. This dual naming of the periodical in both Irish and English suggests that this call to the women of Ireland was not dependent upon birth or language but rather it was a call to all women across all demographics of Ireland who believed in a free and thriving, autonomous Nation. Considering this, Markievicz's woman figure had to appeal to all the women of the Nationalist enterprise. Sari Oikarinen hypothesises that in Markievicz's opinion "women should be a clear part of the Nationalist movement because Irish women had also been responsible for allowing the Irish situation to deteriorate in the first place."[498] While I am reluctant to assume Markievicz placed the burden of the Nation's troubles entirely on women's shoulders it is indicative of Markievicz's belief that women were the essential component of all the processes of nation-formation ensuring Ireland's Independence. This is best summed up by Markievicz's speech published in *Bean na hÉireann* in 1909 entitled "Free Women in a Free Nation" (1909) where she writes:

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[496] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 3, January 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Sari Oikarinen also quotes this segment when discussing *Bean na hÉireann* and "the demands of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*" in Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 44.

[497] See fig. 3 in appendix: *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 6, April 1909, p. 10. IR 3996 B15, and subsequent editions. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[498] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 53.

> [women] abandoned their Dublin mansions, to hire or buy houses in London, they followed the English court about and joined the English ranks of toadies and placehunters, bringing up their daughters in English ways and teaching them to make English ideals their ideals, and when possible marrying them to Englishmen.[499]

This speech reveals a projection of Markievicz's own contempt with her upbringing speaking retrospectively from a place of Nationalist enlightenment. While this fragment implies Markievicz is speaking deliberately to women of the Ascendancy class, in that single masthead, pictured at the top of every edition of *Bean na hÉireann,* 'this woman' had to appeal to a wider spectrum of female readership. The letters 'B' and 'E' were drawn in dramatic Celtic font style, the woman figure had a rather masculine face with great weight in her eyes. She is wearing the Tara brooch (fig. 3)[500]. Steele writes that, "*Inghinidhe* members such as Gonne and Markievicz were sometimes photographed wearing a similarly styled brooch, designed specifically for the *Inighidhe na hÉireann.*"[501] In many ways the women of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* who called for a unified front of Irish Nationalist women had to become mastheads, embodying in their everyday corporealities the 'Everywoman' of Ireland. Markievicz's masthead improvised on the *Inighinidhe* banner[502] and its background depicted a sunburst emanating out of the woman figure. Two issues later in volume 1, no. 6, in April of 1909, Markievicz rendered a slightly different version of the woman in the masthead (fig. 4)[503], however, both versions of this woman are in stark contrast to depictions of *Hibernia* presented in anti-Imperialist periodicals such

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[499] 'Maca', "Free Women in a Free Nation," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 3, January 1909, pp 8-10. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Sari Oikarinen quotes this on the subject of Markievicz in regards to feminism and nationalism. Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 53.

[500] See fig. 3 in appendix: *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 6, April 1909, p. 10. IR 3996 B15, and subsequent editions. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[501] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 118.

[502] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 118.

[503] See fig. 4 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 3, April 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

as the *Weekly Freeman* which used this figure as canvas to visually represent the trauma of Ireland's colonial condition through the victimising of a vulnerable *Hibernia.* While Markievicz's figure claims a whole bodied woman, strong and steadfast, the *Weekly Freeman's* Erin is bound (fig. 5)[504], sick (fig. 6)[505], dissected (fig. 7)[506], and decapitated (fig. 8)[507] at the hands of John Bull. In Markievicz's second version of the masthead, she omits the Celtic lettering and substitutes lower case letters. The woman figure looks less downtrodden and masculine with her head extending up and to the left as if she is realizing a free Nation on the horizon. She looks hopeful, self-assured with a look of knowingness on her face and her hair is bobbed and wavy. This is evocative of Markievicz's character Eileen O'Rourke, in her play *Broken Dreams*, arguably her ideal Nationalist woman: '*tall, slim and good-looking with short brown hair softly and naturally curling round a striking face [...] she wears well made short tweed skirt and coat, with shirt blouse or jumper, simple hat and good strong country walking shoes with low heels [...]*'[508] This woman does not wear tweed and still supports a Tara brooch, however, she is wearing a cloak and a long sleeve shirt with sleeves rolled up which are drawn a bit tattered as if to suggest that she is ready to delve into the Nation's work triumphantly as the sunburst beams behind her. In the distance, there is a body of water linking this woman's efforts with a hopeful, lively and fertile nation. In this characterization there is a

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[504] See fig. 5 in appendix: O'Hea, "The Reason Why," in the *Weekly Freeman*, October 11, 1884. Reprinted in: L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Images of Erin in the Age of Parnell* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2000), 28.

[505] See fig. 6 in appendix: O'Hea, "Doctors Differ," in the *Weekly Freeman*, May 16, 1885. Reprinted in: L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Images of Erin in the Age of Parnell* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2000), 29.

[506] See fig. 7 in appendix: O'Hea, "On the Dissecting Table – Again - Perhaps," in the *Weekly Freeman*, July 31, 1886. Reprinted in: L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Images of Erin in the Age of Parnell* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2000), 29.

[507] See fig. 8 in appendix: O'Hea, "At Their Mercy," in the *Weekly Freeman*, April 8, 1882. Reprinted in: L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Images of Erin in the Age of Parnell* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2000), 27.

[508] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 7-8. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

round tower featured in the distance which is used as both a watch and striking post against infiltrators simultaneously links this figure with an ancient Celtic heritage and the legacies of battles past whilst invoking *Inghinidhe's* militant policy as template for a prosperous future. Similar renderings of this woman, were subject for Markievicz's other propagandist etchings particularly one entitled, "The Dead" (fig. 9)[509] with this woman as *Cumann na mban* soldier scripted as saying "We have pledged our word to the Republic, we bend no knee to Englands [*sic*] king, we take no degrading oath, our motto is, 'Better death than dishonour' [...]"[510]. There are three generations of Ireland's soldiers looking towards her, "The Dead", the IRA and the scouts of the Fianna[511], she offers hope as she looks upwards and out towards Ireland's defiant future, similarly to the woman in the *Bean na hÉireann* masthead.[512]

Bean na hÉireann was conceived in November 1908, however, the first issue on record in the National Library of Ireland is volume 1, no. 3, January 1909[513]. Anne Haverty's biography *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* claims that Markievicz would not start writing her column until March of 1909.[514] Karen Steele's *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* claims Markievicz would not start writing for the Journal until February of 1909[515], however there is an introduction to her covertly Nationalist column "The Woman With a Garden"[516] and a

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[509] See fig. 9 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "The Dead". PD 3068 TX (A). Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[510] See fig. 9 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "The Dead." PD 3068 TX (A). Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[511] See fig. 9 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "The Dead." PD 3068 TX (A). Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[512] See fig. 9 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "The Dead." PD 3068 TX (A). Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[513] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 3, January 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[514] Anne Haverty, *Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), 74.
[515] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 118.
[516] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 3, January 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

short story entitled "The Mirror of Truth"[517] in volume 1, no. 3 in January 1909 and volume 1, no. 4 in February 1909 respectively. The journal ran for roughly two years of publication.

Bean na hÉireann is a journal full of contradictions challenging, or at times reaffirming gender normative codes of the time. Reminiscent of the American periodical *Ladies Home Journal*[518] first launched in 1883, it includes advertisements on how "To Make a Smart Dress Look Smarter"[519], and columns such as "Cookery Notes," "Household Hints," and "How Irishwomen Should Dress"[520]. Juxtaposed to these 'typically' feminine insights, *Bean na hÉireann* sequesters various articles which promote and support the *Inghinide's* stance on the necessity of the militarily enforced usurpation of Ireland's 'rightful' autonomy. In the "Editorial Notes" in volume 1, no. 15, the editors clearly state such: "Our brothers may smile at such bloodthirsty sentiments in a woman's journal but somebody must speak out, and *Bean na hÉireann* offers no apology for being that one."[521] This note is in response to two articles entitled "Physical Force"[522] and "The Art of Street Fighting"[523] which instruct and promote that which either title suggests. The topics included in and the aesthetics of this journal could be subject of a dissertation in and of itself, however, for this dissertation's purposes the journal's content will be considered in terms of how it served as a dynamic stage for Markievicz's journalistic endeavours. Steele's book

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[517] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 10, February 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[518] Website: *The Ladies Home Journal*, <http://www.meredith.com/mediakit/lhj/print/index.htm>. Accessed: August 12, 2010.
[519] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. I, no. 9, p. 3. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[520] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 119.
[521] "Editorial Notes," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 15 1910, p. 8. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[522] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 11, p. 3. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[523] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 6-7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Women, Press and Politics During the Irish Revival[524] touches on aspects of *Bean na hÉireann* whilst focusing a political lens onto Markievicz's "The Woman With a Garden" column. Steele considers Markievicz's column primarily as political propaganda looking at Markievicz's allegorical tactics as a piece of resistance literature. Markievicz's other articles, lectures, commentaries and short stories as well as how her "gardening" column speaks to her other bodies of work, most expressly her plays and other plays of the Nationalist endeavour, has been largely overlooked.

"The Woman With a Garden"

> April is with us, with its hopes and suggestions of a glorious summer; its blue sky and soft warm showers driving us out into our garden to prune, to dig, to sow, and to do the little we can to assist Dame Nature in this—the busiest season of the year...[525]

In April of 1909 this was the advice Constance Markievicz wrote in her Nationalist column allegorically entitled "The Woman With a Garden", in *Bean na hÉireann*. Written under the pseudonyms 'Maca' or 'Armid', Markievicz's 'gardening' column promoted anti-English ideas through the engendered rhetoric of ladies' gardening advice.

Her words "April is with us"[526], or "Our Irish gardens are indeed a dream"[527] immediately evoked a sense of nostalgia out of a very present and immediate colonial dilemma. Markievicz improvises on the Irish preoccupation with place, nature and landscape as metaphors for colonial oppression and Irish indigenousness. Her title

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[524] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).
[525] *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 10, April 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[526] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[527] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

"The Woman With a Garden" is an imaginative metaphor created out of the organic properties that should be or indigenously are 'Irish'. In a poem she wrote on the 23rd of November in 1917 for her *Fianna na hÉireann*, Markievicz highlighted the distance between the pastoral and idealized articulation of the Nation's troubles versus the stark reality of the urban guerrilla warfare practiced:

> And the battle raged on the Liffey's banks,
> And the streets were piled with dead;
> We shot them down at the barricades,
> And cheered as the regiments fled.
> God save Ireland we cried that day,
> And death took up the cry,
> And we saw them stagger on Mount-Street bridge
> And many a soldier die.
>
> O'Connell Street flamed in a funeral pyre,
> With shrapnel they battered it down,
> And canon boomed thro' the terrible night
> In the streets of Dublin town.
> God save Ireland we prayed with hope,
> Tho' we knew that the battle was lost;
> What matter our lives in Ireland's fight
> When England must count the cost.[528]

Markievicz's 1909 articulation in her 'gardening column' of a free and pastoral Ireland posits a paradox for pre-Independent Ireland as Irish landscape at that time was both 'Irish' because it was "physically attached to the country" and not 'Irish' as Ireland did not exist as an Independent Nation.[529] Terry Gifford gives three definitions of the pastoral. The definition I am applying here is how the pastoral "refers to any literature that describes the country with an implicit or explicit contrast to the urban."[530] This tension is similarly articulated in *Kathleen ni Houlihan* with the

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[528] Constance Markievicz, "Heroes and Martyrs" a poem signed by Constance de Markievicz, I.R.A, in *An Poblacht*, April 19, 1930. Written: November 23, 1917. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[529] Oona Frawley, *Irish Pastoral: Nostalgia and 20th-Century Irish Literature* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 1.
[530] Terry Gifford, *Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 1999), 2.

Old Woman's cry: "My land that was taken from me [...] my four beautiful green fields."[531] Simon Schama argues:

> Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock...but it should also be acknowledged that once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling, categorizing, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming in fact, part of the scenery.[532]

What Markievicz created with her artistic, rhetorical and theatrical renderings was an imaginative space of dissensus and potential for indigenousness: a landscape that was created by Irish hands in Irish soil from Irish plants "for the practical common sense reason that plants accustomed to Irish earth and to Irish air [which] are more likely to thrive with *us* in our *Irish* gardens, than plants brought from England or other foreign countries."[533] This tactic would not necessarily begin nor end with Markievicz yet her language, operating theatrically upon metaphor, joins a discourse that re-appropriated the Irish landscape as a space of colonial resistance. Brian Friel also uses this allegorical tactic in his play *Making History* (1988). Friel's play concerns the history of the Flight of the Earls, the displacement of Chieftain Hugh O'Neill and roughly ninety Earls to the continent of Europe to seek Spanish aid after the failed efforts of the Irish in the Nine Year War against Britain. Another link between these two figures is that, Sean O'Faolain was the biographer of both Hugh O'Neill and Constance Markievicz.[534] Friel starts his play with Chieftain O'Neill "*inexpertly cutting the stems off flowers.*"[535] Throughout Friel's initial scene there is a running

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[531] August Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 7.
[532] Simon Schama, cited in Oona Frawley, *Irish Pastoral: Nostalgia and Twentieth-Century Irish Literature* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 2.
[533] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Italics are mine.
[534] Sean O'Faolain, *The Great O'Neill* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942).
[535] Brian Friel, *Making History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), 1.

trope of the flowers needing water, indicating the withering fertility of the fractured landscape:

> *(O'Neill looks at the flowers in amazement.)*
>
> O'Neill: Good Lord – does it? Spanish broom- magnificent name, isn't it?
>
> Harry: Give them plenty of water.
>
> O'Neill: Magnificent colour isn't it?
>
> Harry: A letter from the Lord Deputy –
>
> O'Neill: They really transform the room. Splendid idea of yours Harry thank you.
>
> *(O'Neill silently mouths the word Genista again and then continues distributing the flowers).*[536]

O'Neill and Harry continue to refer to the flowers as O'Neill brings in more and more armfuls of the Spanish Brooms. They are specifically concerned with how to care for them and nourish them. This anticipates Ireland's eventual displacement in search for foreign aid yet also signifies a beautiful and flourishing landscape that has been severed at its roots, such as Ireland was as a result of English conquest. At the beginning of Friel's Act II scene 1, Friel's characters are literally transplanted into the: '*The edge of a thicket somewhere near the Sperrin Mountains*'[537]. Friel inextricably links the efforts of his Chieftains with the indigenous terrain, however a terrain not without threat from oppositional infiltration. His character Hugh O'Donnell remarks: "The countryside is crawling with troops [...] These Sperrins aren't mountains- they're bloody bogs!"[538] The accounts of subsequent Plantations – most horrifyingly acquainted with Oliver Cromwell in the 1650's—combine mythic and factual strategies to reconstruct a very anti-British history. Friel consistently

[536] Brian Friel, *Making History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), 2.
[537] Brian Friel, *Making History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), 43.
[538] Brian Friel, *Making History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), 43.

makes reference to the organic properties associated with the Irish landscape and uses the surname 'Gardner' for his Lord Chief of Justice. Markievicz's 'garden' similarly improvises on anti-colonial metaphoric and rhetorical strategies of plantation and displacement, she writes:

> Our Irish Gardens are indeed a dream. I remember when passing through Belfast, spending a happy day at Newtonards Messrs. Alex Dickson and Son's Rose and Flower Farm. Certainly it was a day never to be forgotten; under a brilliant sky, acres and acres of roses turned their faces to the sun. Wonderful single Irish roses, shading a deep crimson to a brilliant white [...].[539]

Here Markievicz is claiming the Unionist stronghold of Belfast as unconditionally Irish, using the organic properties of soil and earth as her claim.

As Friel's title implies, *Making History* is also a meta-theatrical presentation of the process of writing history. Friel's character Lombard explains: "Isn't that what history is, a kind of story-telling? Imposing a pattern on events that were mostly casual and haphazard and shaping them into a narrative that is logical and interesting. Oh yes, I think so."[540] Friel believes that in "some ways the inherited images of 1916 or 1690 control and rule our lives more profoundly than the historical truth of what happened on those two occasions"[541]. Elizabeth Cullingford adds that by improvising on historical traditions such as medieval genealogy, antiquarian philology, and literary texts Irish playwrights construct an "oppositional identity for colonized Irish."[542] Markievicz's 'agricultural' column joins this dialogue that transcends time

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[539] 'Maca', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 6, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[540] Brian Friel, *Making History* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989), 8.

[541] Brian Friel, "Talking to Ourselves," in *Magill*, December 1980, p.61 as quoted in Martine Pelletier, "Telling Stories and Making History: Brian Friel and Field Day" *Irish University Review*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Autumn – Winter, 1994), 186-197. On July 1st, 1690, two armies consisting of Danish, French, Dutch, Huguenot, German, English and Irish troops met on the banks of the River Boyne near Drogheda. Men insisting that they alone were the rightful King of England led either army. The main force of both armies never took part in the fighting. The Battle of the Boyne was not decisive in any way yet it became one of the most iconic events in Irish history.

[542] Elizabeth Butler Cullingford, "British Romans and Irish Carthaginians: Anticolonial Metaphor in Heaney, Friel, and McGuinness," in *Modern Language Association*, vol. 111, no. 2 (March, 1996), 222-239.

and colonial status and becomes a part of a system of inherited images. She peppers her Nationalist encouragements with recollections of great heroes of the past as if the stories of Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmet were told to her at the hearthside at night. There is great ownership in the celebration of these heroes and conviction behind her believed cause for celebration:

> The spring of to-day, with the feeling of uplifting it brings with it, helps our imagination to give us a little idea of the great uplifting of joy and hope that was in the hearts of our patriots in that May just 111 years ago. I wonder how long it will take us Irish to make the 24th of May a great anniversary in our lives; a day of sorrow and mourning for the tragedy it preceded, and a day of great National pride and thankfulness for the heritage of self-sacrifice and honour left us by our brave heroes; and above all a day of hope that a glorious summer time for Ireland is not far distant.[543]

Markievicz also appropriates this tactic in *Blood Money* and *Broken Dreams*. While both plots are fictitious, *Blood Money* is set in the seminal Nationalist year 1798, and *Broken Dreams* during an: '*incident during the Black and Tan War*'[544]. By seemingly 'fictionalizing' the colonial struggle of the Irish people, she is immediately and doubly creating extremely potent inherited images, which instigate a call for action within the existing and present colonial condition. Simultaneously, by planting her 'garden' and claiming Irish soil as Ireland's own she is reversing the colonial implications associated with Plantation. She is revising it as an indigenous Irish strategy of claiming Independence:

> It has been suggested that a few notes on gardening would not be out of place in *Bean na hÉireann,* so I am going to give a few simple hints to the women who wish to make the most of that little bit of their native land that falls to their share in this life.[545]

Here Markievicz introduces her column while simultaneously re-appropriating the use of gardening as a powerful anti-colonial metaphor and space for resistance.

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[543] 'Maca', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[544] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 54. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[545] 'Maca', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 4, February 1909, p. 3. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

As previously detailed in Chapter One, Augusta Gregory's *Grania* (1910) employs this tactic as well using the woman's return to the wood as a means of spatial and political resistance. Markievicz would continually employ this device, not only in her theatre and literary endeavours but in her 'real life's' work as well. In a letter to her sister Eva from Mountjoy Prison dated May 3, 1921 Markievicz alludes to "the enemy's" inability to navigate through the wood, she writes: "'The run' is awfully funny, and I'd love to tell you some of the adventures and hairbreadth escapes. They (the enemy) are very clever about detail, but so often don't see the wood for the trees, and they don't understand simplicity and truth."[546] Markievicz conjures a similar allegoric stratagem with her protagonist Peggy O'Byrne in *Blood Money*. *Blood Money* as discussed in Chapter One, takes the female protagonist outside the confines of a domestic setting and replants her not in a garden but in the '*Outskirts of a little wood*'[547]. By planting Peggy in the wood, Peggy is a site for the reclamation of Irish indigenousness. She is a soldier at surreptitious advantage. In *Blood Money* Markievicz like Friel, and Gregory, creates a landscape as a site for the national project yet not without threat from oppositional infiltration. Her earlier 'gardening' column warns:

> You must watch your wall fruit trees well for snails and slugs as well as for wasps and flies, and the tender-hearted colleen will have to make up her mind, which she wishes to preserve—insects or fruit! For both in one garden are impossible.[548]

Bloody Money harbingers similar 'slugs' and 'snails', yet this time they are the British forces that have seemingly killed the protagonist Peggy O'Byrne's rebel lover Donal McCarthy. Sergeant Ames the British commander says: "A pretty girl like you must

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[546] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 272.
[547] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[548] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

not waste her time sighing over a dirty rebel. Some fine fellow in a smart red coat would find it easy and pleasant work to teach you that we are the best friends you Irish have."[549] Acknowledging her female audience Markievicz warns that temptation by the British "slugs, snails, wasps and flies"[550] is apparent and ubiquitous. Using "tender-hearted colleen"[551], Markievicz demonstrates that her voice or rather, the narrative voice of "The Woman With a Garden" is once again challenging and re-appropriating the symbolic currency of the archetypical trope of Irish Nationalist symbolism, suggesting that all women in Ireland can channel the symbolic potential of the Woman-as-Ireland archetype into active resistance.

It was the idea of a foreign presence tainting, infecting and ultimately killing all that was intrinsically Irish, such as language, clothing, and customs that propelled Markievicz's then policy of nonviolent resistance, a belief firmly supported then by most members of *Sinn Féin*.[552] However, the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* firmly believed in the necessity of military resistance, a principle that Markievicz would soon embrace. The answer to the British problem lay within the means of the Irish people if they would first realise such and then actualize an anti-British effort through the use of all Irish goods and promotion of a unique Irish nation:

> You should take a careful survey of your Rockery, and, in fact, the whole garden, to see if the late frost has loosened the earth round the roots of the plants. You will probably find a good deal to be done there. It will require weeding, and you will soon have to begin to take and turn your energies to a grand battle with all manner of slugs and snails.[553]

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[549] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[550] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[551] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[552] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 26.
[553] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 6, April 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz is once again operating in metaphor similarly to that of *Kathleen ni Houlihan.* The 'Old Woman' expresses her hopes of getting her "beautiful fields back"[554] from the "strangers"[555] who have seized it. While also covertly expressing radical Nationalist sentiments, Markievicz's allegorical story of a "The Woman with a Garden" demonstrated to other women that these were female beliefs made possible by female efforts. This imagining of English power over Ireland like a "late frost"[556] that has compromised the strong Irish roots of a firm tree evokes an organic relationship between her female audience and their fight against oppositional forces. Markievicz's 'gardening' column acts as a secret conversation, a private relationship through an intimate language that she shares with her fellow female Nationalists. In an article juxtaposed to her first 'gardening' column Markievicz warns of similar threats. It is entitled, "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest" under the same pseudonym 'Maca' in volume 1, no. 7. Markievicz emphatically called out to women and outlined their responsibilities as compensation for the lacklustre efforts of the "Men of Ireland"[557]. Here she begins to subversively use the symbolic currency of Woman-as-Ireland or rather the notion of the virile sons protecting the virtuousness of the nation – an approach she would eventually employ in her later plays with Peggy O'Byrne and Mrs. Fagan:

> It is a curious feature in the history of the last few weeks that the Annual Army Bill was allowed to pass with so little protest on the part of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and so little comment from the Irish newspapers.
>
> Oh! Men of Ireland, where were you? Were you all asleep? Or getting married? Or what? Truly a few women are needed in your ranks, to rouse you

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[554] August Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 9.
[555] August Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 9.
[556] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 6, April 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[557] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> from the lethargy which is overtaking you, and both by their example and by competition with their bright intelligence to make you drag yourselves from the slough of indifference into which you seem to be slipping.[558]

In Markievicz's next paragraph she details how it is the responsibility of the women of Ireland to continue Republican legacies. She employs tropes of commemoration and rebellion by recalling formative dates in the Nationalist timeline. She continues in her article "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest":

> Must it be left to a woman's paper to ask the men of Ireland have they lost all memory of the history of '97: and of the Free Quarters of the British Army—Does no tradition of the horror of it remain in their minds?[559]

Markievicz's character Mrs. Fagan in *The Invincible Mother* similarly cites potent dates in her final words to her son, linking the importance of cultural memory as articulated through female activism: "All the Fagans died true. Didn't your father die in '48, and your grandfather on the gallows in '98."[560]

> We, the Irish Nation, are to have the men belonging to the vilest of foreign armies forced into our homes, bringing in their train all the misery, vice, immorality, and disease that they have already brought to those of our towns that are garrisoned by them—the English Army. These men, I say, may soon be forced into our homes, to live in daily contact with our sweet Irish colleens and our brave boys. [...][561]

Her use of 'disease', 'immorality', and 'forced' adds to a climate of suggested sexual infiltration. She refers to such disease as "scarlet fever"[562] a disease inflicted by the 'Red Coated' British soldier. Ames as the "Paying Guest" in *Blood Money* is a vehicle for similar warnings: "Some fine fellow in a smart red coat would find it easy and pleasant work to teach you that we are the best friends you Irish have."[563]

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[558] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[559] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[560] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[561] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[562] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[563] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Catherine Nash states that within the Irish colonial condition the "idea of land and landscape and its relationship to control of the feminine is understandable in the historical context of colonial efforts to control 'an essentially feminine race' [...]"[564]. Markievicz warns of the continued political and colonial control of the Irish landscape eliciting connections between landscape, terrain and the subsequent control of female sexuality. With women as gardeners in control of their own plots, and 'post'-colonial destinies, they assert their self-sufficient control over such topographical considerations and political positions.

Markievicz's subsequent 'Guest' article is that of a warning against the continued British infiltration and desecration of Ireland through the Billeting Clause. The use of the word "them"[565] followed by an 'em' dash suggests that even Markievicz's use of grammar was a tactic in distancing the British from Ireland and further positing an *Us* versus *Them* mentality. Markievicz places herself between "our sweet Irish colleens"[566] and "brave boys"[567] using the potency of such symbolic dualities to the Nationalist advantage as a call to arms. Simply put, for Markievicz the Nationalist struggle was based on a rigid dichotomy between what England was - Ireland was in absolute terms, not.

Benedict Anderson in his elucidation on nationalism warns: "Nation, nationality and nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse."[568] For Markievicz, like many of her contemporaries, her Nationalist philosophies are what Anderson defines as an 'imagined community' based on a

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[564] Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," in *Feminist Review,* No. 44, *Nationalisms and National Identities* (Summer, 1993), pp. 41.
[565] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[566] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[567] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[568] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso Press, reprinted 2006), 3.

shared set of ideas. For Markievicz this meant deliberate and consistent reflections and recollections of a heroic past that would propel a free Ireland towards a great future. It was also her effort to eliminate the infiltration of British goods and influences and the mass rush to substitute them with the use of Irish goods, fabrics, customs and language. In many ways Markievicz embodied this ideal community as she herself shed her ascendancy background and channelled her Nationalist impulses into a way of life. Her Nationalist development was an allegorical model for Ireland and the casting away of its colonial ties, to distil a purely Gaelic heroic history, which would pave the way for a triumphant Irish future. Her 'gardening' column and other journalistic pursuits cultivated this 'imagined' and unique nation while simultaneously reminding the women of Ireland of their responsibility within such a nation:

> It is very unpleasant work killing slugs and snails, but let us not be daunted, A good Nationalist should look upon slugs in a garden much in the same way as she looks on the English in Ireland, and only regret that she cannot crush the Nation's enemies with the same ease that she can the garden's, with just one tread of her fairy foot. True the garden's enemies are hard to find, and as subtle in their methods as the Nation's.[569]

Markievicz in addition to offering advice on military strategy, once again refers to the attack of and potential for, disease within her metaphorical garden as a result of the British occupation, emphasising the perceived purity of the Irish nation at the risk of contamination by the 'sullied' colonial presence. With the use of 'fairy foot' Markievicz uses the Woman-as-Ireland archetype to convince women that while 'She' as symbol cannot crush the English, it is the Irish woman's responsibility to act

[569] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.

for her "fairy foot"[570] and compensate for what 'She' as rhetoric cannot accomplish.

Markievicz continues:

> You must creep about in the dusk, with a lamp, and catch them in the act; or make traps by placing little heaps of bran near the plants that are most attacked—for no slug can resist bran—and then when you come round with your lamp you will find a goodly company of yellow, brown, and black gluttons who will fall easy victims to the zealous gardener. If you do not feel inclined for the work by lamplight, strew around cabbage or hemlock leaves or orange peel, and when you come in the morning you will find many a foe resting replete under their cool shade. [...] I should advise my readers to go or to write to a good professional rose grower and get advice if her rose trees are unhealthy. There are so many pests and diseases with which a rose tree can be attacked that I have not the space in these short notes to enter them at all.[571]

Markievicz's *Bloody Money* paints a similar picture of such "yellow, brown, and black gluttons"[572] with Peggy as her "zealous gardener"[573] amongst Irish soldiers drunk and bloated on the superficial rewards of having betrayed Ireland:

> *As the curtain rises Captain Ames with Dan Mullen and Andy McGuinness come down stage. They unbutton their tunics, put their arms together and gather round a little fire. McGuinness drinks out of a bottle.*
>
> Mullen: Give us a pull of that bottle, Mac. Doing one's duty is thirsty work, and a man wants some stimulant with that to keep him company.
>
> McGuinness: [...] What's a corpse at all but a dead rebel? And what's our trade at all but making corpses of them?
>
> Mullen: And amn't I just saying it's thirsty work? Pass the stuff, Mac, Yours is not the only throat that's dry here.
>
> Ames: Better men than either of you are thirsty just now. Pass that bottle over here. [...] Stop your jaw Mullen. You brought your man to justice and the Crown owes you fifty pounds for the job.[574]

Markievicz's earlier column instructs enthusiastic gardeners with impulses like Peggy:

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[570] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.
[571] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.
[572] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.
[573] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.
[574] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 1-2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> Now our enthusiastic gardener's fingers itch to hold her knife, and when she walks through her rose borders, she can hardly restrain herself. Every tree, even the teas and noisettes, seem to be crying aloud for the knife. But the wise gardener will restrain herself [...][575]

As discussed in Chapter One, *Blood Money*'s Donal is not dead at all, he is feigning his death as he awaits Peggy's rescue. Donal, in what is the reversal of the traditional Nationalist narrative, embodies Ireland. He becomes the symbolic sleeping nation awaiting a resurgence of life and blossom at the efforts of the allegorical gardeners of the nation, the women who took action within the cause for a free Ireland. Markievicz also alludes to similar imaginings in her article "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest":

> She [England] realises even better than we do that the glorious spirit that inspired our men in '98 is not dead and gone forever, but like winter, sleeping, cold and frostbound, waiting for the magic touch of spring to blossom anew in brave deeds and beautiful deaths and to bear fruit in the freedom of our Nation.[576]

This statement in conjunction with her sentiments emphasizing the "unpleasant work killing slugs and snails"[577] starts to reveal Markievicz's departure away from non-violent resistance to that which would ultimately support an armed insurrection and the view of war and blood sacrifice as the 'essential' components of the building blocks of a free Nation. The women Markievicz addresses in her column as enacted by the women in Markievicz's plays, understand the importance of bloodshed to the Nationalist milieu yet linger on the threshold of sacrifice. Ironically, while Markievicz was a relentless advocate for female militancy, the women she speaks of and to in her journalism as well as the women in her plays, never actualize their Nationalist merits through their own bloodshed. They incite bloodshed (Peggy as she

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[575] 'Maca', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 3, January 1909, p. 3. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[576] 'Maca', "The British Soldier as a Paying Guest, " in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 7, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Parenthesis is mine.
[577] 'Armid', "The Woman with a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Armid was another of Markievicz's pseudonyms.

shoots Sergeant Ames, Eileen O'Rourke is suspected of shooting her husband and finally Mrs. Fagan who calls for the hanging of her only son) however they never catharsize in their own bloodshed. Susan Canon Harris hypothesises: "the fact that the martyr is marked as male and the great Other that receives the blood of the sacrifice (whether she is *Hibernia*, the bog, the Virgin, or the *Shan Van Vocht*) is marked as female has been taken for granted by many who write or write on, Irish drama."[578] This element in Markievicz's literary repertoire is indicative of two things. Firstly, it shows that Markievicz might have fallen victim to the latent sexist undertones that permeated Nationalist rhetoric at this time. It also proves that these allusions to the blood of martyrs 'watering' the soil of the enslaved Nation anticipate Markievicz's impending reversal of fate that she would suffer at the reprieve of or even choice of exemption from execution after the 1916 Easter Rising. Harris continues: "women are not symbolically eligible for the role of sacrificial victim, and playwrights are reluctant to allow them to fill it."[579] While Markievicz's journalism anticipates her fate, Markievicz's plays host female protagonists who linger on the threshold of martyrdom as they provide a means of repeating and reliving the trauma of Markievicz's own reversal of destiny.

Each article Markievicz wrote and each speech delivered and published is doctrine and insight into Markievicz's progression of Nationalist philosophies and where she saw herself placed and furthers women's place within the Irish struggle for Independence. In July of 1909 Markievicz gave a speech entitled "Women, Ideals and the Nation" under the auspices of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*, which she joined

[578] Susan Canon Harris, *Gender and Modern Irish Drama* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 3.
[579] Susan Canon Harris, *Gender and Modern Irish Drama* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 3.

in 1908. *Bean na hÉireann* in its "Editorial Notes"[580] describes it as "a call to Irishwomen to step into their place in the struggle. It is a plea for idealism in National politics, and is a message that would awaken the latent love of country in any Irish girl."[581] They ask their readers to "introduce it to their friends"[582] as it is necessary literature for every Irish woman. Markievicz proclaimed:

> I take it as great compliment that so many of you, the rising young women of Ireland, who are distinguishing yourselves every day and coming more and more to the front, should give me this opportunity. We older people look to you with great hopes and great confidence that in your gradual emancipation you are bringing fresh ideas, fresh energies and above all great genius for sacrifice into the life of the nation.[583]

In the opening paragraph of this lecture Markievicz recognizes the past and anticipates the future marginalization of female engagement within the Nationalist effort. She calls upon her female constituency to stake its claim within the founding moments of the National movement. She continues:

> Now I am not going to discuss the subtle psychological question of why it was that so few women in Ireland have been prominent in the national struggle, or try to discover how they lost in the dark ages of persecution the magnificent legacy of Maeve, Fheas, Macha and their other great fighting ancestors [....] But for the most part our women, though sincere, steadfast Nationalists at heart, have been content to remain quietly at home, and leave all the fighting and the striving to the men.[584]

Uncharacteristic of Nationalist rhetoric, Markievicz recalls the female heroes of Ireland's mythic yet heroic past in contrast to that of Wolfe Tone or Robert Emmet

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[580] "Editorial Notes," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[581] "Editorial Notes," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[582] "Editorial Notes," in *Bean na hÉireann,* vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[583] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.
[584] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

and those others who represent a masculine Republican tradition. Her mention of women warriors also demonstrates that the use of her pen names 'Maca' and 'Armid' are reclamations of her Irish roots. They were the ceremonial renaming of herself as a pre-Brehon warrior woman and a tactic used to promote an 'authentic' Irish self. In a speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League in October of 1915, Markievicz would remember similar warrior women: "Ancient Ireland bred warrior women, and women played a heroic part in those days [...]"[585]. This is in contrast to Padraic Pearse's teachings to the young male students at his St. Enda's of the masculine qualities of *Cuchulainn.*[586] Markievicz would remind the women of Ireland of the great tradition of women warriors of Celtic Ireland in an effort to incite action from them. She continues in her lecture:

> Lately things seem to be changing...so now again a strong tide of liberty seems to be coming towards us, swelling and growing and carrying before it all the outposts that hold women enslaved and bearing them triumphantly into the life of the nation to which they belong.
>
> We are in a very difficult position here, as so many Unionist women would fain have us work together with them for the emancipation of their sex and votes – obviously to send a member to Westminster. But I would ask every Nationalist woman to pause before she joined a Suffrage Society or Franchise League that did not include in their programme the Freedom of their Nation. A Free Ireland with No Sex Disabilities in her Constitution should be the motto of all Nationalist Women. And a grand motto it is.[587]

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[585] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen" published speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League on the 12th of October 1915 in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, p. 136-7, October 23, 1915. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[586] Markievicz met Padraic Pearse some years earlier, however, became more acquainted with him and his teachings in 1911. Pearse was a prominent Gaelic Leaguer who founded his St. Enda's School for Boys in Dublin in 1908. The legends of the *Fianna,* the small Irish warrior bands chosen for their strength and bravery to be summoned at wartime by the Irish kings, as well as, Cuchuliann, played a major part in Pearse's teachings. Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 63.

[587] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

Markievicz starts this section with allusions to female involvement as the "swelling" or "growing" of Nationalist fervour as if to imply that the Irish nation is impregnated with female Nationalist potential, another subversion of the Woman-as-Ireland archetype. The blood of Ireland's sons was the vital fertilizing agent for an Independent Ireland, however, read in tandem with Markievicz's allusion to an impregnated Ireland, a rare metaphor emerges suggesting that the quest for a free Ireland does not rest within the immaculate conception of a free Irish nation but rather is the organic result of the combined efforts of both Irishmen and Irishwomen. Markievicz continues:

> [...] Now, here is a chance for our women. Let them remind their men that their first duty is to examine any legislation proposed not from a part point of view, not from the point of view of a sex, a trade or a class, but simply and only from the standpoint of their nation. Let them learn to be statesmen and not merely politicians. Let them consider how their action with regard to it may help or hinder their national struggle for independence and nothing else, and then let them act accordingly. Fix your mind on the idea of Ireland free, with her women enjoying the full rights of citizenship in their own nation, and no one will be able to side-track you, and so make use of you to use up the energies of the nation in obtaining all sorts of concessions – concessions too, that for the most part were coming in the natural course of evolution, and were perhaps just hastened a few years by the fierce agitations to obtain them.[588]

The marrying of both male and female Nationalist efforts is also a theme in her final play *Broken Dreams*. Act I ends with Eileen accepting a proposal of marriage after her suitor Seamas proves his willingness to shed blood for Ireland.[589]

Broken Dreams reveals Seamas as traitor and Eileen triumphs as the pure and ideal Nationalist. Like all three of Markievicz's later plays, *Broken Dreams* renders a victory for Ireland as the result of female efforts. Her lecture "Woman, Ideals and the Nation" also deals directly with the recurring tension between the efforts of women's

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[588] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[589] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 32-34. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

suffrage and its relationship to Nationalist efforts. In each of the few biographies and articles that were written on Markievicz, there is always an attempt to reconcile her Nationalist attitude with her Suffragist stance. It is a point of contention because Markievicz placed the responsibilities of women not in two separate camps – Nationalist and Suffragist – but rather saw that the latter would be achieved if Irishwomen's efforts were streamlined to free Ireland and then and only then could women enjoy the "full rights of citizenship in their own nation"[590]. If the Irish nation is not free then neither can its women be free. Markievicz echoes similar sentiments in her published speech entitled, "Free Women in a Free Nation":

> They and their sympathisers have been forced to realise the difficulties in the patch of voteless women; political outcasts, getting justice in a land ruled by men for the benefit of men. This then is, broadly speaking, the position of the women of England but in Ireland the question becomes more complicated and it is here that I would ask Irish women to pause and consider long and earnestly their sex and their nationality in their relations to each other. [...] No one should place sex before nationality or nationality before sex. They are co-equal and co-existing in one's individuality as indivisible as the three persons of the Trinity. [...][591]

As a means of achieving such freedoms and promoting the Irish cause Markievicz instructs:

> Arm yourselves with weapons to fight your nation's cause. Arm your souls with noble and free ideas. Arm your minds with the histories and memories of your country and her martyrs, her language and a knowledge of her arts, and her industries. And if in your day the call should come for your body to arm, do not shirk that either.[592]

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[590] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[591] 'Maca', "Free Women in a Free Nation," in *Bean na hÉireann* vol. 1, no. 3, 1909, p. 7-10. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[592] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

Irish nationality is a state of mind made possible through one's assertion of herself as Irish, and her reclamation and celebration of Irish histories as well as the practical boycott of all English industry with "No English goods"[593] as her war cry. It was her belief in a national distinctiveness, the self-confidence and self-reliance of Ireland as a high and exclusive culture.[594] Markievicz supported the *Sinn Féin* initiative to boycott British goods and manufacturing in an effort to strengthen and necessitate Irish industries. It was a re-appropriation of D.P. Moran's "Buy Irish Goods"[595] campaign and for Markievicz it would become a trope of her Nationalist beliefs most expressly written time and time again in her column "The Woman With a Garden". In addition to the buying of Irish goods Markievicz promoted the manufacturing and wearing of Irish fabrics. Markievicz's designated 'costume' for the women of the Nationalist movement will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Three, however this is yet another example of a running trope for the perceived protagonists of the anticipated 'nation', the women of Ireland.

Markievicz's lectures, plays and journalism emphatically expressed the antithetical relationship between Ireland and England, as *Us* versus *Them*: "To sum up in a few words what I want the Young Ireland women to remember from me. Regard, yourselves as Irish, believe in yourself as Irish, as units of a nation distinct from England, your Conqueror, and as determined to maintain your distinctiveness and gain your deliverance."[596] There is little room for misconception or misinterpretation.

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[593] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation; a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin's Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[594] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 21.

[595] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 21.

[596] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation; a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the

This is Markievicz's deliberate strategy for promoting a unique and Independent Ireland as well as declaring herself as an indigenous member of the anticipated nation. It is here that Markievicz began to link her ideals behind the Irish Nationalist effort with that of a spiritually motivated crusade. Markievicz explains Ireland's plight as a higher call from God and a *raison d'être* parallel to Joan of Arc's - Markievicz's self-proclaimed goal that she expressed in her 1909 lecture and who she subsequently portrayed in 1914 during the Irish Woman's Franchise League's "Daffodil Fête"[597]. This *Daffodil Fête* was performed on the 24th and 25th of April in 1914. The program consisted of thirteen "Suffrage Tableaux"[598] one in which Markievicz appeared as "a vision of Joan of Arc come to comfort a suffragette prisoner in her cell"[599]. Markievicz's good friend Kathleen Houston who was just released from six months imprisonment in Mountjoy Jail played the prisoner in this tableau.[600]

The closing statements of her lecture reveal the crucial shift from her initial stance of non-violent political resistance to the anticipation of the necessity of an armed insurrection which was initially derived from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's nineteenth-century assertion that as each person must struggle to procure recognition so must a state defend itself to gain autonomy and identification. Markievicz's collective bodies of work were micro and macrocosmically doing such, asserting Nationalist recognition for herself and Irishwomen while also contributing to the ideals and ideas of nationhood, and the actualization of an independent nation State. Markievicz declared women should equally feel the responsibility to take up

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Inghinidhe na hÉireann and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin's Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[597] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173.

[598] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173.

[599] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173.

[600] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173. Markievicz's identification with Joan of Arc will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

arms for the nation and concurrently initiated her life's goal – to shed blood in the cause of a Free Ireland, a sentiment that permeated her actions, representation of 'self' and her Nationalist writings. Obscured between advertisements for "Dickson's "Hawlmark" Seeds"[601] and an article entitled "Fashion Notes"[602], Markievicz writes unapologetically in volume 9 of her 'The Woman With a Garden' column:

> Everywhere over Ireland had [*sic*] the soil been consecrated by the sacrifice of blood, the blood of our noblest and best. We have but scanty records of the brave deaths men have died for Ireland, but this we do know: every hillside, every valley, each cornfield, and grazing ranch, every potato patch, bog, town, or lonely cottage has its own story to tell, stories of oppression and murder, tyranny and starvation, met with self-sacrifice and martyrdom, and what our July garden with its roses should remind us is that it is we who must live so that our martyr's blood shall not have been shed in vain.[603]

Padraic Pearse's later sentiments echo those of Markievicz's:

> Life springs from death: and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations…they think they have pacified Ireland…the fools, the fools, the fools! They have left us our Feinian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.[604]

Pearse's words highlight the intrinsic link between self-sacrifice, bloodshed, and nationhood. His remarks join Markievicz's writings in what is an essential part of the national 'repetition' which was arguably first defined dramatically in *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, when the Poor Old Woman cries: "They shall be remembered for ever, They shall be alive for ever, They shall be speaking for ever, The people shall hear them for ever."[605] Eric Hobsbawm defines this as the process of "formalization and

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[601] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[602] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[603] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[604] Padraic Pearse, cited in J.Bowyer Bell *The Secret Army: The IRA 1916-1979* (Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1989), introduction.
[605] Augusta Gregory and W.B. Yeats, "Kathleen ni Houlihan," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), 10.

ritualization, characterized by reference to the past"[606]. Another example of such participation in the national repetition rests in Markievicz's 1914 Anthem for the Irish Citizen Army as set to the Polish hymn, *With the Smoke of the Fires*:

> [...] Who fights for Ireland
> God guides his blows home,
> Who dies for Ireland,
> God give him peace.
> Knowing our cause just
> March we victorious,
> Giving our heart's blood
> Ireland to free...[607]

The connection between past and present was and is one of the pre-eminent concerns of Irish writing.[608] Markievicz both knowingly and unknowingly participates in this repetition and acknowledges the importance of building and celebrating an Irish heritage and nationality. David Lowenthal suggests that:

> We need the past, in any case, to cope with present landscapes. We selectively perceive what we are accustomed to seeing; features and patterns in the landscape make sense to us because we share a history with them. Every object, every grouping, every view is intelligible partly because we are already familiar with it [...][609]

Markievicz writes consistently on the importance of joining the national heritage, a "holy and glorious heritage, a place in the ranks of the National Army to fight in the greatest fight of right against might and wrong that the world has ever seen, a share in the battle that has raged for centuries [...]."[610] Markievicz would not just recollect a 'real' past but conjure an imagined history with essences of dreamlike contemplations on sometimes less corporeal realities. She titillates the historical imagination by

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[606] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds., Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 4.
[607] The lyrics and music for "A Battle Hymn" by Constance Markievicz is found in Trinity College Dublin Library, call no. M4-97-58. The source regarding the Polish score is Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Phoenix Press, 1967), 169-70.
[608] Bernhard Klein, *On the Uses of History in Recent Irish Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 1.
[609] David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," in *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, No. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 1-36, p.5.
[610] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

acknowledging her own echoings with gardens past and present, she writes in her column:

> It is always pleasant to find one has a taste in common with someone for whom one has a great admiration and respect, and more it seems to establish a sort of subtle understanding and sympathy between us and those we love but have never known. So when I read the following extracts from "Letters from Lord Edward Fitzgerald" my garden seemed as suddenly endowed with a new value—to be yet another link with Ireland's past and Ireland's heroes.[611]

By improvising on and conjoining landscape, place, history, metaphor, imagery and Nationalist rhetoric, Markievicz joined a tradition of writers and playwrights, which constructed an Ireland, that is not only 'Other' but also a unique and organic force. Markievicz continues in this column to quote Fitzgerald making this article doubly relevant, that in perpetuating the Irish garden and realising where in the canon of resistance literature her efforts are placed:

> In August, 1789, he writes from New Brunswick: "I have got a garden for the soldiers, which employs me a great deal. I flatter myself next year it will furnish the men with great quantities of vegetables, which will be of great service to them."[612]

While her 1917 poem "Heroes and Martyrs" articulates a departure away from evoking the Irish pastoral, Markievicz's "An Interlude" dated 1920 returns to the metaphorical approach used in her "The Woman With a Garden" column with this prose tract which will be analyzed at length in Chapter Three:

> The whole world is one tricolour blaze this Whitsuntide. [...] Down a hill and round a corner, somewhere near Goatstown nature flings defiance at our enemies from across the wall, hanging out bravely her floral tricolour of green and white and gold. Labournham white thorny and greens to match every shade of political thought in Ireland.[613]

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[611] Lord Edward Fitzgerald as quoted in, 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1909, p. 6-7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[612] Lord Edward Fitzgerald as quoted in, 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1909, p. 6-7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[613] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude". MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz's continued return to the literal and figurative connection of Irish freedom with the Irish landscape placed the reality of the horrors of war somewhere else, in some other place and time. Insisting on the synonymity of a free Republic and the Irish pastoral there would always be hope, as Markievicz saw nature and landscape as a site on which to articulate the interlacing of Irish nature, history and the future free soul of the nation. In conjuring up such mutual dependencies, Markievicz suggests that the soul and memory of Ireland is part of the instinctual and soul experience of the Irish woman.[614] She continues in her column:

> Somehow, in this hour of twilight the dividing lines that one imagines between oneself and Nature seem to melt away. One feels one with—or rather an indissoluble atom of Nature—of Life and of Death. Barriers slip away, and as a breath of blue is as air is to eternity so one's soul seems to be the great soul of the universe. Half dreaming, half thinking and all enjoying, I wandered along from the wild garden with its picturesque tangle through the long dark paths tunnelled over with beech trees, making a cool and pleasant shade from the midday sun, and adding a deeper sense of mystery to the dusk, til, on turning the corner to the rose garden a flash of crimson rose leaves arrested me with the vivid shock that comes to one awakened out of a dream, and brought me straight to the reality of July '98.[615]

For Markievicz the nobility of Ireland lay in the natural properties of the earth, not in hierarchies and parliaments. Markievicz embraced the principles behind cultural nationalism similar to those proposed by Ernst Renan. The concept of a nation lay in its "soul,"[616] it was a "spiritual principle"[617] founded on the "passions implanted by nature and history."[618] Markievicz's use of 'twilight' reflects and evokes her Nationalist optimism, the idea of movement from a dark colonial past towards and a

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[614] Marina Carr in her talk at Trinity College on the 18th of January 2008 discussed the difference between experiential memory and soul memory – memory which you intuitively bring with you or perhaps you are born with - an instinctual memory which you cannot escape as it is embedded in your subconscious.

[615] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[616] Ernst Renan, cited in Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 24.

[617] Ernst Renan, cited in Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 24.

[618] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 27.

new and emancipated beginning. This sensation reflects both Maud Gonne's play in its title *Dawn* (1904) and W.B. Yeats's elucidation on Ireland's mystical connection with its past, "The Celtic Twilight" (1893, 1902)[619]. Markievicz's next column also envisages Ireland's nobility through organic connections with the mystical and natural:

> September is a gorgeous month in Ireland. [...] The mountain seems to tower over the plains and city of Dublin, regal with its triple rocky crown and its mantle of heather and golden gorse. You climb to the summit and watch the sun sinking over the plains of Meath and the moon rising over Wicklow's Hills. One by one the stars come out; you watch them dreamily twinkling and sparkling. One more brilliant than the rest starts from its place and takes a brilliant flight across the heavens, to be lost in the depths of eternity—not lost though, for nothing beautiful or fine can be lost; it is always a memory with us, like Ireland's starry crown of patriots.[620]

Within her dreamlike experiences, Markievicz articulates actual geographic landscapes in Ireland whilst obscuring the borders between the 'real' and 'imagined' spaces of the nation. Catherine Nash argues:

> [...] the colonial mapping of Ireland in the nineteenth century, the concurrent Anglicization of Irish place names, and the decline of the Irish language provide the historical background for the expression of themes of cultural loss and recovery in contemporary Irish culture. Both the act of naming and mapping assert the power of representation.[621]

Markievicz's subsequent naming and mapping of such geographical contours through a woman's voice, reclaims these landscapes as not only sites of colonial resistance but 'remaps'[622] an authentic female relationship to such loci. The women of Ireland are explorers imagining and cartographing a post-colonial Irish landscape. Alice Milligan

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[619] Karen Steele surmises that Markievicz invoked allusions to the Celtic Twilight, however, Steele is alluding to Markievicz's use of the term 'fairy foot' in her "The Woman With a Garden" column. This dissertation suggests that Markievicz invoked the essence of the Celtic Twilight movement to inform and cultivate a rich heritage and intuitive memory of the Irish woman. Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 123.

[620] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[621] Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," in *Feminist Review,* No. 44, *Nationalisms and National Identities* (Summer, 1993), pp. 40.

[622] Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," in *Feminist Review,* No. 44, *Nationalisms and National Identities* (Summer, 1993), pp. 40.

used a similar strategy in her play *The Last Feast of the Fianna* (1900)[623]. Milligan's character Niamh sang of colours symbolic of Ireland's freedom; Green, White, and Orange that radiated out of 'her' *Tir-na-n'Og* the mythical incarnation of a Free Ireland:

> Snow-white wings of seabirds thatch the walls of my grinian [*sic*],
> Carven are its couches, its doors with bronze gleaming,
> With green raths it is girded, where honey blossoms grow,
> And women fairer than the flowers are in *Tir-na-n'Og.*[624]

Milligan's play was deemed a "historical landmark"[625]—and *The Last Feast of the Fianna* was marked as the "first completely Celtic Twilight play in setting, characters, and theme."[626] Markievicz, in the spirit of the Celtic Twilight, made similar allusions to the tri-colour that seemed to naturally shine from the colours of Ireland's topography, in Markievicz's September 1909 "Garden" column she writes:

> The little white bulb has lain so dead and still, buried far down under so many clogging particles of clay, under many hard and heavy stones, and gripped in the multitudinous grip of long white, sinewy roots [...] til the whole of nature seemed to conspire against it, but the impulse to live in the inmost heart of the bulb was as strong as life, for was it not life itself?—life striving for a new expression, a fresh incarnation—life that will not be denied, that must live, and so the tiny spike—ash sharp and as deadly as the head of a pike in '98—prevailed against the armies of the Earth and of the Kingdom of night, and the battle over and won her sharp pike was gradually transformed to the flag of peace, where little beautiful stripes of green and of orange are lost and almost forgotten so deep they lie in the heart of the white flower that unites them.[627]

As if each was inventory to the splendours that was Ireland's landscape and Ireland's legacy, this specific column demands a moment's peace and reflection on the beauty

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[623] Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna* in, *Volume 2 Irish Drama Series*, including Edward Martyn's *Maeve: a Psychological Drama in Two Acts* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 1967).
[624] Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna* in, *Volume 2 Irish Drama Series*, including Edward Martyn's *Maeve: a Psychological Drama in Two Acts* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 1967), 52.
[625] Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna* in, *Volume 2 Irish Drama Series*, including Edward Martyn's *Maeve: a Psychological Drama in Two Acts* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 1967), 43.
[626] Alice Milligan, *The Last Feast of the Fianna* in, *Volume 2 Irish Drama Series*, including Edward Martyn's *Maeve: a Psychological Drama in Two Acts* (Chicago: De Paul University Press, 1967), 43.
[627] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 11, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

that is Ireland's own. As if "Dame Nature"[628] was conspiring with Ireland, Markievicz suggests that with each breath a woman takes, she is an integral part in the trinity that is the collective forces of nature, heritage and a free Ireland. Markievicz in her October 1909 column articulates this link between Ireland's delicate nationhood and its agricultural roots:

> October settles on our garden with its slow, restful movement of plants sinking into the quiet earth for their winter sleep. Among the few flowers still bright and gay a Golden Rubeckia still raises its sunlike face amid a purple crowd of Asters. I thought instinctively of the golden sunburst of Ireland and wondered if I should live to see Ireland's sunburst throned in the purple glory of nationhood; a bright flower in the garden of the world. [...] and how it is our duty to til and to dig and do all that which lies in our power to aid the tender plant of nationality in its struggle for existence [...][629]

She once again refers to the golden sunburst of Ireland, an image that was a running trope in her artwork most explicitly in her *Bean na hÉireann* masthead and in a drawing she sketched of Ireland's landscape. This painting she called "The Cottage" (fig. 10)[630] features two frames. The top frame pictures a cottage steeped in a rural landscape juxtaposed with high hills with the bottom frame picturing a lone horse at a seaside with a sunburst on the horizon.[631] This sunburst embodies Markievicz's perpetual optimistic outlook on Ireland's future only to be challenged in her later play *Broken Dreams* as the title suggests. Her January column in 1910 rooted out similar optimistic predictions for Ireland:

> The first month of the new year is a great epoch in the life of a gardener. She sees the sleeper beginning to stir, the dead to awaken, and so perhaps more than any other she realises and understands the law of Eternal resurrection of all living things.[632]

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[628] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1909, p.10. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[629] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 12, 1909, p.12. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[630] See fig. 10 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "Cottage: Horse beside sea with sun on the horizon." PD 3104 TX 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[631] See fig. 10 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "Cottage: Horse beside sea with sun on the horizon." PD 3104 TX 3. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[632] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 15, 1910, p. 7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz extends her religious allusions to not only include blood sacrifice but the idea of eternal resurrection, prophesising her eventual baptismal into Catholicism from Anglicanism, while in prison after 1916.

"* * * * * * * * * "[633]

In addition to her coded communications through poetic language, Markievicz used creative grammatical tactics to enhance her highly theatrical writing tone. Markievicz used a line of asterisks ("*****") as a means to carve her 'gardening' column into two figurative acreages. She included "******"[634] in specific columns, as a means to illustrate a metaphoric stonewall which served to demark her own bi-consciousness when voicing the two objectives of her allegorical intensions:

> Winter has set in early this year and December has rushed in among storm and frost, sleet, and wind. A hurricane has blown out the West for days and as it whirls round our heads it tells us of that wild Christmas Eve long ago, when Red Hugh and the two other lads, slipped down the Castle wall to face the bitter gale and the blinding snow that lay between them and the work that they had to do for Ireland. The boys of Ireland have no need to face imprisonment, or a cruel death on the bleak mountain side to-day. Nothing but the ignorance that they owe to an English education lies between them and the work that Ireland demands of them.
>
> * * * * * * * * * *
>
> There is little to be done in the flower garden this month, save manuring [*sic*] and digging. New beds should be laid out and the gravel attended to. [...][635]

Dreamlike in tone and meditative in style, Markievicz takes her reader on a journey to a space of endless potential, the potential that rests purely in the possibility of one's dream:

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[633] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, nos. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1910. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[634] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, nos. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1910. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[635] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 14, 1910, p. 11. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> In my garden are nice old-fashioned borders edged with Lavender. Even at this season of the year they are a pleasure to me with their dainty grey-green foliage exhaling a faint, sweet perfume. It comes to me as a curious fact that memory is stimulated more by the sense of smell than by any other sense [...] So since I read of Robert Emmet's love of this little flower it only requires a breath of lavender scented air to bring my thoughts back over one hundred years of the Autumn of 1803—the Autumn which Robert Emmet sanctified a martyr's death. I can see the pale tragic figure in the dock in his brilliant green uniform, waiting all through the long weary day for the sentence that he knew would be passed. [...][636]

To awaken us out of this dream Markievicz writes into her column "*****"[637] to take her reader from the core of her imaginative Nationalist impulses to offer conscious practical advice on how to cultivate one's Irish garden into the agricultural personification that is the corporeal manifestation in her dream of a free Ireland:

> The stuffy atmosphere, growing heavier and more unbearable with every hour of the slowly passing day [...] all were forgotten for one all too brief moment. A kindly hand reached him [Emmet] Lavender. He raised it to his face and for one moment all the misery was forgotten, the dusty court had vanished—he was standing in a sweet old-fashioned garden. [...] Just a whiff of perfume, and with it a moment of paradise and peace, and then the flowers were rudely taken from him by his captors who saw in this simple act of kindness a clever and subtle conspiracy to rob them of their prize, the rope of its victim by poison carefully hid among the flowers.
>
> * * * * * * * * * *
>
> This is a very busy month in the flower garden, and on the preparations made during this month much of the success of the coming summer will undoubtedly depend [...].[638]

The ghosts of Hugh and Emmet haunt Markievicz's dreams, as if Ireland was an unmarked graveyard where the heroic dead walk side by side with the champions of Ireland's future. For Markievicz this link between the dead and the living was

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[636] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 17, 1911, p. 13-4. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[637] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, nos. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1910. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[638] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 17, 1911, p. 13-4. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

essential throughout her artistic and activist career. In 1923 in an article in *Eire*[639] entitled "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory"[640] she writes about her first meeting with Tom Clark, a Fenian who was imprisoned for fifteen years and had just returned from America, she writes about how he was the "link and the living inspiration"[641] between the dead Fenians and the young. Markievicz's column in *Eire* improvised on similar conjurings of memory suggesting that every person united under the same principle shared the same instinctual memories.[642] There are similar resonances in Markievicz's painting "The Dead" (fig. 9)[643] where the ghosts of Ireland's past reach out to the soldiers of Ireland's present and future. This antithesis; the past and present, conscious and subconscious, are blurred in Markievicz's Ireland. Through her dream-like utterances her authorial structure helps to imagine and cultivate a shared cultural and political consciousness through literary renderings. The performative use of '******'[644] is a literary shock tactic serving as a framing device/stage direction which instructs her audience that this 'dream' will become reality with the conscious activism of female Nationalist efforts.

In anticipation of the 1916 Uprising, this 'dream' of Ireland was essential to the imaginings of a Republic, for it gave hope to a marginalized and marginal army,

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[639] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory," in *Eire*, 26.5.1923, Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Sari Oikarinen also refers to this quote when discussing Markievicz's Republican teachings in Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 31.

[640] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory," in *Eire*, 26.5.1923, Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Sari Oikarinen also refers to this quote when discussing Markievicz's Republican teachings in Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 31.

[641] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory," in *Eire*, 26.5.1923, Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Sari Oikarinen also refers to this quote when discussing Markievicz's Republican teachings in Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 31.

[642] Markievicz and her creation of shared memory will be subject later in this chapter specifically when applied in her later writings in the periodical *Eire*.

[643] See fig. 9 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "The Dead." PD 3068 TX (A). Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[644] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, nos. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 1910. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

small in number and even shorter on artillery. Markievicz's column participated in a collective body of literature, which participated in an optimistic rhetorical future for Ireland. In one of her final of fourteen "The Woman With a Garden" columns in *Bean na hÉireann*[645] Markievicz writes:

> November has come to us this year rich with golden leaves of Autumn. A pale green gold oak tree in front of the window catches my eye, an oak tree that must have seen a hundred years and more come and go over Ireland, with its eternal struggle for liberty, its defeats followed by renewed attack as soon as the Irish people have gained strength and numbers to again attack their conquerors [...][646].

Markievicz's 'tree' growing in soil rich with optimism and fertilized by the blood of Ireland's martyrs thrives in contrast to W.B. Yeats's tree which would appear again eighteen years later in W.B. Yeats's *Purgatory* (1938): '*Scene.—a ruined house and a bare tree in the background*'[647]. Yeats's barren, leafless tree, however, would see three more 'failed' Irish rebellions: 1916, the War of Independence, and the Irish Civil War. Markievicz's earlier plays *Blood Money* and *The Invincible Mother* host subversively symbolic yet optimistic female protagonists like that of the narrative voice within "The Woman With a Garden". Similar to Yeats's *Purgatory* as her title suggests, Markievicz's 1927 drama *Broken Dreams* would use a critical lens when challenging her perpetual Republican optimism and the agrarian utopia that she harvested as "The Woman With a Garden".

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[645] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 13, 1910, p. 7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 17, 1910 was Markievicz's last "The Woman With a Garden," however, her lecture entitled "Love of Country" was printed in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 20, 1910. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[646] 'Armid', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 13, 1910, p. 7. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[647] W.B. Yeats, "Purgatory," in *Modern Irish Drama*, ed., J.P. Harrington (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1991), 33.

Nash argues that: "traditional landscape representations in Ireland are imbued with conceptions of both national and gender identity [...]."[648] Through Markievicz's re-appropriative renderings of the Irish landscape, women's "personal geography"[649] and their integral place within nationhood are revised, become indivisible and are manifest. Drawing from metaphoric, poetic, coded and theatrical language, Markievicz's "The Woman With a Garden" provides for yet another subversive and triumphant figure in Ireland's canon of literary resistance. Her journalistic prose would continue to reveal similar reflections both challenging and celebrating her career as an activist.

Markievicz and "The Women of '98"

Markievicz's plays and journalistic prose created a dialogue betwixt Irishwomen involved in the nation-building process both past and present. By employing different theatrical and rhetorical strategies, Markievicz revealed an alternative condition and potential for women and for Ireland. Her artistry in all its forms was also a means to examine themes of insurgency and political strife as it relates to both Ireland and further women's efforts in Ireland. Markievicz's re-appropriation of memory, folklore, commemoration and the interweaving of Irish history with an imagined past created a revised living history for Ireland and the potential for a new cultural and political memory complete with women's integral involvement, free from British subjugation.

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[648] Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," in *Feminist Review,* No. 44, *Nationalisms and National Identities* (Summer, 1993), pp. 44.
[649] Catherine Nash, "Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland," in *Feminist Review,* No. 44, *Nationalisms and National Identities* (Summer, 1993), pp. 41.

In 1915 Markievicz began writing for the *Irish Citizen*[650] the second periodical dedicated to Irish women both Nationalist and Suffragist. Markievicz's friends and colleagues Hanna and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington edited the publication which served as a platform for debates on feminism, socialism, nationalism and suffrage and would anticipate the 1916 Proclamation of the Republic in its mission which declared that Mother Ireland "Cherish[ed] all the children of the nation equally"[651]. Steele notes that what was most significant about the *Irish Citizen* was how women holding various viewpoints: Unionism, nationalism, constitutionalism, and militantism, "grappled with the meaning of an iconic institution –motherhood—in the context of war."[652] Critics have viewed the *Irish Citizen* as a forum for an ongoing debate between women regarding the traditional versus modern spheres of Irish nationalism. Markievicz positioned herself in this debate by highlighting the great heritage of Irish women and nationalism in her published series entitled: "The Women of '98"[653]. She did so in an effort to simultaneously locate and support the arguments she prepositioned in her lecture "The Future of Irishwomen"[654], her rhetorical demand for contemporaneous female involvement.

Markievicz's major contributions to the *Irish Citizen* included extracts from her speech entitled, "The Future of Irishwomen"[655] and a five part historical essay on

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[650] *Irish Citizen* was first published in May 1913 under the editorial direction of James H. Cousins and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington. After F. Sheehy-Skeffington's death in 1916 Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington took over all editorial control.
[651] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 169.
[652] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 169.
[653] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915 through to vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[654] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, November 6, 1915, p. 137. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[655] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, November 6, 1915, p. 137. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

"The Women of '98" dated November through December of 1915[656]. In contrast to her column in *Bean na hÉireann*, "The Woman with a Garden" Markievicz's writing in "The Woman of '98" took on a much less allegorical tone as she became more instructional in her recollections of a heroic female tradition in Ireland. While there is no indication in any of her writings or biographies that Markievicz joined Douglas Hyde's Gaelic League, the recollection of an expansive and heroic Gaelic past, which would inform a triumphant future was a running trope in Markievicz's literary renderings. Markievicz was not the first to uncover such female histories yet her essay was a comprehensive addendum to women such as Maud Gonne's reinvigorations of Brigid. For Steele, Gonne's "reviving the stories and practices of Celtic ancestors was a widespread pursuit for writers of the Irish Revival."[657] Steele quotes C.L. Innes who asserted that: "Celticism for Irish women in particular offered an "empowering alternative tradition that opposed the patriarchy of established churches and the British Empire."[658] Markievicz would join a tradition that began a half-century earlier in 1846 with 'Mary' a journalist for the *Nation* that recovered the legacies of overtly Nationalist women in a collection entitled the "Illustrious Women of Ireland."[659] Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston's *Shan Van Vocht* also highlighted

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[656] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the Irish Citizen, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 151. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[657] C.L. Innes quoted in Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 83.

[658] C.L. Innes quoted in Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 83.

[659] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University press, 2007), 83. For More on Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston's *Shan Van Vocht* see Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 27-65. Also, Mark Phelan, '"Beyond the Pale": Neglected Northern Irish Women Playwrights, Alice Milligan, Helen Waddell, Patricia O'Connor,' in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 109-129, Catherine Morris, "From the Margins: Alice Milligan and the Irish Cultural Revival, 1888-1905" (Ph.D. diss, University of Aberdeen, 1999); Richard Harp, "The *Shan Van Vocht* (Belfast, 1896-1899), and Irish Nationalism," *Eire/Ireland* 24 (1989): 42-52.

women's Nationalist activities.[660] Markievicz would expound on this forgotten and explicitly female canon of resistant women. As her title suggests she would not just perpetuate an ancient heroic masculine tradition but recall and re-appropriate the heroic efforts of women in Ireland's past while demanding new legacies of the women in Ireland acting contemporaneously at that time. In many ways Markievicz was revising Hyde's and the Irish Revival's chronicle of a great yet predominantly masculine Irish historical tradition. Markievicz provokes:

> I have never read in the early history of any country so many stories of great fighting women as I read in the history of Ireland. The stories of Maeve, of Macha, of Granuaile, of Fleas, and many others, surprise one when one looks round at the Ireland of today, and sees the majority of her women so utterly indifferent to the struggle that is going on around them [...]. But in '98 the women suffered and saw others suffer, and lived in daily fear of brutality, torture, and murder.[661]

Markievicz's research for this article would inform her later dramaturgies and the summoning of '98 was a running thematic throughout her "The Woman With a Garden" column. Her play *Blood Money* evoked the female legacies of the rebellion as it is set in 1798 yet in lieu of writing an epic play in the Celtic Twilight tradition, as Milligan did with *The Last Feast of the Fianna* in 1900 and Gregory with *Grania* in 1910, Markievicz chose to create a new warrior woman who would join the canonical legacies of "Macha, Maeve, Granuaile and Fleas"[662]. Markievicz's Peggy O'Byrne in *Blood Money* creates a more proximate distance between the Irishwoman and her ability to take arms. Similarly in her column "The Women of '98" Markievicz would recall efforts of less mythical women to prune the distance between the women of Ireland's past, present and future, calling on active versus symbolic resistance.

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[660] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During* the *Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University press, 2007), 83.
[661] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the I*rish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, 23 October 1915, p. 137. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[662] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, 23 October 1915, p. 137. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz's series entitled "The Women of '98" would come seventeen years after the wave of commemorative celebration for the centenary of Wolfe Tone's 1798 United Irish uprising. This iconic year, 1798, stood as the first official attempt at Irish resistance to British rule in Ireland and it also brought forth an indigenous and living Irish hero to join the ranks of the mythic Cuchulainn. The subsequent commemoration of such an event not only created an authentic Irish historical moment but, as Yvonne Whelan argues, it created a counter-commemorative moment as the centenary of 1798 was shadowed by the elaborate celebrations of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee one year earlier.[663] In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ireland, the celebration of Wolfe Tone's Rising became a cultural and political phenomenon and would forever fuse national identity and cultural practice in Ireland. Cultural festivals, monuments, songs, the inception of Ireland's National Theatre and the articulated concept of 'Irishness' would be manufactured through the centenary celebration of 1798. Kevin Whelan maintains that two significant events occur as a result of the 1798 Rising, the political implications of the rising itself and what was written about it afterwards.[664] Markievicz joined the 1798 national repetition and canon of commemorative recollections, as the reiteration of '98 was a running theme throughout her literary contributions. Her theatrical and journalistic subject matter were direct re-appropriations on the recollections of active female agency in the 1798 Rising, some of which she illuminated in her "The Women of '98". Markievicz's political and cultural narrative was inspired by this seminal date in Ireland's resistance history as is demonstrated through her employment of this date as part of her own Nationalist repetition. Markievicz was an active participant in

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[663] Yvonne Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin: Streetscape, Iconography and the Politics of Identity* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), 75.
[664] See Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of an Irish Identity 1760-1830* (Cork: Cork Press, 1996).

Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations, another fascinating contradiction that makes up the life of Constance Markievicz.[665] Her need to tell and retell such histories commemorating 1798 was a means for Markievicz to purge herself of her ascendancy background and reclaim this date into her own Nationalist experience. Her column became her own counter-commemorative movement both reintegrating her own place and further women's place back into this iconic year and subsequent commemorative ceremonies in the years to come.

Markievicz's column written seventeen years after the 1898 centenary year, told the hidden histories of female involvement in the 1798 Rising and how their efforts were an essential part of the political and cultural tapestry of the time:

> [...] I thought I should have found it difficult to gather sufficient material among the histories and memoirs that I have access to, to write a paper on the women of '98. But all through the records of the struggle for independence allusions to deeds done by women and girls drift, giving us an idea of the place taken by the women of Ireland in the national struggle.[666]

Markievicz alludes to the intentional marginalization of female efforts and of their being restricted to the domestic sphere. In the use of the word 'drift' and 'idea' she suggests that these recollections are not conspicuous nor universally celebrated: "We get glimpses of them [women] through the smoke of their burning homesteads, and the dust and din of the battlefields."[667] While at times she embraced the gendered rhetoric of the Nationalist vocabularies, Markievicz reveals here that it is this link between women and the domestic that has shadowed their actual efforts. Maud Gonne's *Dawn* (1904) would evoke similar allusions in her setting, with the major action of the play, taking place within the shattered homestead belonging to the

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[665] Markievicz was presented to Queen Victoria on March 17, 1887 by her mother's cousin the Countess of Erroll, a lady in waiting to Victoria. Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: in the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 30.
[666] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915 p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[667] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in the *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915 p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

protagonist Bride. Allusions to a burning or broken homestead in either case, indicates an affiliation with, followed by a rejection of, women's interrelation with the domestic forum. It is also interesting to note, however, that in this same periodical five years later, Markievicz wrote three articles entitled, "Vote for Decent Homes"[668], "A Smiling or a Frowning Home"[669] and "Smiling and Frowning Houses."[670] Improvising on the anti-colonial application of the home being a microcosm for the macrocosmic 'nation', Markievicz in this article states very plainly how one's home should be decorated, cleaned and "how every housewife wears a dignified air of being mistress to a real good home with a lovely garden where she can grow fruit, vegetables and flowers."[671] This may be an allusion to her earlier allegories in "The Woman With a Garden", however this is a marked contradiction to her earlier destabilizing of the spatial confinements of the domestic ring. She peppers her 'decorating' column with references to American furniture with glass drawers and simplistic design. Evoking an independent country through 'typically feminine' apparatuses may be a means for her to entice her female constituency, however, there is no doubt a practical application for this column as Markievicz was a staunch supporter of inexpensive housing and children's rights. Similarly, in 1920 Markievicz called her female audience to public action to demand a new ideal for women within the Labour and *Sinn Féin* public program scheme.[672] This particular three-part column hosted a clear debate between the modern and the traditional, insisting that the home, henceforth Ireland, could be a bearer of both. Her play *Broken Dreams*

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[668] Constance Markievicz (Signed, C.M.), "Vote for Decent Home, " in the *Irish Citizen*, January 1920, p. 60. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[669] Constance Markievicz (unsigned, previous and subsequent articles signed, C.M.), "A Smiling or a Frowning Home," in *Irish Citizen*, April-May 1920, p. 81. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[670] Constance Markievicz (Signed, C.M.), "Smiling or Frowning Houses," in the *Irish Citizen*, July-August 1920, p. 109. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[671] Constance Markievicz (Signed, C.M.), "Smiling or Frowning Houses," in the *Irish Citizen*, July-August 1920, p. 109. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[672] Sari Oikarinen, *A Dream of Liberty: Constance Markievicz's Vision of Ireland, 1908-1927* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998), 135-6.

entertains a similar debate on the modern versus the traditional, hosting a 'New' woman Eileen versus the traditional notions of femininity as represented by her mother Mrs. O'Rourke. Eileen's dress and demeanour echoes Markievicz's instructions for the "Future of Irishwomen," an indication of how Markievicz shaped and subverted traditionally feminine signifiers:

> If you want to walk round Ireland, or any other country, dress suitably in short skirt and strong boots, leave your jewels and gold wands in the bank, and buy a revolver. Don't trust your feminine charm and your capacity for getting on the soft side of men, but take up your responsibilities and be prepared to go your own way depending for your safety and on your own common sense, and not on the problematic chivalry of the men you may meet on the way. [...] A consciousness of their own dignity and worth should be encouraged in women. They should be urged to get away from wrong ideals and false standards of womanhood, to escape from their domestic ruts, their feminine pens. [...][673]

This inconsistency marks how contradictory this time period was for women. Markievicz demonstrates this herself by at times destabilizing the domestic role of women and subverting expectations, and then other times falling into the expected patterns of female deportment and domesticity. These tendencies show how she constantly negotiated her own unconventionality and the constant pressures and expectations of 'respectable' female behaviour in the period.

Markievicz continues her first lecture in the "'98" series by articulating the difficulties experienced in the sheer craft of writing such subversive stories at the time suggesting that her emendations are essential to a complete and accurate history: "Writing, too, was as dangerous as fighting, when a man had only to be suspected of being a patriot—when a chance phrase from an intercepted letter was enough, and he was seized, imprisoned, and subjected to all the tortures that (British) cruelty could

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[673] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen," published speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League on the 12th of October 1915 in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, p. 136-7, 23 October 1915. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

invent [...]."[674] Markievicz's column served as both a historical resource and mythical addendum with Markievicz as *Seanachaí*[675] in a pioneering effort to reintegrate those histories regarding women, which were omitted from or forgotten in both the oral tradition and subsequent historical narratives within the Nationalist revival. As Markievicz's contributions were taking shape, so too was an appendage to the historical imagination of Ireland, which as Markievicz believes, was truncated as a result of the British Penal Codes:

> Besides that it is hard to glean much of the doing and sufferings of the heroines of '98 across years darkened by Penal Laws, when it was considered a crime to love your country, and anyone daring to teach her history, and tell of the bravery of her patriots was punished with the "utmost rigour of the law." Still memoirs were written, and letters too, many of which have survived. Confidential papers have been examined by curious historians and their contents published. There are old ballads too, passed on from mouth to mouth; old stories told on winter nights round the turf fire, told reverently by old men whose fathers have been able to tell them what they themselves have suffered and had seen happen in those old glorious days.[676]

Markievicz highlights the importance of an oral tradition in Ireland, a tradition that she has improvised on through her journalistic prose. Here she invokes the essence of a storyteller through her romantic recollections and she narrates, dramatizes and mythologises these women's stories through dramatic tone and metaphor whilst simultaneously historicising and canonising 'their' heroic efforts. Markievicz's *Blood Money* would provide an alternative ending for one fallen woman of '98. In a fascinating story in Part I of her series Markievicz tells the tale of "Norah, pride of Wexford maids."[677] Norah was discovered by a "detachment of Rebels [who were]

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[674] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98" in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[675] Seanachaí: the Irish Gaelic word for 'storyteller'.
[676] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98" in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[677] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

marching towards Enniscorthy"[678]. Her brother, a rebel in this detachment, found her dead and brutalized by the side of the road. Norah was buried reverently Markievicz writes:

> [...] not before her brother had taken off her petticoat and fix[ed] it in the end of his pike, he and his comrades swearing an oath to give no quarter to any fighting on the English side. Led by this strange banner ...emblem of British ferocity... the band moved forward, and we are told that the oath was well kept, for the men of the "Petticoat Brigade"[679] earned the name of being the fiercest and most reckless of the men of '98.[680]

Peggy O'Byrne, operating in 1798 as rebel soldier and outfitted in a *Slim, 'dark and pale Dusky red skirt with dark bodice and big black shawl over her head'*,[681] would in dress and setting pay homage to Norah whilst providing an alternative ending for her. Markievicz rewrites Norah's story instilling in her agency and the potential for an active and successful outcome as if Norah was acting on behalf of the male rebel soldier and not conversely.

Markievicz's first column also unearths the story of "The Patriot Mother"[682] a poem written by a woman called "Eva" of the "Nation"[683]. Markievicz's article states:

> The poem describes how a boy of 14 or 15 was taken prisoner (by the English) and promised his life and liberty if he would betray the names of the Rebels by whose side he fought on the Curragh, while his refusal to speak would be punished by the gallows. The trial was conducted near his home, and his mother was dragged out to hear him tempted, the English soldiers thinking that her love for him would make her wish to save his life at all costs.[684]

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[678] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[679] The implications of the use of the petticoat and costume and the ironies implied will be discussed in great detail in Chapter Three.
[680] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[681] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, unpublished manuscript, MS. 22,636, p.1 Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[682] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[683] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[684] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

This woman is reminiscent of Markievicz's character Mrs. Fagan in *The Invincible Mother*. Markievicz continues:

> But she was a woman of grand heroic nature, who loved her son so deeply and truly that she would sooner see him dead than dishonoured, and she used the opportunity of speaking to him, to strengthen him in his high resolve, but urging him to be true to his comrades and his country.[685]

Markievicz's play *The Invincible Mother* would join the legacy of female participation in 1798, as she drew her inspiration from "The Patriot Mother". Her reiteration of the "Patriot Mother's" story and "Eva of the Nation's" poem creates a female revisionist narrative through the re-inscription of women's histories as told through female voices. Markievicz's subsequent dramatizing of "the Patriot Mother" also links past female heroicisms with contemporaneous women as the "Patriot Mother" was operating in 1798 and while not dated, *The Invincible Mother* was set some time after 1850[686]. Markievicz's play links the efforts of the real patriot woman of the past with the efforts of a woman patriot in the present. In uncovering and subsequently dramatizing "The Patriot Mother's" experience Markievicz immediately reinvigorates extremely potent inherited images, which instigate a call for action within the existing and present colonial condition. In dramatizing this story, Markievicz finalizes the cycle of this woman's canonization and integration within the myth of the Irish Nationalist heritage. This equation was unofficially templated by poets and dramatists such as W.B. Yeats whose inspirations for plays such as *On Baile's Strand* (1904) came from the legends of *Cuchulainn*, an essential part of the national militarized myth, as told through oral tradition, song, and poem. Augusta

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[685] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[686] Please see Chapter One for more on *The Invincible Mother* and its setting.

Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* similarly and officially canonized the story "of the men of the Red Branch of Ulster"[687]. Sarah Benton argues that:

> All nations have a myth of origin, but not all have a myth of foundation by human act. The myth of foundation is extraordinarily important for women. It is in that myth that women are often deleted from history and the peculiar 'warrior' qualities of men are elevated to heroic status.[688]

Markievicz's "The Women of '98" uncovers the '*act*ivism' of and the dialogue between Nationalist women past and present. The *Irish Citizen* was a remarkable platform for the reclamation, inheritance, and passing on of female activism, suffrage and nationalism. In addition to the histories of '98 being fodder for Markievicz's Republican plays, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington's play *The Prodigal Daughter* (1914) published in the *Irish Citizen* after its presentation at the *Daffodil Fête* earlier that year, inspired dialogue for Markievicz's *The Invincible Mother*[689]. Sheehy-Skeffington's 'Mother' said: "Deed an'it isn't the Considines that have all the fightin' spirit! Wasn't your uncle Thomas, that stood for Tommy here, out in '67? And wasn't my father, the Lord be merciful to him, out in '48? An' wasn't my great-grandfather's brother shot in '98?"[690] Not only would Markievicz's column inspire a dialogue between women past and present, it would join a theatrical tradition promoting female activism past, present and future. Markievicz re-inscribed women's efforts within the

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[687] August Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne: The story of the men of the red branch of Ulster arranged and put into English* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe Press, 1970). Forward by Daniel Murphy and Preface by W.B. Yeats.

[688] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923," in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 149.

[689] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974", p. 8. Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

[690] Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, "The Prodigal Daughter," in *Irish Citizen*, November 7, 1914, p. 196-198. Karen Steele also references Sheehy-Skeffington's *The Prodigal Daughter* with regards to its position as a New Woman play joining forces with George Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (1894), and Elizabeth Robin's *Votes for Women!* (1909), to "challenge [their] audience to canvass republicans, rather than middle class, in seeking support for women's suffrage." Steele also maintains that: "New Woman drama draws an intrinsic connection between the enfranchisement of women and the needs of the working class". Source: Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 185. Markievicz's plays while hosting a characteristic "New woman" this dissertation invokes *The Prodigal Daughter* to reveal the discursive relationship between female protagonists past, present and future.

historical imaginings of 1798 and claimed authenticity for them within the national legacy. This was duly important, not only for the women of Ireland, but for Markievicz, as illuminating the tradition of female resistance would ensure women's place as well as her own place in the Nationalist mythos.

Benton argues that during the nation-building process in Ireland "women's political status was permanently damaged by their exclusion as warriors and brothers [...]."[691] Markievicz's insistence on active female resistance is indicative of her anticipation of such 'damage'. Markievicz concludes her first column of "The Women of '98" with:

> These women did not die in vain; their stories will be remembered in song and history whenever the tale of '98 is told. They are the passive ones, however; of the active I shall tell in another paper.[692]

With her use of 'passive' and 'active' Markievicz indicates her understanding of the various forms of female participation and anticipates how they will be measured in future recollections of the Irish nation's foundation history. Markievicz's next article in this series was entitled "Women of Ninety-Eight"[693]. Dropping 'The' and spelling out the numeric '98 demonstrates an authoritative voice, which tells of a lasting, lengthy and essential female Nationalist legacy. Markievicz alludes to extensive sources yet reveals only a few. She blurs the lines between fact and fiction, relying on sources such as songs and letters to construct a larger than life history, which compensates for a lack of acknowledgement of female involvement while it inspires a meta-collective historical memory. Markievicz begins:

> I shall pass on now to the women who took an active part in the Rebellion. Of course, as in the case of their more passive sisters, much information has been

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[691] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923," in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 149.
[692] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[693] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> lost, but enough remains to give us an insight into the heroic greatness of these our foremothers which may be a light in the path of us women today.[694]

Markievicz's third column in particular reveals that the memoirs and letters of a woman with "English sympathies" were "particularly valuable as giving from an unbiased source a vivid picture of the horrors and dangers of the time, especially to women"[695]. Ireland has a long-standing tradition of storytelling. It is a vital part of the canonization process especially for women as it demonstrates a lasting importance that has stood the test of time demonstrating a collective validation of female involvement. As Yeats claimed: "if you would know Ireland – body and soul – you must read its poems and stories"[696]. Markievicz's column reintroduces us to a 'forgotten' aspect of Ireland's history and to acknowledge her contribution is an important act of recovery.

Her later plays would not only draw inspiration from such female Nationalist legacies, Markievicz herself would embody and wear the stories of these women making her very corporeality an embedded part of the national repetition. Her November 13th column tells a fascinating 'tale' of Susey Toole a woman whom Holt nicknamed "Moving Magazine"[697]. Susey, described as a woman of 5'8" with a "nose nearly flat to her face, having been broken by a stone [...] giving her very much the appearance of that of a seal"[698] was "brave and faithful, [and] had a talent for acting and for disguising herself."[699] She "tramped"[700] the countryside with a basket

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[694] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[695] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 27, November 20, 1915, p. 168-9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[696] W.B. Yeats, with foreword by Mary Helen Thuente, *Representative Irish Tales* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smyth Press, 1979 first published in 1891), 25.
[697] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[698] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[699] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

full of "gingerbread, sweets, and other odds and ends"[701] while she gathered information from Ireland's enemies and sent 'them' off on the "wrong scent"[702]. Susey earned her nickname because she never returned from an "expedition"[703] without a "load of two or three hundred cartridges, stolen from or coaxed out of the soldiers to whom she sold her wares."[704] Susey was 'mis'-marked when outfitted with such domestic signifiers. This enabled her free movement through oppositional territory not unlike Peggy O'Byrne in *Blood Money* who armed with "a nice baked cake and two fine fowls"[705] won the affection and trust of the British Sergeant Ames. Similar 'tales' are told about Markievicz in Jacqueline Van Voris's biography of the Countess. Van Voris details that Markievicz's favourite disguise was that of a "fragile old lady"[706]. Nora Connolly recalls an excursion with her sister and Markievicz while Markievicz was dressed in her "favourite disguise"[707]. With Nora and Ina on either side of "Granny"[708] they attempted to cross the busy corner of Talbot and O'Connell Streets, a policemen was on duty. Van Voris quotes Nora:

> I was too tense to do or say anything, but Madame played her part wonderfully. First she stepped off the pavement, and then she stepped back again. She dithered, and stepped off again, and again stepped hurriedly back. Finally the policeman took compassion on the poor old lady and started escorting her across O'Connell Street, his hand on her arm. When I got across

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[700] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[701] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[702] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[703] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[704] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[705] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[706] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.
[707] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.
[708] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.

> the street, I saw the unholy, mischievous glee in her eye, and her foot doing a little jig under her skirt. That was Madame for you.[709]

Costume, dress, and disguise were integral parts in Markievicz's activism. There are various stories in which she herself as well as her political cohorts were disguised in order to accomplish their political tactics. Van Voris also recounts a story of Markievicz and a dressing trunk, which she hastily packed after being informed of a pending raid. This trunk was full of her "most incriminating"[710] papers. She and a friend loaded this trunk in a cab, drove around Dublin trying to find a safe place for it and eventually settled upon leaving it in the window of a friend's second-hand shop with an astronomical price tag on it. As legend has it, Markievicz left this trunk there on full display until she deemed it safe to retrieve, it is said this shop was across the way from a Black and Tan barracks.[711] The stories of these women informed her theatrics and her Nationalist persona. Markievicz in conduct, dress and point of view would embody and re-envision Susey and the 'women of ninety-eight' in her own actions, representations and cultural legacies. Susey as having "tramped" the countryside echoes J.M. Synge's Tramp in *The Shadow of the Glen* (1903) and his Christy Mahon in *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907). Susey claims the traditionally male act of 'tramping' for women and joins a tradition of Irish stock characters that transcend boundaries and borders and have freedom of mobility.

The "Women of Ninety-Eight" series ended just four months prior to the Easter Uprising of 1916. Markievicz, in lieu of '98, repeated the word 'rebellion' several times throughout her series with her last two entries serving as catalogues to

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[709] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.
[710] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.
[711] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 278.

the militarized efforts of women such as Mary McCracken[712], Mrs. Lee[713], Mrs. Nielson[714], Mrs. O'Connor[715], a child of twelve Biddy Magee whose "Patriotism gave her courage"[716], Mrs. Bond[717] and of course, Ann Devlin[718]. Markievicz warned of the dangers of battle by retelling the tragic ending of Betsy Grey who "fought and died at the battle of Ballinahinch"[719] when she was shot by "man called Thomas Neilson"[720] through her right eye and how his accomplice's wife was seen wearing Betsy Grey's clothing for days after.[721] Markievicz also recounts the story of Mary Doyle who "fought at the battle of New Ross"[722] when Doyle realised that the men of her battalion were ready to admit defeat and relinquish the small canon they had with them, Doyle "took her stand by it, and mounting on it, refused to go without it."[723] Markievicz quotes Doyle as saying, "Boys, I will stay behind, no matter what happens to me, unless you take my dear little gun too."[724] Markievicz subliminally called for 'rebellion' assuring those women who died would die a martyr's death among the

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[712] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 28, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[713] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[714] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[715] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[716] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[717] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[718] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[719] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[720] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[721] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. The implications of costume and Markievicz will be discussed at length in Chapter Three.
[722] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[723] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[724] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

"[...] heroines who fought and died on the battlefields of '98."[725] This again anticipates Markievicz's reversal of fate after the 1916 arrests.

While both passive and active resistance is celebrated[726] Markievicz's column incorporates women's involvement into the military tradition of the rebellion of 1798. As Benton argues, since women were neither brothers nor considered warriors, they were excluded from the predominantly masculine hegemonic of Ireland's nation-building narrative.[727] "Women of Ninety-Eight" was a pre-emptive attempt to reverse the process of exclusion and re-inscribe female contributions to a specific iconic moment in the National remembrance as well as to incite action within her female constituency. This commemorative act became a part of both an individual and collective identity as the legacies of these women through Markievicz's series were absorbed into the nation's memory. As *seanachaí*, Markievicz also integrated these histories into the soul memory of the Irish people. She concludes her series "not because there is no more to say of the doings and sufferings of the women of '98, but because my lecture is already too long."[728] Markievicz continues: "When I undertook the task, I thought it difficult to collect enough facts; but, on the contrary, my trouble has been to know what to select, compress, or leave out."[729] Markievicz's series was an invaluable act of recovery providing counter-symbolic representations to the Woman-as-Ireland archetype as revised by the actual "Women *of* Ninety-Eight".

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[725] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[726] Markievicz gave ideas as to other means of resistance for example she writes: "one way in which the women of '98 were able to do good service to their country was by carrying, by word of mouth, messages too dangerous to be trust to paper and ink." Quoted from, Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[727] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-1923," in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, *The Irish Issue: The British Question* (Summer, 1995), 149.
[728] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[729] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 29, December 4, 1915, p. 183. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Constance de Markievicz, 'A Memory'

Markievicz's journalistic titles directly and immediately draw attention to that which she wishes to discuss. Her column "The Woman With a Garden" highlights issues of nature, women, political resistance and the colonial condition, while "The Women of Ninety-Eight" is both a call to reintegrate, instigate, and commemorate women's history within Ireland's myth of creation. Markievicz's third major body of journalistic prose, "A Memory, by Constance de Markievicz", in the periodical *Eire* published in 1923 frames and retells the contemporary history of Ireland according to her own authoritative recollections as narrated through her voice. Jacky Bratton in her chapter on performance, anecdote and mimicry as history states:

> What he chooses to include and exclude is a suggestive guide to the reconstruction and incorporation of the history and of performers, male and female, by the next generation in the theatre. Thus the medium of print is subject to all sorts of interventions and mediations; its witness to its own times and its transmission of the history of the stage must be read as part of the hegemonic process even where autobiography might seem to offer direct revelation of actions and contemporary opinion.[730]

Markievicz's column renders an alternative to the masculinist hegemony of auto/biography. Each article in her series in *Eire* is titled specifically according to whom she is 'remembering' and bi-lined, "A Memory, by Constance de Markievicz". This series in *Eire,* written four years before her death in 1927, presents her voice and further, women's voice as an authoritative reclamation of a preserved masculine history. Markievicz authors and narrates the accounts of the men in Ireland's history including Tom Clarke[731], Jim Larkin[732], The King's visit[733], Arthur Griffith[734], The

[730] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 98-9.

[731] Constance de Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory, by Constance Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 3. Saturday, May 26, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Fianna na hÉireann[735], and Tim Healy[736], she also integrates a story of Helena Molony's[737] as well as an account of Markievicz's own arrest during the King's visit to Ireland in 1911.

According to Bratton these representations and "anecdotal exchanges" project an image of the world "in which they [women] are actors"[738] and underlines the importance of women's personal story-telling.[739] Read in tandem with her earlier lecture "Women of Ninety-Eight" in the *Irish Citizen*, Markievicz claims a whole presence in the nation-building process, not a fragmented or ruptured experience. Bratton continues, "the masculinist assumption is that men choose to publish their life stories when and because they have a sense of their own autonomy and difference, and their unique importance in the public life of their day."[740] Employing Bratton's equation makes Markievicz's penning and publishing male biographies doubly significant as she is projecting her voice as a pre-eminent authority on the entire Nationalist movement. Markievicz remembers of Tom Clarke:

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[732] Constance de Markievicz, "A Few Memories: Larkin, The Fianna, and the King's Visit. By, Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 22, p. 3. Saturday, June 16, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[733] Constance de Markievicz, "A Few Memories: Larkin, The Fianna, and the King's Visit. By, Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 22, p. 3. Saturday, June 16, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Constance de Markievicz, "Memories: The King's Visit (con't). By, Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 27, p. 4. Saturday, July 21, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[734] Constance de Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith and the *Sinn Féin* Organization. By, Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31. Saturday, August 18, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Constance de Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith. By, Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 32. Saturday, August 25, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[735] Constance de Markievicz, "A Few Memories: The Fianna," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 21. Saturday, June 9, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Constance de Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33. September 1, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[736] Constance de Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33. September 1, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[737] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: by Constance de Markievicz. The Union Jack—Miss Molony," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 28, p. 3. Saturday, July 28, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[738] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101. Brackets are mine.

[739] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

[740] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

> The first time I met and talked with Tom Clarke I shall never forget. It stands in my memory as the first milestone on the dark and obliterated path where I was wandering that told me definitely and surely that I somehow or other I had blundered on to the right road.[741]

She stakes this moment as "the First Day of the Republic"[742] and firmly plants herself there thus, claiming her perception and recollection of this formative moment as Nationalist 'gospel'. Markievicz claims Clarke's 'importance' as relative to her own experience emphasizing the importance of her "autonomy and difference"[743]. These 'characters' are constructed through Markievicz's gaze and given female voice. Markievicz reiterates the stories of these men as if she was dramatizing their personae in a one-woman show.[744] She continues on Clarke:

> His forehead was high, beginning to get bald where it broadened at the top, with wavy, greying curls about his ears; his nose thin and rather large, his face a ruddy brown with sunburn, his mouth hidden by a heavy dark moustache, the whole set on a thin neck held erect over a slim, wiry body. His hands were very characteristic; the long, sensitive fingers seemed longer through their thinness, and the deft rapidity of their movements seemed to suggest some strange vital force and an energy of life that could inspire dying men to rise and do the work of heroes.[745]

Markievicz's physical description of Clarke in many ways reverses the gender roles at play in such a recollection. She speaks similarly of Jim Larkin: "Taller than most men, every line of him was in harmony with his personality. No so much working

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[741] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory, by Constance Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 3. Saturday, May 26, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[742] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory, by Constance Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 3. Saturday, May 26, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[743] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

[744] Jacky Bratton discusses how acting out "various personae" off-stage was turned into a paying proposition on stage "in the one-man show" from Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

[745] Constance Markievicz, "Tom Clarke and the First Day of the Republic: a Memory, by Constance Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 3. Saturday, May 26, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

man as primeval man."[746] In contrast to her earlier columns in her "Memories" she is mostly narrating for the men of Ireland. This is one of many contributions Markievicz made to the nation-building process as "auto/biographical writing and especially performance is not the revelation, but the construction, of identity."[747] Markievicz's "Memories" and her early renderings of Irish Nationalist history, many of which informed her later dramaturgies, joined and informed the collective memory of Ireland's nation-building process. Her historical recollections added to an "understanding of history as an active force in shaping society."[748] Her column raises questions as to how memory was and is an integral part of Ireland's myth of creation and further how framing what is important according to 'Markievicz' is of vital importance for women's place within history. This column asserts her position in public life.

Markievicz's 'memory' of the King's visit is told through the dialogue of those involved at the time as anecdotal insight into some of Ireland's most remarkable moments. Markievicz recalls:

> I remember one time when we were all getting rather heated over a suggestion to go out and hold meetings at the street corners all around Dublin, speaking from chairs or egg boxes. Mr. Griffith opposed the idea on the grounds that it was lowering the dignity of Sinn Féin, and that we might create trouble, and that we would only be laughed at. He turned to the O'Rahilly, who was in favour of the scheme, and said: 'Really, O'Rahilly, we must stand on our dignity." With a kindly and persuasive stride the O'Rahilly replied: 'Well, if we go on standing on our dignity much longer, we soon won't have anything else left to stand on.' Everybody laughed, and the point was carried.[749]

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[746] Constance Markievicz, "A Few Memories: Larkin, The Fianna, And the King's Visit by Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 122, p. 3. Saturday, June 16, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[747] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.

[748] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.

[749] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: The King's Visit (continued), by Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 27, p. 4. Saturday, July 21, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Bratton argues that anecdotes versus stories are most important because anecdotes "claim to be true"[750]. Markievicz once again stakes her claim on the myth of Ireland's creation by telling and retelling those anecdotes, which make up the 'essence' of the nation-building process. This operates similarly to those 'truths' of "the Patriot Mother" improvised on in her play *The Invincible Mother* and the semi-autobiographical nature of *Broken Dreams*. In many ways these 'truths' as iterated and reiterated by Markievicz become bigger than the 'factual' events and subsequently part of a larger than life historiography of Ireland. These anecdotes according to Bratton: "reveal the truths of the society, but not necessarily directly: its inner truth, is truth to some ineffable 'essence', rather than to proven facts, is what matters most- hence its mythmaking dimension."[751] Markievicz is performing her place in a specific moment in Ireland's history by recalling her 'version' as the pre-eminent version of such moments thus staking her claim in the mythological dimensions of Ireland's literary and Nationalist canon.

Markievicz's column "The Woman with a Garden" creates a sense of nostalgia in lieu of a then present and immediate colonial dilemma. In similar form 'A Memory' in the wake of a partitioned Ireland, creates a wistfulness about an Ireland that once was, perhaps Markievicz's tactic to heal from her 'broken dreams' and Ireland's trauma as a result of the Treaty. Lowenthal suggests that nostalgia requires a "[...] sense of estrangement; the object of the quest must be anachronistic."[752] In her second article "A Few Memories: The *Fianna*" Markievicz quantifies the distance between Ireland's past and traumatic present when she writes,

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[750] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.
[751] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.
[752] David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," in *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 1-36, p.4.

> I believed the fighting spirit of the Gael to be only dormant, for the love and reverence of the hero was with us. Love and reverence give birth to thought; thought leads to hope, and hope once born can only find her full expression in action. I understood, too, that instinctive love for all that is great and brave and honourable, and the great spiritual courage and genius for self-sacrifice that lie deep in the hearts of our young people; the heritage of the Gael that has been passed to them from dead generation after dead generation who each in their turn served Ireland with loyalty and self-sacrifice.[753]

Here Markievicz describes an instinctive or rather soul memory, which once again highlights a collective Irish experience and thus adds to the collective memory of the nation. This simultaneously appeals to an audience that perhaps was too young to 'remember' by tapping into instinctual memory and creating objects of their 'nostalgic devotion'.[754]

Printed next to Markievicz's 'Memory' of the *Fianna* are two poems authored by activist, poet, and playwright, Dorothy Macardle. They are entitled, "Captivity" and "On Leaving Mountjoy Jail"[755]. These poems read in tandem with Markievicz's anecdotal histories demonstrate a symphony of female literary activism operating in *Eire*. Macardle's poems also amplify Markievicz's nostalgic affiliation with a glorified past. From "Captivity":

> Out on the high road in the sun.
> They walk whose souls are dark with,
> Fettered and bowed with heavy feet.
> Who dare not speak the glorious deed,
> They sore to die for, yester-year
> For faith is broke, hope undone. [...][756]

Macardle's poem offers themes of trauma from confinement and loss of faith. Markievicz similarly deals with the trauma of the Civil War and Partition by re-telling

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[753] Constance de Markievicz, "A Few Memories: The Fianna," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 21. Saturday, June 9, 1923. Reel 37. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[754] David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," in *Geographical Review*, vol. 65, no. 1 (Jan., 1975), pp. 1-36, p.4.
[755] Dorothy Macardle, "On Leaving Mountjoy Jail," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 21, Saturday, June 9, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[756] Dorothy Macardle, "Captivity," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 1, Saturday, June 9, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

'the story' of Ireland's last twenty-years. The need to tell, re-tell and recreate one's experience in an act of remembrance or reconciliation is prevalent in many theatrical works throughout Ireland's theatrical canon. Kristin Morrison discusses the widespread use of storytelling in the plays of Beckett and Pinter and how it has replaced soliloquy as a "convention for expressing psychological inwardness [...] The telling of a story allows characters that quintessentially 'modern', Freudian opportunity to reveal deep and difficult thoughts and feelings while at the same time concealing them as fiction or at least distancing them as narration"[757]. Markievicz relying on the distance of narrative memory simultaneously anticipates the trauma of women's silence within the national project and the semi-colonial condition that is a partitioned Ireland. Markievicz anticipates the Irish precondition to tell and re-tell a story to give voice to individual narratives in an effort to cope with present landscapes of suffering and distress.

The trope of story and memory is prevalent throughout *Eire* with Dorothy Macardle once again subliminally informing Markievicz's *mise en scène*. Macardle's poem: "Over and Over Again"[758] speaks to Markievicz's entire series and is ironically placed next to her 'memory' of "Going to Jail"[759]. This juxtaposition is indicative of the subliminal discursive relationship between female concerns and Nationalist experiences. Macardle's poem reads:

> Over and Over again
> The same story is told;
> "Youth that was brave in vain,
> Love that was mocked and sold,
> Valour and gladness slain,
> Faith bartered for gold!"

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[757] Kristin Morrison quoted in Anthony Roche "*Bailegangaire*: Storytelling into Drama," *Irish University Review*, vol. 17, no. 1, Thomas Murphy Issue (Spring, 1987), pp. 120.
[758] Dorothy Macardle, "Over and Over Again," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 29, Saturday, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[759] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Going to Jail. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 29, Saturday, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> But a lark winging amain [*sic*]
> Into the liquid blue,
> And a wind swift on the plain
> Spilling the dawn-lit dew
> Sing "Over and over again
> The story is told anew!"[760]

Markievicz's story was indeed told 'anew'. 'Numbers thirty-one' and her final 'memory' in 'number thirty-five' are almost explicitly autobiographical. Markievicz uses her column about Griffith and Healy, as opportunity to present her 'authentic' Irish self in lieu of her controversial upbringing. She writes:

> Brought up in Ireland in an isolation that it is hard to understand to-day when bicycles and motor-cars annihilate even Irish miles [...] We lived on a beautiful, enchanted Western coast, where we grew up intimate with the soft mists and the coloured mountains, and where each morning you woke to the sound of the wild birds [...].[761]

While claiming a sense of identification within an ideal of what it is to be authentically Irish, Markievicz's strategy in writing 'her' story under the heading promised to offer 'Griffith's' story, is a direct response to Griffith's earlier misconceptions of Markievicz which ultimately privileges her narrative over his place in Ireland's historiography. Markievicz ends her 'memory' with only one mention of Griffith, that he "was very disencouraging to me and very cautious."[762] Markievicz reveals that after her release from Holloway in 1917, Griffith came to believe her authenticity and devotion of purpose. For Bratton;

> The most persuasive characteristic of *female* autobiography, on the other hand, is argued to be self-definition in relation to significant others; so that, rather than a sense of individual autonomy, a sense of identification, interdependence

[760] Dorothy Macardle, "Over and Over Again," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 29, Saturday, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[761] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, Saturday, August 18, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[762] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Arthur Griffith. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 31, Saturday, August 18, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

> and community is key in the development of women's identity and therefore also central in their stories of themselves.[763]

While Markievicz had been jailed six times by 1923, she spent most of the early 1920's on 'the run' and faced near-execution in 1916, questions of her devotion and commitment were always plaguing her public perception throughout her career as Nationalist activist and artist. In her final column entitled "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Healy,"[764] Markievicz takes the opportunity to publically dispel a false rumour regarding her leaking of a secret *Sinn Féin* initiative to the press. She cites Jenny Wyse-Power as the woman who brought this to her attention upon returning to Dublin after Christmas to a "freezing and suspicious atmosphere."[765] As detailed in Chapter One, Wyse-Power states: "Before we break up I want to ask you something that none of the men have the courage to ask you."[766] In lieu of celebrating a masculinist historical tradition, Markievicz offers a female revisionist history overwriting the narratives of the pre-eminent men of the movement with autobiographical evidence of her devotion to Ireland.

Through the medium of the print journal Markievicz retold, re-staged and revised Ireland's history according to her own censuring of Nationalist memories. In reframing such anecdotes she joined and improvised on an oral tradition in Ireland and simultaneously repositioned herself as a foremost authority on the Nationalist historical experience. Markievicz made contemporaneous accounts as legend and

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[763] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101-2.

[764] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33, Saturday, September 1, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[765] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz" in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33, Saturday, September 1, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. Jenny Wyse-Power née Jane O'Toole (1858-1941), was a member of the Ladies' Land League, a founding member and Vice-President of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and later in 1911, Vice President of *Sinn Féin*. Wyse-Power ended her political career in 1936 as a Senator in the Free State. Source: Margaret Ward, *In Their Own Voice* (Cork: Attic Press, 1995), 15.

[766] Constance Markievicz, "Memories: Mr. Griffith and Mr. Tim Healy. By Constance de Markievicz," in *Eire*, vol. 1, no. 33, Saturday, September 1, 1923. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

immortalized herself and the figures associated with such recollections, thus embedding herself with Ireland's instinctual memory and carving her place into Ireland's history.[767] Markievicz is constructing her own legacy and is articulating how she imagined her life and the part she played in the outcome of the war. When read in tandem with her earlier columns and later dramaturgies in addition to her lectures, poems and letters, Markievicz is a major contributor to Ireland's collective memory and the fight for Independence. This is a calculated tactic crucial for women's placement in the historical narrative as best articulated by Gertrude Stein that women must "retell their tales so that they are the told and not the tellers"[768].

Conclusion

Markievicz's variant bodies of journalistic renderings become literally and figuratively part of the cultural landscape giving women and women's voices representation within the past. Markievicz's rhetorical strategies assert confidence for a self-sufficient Nation—part of a necessary repetition in the Nationalist ideology of a then 'imagined' free and autonomous Ireland. There are extensive examples of her work in Nationalist periodicals such as *Eire*, *The Workers Republic*, the *Irish Citizen*, *Sinn Féin*, *An Poblacht, The Nation*, an abbreviated list, and of course her three later plays *Blood Money* (1925), *Invincible Mother* (1925), and *Broken Dreams* (1927). An examination of Markievicz's body of journalistic writings exposes an anti-colonial parable, which hosts an ever-changing and subversive female protagonist both in prose and in personal narrative and thus re-imagines past political practices.

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[767] Marina Carr in her talk at Trinity College on the 18th of January 2008 discussed the difference between experiential memory and soul memory – memory which you intuitively bring with you or perhaps you are born with - an instinctual memory which you cannot escape as it is embedded in your subconscious.

[768] Jane Marcus, cited in Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 100.

Markievicz's journalism and playtexts offer textual extensions of her subversive corporeality, and the language for which she begins to challenge and revise her own position as a Nationalist woman, within the patriarchal strictures inherent in the National character. Through playtext and rhetorical conjurings, Markievicz created vocabularies for female agency and unconventionality. Butler asserts, "gender identity is a performative accomplishment"[769] one that Markievicz achieves through her many activisms, and by creating a contested corporeality which was influenced by tropes of nature, costume, dress, and self-sacrifice. These themes coupled with her public activities and sense of selfhood are explored in Chapter Three, as well as the visual representation of Markievicz through photographs and how through her counter-normative use of the bicycle and as a renegade figure 'on the run,' she created a cultural performance which challenged "cultural meaning"[770] and promoted radical female mobility.

[769] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 521.
[770] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 521.

Chapter Three

The Woman/The Image

"I feel the want. Women are made to adore and sacrifice themselves, and I as a woman demand as a right that Nature should provide me with something to live for, something to die for."[771]

Markievicz's contested corporeality coupled with her journalistic practices and subversive playtexts created social, political, gendered, and military performances, which challenged and thus revised social fictions regarding gender normative practices. According to Judith Butler, cultural realities are not fixed or are 'a given' but are continually created as an illusion "through language, gesture, and all manner of symbolic social sign."[772] Within these varied performances Markievicz held a tremendous power, which created and enforced her own iconicity—an iconicity, which promoted active female agency and social change. Markievicz was a performance. Her many activisms, public activities, and playtexts stood as stylized acts which not only rendered her own corporeality as subversive but opened up the field for women's representation and female agency within the Nationalist legacy. While never ceasing to demonstrate that her involvement within the Nationalist movement was organic and justified, there was an undercurrent of 'in-authenticity' that permeated public perceptions of Markievicz. This was due to her birth, class, religion and the negotiation of her own gender identity. Sean O'Casey was notoriously suspicious of Markievicz's commitment to Ireland and once said:

> Now there were two Cathleen ni Houlihans running around Dublin: one, like the traditional, in green dress, shamrocks in her hair, a little brian-boru harp under her oxster, chanting her share of song...the other Cathleen coarsely

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[771] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Chilton Co., 1967), 44. An entry from Constance Markievicz's diary on March 20, 1893.
[772] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 520.

> dressed, hair a little tousled, caught roughly together by a pin, barefooted, sometimes with a whiff of whiskey off her breath; brave and brawny; at ease in the smell of sweat and the sound of bad language, vital, and asurge [*sic*] with immortality.[773]

O'Casey's description of the 'tousled' *Cathleen ni Houlihan* emphasizes the perception that public representations of women that were counter to the expectations of the symbolic nature of Cathleen ni Houlihan, were unnatural, at times vulgar and certainly 'unfeminine'. Perceptions of Markievicz, incongruous and ever changing can be read as self-stylization and a performance of their own. In contrast to O'Casey, fellow Nationalist Professor Liam O'Brian remarked: "Gallant the Countess was, and elegant with natural grace. Natural above all, there was no posing, no theatrical gesture whatsoever."[774] Helena Molony, Markievicz's colleague, fellow Socialist and Suffragist alternatively wrote: "The work she did always had to be of a dramatic of even of a glamorous kind. She was made that way, she could only express herself in terms of action and gesture and drama."[775] W.B. Yeats described her mind as "bitter, an abstract thing"[776]. O'Casey, as a "traitor to her sex"[777]. *The Daily Mirror*, a popular daily circular which hosted theatrical headlines and stories of public interest, damned her as the instigating force behind the failed 1916 Insurrection and headlined with: "The Countess Who Wrecked Two Young Lives: How She Lured the Rebels to Their Folly."[778] Markievicz was operating outside the normative expectations set for women and was often regarded as a contradictory and controversial figure. As a result, there were many fictions created about Markievicz to reconcile her intrinsic uncontainability. Markievicz recognizes her own

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[773] Sean O'Casey, *Drums Under the Window* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 609.
[774] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), x.
[775] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), x.
[776] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), x.
[777] Constance Markievicz, *Prison Letters of Countess Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), xi.
[778] *The Daily Mirror*, May 8, 1916, p., 1-2, P 9002, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

unconventionality and related public scepticism through the character of Father Monaghan who says to Eileen O'Rourke in *Broken Dreams*:

> A girl can say what she likes, and say it again and again, but if she's smiling and winking, and always where she is to be met, what in God's name are the boys to be thinking? (*with tragic emphasis*) But lately I've begun to be afraid that you are just a common deluderer fooling your way through life.[779]

As a public figure, Markievicz became what Butler determines as a "contested site of meaning"[780]. Throughout her political career, Markievicz was in a process of "a becoming,"[781] therefore her public activities and selfhood were "a construction that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice it is open to intervention and re-signification."[782] This vulnerability rendered her a problematic figure when considered against the qualities assumed to be associated with the construct of woman. These 'natural' qualities are what Butler determines as "gendered identity,"[783] which take place "through the various ways in which bodies are acted in relationship to the deeply entrenched or sedimented expectations of gendered existence."[784] Markievicz depicted herself as an ever changing and shifting figure, casting herself as principle character in her own Nationalist drama, consistently negotiating her own gender temporality through gesture, photograph, political, and cultural activisms. Butler argues that:

> When such categories come into question, the *reality* of gender is also put into crisis: It becomes unclear how to distinguish the real from the unreal. And this is the occasion in which we come to understand that what we take to be 'real', what we invoke as the naturalized knowledge of gender is, in fact, a changeable and revisable reality.[785]

Butler's sentiments locate the anxieties that rested at the core of public scepticism

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[779] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636, p. 12. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[780] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 44.
[781] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 45.
[782] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 45.
[783] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 524.
[784] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 524.
[785] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xviii-xxiv.

regarding Markievicz due to her gendered temporality, which destabilized the "authority of the masculine position."[786] If the qualities associated with women's gender are not stable, then the 'fixed' binary separating men's and women's behaviours is jeopardized and thus "the radical dependency of the masculine subject on the female as 'other' is suddenly exposed and his autonomy is revealed as "illusory."[787] This is the crux of Markievicz's perceived in-authenticity—defined as everything from soldier, debutante, witch, warrior and dilettante—she broadened the spectrum of behavioural and representational possibilities for women while simultaneously threatening the masculine predominance.

Markievicz used the performative nature of the photograph as one of her many tactics of inquiry into her own unconventional selfhood and how she manipulated, tested, and presented her own corporeality. This chapter will look to such photos as 'theatre stills' to gain further insight into Markievicz's constructed corporeality. Peggy Phelan understands that "all portrait photography is fundamentally performative,"[788] extending Richard Avedon's claim that, "portraiture is performance, and like any performance, in the balance of its effects it is good or bad, not natural or unnatural."[789] Markievicz revised her own Nationalist narrative through portraiture, countering images of her 'former self' in her costume of toile and lace to capturing and cataloguing herself in photos which presented her in full Irish Citizen's Army uniform while holding a gun. Her journey through and across the gender spectrum is captured through the medium of photograph, her stance, pose, costumes, and gestures

[786] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xxviii.
[787] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xxviii.
[788] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 35.
[789] Richard Avedon cited in Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 37.

function as Phelan determines, "to perfect the image stereotype."[790] To that end Markievicz careful positioned herself in these photographs as soldier and as Joan of Arc. This "developed image"[791] then "renders the corporeal, a body-real, as a real body,"[792] further opening up the possibilities of representation for women and enforcing her place in history as a politically visible and powerful figure in a predominantly male tradition and conservative National ethos. Markievicz's public activities, photographs, self-representations, portraits, and finally her funeral in 1927, all contribute to a collective of 'stylized acts' resulting in the radical performance of her own political authority and gendered negotiation through "mobilization"[793] and perceived "subversive confusion"[794]. This chapter considers the performativity of Markievicz's radical self-representation within the political and cultural landscapes of early twentieth-century Ireland.

"The Dustcover" of the Nation[795]: Markievicz and the National Costume.

Women's dress, the wearing of Irish fabrics, and the use of costume as Nationalist propaganda, were inextricably linked to Markievicz's ideals and promotion of an Independent Ireland. Markievicz insisted on the wearing of Irish fabrics as they created an indigenous uniform for Ireland's tirelessly fighting female warrior. In Markievicz's lecture "Women, Ideals, and the Nation" she instructs:

> If the women of Ireland would organize the movement for buying Irish goods more, they might do a great deal to help their country. If they would make it the fashion to dress in Irish clothes, feed on Irish food – in fact in this as in everything, live really Irish lives, they would be doing something great, and

[790] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 36.
[791] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 36.
[792] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 36.
[793] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 46.
[794] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 46.
[795] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.

> don't let our clever Irish colleens rest content with doing this individually, but let them go out and speak publicly about it, for leagues, of which 'No English good' is the war-cry…[796]

In wearing this unofficial costume of the nation Markievicz emphasized that being Irish was inextricably linked to the wearing of Irish goods, fabrics and original designs and ultimately, regardless of class or creed, 'Irish nationality' was a state of mind achievable if Ireland's women would pledge to live "really Irish lives"[797]. Women were no longer symbols for Nationhood but rather active participants in Ireland's nation-formation, enjoying an unprecedented means for political and social expression. For Patricia Marks, fashion was a vehicle for women to express the "new way in which women perceived themselves"[798]. For Markievicz this meant an alternative to her former ornate and restrictive ascendancy 'costume', the costume, which she literally and figuratively shed to fully immerse herself in her Nationalist career. Sydney Gifford Czira, fellow Nationalist, writer and Suffragist, would call Donegal Tweed the "dustcover of the National Movement."[799] Markievicz's wearing and promotion of Irish fabrics was a counter-costume to the lace and *toile de Jouy* of her past and a means to outwardly promote a 'homespun' and earnest political movement. As previously discussed, Markievicz attended her last ball at Dublin Castle in 1908 the same year she would have her Nationalist awakening and attend the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* meeting in which they conceptualized the all-woman's

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[796] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation; a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin's Early Printed Books.

[797] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation; a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin's Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[798] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 147.

[799] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.

Nationalist periodical, *Bean na hÉireann*. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Czira recalls Markievicz's entrance:

> Soon after the meeting started there was a dramatic interlude. The door opened, and a radiant creature burst quickly into the room. She was a tall, beautiful woman, with classical features and a delicate complexion. A diamond ornament glittered in her soft, wavy brown hair, which was dressed in the Grecian style. She had grey eyes, fringed with long, dark lashes. She was wearing a lovely ball gown of blue velvet with the fashionable train of the period. It was a pouring wet night, and the rain was running down into her shoes from the fur clad round her shoulders.[800]

Markievicz arrived late to this meeting from an event at Dublin Castle and was met with distrust, no doubt a result of the ascendancy signifiers she wore in stark contrast to the *Inghinide's* "dustcovers" of Donegal Tweed. Czira felt it interesting to recall this incident, as she believes it is the last night Markievicz was seen in fashionable dress:

> 'Good evening. So sorry for being late – must take off my wet shoes,' said Madam Markievicz, all in one breath; and walking over to the fire she took off her two shoes, placing one on each hob. Then without a moment's pause she joined in the discussion round the table.
>
> Before she left that night she had offered to sell the diamond ornament she was wearing to raise funds for the paper [...]
>
> We walked to the tram together and I noticed that she had forgotten to lift her train, and it dragged in the mud. 'How stupid,' she said, when I drew her attention to it. 'You see, I'm getting quite unused to wearing clothes like these since I joined the Movement.'[801]

Bríd Mahon writes that: "It has often been said, but not so easy to prove, that weaving is in the blood of the Donegal people."[802] At the end of the eighteenth century, the Royal Linen Manufacturers in Ulster sent six thousand flax wheels and sixty looms for distribution amongst the Donegal homesteads. With the introduction of these spinning wheels, the nineteenth-century homespun tweed industry was formed and the

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[800] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.
[801] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.
[802] Bríd Mahon, "Review: Donegal Tweed," in *Béaloideas*, Iml. 56 (1988), pp. 245-246.

name of Donegal Tweed became "synonymous with Irish tweed."[803] The spinning of Donegal Tweed became a tangible re-appropriation of British infiltration. The source of dyeing this tweed is the subject for much folkloric speculation, however, Mahon suggests that the process of dyeing Donegal Tweed is well "authenticated" in the Department of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin, where it is documented that the wool was dipped into sediments of marsh and "boggy pools"[804]. The sediments in these pools dye the wool black as they contain alumina and iron. In this sense, to wear Donegal Tweed is to then literally bathe in and absorb the properties of Ireland's landscape, specifically, the *bog* - the layered, shifting terrain of Ireland, that brims with limitless indigenous potential, and has proven unnavigable by British troops; what Enrica Cerquoni deems as an outdoor space "fraught with possibility and change."[805] Like the many layers of the mystic *bog* were the multifaceted energies and activisms of Ireland's women.

Patricia Marks surmises that surrounding clothing and women's fashion was an argument regarding women's identity and sphere.[806] To wear Donegal Tweed then is for women to reject the antiquated notions of female frivolity associated with Victorian dress, and embody the infinite potentiality of Ireland's future, the seeds of which were planted by the women warriors who moved on and through the landscapes of Ireland's past. Markievicz and her implementation of Irish fabric and practical dress was an outward promotion of a modest yet determined political movement and a rejection of the female body's affiliation with décor and "frivolity as

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[803] Bríd Mahon, "Review: Donegal Tweed," in *Béaloideas*, Iml. 56 (1988), pp. 245-246.
[804] Bríd Mahon, "Review: Donegal Tweed," in *Béaloideas*, Iml. 56 (1988), pp. 245-246.
[805] Enrica Cerquoni, "'One bog, many bogs': Theatrical Space, Visual Image and Meaning in Some Productions of Marina Carr's *By the Bog of Cats...*," in *The Theatre of Marina Carr: "before rules was made,"* eds., Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), 180.
[806] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.

a mark of femininity"[807]. As a trope throughout this dissertation I quote Markievicz's explicit detail to describe the 'costume' of her protagonist Eileen:

> *Eileen is tall, slim and goodlooking with short brown hair softly and naturally curling round a striking face. Her brow is broad with well-marked, rather straight eyebrows. She has large, grave eyes and strong chin. Her face is refined and inclined to be ascetic. There is little suggestion of sex in her, she is more like a young boy in her manner, even with the men who love her, she is so simple and frank. She wears well made short tweed skirt and coat, with shirt blouse or jumper, simple hat and good strong country walking shoes with low heels. She does not affect either marcel wave or manicured hands, nor does her face give the effect of being powdered.*[808]

The simplicity used when 'dressing' Eileen O'Rourke is not only indicative of her direct and efficient manner but also a deliberate counter-costume to the English woman's ornate dress and demeanour. Markievicz emphasizes her association with costume, women's dress and modes of female and National behaviour through Mrs. O'Rourke, Eileen's foil and Markievicz's representative character of antiquated or rather colonially influenced femininity:

> Mrs: O'Rourke: And if the boys do be a bit wild, and get strange notions listening to the old men and their talk of pikes and guns, isn't it the duty of the girls to be putting sense in them. And wouldn't it be far more ladylike to be playing the piano in the parlour with a nice frock on you from Clery's and a sweet pair of high-heeled shoes with lovely artificial silk stocking on you like the two Miss Powerscourt Jones's...Who do all their shopping by post...and from London too. When I called on them the other day...I was looking at them through the window, for all the world like two princesses, and it broke my heart to think of poor Eileen with her hair cropped short, and her big flat shoes, straveging round the country with a letter under her chemise, saving your presence, and sleeping at night with a gun under the mattress...[809]

The emphasis on shopping through the 'post' and the wearing of 'foreign fabrics' along side the use of words such as 'ladylike' and 'princesses' reveal Markievicz's opinion on the frivolity associated with grand and ornate dress. Markievicz 'others' the English and the colonially indoctrinated woman through dress. Mark's states that:

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[807] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 155.
[808] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 7-8. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[809] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 16. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

"Women's dress was, for the most part, a representation of the ideas she stood for."[810] It is important to note that Lord Powerscourt, the Provost Marshall, was according to Horace Plunkett's journal "begging the authorities to shoot" Markievicz after the Easter Rising of 1916.[811] The use of 'princesses' affiliates such excess with Imperial forces and juxtaposed Mrs. O'Rourke's description of Eileen; Markievicz once again presents her anti-thesis, the impracticality of Empire versus the humanity and viability of Irish Independence. Her association with the wearing of foreign clothes is also emblematic of a flaw in one's character or a sinister presence. This is also illustrated through *Broken Dreams*' failed hero, Eileen's traitor husband Seamas when she introduces him as being '*rather smartly dressed in foreign clothes, but wears a trench coat and Trilby hat like the other boys.*'[812] Seamas on the surface appears righteous and Irish, but at his core is a foreign and traitorous spirit.

Markievicz drew a direct link between what a woman wore and where she stood politically and intellectually. A photograph taken of Markievicz at eighteen years of age reveals a woman dressed in ornamented foreign fashions (fig. 11)[813]. Dressed in a flowing, floor-length gown, her hands covered with white gloves crossed in front of her, Constance is presented as a hyper-feminine figure. A string of pearls adorns her neck, and her shoes are heeled with her feet standing in a semi-ballet position. Constance appears to be holding a fan in her hand and it is obviously summer, as her shoulders are bare, her clothing is light coloured, and she appears to be leaning against a screen which depicts a floral landscape in almost a Grecian column fashion. As if sprung from this contrived landscape, she has a sash of flowers

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[810] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.
[811] Horace Plunkett, cited in Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 210.
[812] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 26. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[813] See fig. 11 in appendix: "Constance Markievicz as a debutant of 18."
Photo: 17PC-1A57-04. Kilmainham Gaol Archives. Dublin, Ireland.

sewn to her corseted-bodice. Standing fixed and expressionless, Constance stands as a statuette in striking contrast to the image of her later stirring and subversive self.

Thirty years later two photos taken by the Keogh brothers, of Markievicz in her Irish Citizen's Army uniform just before the 1916 Rising reveals a counter-figure to her former hyper-feminine and colonial emblematic self (fig. 12)[814] (fig. 13)[815]. The Keogh Brothers photographed and amassed a series of stills of political figures and formative events from 1915-1923. They were connected with the IRA and subsequently photographed high-ranking members including Michael Collins, Eamon de Valera and Constance Markievicz.[816] Their photographing of Markievicz enforces her integral involvement in iconic moments of Irish political history. In these photos, Markievicz while 'at ease,' is pictured in trousers, flat-heeled boots, and her figure shows no feminine lines or breast. In figure 12 she is standing and there is a 'masculine' charge to her 'slump', a stance, which her previously corseted figure would not be able to manage. This slump stands as her own individual protest to the metaphoric subjugation of women through the Victorian-aged dress expectation. In both photos, she is pictured in front of a faded screen of what appears to be a rural landscape that is similar to the floral column she leaned against in the hyper-feminine photo discussed above. This screen is trope to many of her earlier photographs taken while entertaining 'Castle' society. Figure 13 pictures Markievicz 'positioning' her gun. The plume in her hat stands as tribute to women warriors of Ireland's past such as "pretty Molly Weston, who rode from Fingal to Tara [...] mounted on a spirited

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[814] See fig. 12 in appendix: Keogh Brothers, Ltd. "Countess Constance Markievicz in uniform, holding a gun, studio full-length portrait c. 1915." University College Cork, "Multitext Project in Irish History,"<http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Countess_Constance_Markievicz_in_uniform_holding_a_gun_studio_full-length_portrait_c_1915>. Accessed: August 18, 2010.

[815] See fig. 13 in appendix: Keogh Brothers, Ltd. "Countess Constance Markievicz in uniform, kneeling against a studio prop holding a gun, studio full-length portrait." Photo: KE_082. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[816] National Library of Ireland Website < http://www.nli.ie/digital-photographs.aspx>. Accessed: September 4, 2010.

grey pony, dressed in a green habit, and with the United Irishman's cockade in her hat"[817] or the "mysterious woman" who rode with the French army, "dressed in a green habit, with the tricolour and a red plume in her hat"[818]. Markievicz wore this hat with plume in battle during the 1916 rising. Sean O'Casey describes watching James Connolly and Markievicz outside Liberty Hall:

> There was a dire sparkle of vanity lighting this little group of armed men: it sparkled from Connolly's waddle, from the uniformed men stiff to attention, and from the bunch of cock-feathers fluttering in the cap of the Countess. But it was a vanity that one could challenge, for it came from a group that was willing to sprinkle itself into oblivion that a change might be born in the long-settled thought of the people.[819]

Being pictured with it, in tandem with O'Casey's description, demonstrates Markievicz's intent on being canonized in the catalogue of women activists that she recovers in her "The Women of Ninety-Eight" series.

The screen in the background of this photo, hosts the ruins of an almost Grecian temple 'in the distance'. As part of the set, there is a lone column on which Markievicz appears to be leaning and positioning her gun as to take aim at her target. The floral column that served as her support while a debutante now serves as cover to a soldier's 'fox hole'. Improvisation on the debutante's photo's *mise en scène* reveals these 1916 photos as revisionist expressions of her former ascendancy-self. The re-appropriation of these Greek columns suggests an inherent timelessness in her presence and links her with the tradition of ferocity of Greek women warriors. These screens are framed in borders of vine-like *toile*, and there is no attempt to give the appearance that Markievicz is actually *in* such landscapes. These are staged photographs capturing Markievicz's deliberate intention of presenting and revealing

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[817] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[818] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[819] Sean O'Casey, cited in Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markievicz* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 186.

herself as a soldier of the Irish Citizen Army. This photo stands as her reintroduction to Society revising her previous introduction to Ascendancy Society at eighteen years of age.

The woman, who restricted her body in more conventionally feminine clothing, was as Mark states: "a living affirmation that the female principle was the locus of purity and redemption"[820]. To dress radically was to publically challenge a woman's own virtue. Markievicz recognized her own unconventionality and anticipated society's reaction to military involvement, best articulated in the previously quoted letter from Mervyn Wall.[821] Marks explains such anxieties:

> The new change to 'rational dress,' the change that eliminated tight corsets and long, heavy petticoats and skirts, was almost immediately seen as a threat no only to the female image but to male status. The simplified clothing adopted by the New Woman reaffirmed the public fear that reform meant the rise of a hybrid, the "manly woman" who advertised her abandonment of her God-given domestic role by dividing her skirts and taking to the streets as career woman, club woman, and student.[822]

Hyper-femininity ensured hyper-masculinity, and the polarities of gender expectations remained intact. Markievicz was a challenge both physically and aesthetically to the "cult of manliness – the key public virtue"[823]. The woman who left the vestiges of the corset behind her was a woman physically free to move and immediately participate in the world before her. The life that chose Markievicz was one of political and military turmoil and restrictive dress was not suitable for the physical and emotional struggles Markievicz would encounter. John Brennan otherwise known as Sydney

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[820] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 149.
[821] Mervyn Wall cited, Dermot Bolger, ed., *Letters from the New Island: 16 on 16/Irish Writers on the Easter Rising* (Raven Arts Press: 1988), 11-12.
[822] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 147.
[823] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-23," in *Feminist Review*, no. 50, (Summer, 1995), p. 148.

Gifford Czira cites the Irish ballad "The boys of Wexford in her chapter about the "Countess de Markievicz"[824] in her memoire, *The Years Flew By*:

> In came the Captain's daughter,
>
> The Captain of the Yeos,
> Saying brave United Irishmen
> We'll ne'er again be foes.
> A thousand pounds I'll forfeit
> And fly from home with thee;
> I'll dress myself in man's attire
> And strike for liberty.[825]

This song is not only apropos in terms of Czira's description of Markievicz as such a "convert, drawn from the ranks of the garrison"[826] but costume, the dressing in man's attire and the re-appropriating Irish dress to revise traditional expectations of women's roles, became a running theme throughout Markievicz's Nationalist career. Czira, describes Markievicz as coming from "planter stock"[827] which is a Protestant Unionist background. Perhaps this is another reason why Markievicz so diligently re-appropriated the properties of the Irish landscape for Republican purposes.

Karen Steele writes briefly on Markievicz's trope of costume and dress. Steele highlights Markievicz's use of costume to "obscure the feminine body"[828] and believes that Markievicz did wish to "establish a connection with earlier militant women"[829]. While her clothing was less restrictive it was a practical effort to accommodate her military actions. Marks notes that: "Freed from heavy, clinging

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[824] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000) 97-106. Sydney Gifford Czira (1889-1974) used the pseudonym 'John Brennan' throughout her writing career as she "felt it gave the impression of a strong Wexford farmer" and not of the daughter of a unionist Protestant. Czira was a journalist, activist, member of *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and a friend to Constance Markievicz.

[825] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000) 97.

[826] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000) 97.

[827] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000) 97.

[828] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 132.

[829] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 132.

skirts" and wearing stout boots instead of slippers, the New Woman increased her physical movement"[830]. Markievicz had a fascination with the 'boy-like' woman, no doubt why her 'ideal' Nationalist woman Eileen O'Rourke was described as '*more like a young boy in her manner*'[831]. While arguably Markievicz felt the need to project a more masculine image to feel more at ease in this "cult of manliness" this was also perhaps an attempt at creating herself and her protagonist Eileen in the image of Joan of Arc, the subject of analysis later in this chapter. Markievicz also wanted to translate femininity into active potential for Nationalist work, a trope throughout her plays and journalistic renderings, and therefore, her uniform was also an attempt to disassociate a hyper-femininity with women as passive accessories. Markievicz reclaimed the female body as a physical moving figure through her 'seemingly mannish' dress. Steele also links Markievicz's uniform with that of the Mummers and Strawboys of pre-Famine Ireland, whose "disguised identity assisted their guerrilla activities."[832] While disguise was a part of Markievicz's activism, as detailed with Nora Connolly's recollection in Chapter Two, Markievicz's staged photographs leave an intentional militant impression of her to be included in Ireland's allegorical history book. She is no way hiding her military intensions she is declaring them and deliberately recording them as to leave nothing obscured in the Nation-creation story. Markievicz, indeed 'put her jewels in the bank,'[833] and her gold-wands and fans of yesteryear were stashed away in favour of her handgun, the favoured accessory for this active woman indicative of a new kind of femininity.

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[830] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.
[831] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 7-8. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[832] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 132.
[833] Constance Markievicz, "The Future of Irishwomen," published speech delivered to the Irish Women's Franchise League on the 12th of October 1915 in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 23, p. 136-7. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz's series in the *Irish Citizen* discussed in Chapter Two entitled the "Women of Ninety-Eight" revealed several stories of female activism carried through oral tradition, which drew on themes of colour, costume, and women's dress as an act of resistance. Costume was a means to celebrate the heroic efforts of Ireland's women of the past. By illustrating and discussing and thus, documenting these costumes, Markievicz perpetuated an oral tradition that was intrinsically Irish. In this sense, Markievicz's series in the *Irish Citizen* serves as kind of Mumming play reviving women's efforts, through oral tradition, and the implementation of costume. This in essence resurrects women's place in the folkloric tradition of Ireland and Markievicz's emphasis on such costumes served as instructions on how to outwardly promote Ireland's heroic and ancient past. These celebrated costumes in these histories become meta-folkloric as a result, revealing a duality in both theme and action.

In her second lecture Markievicz wrote in the *Irish Citizen*:

> After the rebels were defeated, the Yeos(men), for sport, brought some cannon to fire on the houses. The next house to that occupied by the Quins was struck, upon which, Mr. Quin and his daughter, a beautiful girl of 16, tried to escape through the garden. They were both shot, the soldiers having orders to kill everyone wearing coloured clothes. They were buried where they fell, but so hurriedly that the beautiful long hair of the girl was left partly uncovered, and was seen by many people waving to and fro in the wind for many a day, til her brother was able to venture from his place of concealment and give the bodies a reverent burial.[834]

Young Quin's hair lies waving like a flag in the wind and is representative of the sacrifice and abuse endured by Ireland's women. Quin's hair flows in stark contrast to "Constance as debutante", who's hair is tight and bundled on top of her head. Young Quin, with no first name mentioned, serves as a tomb for Ireland's unmarked woman soldier. When she is buried she becomes one with Ireland, consecrating the

[834] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

soil with the legacies of female activism. Czira describes a meeting with the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann*: "They were all plainly dressed in costumes of Donegal Tweed in shades of dingy browns or greys, which were the chief or only colours in which it was manufactured in those days"[835] while perhaps these were the only dyes available in that period, perhaps this suggests a collective subliminal expression of mourning for similar stories of those slaughtered at the hands of the Yeosman. Quin's colourful clothing was muted like Ireland's freedom and the "dingy browns and greys"[836] of the movement served as widow's dress, mourning the death of activists past while encouraging the collective action of Ireland's women of the present.

Markievicz's photographs in Irish Citizen's Uniform reveal her inclination to deliberately weave together prescribed notions of femininity with objects associated with active militancy. This was also a tactic in Markievicz's plays and journalistic renderings. Pieces of clothing traditionally affiliated with traditional notions of femininity, such as Peggy O'Byrne's shawl, were re-appropriated to serve as vehicles for covert militancy. Markievicz used clothing and costume as a means to transform the notion of 'ladylike' behaviour and previously prescribed notions of femininity. One example of such is detailed with "Norah, the pride of Wexford maids" who was mutilated and whose body was found by her brother at the side of the road while on his march to Enniscorthy. Norah's brother and friends buried the body but as previously quoted in Chapter Two, not before they had taken her petticoat and fixed to the "end of his pike"[837] becoming known as the "Petticoat Brigade"—the "fiercest and most reckless of the men of '98."[838]

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[835] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.
[836] Sydney Gifford Czira, *The Years Flew By* (Dublin: Gifford and Craven, 1974), 52-53.
[837] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[838] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz excavated the memory of a woman who was mutilated as a result of "British ferocity,"[839] re-appropriating the petticoat, a Victorian symbol of femininity and propriety as a site for violent incitement.[840] Marks quotes, *Lancet*, a leading medical journal of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: "The petticoat is the garment that is most in harmony with the mental qualities that Nature has implanted on the female sex."[841] If this is true, then for Markievicz and her recollection, let the petticoat now stand as emblem of female militancy and savagery. In defining the petticoat as a loose undergarment that usually hangs off the shoulders or waist under a skirt or dress, the disrobing of this woman is alternatively implied, left undressed as victim to the British infiltration, this banner serving as effigy to the spirit and patriotism of this woman. The oath Markievicz refers to, also presents a revisionist avowal to the contested oath to the King of England, included in the 1922 Treaty for Partition and relentlessly protested by Markievicz in the Treaty Debates. For Norah and "The Brigade", the petticoat served as a tribute to female patriotism and a eulogy towards women who suffered at the hand of British brutality.

Throughout these reincarnations of female Nationalist activism, women's dress served as a means for a revival of both tradition and as a means to channel the literal dead. This miracle of resurrection was a theme prevalent throughout every Mumming play and as Illana Harlow states was a "familiar motif in Irish folklore tradition"[842]. The Mumming play, which originated in England, was re-appropriated by Irish folklorists and is generally a play that is religious in nature and sometimes

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[839] Constance Markievicz, "The Women of '98," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 25, November 6, 1915, p. 150. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[840] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.
[841] *Lancet* (a leading medical journal of the late nineteenth earlier twentieth century) cited, in Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.
[842] Ilana Harlow, "Creating Situations: Practical Jokes and the Revival of the Dead in Irish Tradition," in *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 110, no. 436 (Spring, 1997), pp. 140-168.

comedic in tone. The Mumming play is a story of resurrection and revival and its performance is the celebration of memory both personal and collective.[843] Markievicz's series implies both revival and resurrection, most fervently through the implementation and re-appropriation of women's clothing and is particularly haunting in Markievicz's recollection of Elizabeth Grey:

> The story of poor Elizabeth, or Betsy Grey, who fought and died at the battle of Ballinahinch, shows us that the Northern women were not behind the women of the South in bravery and patriotism. [...] She left her home at Killinchy, to bring, provisions to her brother at the Patriots' camp at Ednavady. Her sweetheart was also with the rebels. She insisted on staying with them "to share their fate", she said. So next day they found a pony for her, and, taking a green flag in her hands, she rode with them into battle. [...].[844]

After the battle Betsy and two of her "comrades" escaped and moved towards Hillsborough, when after stopping for a rest, Betsy was accosted by a troop of Yeomanry. Betsy's partners rushed to help her but "a man called Thomas Neilson shot her through the right eye"[845] her comrades, "her brother and her lover"[846] did not survive her by long. As detailed in Chapter Two, Mary McCracken, the source of Markievicz's anecdote, revealed that the wife of Little, Neilson's accomplice, "was seen wearing the green petticoat and gold ear-rings of poor Elizabeth Grey for many a day after."[847] The emphasis on the green petticoat and gold earrings no doubt served as tribute to the anticipated tricolour of the Republic. This woman who was said to wear Grey's clothes performed a sort of effigy, an affirmation in her death of her patriotism, which she tirelessly demonstrated in her life. The literal wearing of

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[843] Henry Glassie, *All Silver and No Brass: An Irish Christmas Mumming* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), Introduction.
[844] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[845] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[846] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[847] Constance Markievicz, "Women of Ninety-Eight," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 26, November 13, 1915, p. 161. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Betsy's clothing celebrated and perpetuated her legacy, blurring the lines between life and death whilst simultaneously crossing the political median that was the North versus the South. The wearing of Betsy's dress and jewellery obscured the lines between Ireland's dead and living with Ireland once again serving as a purgatorial community of Republican women haunting colonial powers. This woman's tribute to Betsy was the ceremonial revival of women's activism and the champion women of Ireland's past became one with the victors of Ireland present. These clothes also performed a baptismal for this woman whilst simultaneously serving as a medium for Betsy's transition into the heroic Irish legacy. The woman affiliated with her British husband, wore Betsy's dress as an expression of hopeful reconciliation for the partitioned views between Loyalist and Republican. The living woman in essence became the 'waked' Betsy and gave Betsy deliverance from the torment of British subjugation. To wear Betsy's clothes is to osmose and perpetuate Betsy's spirit. This is the story of female resurrection and transference. For Markievicz the promotion and wearing of indigenous Irish fabrics literally infused her flesh with the land. Her tweed uniform was a means to assume and consecrate an indigenous Irish self.

By wearing indigenous Irish fabrics and celebrating traditional yet subversive use of feminine dress, Markievicz once again fused women and nature making manifest their link with active Nationalist participation. Costume and fabric were a means for women to re-appropriate Ireland's natural properties to create an outward expression of militancy and nationalism. Betsy, Norah, and young Quin found expression and mobility through dress even after their deaths. Markievicz through the implementation and promotion of costume and dress revealed a triumphant woman warrior from the land and of the land.

'*Vélo*' – Markievicz and Mobility

Markievicz's plays, journalism and very corporeality, presented an ever-changing, subversive and transgressive female protagonist. Her public-self challenged societal conventions and embodied a moving and shifting landscape even prior to her Nationalist awakening. In addition to costume, nature and the Irish landscape, the trope of mobility and its connection to the bicycle pervaded Markievicz's writings and public and private self. In a letter to her sister Eva Gore-Booth, undated:

> It's awfully funny being 'on the run'! I don't know which I resemble most: the timid hare, the wily fox, or a fierce wild animal of the jungle [...] I fly round town on my bike for exercise, and it is too funny seeing the expression on the policemen's face as they see me whizz by! There are very few women on bikes in the winter, so a hunted beast on a bike is very remarkable.[848]

Markievicz revelled in her status as being a woman "on the run"[849], a rejection of both fixed places and spaces. Ina Connolly describes Markievicz 'on the run' as a welcome yet unpredictable woman:

> When on the run she was an ever welcome guest among her friends, whose doors were open at all times. One never knew when this valiant fighter for human rights might claim sanctuary and a day's rest. I do not know of any person on the run at that period who would have been more welcome than Madam.[850]

Feminist scholars such as Joan Jensen emphasise the importance of "place and space in shaping women's experiences."[851] Markievicz repudiated confinement and as indicated through her preoccupation with nature and the Irish landscape, she understood the power of the undomesticated space. Just prior to the years she was 'on

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[848] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 217.
[849] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 217.
[850] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 9. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.
[851] Joan M. Jensen, "'I'd Rather Be Dancing': Wisconsin Women Moving On," in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1-20, 1.

the run' (roughly the years prior to 1920-21[852]) Markievicz's home was a place of unconventional domesticity. Czira best describes this:

> As the organization [*Fianna na hÉireann*] grew in size the home of Countess Markievicz became more and more like an encampment. A French journalist visiting Dublin in 1913 wrote, 'The salon of Countess Markievicz is not a salon but a military headquarters.'[853]

Markievicz's ability to change setting and location was a direct rejection of the home and the demand that she fit into the domesticated sphere. Eileen Janes Yeo states: "With such a proliferation of discourses about femininity as domestic married motherhood, coming even from the mouths of friends and indeed partners, the way into the public sphere might seem increasingly blocked."[854] Unrestricted to a specific confinement, Markievicz demolished such obstacles revising and re-naturalizing the 'domesticated' notion of women as trained and tamed house pets, with that of a wild beast; untamed and un-mastered. As "hunted beast on a bike"[855] Markievicz takes this metaphor one step further. She is not an anonymous and unmarked animal but rather a marked savage proving that her corporeality, public perception and Nationalist efforts were threatening to oppositional forces. Markievicz also alludes to her semi-autobiographical protagonist Eileen O'Rourke as an un-cageable bird in *Broken Dreams*:

> Mrs. O'Rourke: [...] Father, it's hard that God should have chosen me, one who likes things quiet and gentle, to be mother of such a wild one. There's no more putting control on her than on the swallows that blow in on us with the spring breezes from the south, and when the weather begins to harden, just drift away before the black wind from the north to whatever place their fancy leads them, with no thought for anyone but themselves.[856]

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[852] I deduce this from her letters to her sister and the chapter entitled 'On the Run' in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), vii.
[853] 'John Brennan', *The Years Flew By: Recollections of Madam Sydney Gifford Czira* (Galway: Arlen House, 2000), 100-1.
[854] Eileen Janes Yeo, "Some paradoxes of empowerment," in *Radical Femininity: Women's self-representation in the public sphere*, ed., Eileen Janes Yeo (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 5.
[855] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 217.
[856] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

The trope of containment versus themes of mobility, were prevalent in Markievicz's writings. One of the first observations that Markievicz made aboard the "Aquitania" en route to her American tour in 1922 was: "There are no birds."[857] This was drawn out of her of initial vent about the "Small, stuffy cabin and crowds of people"[858] revealing her anxiety about moored and contained spaces. Markievicz during her several terms of imprisonment wrote frequently and admiringly of birds often referring to herself and fellow inmates as "jail-birds"[859]. In a letter to Eva from Aylesbury Prison she wrote:

> The one thing I am learning here is to watch everything closely, [...]. The sparrows are delightful—like men at their best. Someone once said 'the more I know men, the more I love my dog,' and I think I rather agree. Dogs don't lie: I don't suppose birds do![860]

Markievicz's mobility was an act of resistance to both colonial and patriarchal ideologies. Patricia Marks writes: "As a New Woman on a bicycle [...] 'she' exercised power more fundamentally, changing the conventions of courtship and chaperonage, marriage and travel."[861] Markievicz recognized her own remarkability and unconventionality as "a hunted beast"[862]. This makes the link between female activism and counter-normative expressions manifest, celebrating not only women's individual freedom but serving as metaphor for National freedom as well. Markievicz similarly articulates this link in *Broken Dreams*:

> Mr. O'Rourke: And would you be for clipping our little free bird's wings?

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[857] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 285.
[858] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 285.
[859] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 164.
[860] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 169. Letter dated May 14, 1917.
[861] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 174.
[862] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 217.

Mrs. O'Rourke: I'd have her behave decent.

Mr. O'Rourke: You're for making a barn fowl of her.[863]

To contain or pacify Eileen O'Rourke is to suffocate the potential of Ireland's Nationalist women. Markievicz revises the counter-normative association of women and mobility and reclaims the natural as a space of political agency for women. Markievicz, and further female Nationalists, were cunning and calculated carnal beasts prowling and free moving, Yeats sensed this essence within Markievicz and articulated such as well in his poem "In Memory of Eva Gore-Booth and Con Markievicz":

> The light of evening, Lissadell,
> Great windows open to the south,
> Two girls in silk kimonos, both
> Beautiful, one a gazelle.[864]

Markievicz as self-proclaimed 'hunted beast' encapsulated her own movement through her colonial to anti-colonial narrative. Prior to her Nationalist awakening in 1908, while still unmarried and living in Sligo, Markievicz was a skilled, accomplished and passionate hunter. In the years following 1886 she established herself as a champion of the County Sligo Hunt along with her beloved horse Max. She and Max were described by the Master of the Sligo Hunt Club, Edward Rowlette, as "being so much in a class of their own as to be altogether outside the ordinary realm of competition [...] How often have I heard some exceptional 'run' or some wonderful jump described, and the story invariably ended with [...] Miss Gore' [...]"[865]. Markievicz would continue to move through, outside, and beyond the ordinary realm and her 'run' would take on a very different charge. Moving from

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[863] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[864] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices, 1967 first published 1934), 13.
[865] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 73.

colonial hunter to anti-colonial hunt*ed* she revised her own political narrative and traversed boundaries of conventionality.

The aspiring seeds to Markievicz's future career as public artist and activist were firmly planted in her years as art student Académie Julian in Paris in 1899. Marreco notes that she was nicknamed "*Vélo*"[866] because she arrived to the studio every morning on her bicycle. Renamed 'bicycle' Markievicz was immediately marked as an active and moving subversive figure. In her atypical marriage to Count Casimir Dunin Markievicz, bicycling was an early expression of their eager affection for each other. Marreco cites Stefan Krzywoszewski's recollections of Constance and Casimir in Paris:

> [...] Sitting on the terrace of the Café Flore, when Casimir and Constance suddenly appeared with their bicycles, obviously on the best of terms, using the second person singular, teasing one another, quarrelling like intimates of long standing and absorbed only in their new relationship. They stayed for a little and swept off on their bicycles as suddenly as they had arrived.[867]

The 1890s brought the Safety Bicycle, a bicycle that was built to accommodate both men and women and most likely what Constance and Casimir were riding side by side. With women cyclists now operating openly in the public sphere, Garvey states that: "Women's riding therefore posed a threat to gender definition. It threatened women's sexual purity as well"[868] and while the Safety bicycle was built to accommodate both men and women, the mutual accessibility resulted in anxiety about new social issues. Garvey determines these anxieties as: "when unmarried men and women rode together, cycling threatened chastity and order."[869] Together on this journey Constance and Casimir were a protest to society's intolerance but for

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[866] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 66.
[867] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 69.
[868] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), 69.
[869] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), 69.

Constance individually, this 180-kilometre trip was also a testament to her physical endurance, a trait that would serve her throughout her career as Nationalist soldier and politician. Marreco writes:

> A charming remembrance of the Paris days exists in a photograph of Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress (fig. 14)[870]. They had just returned from a 180 kilometres overnight excursion to Dieppe [...] and went immediately just as they were to record the feat.[871]

Constance and Casimir similarly spent their honeymoon bicycling through Normandy "eating large quantities of oysters and lobsters, and staying where the mood took them"[872] demonstrating that prior to Markievicz's Nationalist awakening, cycling was a means of mobile expression, a rejection of her antiquated past and a step towards modernity within her unconventional life. It was a means for her to exceed and move beyond thresholds of old and new, conventional and nonconformist. For Joan Jensen: "Mobility is essential for women: for economic support, to integrate production and reproduction, and to take advantage of opportunities for personal development and autonomy."[873] As preface to Markievicz's Nationalist accomplishments, bicycling was a rejection of parental and societal control and a celebration of her womanhood. In contrast, Ellen Gruber Garvey describes cycling, specifically the high wheeler, as what was seen as an "emblem of male mobility"[874]. As proof of such she details a story written in 1888 in Godey's Lady's Book Story entitled "A Turn of the Wheel"[875]. Garvey reveals that this story written by Max Vander Weyde hosts a similar plot line to other stories highlighting male mobility in the latter nineteenth

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[870] See fig. 14 in appendix. "Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress in Paris in 1899). Source: Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 114.
[871] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 73.
[872] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 75.
[873] Joan M. Jensen, "'I'd Rather Be Dancing': Wisconsin Women Moving On," in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1-20, 1.
[874] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[875] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.

century. For Vander Weyde's "young American"[876] protagonist, cycling opened up "worlds into which he would not otherwise be admitted"[877]. This young man while cycling through Provence is so taken back by seeing an "immobile young woman who stands in a doorway and has 'the unconscious trick of posing like a bisque statuette'"[878] that he takes a "header"[879] over his handlebars and must be immediately brought into this "statuette's"[880] house and nursed. The American was not welcome into the home by her uncle, as the "statuette's"[881] father disappeared whilst fighting in the American Civil War. Garvey notes that:

> Even the high-wheel bicycle's drawback, its liability to throw riders over the handlebars, becomes a useful feature: the rider falls off the bicycle into a household where he falls in love. Later, evicted by her angry uncle, the American rides off to Paris and locates his love's long-lost father.[882]

The father gives his permission to the young man and the couple marries. Garvey determines that the man must be "knocked off"[883] his bicycle in order for him to come down to the immobile, "women's sphere"[884]. Without such a disruption, he would have pedalled by too quickly to see this woman. She would have remained stagnant and fixed while he continued to move through life autonomously, soaking up all its

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[876] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[877] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[878] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[879] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[880] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[881] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women" in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[882] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (Mar., 1995), 68.
[883] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), 68.
[884] Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), 68.

glories. Constance and Casimir's photo (fig. 14)[885] taken in Paris in 1899 just moments after their 180-kilometre cycle, provides an alternative narrative to "A Turn of the Wheel", on which both the woman and man are forward moving, at each other's side. It shows Constance wearing bloomers, tights, ankle boots, and a slightly untucked blouse with windblown hair that is piled on top of her head. She is smoking a cigarette and Casimir's hand is on her shoulder, her hand is on her waist. There is a dog at the forefront of the frame, sitting at their feet and staring straight at the camera as they are standing in front of what appears to be a screen with a fading painted landscape. She looks strong and confident and while at an obvious disadvantage both in height and mass, she is equally matched to Casimir in her physical endurance. Constance was not a bystander nor sidelined observer but rather an equal and worthy participant. Constance's direct and unapologetic manner in this photo seems more controlled than her later wild enthusiasm as "hunted beast", however, this calm is later channelled into her soldier stratagem as described by Amanda Sebestyen: "Her life on the run, dodging in and out of disguises on her bicycle all showed her sense of strategy."[886]

As Brian Griffin states Irish women were "cycling pioneers"[887] who "encountered considerable opposition in the process, an opposition which arose largely from contemporary opinions as to what constituted respectable or permissible behaviour by women."[888] Jensen maintains that: "Ideologies about appropriate behaviour and responsibilities for women, and a variety of other conditions, can

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[885] See fig. 14 in appendix. "Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress in Paris in 1899). Source: Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 114.
[886] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz*, Constance Markievicz (London: Virago Press, 1987), xx.
[887] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 216.
[888] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland.* vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 216.

constrain women."[889] A source of this determined impermissible behaviour was the restriction of cycling as a result of women's clothing at the time of the bicycle's inception. The perpendicular cross bar extending from saddle seat to the handlebars meant that women could not simultaneously wear the required costume of ankle length dress and respectably ride the Ordinary[890] bicycle. Griffin states:

> Cycling technology and the conventions of female dress combined to exclude women from participating in the new sport in this period [...] it was physically impossible for a woman, wearing the long dress of the period, to pedal one of these machines with comfort and without revealing the sight of legs and thereby offending against contemporary idea of decency.[891]

As an early testament to such at the bicycle races held at the Exhibition Palace in Dublin in June of 1870, the very thought of women participating in such a male-dominated sport was ridiculed by the holding of a mock "Side-Saddle race, in feminine costume."[892] While the restrictions on women's dress were less aggressive in Markievicz's later experiences on her bicycle, these facts are indicative of how deeply steeped the cycling practice was in chauvinistic practices and how the bicycle was a recurring trope and vehicle for hers and further women's personal expression and political dissensus. The bicycle was a mobile site for Markievicz's microcosmic personal maturation to her anticipated macrocosmic Nationalist aspirations.

Griffin maintains that in Victorian Ireland: "Irish society and the Irish cycling world were slow to accept the idea that cycling was an acceptable or respectable form

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[889] Joan M. Jensen, "'I'd Rather Be Dancing': Wisconsin Women Moving On," in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2001), pp. 1-20, 1-2.
[890] Ordinary is in capital letters because it was the name of the "machine of choice of Irish male cyclists, particularly racers" until the last years of the eighteen hundreds. Source: Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 217.
[891] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 217.
[892] *Irish Sportsman and Farmer*, July 2, 1870, cited in Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 217. The source of this quote's title is also testament to the marriage of the male-dominant arenas of sport and farming.

of activity for women"[893] and Ireland, like Victorian Britain, was "heavily imbued with patriarchal values, and females who wished to participate in sport frequently met with ridicule, hostility, or exclusion."[894] Markievicz on her bicycle moved through and exceeded borders of political oppression and gender-normative expectations. She used her bicycle as a means to celebrate her spatial temporality, yet another form of protest to the confines of gender and colonial restrictions. For Marks when a woman is moving on a bicycle: "Her influence upon the world [is] more immediate; no longer confined to the home or hoping to escape from the vicissitudes of earning a living, she actively seeks new experiences and intends to have some impact on the world around her."[895] Markievicz's corporeal relationship to the bicycle not only served as a means of colonial resistance but also a model for progressive Independence. The bicycle allowed her to survey the properties of the Irish landscape more efficiently and effectively, making her presence in nature more proximate than she would experience travelling through it by any other means. A closer look at Markievicz's typescript entitled, *An Interlude* included in an unmarked letter dated 1920 shows such personal and political dynamisms:

> As I pedalled through the long hills roads that lead hill-ward I wondered whether it was worth while to persevere. High, jail like walls towered over me on either side, shutting out all they can of sunlight and cool green shade from the humble traveller. A glimpse through a door - for once left open, - shows a lawn, flowers, trees; a field sown with a brown cow and a few lambs; then walls again and more walls- grim fortifications that hold back from the man of no property from a sight of nature's beauties. A motor car whizzes by fouling the air, and coating my damp face with dust. Nevermind, the dust is Irish and can be supported.[896]

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[893] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), p. 215.
[894] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), p. 215.
[895] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 174.
[896] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

As Markievicz soars on her bicycle through the Dublin topography she, like the "swallows that blow in on us with the spring breezes from the south"[897], provides her reader with a bird's eye view of the splendour of Ireland's natural properties, that are in harmony with the progressive political ideals of Independence. This excerpt of her typescript echoes an earlier verse penned by Markievicz while in Aylesbury Prison, 1916-1917, just after she was transported from Kilmainham Gaol to England to serve out her life-sentence for her part in the Easter Rising. In a letter to Eva she writes:

> High walls hang round on every side
> A cage of cruel red,
> The sickly grass is bleached and dried,
> As brick the flower bed.
> [...]
> Upon our cheeks a blessed breeze,
> And in our weary ears
> The rustling talk of happy trees
> Glad that refreshment nears,
> A softly soothing, gentle drip,
> Wee drops for grass and flowers to sip.
> God's chalice for the moth's grey lip
> Or angels' happy tears.[898]

Markievicz once again demonstrates the interdependency of nature and women, to incite freedom in Ireland. Markievicz when imprisoned is perched like a caged bird with clipped wings. She suffers dislocation and disconcertion when removed from the natural properties of the Irish landscape. Markievicz also expressed in this letter that verse "seems to show one so much of the beauty and the secret and symbolic side of life that one never dreamt of before"[899]. While captive, verse was an outlet for Markievicz's insatiable desire for movement and mobility. Her statement to Eva reveals the impetus behind the necessity to write her plays, journalism and verse in

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[897] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 4. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[898] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 154. Letter dated, September, 27, 1916.
[899] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 156. Letter dated, December 29, 1916.

order to express and articulate her personal and national aspirations. Markievicz revises her poem to Eva in her next letter dated December 29, 1916:

> We're folded in a sheet of rain.
> Clasped to the heart of things
> My spirit slips the yoke of pain,
> And one with nature sings.
> 'I am the cloud that floats so free
> The boundless space, the deep blue sea.
> Of Heaven and Peace I hold the key
> And poise on golden wings.'[900]

Markievicz realizes her own synonymy with nature and its endless potentiality to incite mobility, personal fulfilment and national freedom. When a woman is one with nature, like a bird on "golden wings"[901] she "sings"[902] however, as "jail-bird"[903] in prison she lays limp and withers. Mobility and freedom for Markievicz and further for women, meant access to a larger world.

As more and more women began purchasing bicycles, a recurring advertising campaign in the late 1890s featured women on bicycles that were illustrated as stemming from nature. Garvey suggests that: "Bicycles within the advertising posters and magazine advertisements become design elements themselves, and the viewer is invited to become part of a harmonious or exotic picture by buying and riding the bicycle."[904] An advertisement, drawn by Will Bradley (fig. 15)[905] for Victor Bicycles, features three women in floral dresses riding bicycles whose frames are built from the sweeping stalks of flowers. This advertisement illustrates that women on bicycles

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[900] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 156. Letter dated, December 29, 1916.
[901] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 156. Letter dated, December 29, 1916.
[902] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 156. Letter dated, December 29, 1916.
[903] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 164.
[904] Source: Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), pp. 66-101.
[905] See fig. 15 in appendix: Source: Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), pp. 66-101.

were not only in nature but were also a part of nature. In another advertisement entitled "Terrestrial Flight" (fig. 16)[906] a woman is pictured on a bicycle in an impossibly long skirt "with the birds and squirrels"[907] once again inextricably linking women's presence in nature when accessed by a journey on a bicycle. The title "Terrestrial Flight" suggests that the bicycle allowed women new freedoms and a mobility that they could not enjoy within their usual spheres of marriage or domesticity. Garvey states that in these advertisements "the bicycle is imagined not as another machine in the garden but as part of the garden."[908] Markievicz, out of prison and on her bicycle is a woman *in* a garden, a fluid part of the fixed terrain, a moving beacon of freedom like the bravely waving "floral tricolour"[909], evoking a need for borderless autonomy within the Irish people:

> [...] Out into the country at last. Little white cottages [...] sprinkled everywhere over the green fields, while far away in front the Dublin mountains lie softly adjacent the horizon. The Three Rocks look out from their summit. Cold, hard and immoveable they watch the distant sea. Through centuries they have looked down [...] and dread nought being borne on the tide into Dublin Bay [...] weatherbeaten and immoveable through the centuries they still watched when a gun boat steamed up the Liffey to pour fire and ruins on the gallant little band in the G.P.O. Immoveable and calm they will still remain standing sentinel over Ireland's peace long after the Iron might of the Stranger is broken and red with rust.[910]

Expressing relief to be "out into the country"[911] and crossing "green fields"[912], her tyres were no doubt sinking, and splashing Irish soil onto her legs while her steadfast,

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[906] See fig. 16 in appendix: Source: Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), pp. 66-101.
[907] See fig. 16 in appendix: Source: Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), pp. 66-101.
[908] Source: Ellen Gruber Garvey, "Reframing the Bicycle: Advertising-Supported Magazines and Scorching Women," in *American Quarterly*, vol. 47, no. 1 (March, 1995), pp. 66-101.
[909] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[910] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[911] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

stealth-like pedalling echoes the rushing tide of Dublin Bay. She is a foil to the clanking, jalopy British gunboat. Her movements juxtaposed the "Cold, hard and immoveable"[913] stones demonstrate a friction between the stagnant, antiquated and imperial tradition in Ireland and the enlightened feelings of Irish nationality and counter-colonial expression. This is best summed up by the endless potential embodied in the "adjacent horizon"[914]. While the static rocks of yesteryear "watch"[915] the Dublin terrain, Markievicz surveys, traverses, queries and embodies the Irish landscape. Griffin maintains that: "cycling was a test of one's bravery and manhood"[916] and as testament to such male cyclists catalogued their experiences. An article in the premier Irish journal devoted entirely to covering cycling matters, the *Irish Cyclist and Athlete*, in November of 1885 published such a recollection:

> The rapid movement, the keen rush of the wind past his ears, the fresh air filling his lungs, the healthful glow that pervades his frame the exultant feeling of strength and power with which he drives the rapidly-revolving pedals, and which causes him to realize that he is complete master of his mount, and to hail with pleasure the slightest rises in the road as an opportunity to give rein to his superabundant vigour.[917]

Benton argues that the first twenty-three years of the twentieth-century in Ireland that the "military ethos became the dominant ethos"[918]. Benton states that because of this, the "values of manliness, of brotherhood, of tactical necessity and of unity were

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[912] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[913] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[914] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[915] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[916] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 219.
[917] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 219.
[918] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-23," *Feminist Review*, no. 50, (Summer, 1995), p. 150.

dominant"[919] and as previously detailed in Chapter One "the ideal form of relationship in war is the brotherhood, both as actuality and potent myth"[920]. Cycling in its founding moments similarly promoted the ideals of the brotherhood and its pack-like tendencies. For Griffin: "To be a cyclist denotes that you do not belong to the common herd." Bicycling clubs at the turn of the century consisted of mainly young men who found singleness of purpose through their cycling comrades. There was an essence of a military mentality that underlined these clubs and their practices. Griffin's article cites Beatrice Grimshaw, a journalist for the *Irish Cyclist* who observed: "the average semi-military, orderly, formal club of the seventies and the early eighties, when every man who possessed a machine bought a would-be- officer-like uniform, practised bugle calls, and loved best of anything to ride in a long line, with words of command to direct his manoeuvring"[921], what Grimshaw defines as a "pseudo-military affection."[922] Markievicz wrote *An Interlude* some twenty years after Grimshaw's observations therefore Markievicz as lone rebel soldier, marks a measure of progress for both Ireland and Ireland's women. Not only was there a military ethos of brotherhood and "healthy manhood"[923] underlying the missions of these male cycling clubs, they also saw themselves as knights unified in what Griffin determines as: "the ultimate manifestation of manhood, the medieval knight"[924]. In

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[919] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-23," *Feminist Review*, no. 50, (Summer, 1995), p. 150.
[920] Sarah Benton, "Women Disarmed: The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913-23," *Feminist Review*, no. 50, (Summer, 1995), p. 150.
[921] Beatrice Grimshaw's article printed in the *Irish Cyclist*, March 9, 1892, cited in Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 222.
[922] Beatrice Grimshaw's article printed in the *Irish Cyclist*, March 9, 1892, cited in Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 222.
[923] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 220.
[924] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 220.

1889, cycling poet, C.L. Murray, honorary secretary of the *Freeman's Journal* cycling club penned a poem declaring such:

> Away from the city, its toil and its care
> Its crowded streets and its smoky air,
> Fly the knights of the wheel, a right jovial throng,
> Hark! To the sound of their tuneful song.[925]

To 'knight' these cyclists is to link their history and custom with that of a long-standing English military tradition originating in some of the first imperial expeditions, the Crusades. Markievicz coincidentally also said the *Freeman's Journal* was "run by English gold"[926] explicitly countering C.L. Murray's and the Victorian male cyclist's sovereign affiliation. It was common practice for club secretaries to document accounts of club excursions to sites of scenic respites and even the most platitudinous of runs are described as exhilarating experiences. This is testament to what Griffin determines as: "the clubmen's collective ego."[927] Markievicz's *An Interlude* cited throughout this section offers a revisionist narrative as her lone female voice served as an anti-crusade to the earlier burgeoned catalogue of male cyclist reveries. The bicycle provided a means for women to actively look at the world. In this sense *An Interlude* operates similarly to her series in *Eire* entitled: "A Memory, by Constance de Markievicz" as highlighted in Chapter Two as it is an assertion of her rightful presence in a formerly preserved masculine tradition. It celebrates what Bratton prescribes for female autobiography, a celebration of her "own autonomy and difference"[928] and her "unique importance in the public life"[929].

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[925] C.L. Murray, *Irish Athletic and Cycling News.* August 13, 1889, cited in Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 221.
[926] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 198. Letter dated, December 12, 1918.
[927] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), p. 218.
[928] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.
[929] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

Markievicz's typescript provides a female recollection that revised a typically male cyclist narrative, the bicycle itself providing a conduit for micro- and macrocosmic questions of identity formation and transformation and an alternative to draconian models of femininity and womanhood.

Markievicz continues:

> Peace is the keynote of the landscape before me. Slow curving lines almost melt into each other, so delicate are the tones that mark each receding slope. Distance against a background of coloured light glimmers the shadowy blue of the distance. Mauves, purples and browns enrich the nearer hills. The little white cottages set between the golden gorse and the green pastures all blend softly behind the magical air that is Ireland's.[930]

For a moment she returns to her pacifist inclinations, finding the tranquillity of the Dublin landscape as inspiration for a peaceful solution to Ireland's problem. This description evoked similar feelings of nostalgia and introspection, as her scenic landscape that she painted of Darley's Woods in Rathfarnam (fig. 17)[931] The stagnant rocks set against the swirling sky of blues, pinks and yellows anticipates twilight. On her bicycle Markievicz embodied the essence of twilight. She was not fixed in a complacent or liminal position between woman, warrior, Nationalist, or Suffragist, but rather a moving and ascending figure brimming with active potential. As a figure on a bicycle, Markievicz consistently crossed thresholds, blurring the chronological and intellectual constraints of 'past' and 'present'/'fantasy' and 'fact', she continues:

> I push slowly on, up the hill to the "Lamb" Doyle's pavilion where friends and tea await me. Such pleasant gatherings of young and old, Republicans all taking Whitsuntide holiday on their mountainside [...] With the cool of the evening a mist crept in from the sea. Wave after wave rolled up through the valleys, shrouding their depth in a soft, mystery. Here and there a hill top or a group of trees stood clear like magic islands while the whole country with Dublin at its heart lay beneath the fog like a fairy kingdom breathed on by the

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[930] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

[931] See fig. 17 in appendix: Constance Markievicz, "Darley's Woods, Rathfarnham," Photo: 17VP-1D32-07. Source: Kilmainham Gaol Archives. Dublin, Ireland.

> sea god and hidden from human eyes like the "round towers of other days" that the fishermen of Lough Neagh get glimpses of when the moon is full.[932]

As Sihra states: "Irish playwrights tenaciously draw on a sense of the past to articulate the present."[933] This passage shows that Markievicz not only draws on those Republicans "young and old"[934] but her imaginings illustrate an elsewhere rooted in Irish landscapes of fantasy and folklore. If as Bachelard claims that "images"[935]—are indeed evidence of "psychic states"[936]—then Markievicz's state is one of the blurred border between myth and historical allusions, an allegorical reflection of the then anticipated border of the North and South. This typescript reveals a sense of duality that extends beyond Markievicz's Nationalist inclinations. While on her bicycle, Markievicz explored an alternative space, a landscape that extended beyond the actual boundaries of Dublin's topography into an imaginative realm of active female potential.

This bicycling journey was not only a pilgrimage but also a "carnivalesque retreat"[937], what Sihra determines as a means for a "temporary reprieve"[938] operating similarly to that of the Mundy sisters' dance in Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa*

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[932] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[933] Melissa Sihra, "Reflections Across Water: New Stages of Performing Carr," in *The Theatre of Marina Carr: "before rules was made,"* eds., Cathy Leeney and Anna McMullan (Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2003), 93.
[934] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[935] Gaston Bachelard sited in Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[936] Gaston Bachelard, cited in Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[937] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window" in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[938] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

(1990)[939]. Markievicz on her bicycle is not only a site of counter-colonial resistance but an expression of Nationalist celebration, a mobile intersection of victorious women past, present and future. Later in Markievicz's career, the bicycle also became a means for her to reach Dublin's poor. In a 1960 broadcast, Ina Connolly remembers:

> Life in disturbed Dublin became very active for Madam in the labour world, people were arrested, meetings were banned, baton charges frequent. Ships arrived loaded with food and clothing from British workers in England and had to be distributed among the poor. She attended police court cases to secure bail for the prisoners. Had to visit hospitals and observe the progress of those batoned and trampled in the streets by the police. It was just one day busier than another. In fact no day was long enough for the many calls made on her. She would leave home in the early morning, jump on her bicycle and would not have the faintest idea as to what hour of the night she would return home to her bed.[940]

A photo taken in 1922 shows Markievicz with her bicycle in Dublin city centre (fig. 18).[941] While originally an upper-class tool of mobility[942], this photo shows that the bicycle gave Markievicz physical access to all spheres of Dublin's population. Pictured at the forefront of this photo is one young girl with her hands pressed on her heart and her attention focused on Markievicz. This young girl, dressed in a light trench coat, stands out in a sea of mainly men and boys dressed in dark suits, their attention focused primarily on the camera. With Markievicz looking forward and this girl focused on Markievicz, one gets a sense that Markievicz's call to the "rising

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[939] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3. Sihra determines that Friel's Mundy sisters in *Dancing at Lughnasa* achieve a "temporary reprieve through the physical act of dancing".

[940] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 7. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.

[941] See fig. 18 in appendix: Source: University College Cork, "Multitext Project in Irish History," <http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Countess Markievicz photographed among Dublin poor in 1922>. Accessed June 14, 2010.

[942] Brian Griffin, "Cycling and Gender in Victorian Ireland," in *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 41, nos. 1&2, (Spring/Summer, 2006), pp. 217.

young women of Ireland"[943] was being answered, yet their work was far from done as pictured in the background in the upper right hand corner is an election nomination poster for the Provisional Parliament pursuant to the Free State (Agreement) Act of 1922[944]. When juxtaposed with the earlier photo of Constance with Casimir (fig. 14)[945], one gets a sense of how far Markievicz has travelled since her days in Paris. In the latter photo, Constance is no longer associated with her husband and less progressive ideals of womanhood as she has a new partner at her side. Markievicz whilst pushing through "potent thresholds"[946] of old and new, bordered and borderless, found a new partner, the next generation of young women who were the future of Ireland.

Like the cyclical turn of the wheel, an ebb and flow of reverie and urgency sifts through this typescript. This shifting tide similarly plagues Markievicz and her Nationalist intensions:

> But the sun is setting and the [?]. Back shrinks the dreary sea and the country becomes familiar once more. It is time to be moving for there is a spot to be visited on the way home. Down the hill we speed towards the plains, down by the dew drenched hedges and damp fields. A few houses, chapel, public house and police barracks and you have Kill of the Grange, the usual little lovely Irish village. At the Barracks we turned our wheels and stood to look at the blackened ruins. We climbed on to the high wall at the back and sat and looked at the skeleton. "Tombstones of England's power" as some one has aptly called these roofless walls with their empty windows that mark freedom's progress all over Ireland today – we looked and marvelled.[947]

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[943] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation: a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society, Dublin* (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan.* An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[944] See fig. 18 in appendix. Source: University College Cork, "Multitext Project in Irish History," <http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Countess Markievicz photographed among Dublin poor in 1922>. Accessed June 14, 2010.

[945] See fig. 14 in appendix. "Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress in Paris in 1899). Source: Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Press, 1967), 114.

[946] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women and Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

[947] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

This pressing sense of immediacy also impacts the rebellious impulses of Markievicz's ideal young woman of Ireland, Eileen O'Rourke:

> Eileen: Oh mother you're an angel, I'm starving, and I must start for Grange on my bike at once [...] Bride is waiting for me below on the road.
>
> Fr. Monaghan: She can wait a wee while. I want to have chat with you.
>
> Eileen: I really can't wait, Father, now.
>
> Fr. Monaghan: I'm in a hurry myself, and the quicker you are the better pleased I will be.[948]

Tim Cresswell maintains that: "Mobile women, in particular, have been seen to be indicative of wider social and cultural themes of power, exclusion, resistance and emancipation"[949] which generally lead to feelings of moral panic and "gendered and embodied politics of mobility."[950] Markievicz articulates this 'panic' about women's mobility and morality through the subjugate voice of patriarchal reformation, Father Monaghan in *Broken Dreams*:

> We don't want to hear any more of these foreign ideas. I'm very fond of you, Eileen, and it grieves me to think of my little pet going with this boy and that and philandering with half the countryside, and tricking and fooling and making trouble everywhere.[951]

A woman on a bicycle is autonomous, in charge of her own agenda and life's direction, as Marks states: "a woman on a bicycle represents activity and options, the woman on wheels may decide where she wishes to go and what she plans to do when she gets there, regardless of a male companion"[952]. Markievicz, like Eileen O'Rourke, chose her own path and became an active participant in the Nationalist movement changing and destabilizing the definition and expectations of traditional

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[948] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 8-9. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[949] Tim Cresswell, "Embodiment, Power and the Politics of Mobility: The Case of Female Tramps and Hobos," in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1999), 175.
[950] Tim Cresswell, "Embodiment, Power and the Politics of Mobility: The Case of Female Tramps and Hobos," in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1999), 175.
[951] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 12. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[952] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 175.

notions of femininity.[953] She had neither chaperone nor fourth wall to keep her and her access to life and landscape separate. Markievicz as emblem for the women of the Nationalist movement could move freely through the Irish landscape not only witnessing its beauty but rather became an agent of change throughout it:

> Taking a last look through the empty windows I saw where the molten glass has poured down on the ledges and I picked up a little nugget all opalescent and shining mixed in with mortar and sand. Then full speed back to town, but not before we had raided meadows and hedges for buttercups and hawthorns to tie big Republican Posies onto our handlebars.[954]

The vigour of her descending bicycle is met with the potential she sees through these barrack windows, the future of Ireland as a kaleidoscope of possibility. The mention of such "empty windows"[955] and that "glimpse through a door - for once left open"[956], indicates Markievicz's preoccupation with threshold spaces, which Sihra defines: "emphasize issues of containment and transformation in performance, reinforcing the place of the body within history and culture"[957]. For Markievicz, these sites are indeed portals leading the female cyclist towards her own personal freedom within an Independent Ireland. Whilst abroad on tour in 1922, Markievicz travelled via train across America, stopping in cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, all the way to Los Angeles, and San Francisco.[958] She witnessed this free

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[953] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 199.
[954] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[955] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[956] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[957] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.
[958] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 286.

terrain through the swiftly moving threshold of the "train window"[959]. Markievicz writes in a letter to Eva:

> I often wonder, as I look out of the train window, if you passed the same way long ago and loved the same length of river, rock or group of trees. The line to-day runs in a valley following the rambles of the Susquehanna River. When we passed over it on our way West, the trees were all bare and wintry. To-day, they are all gold and green and sparking with white flowers. In many ways it is like Ireland, only so much bigger.[960]

As Markievicz witnessed America's beauty through the shutter lens of the train window, she drew parallels between this free land and her faith in Ireland's hopeful autonomy and reconciliation from Partition. Even in the white wash that is winter in North America, she imagines the "floral tricolour of green and white and gold" in the trees that are "all bare and wintry"[961] making manifest a flourishing landscape with that of a sovereign state. Amidst the train's rapid movement, she senses that Eva has travelled through similar portals of time and landscape, once again linking and anticipating, women's autonomy of the past, present and future.

Markievicz ends her adventure when she chooses to create a Republican Posy from "buttercups and hawthorns"[962], a flower associated with Queen Victoria since 1837, as figurehead to her bicycle like that to a bow of a ship. Markievicz has returned from her "carnivalesque retreat"[963] and dismounted her bicycle, with a sense that her perspective on her own autonomy and mobility has been reinforced even further, as each adventure on her bicycle renders her freer and Ireland more victorious. Markievicz once again determines nature as a force in her life, fusing her

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[959] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 286.
[960] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 286.
[961] Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 286.
[962] Autograph letter signed of Countess Markievicz to an unknown correspondent 1920, with prose tract "An Interlude," MS. 9934. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[963] Melissa Sihra, "Introduction: Figures at the Window," in *Women in Irish Drama: a century of authorship and representation*, ed., Melissa Sihra (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

bicycle with the natural properties of Ireland creating a moving crest of national freedom. As she did in her column "The Woman With a Garden" Markievicz improvised on the agricultural properties of Ireland to create moving thresholds of freedom and potentiality as embodied on the free moving figure of a woman on a bicycle.

"*Mise i gcuis na hÉireann*"[964] Constance de Markievicz, a martyr's death?

Throughout Markievicz's career, she drew from and contributed to a tradition of female militancy and mobility to incite and inspire contemporaneous female action with the Nationalist movement. A figure that personified all these qualities for Markievicz was Joan of Arc, a woman who remained a potent trope throughout Markievicz's theatrical, artistic, and journalistic renderings. Joan of Arc epitomized the ideal female militant; she was physically superior, morally linear and a woman whose love of country, helped lead France to freedom and served as the absolute example of patriotism for both Nationalist men and women. If divine intervention claimed Joan of Arc, the call of Kathleen ni Houlihan was answered by Markievicz who, as observed in Chapter Two, with her 1909 lecture "Women, Ideals and the Nation" revealed her departure away from non-violent political resistance to a military insurrection akin to a spiritually motivated crusade when she demanded: "May this aspiration towards life and freedom among the women of Ireland bring

[964] Constance Markievicz signed, "Me in the Cause for Ireland", in a letter to Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell: "I still remember your play [Dawn Mist] although six long months have passed since I read it, and I recall to mind the pleasure that was mine when I found a young author inspired by the idealism and spirit of self-sacrifice that is the keynote of the true Irish character [...] Your play has struck another note—that of the great sacrifice which is no sacrifice to the Gael. Good luck to it, and to you, and may you write many more, and with each one dig deeper into the true hear of Ireland." *Mise i gcuis na hEireann* Constance de Markievicz. Source: MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974". Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.

forth a Joan of Arc to free our nation!"[965] Joan of Arc became Markievicz's self-proclaimed Nationalist inspiration. Markievicz saw in Joan of Arc a figure that could transcend gender and time. As another testament to such, in Markievicz's first *Fianna na hÉireann* handbook in 1913, she cited Joan of Arc's efforts and made a strong emotional appeal to the scouts: "This year has felt the spirit of Cathleen ni Houlahan [*sic*] moving once more through the land. It will take the best and noblest of Ireland's children to win Freedom, for the price of Freedom is suffering and pain."[966]

Joan of Arc, otherwise known as St. Joan and the Maid of Orléans, claimed divine guidance. She led the French to victory several times during the Hundred Years' War against England and her efforts paved the way for Charles VII's coronation. After her capture she was sold to the English, tried in an ecclesiastical court, and burned at the stake. Joan died at nineteen years of age. She was the essential Nationalist in that she was a counter-normative and subversive figure challenging English forces and ideals some five hundred years before the rise of Ireland's modern political and cultural Nationalist movement.

A typescript by Markievicz beckons a patriot to answer a similar call and leaves the impression of being inspired by the instructions of Joan of Arc:

> Every cause that man and women die for must be based on fundamental principles, and strike some note that is in tune with all that is deepest and strongest in their natures. The principle of Liberty is one that has this appeal. A dream of liberty can light a flame in every human soul. It has inspired men and women to face great sufferings in all times.[967]

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[965] 'Maca', *Women, Ideals and the Nation; a lecture delivered to the Students National Literary Society*, Dublin (Dublin: The Tower Press, 1909). This was initially published by the efforts of the *Inghinidhe na hÉireann* and reprinted in 1918 by *Cumann na mBan*. An original pamphlet can be found in Trinity College Dublin's Early Printed Books as presented by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington in 1983.

[966] Markievicz, cited in Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 144.

[967] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript," in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Extreme patriotism manifesting in sacrifice plagued Markievicz and her Nationalist intentions and was a thematic throughout her literary and theatrical renderings. Markievicz emphatically believed that: "Nothing is too small to be done for Ireland and nothing is too great a sacrifice to be made for Ireland."[968] She continues:

> Slaves and princes, priests and pagans, men and women of all ages have given martyrs in the cause of liberty for thought or person, sex, class, religion or country. Liberty in one guise or another can always make men and women rise to superhuman efforts, laugh torture to scorn, and face death with a smile. Such a love of liberty has been developed and intensified in the characters of the people of Ireland by the history of their country. Generation after generation have fought and suffered and died to gain liberty for their land, and for all time to get rid of the tyrannical invader with his foreign civilisation, foreign customs and foreign language. Each generation has given new martyrs to the cause of freedom and these martyrs are the inspiration of the youth of Ireland in all the generations that follow them.[969]

This typescript is undated, however, throughout it Markievicz refers to the "very binding oath"[970] and the "Free State Parliament"[971] which dates this somewhere after 1921 and before her death in 1927. Characteristic of Markievicz's rhetorical strategy, a looming foreign presence is warned against as well as the pursuit for self-sacrifice in the name of Ireland and Markievicz once again makes 'the land' and self-sacrifice sacrosanct.

The flame that embers in "every human soul"[972] would be ignited in Markievicz in 1908, however, the spirit of Joan of Arc was present in her long before her revolutionary self began to take flight. Just before the turn of the century, while still Gore-Booth, Constance painted an image of herself as "The Good Shepherd" (fig.

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[968] Markievicz, cited in Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 236.
[969] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript," in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[970] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript," in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[971] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript," in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[972] Constance Markievicz, "A Typescript," in Synge Papers: P5482, microfilm. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

19)[973]. In this painting, she envisages herself as Joan of Arc, a lone woman shepherd amidst a flock of sheep standing firmly in a muted Irish landscape. The charcoal sky set against a sea of rich green grass and white sheep evokes the feeling of a pending storm and Constance as Joan shows no sign of taking cover as the approaching rain premonitions her eventual rite of baptismal into Catholicism. With hand on heart and head towards the heavens, Markievicz anticipates her Nationalist awakening and wolfish pursuit for martyrdom. It is here where she demands "as a right that Nature should provide me with something to live for, something to die for."[974] At thirty years of age, Constance saw herself as a medium between woman and icon and the same timelessness that surrounds Saint Joan and her essence, echoed in Markievicz's spirit and would render her a part of popular mythology[975]. Joan of Arc is a historical figure who has been romanticized and mythologized and Markievicz, like St. Joan became the active embodiment of the misty borders between fact and fiction, past and present - the tropes of temporality and spatiality that would run throughout all of Markievicz's plays, and artistic and journalistic renderings.

Martha Hanna notes that according to Maurice Pujo, the founder and leader of Action *Française*, a French Monarchist group in the early twentieth century:

> Joan of Arc had contravened all established laws—those of her sex, her place in society, common practice, and the established order. She had done so not capriciously but because the established order of her society was, in fact, a false order: it was imposed by the English.[976]

Joan of Arc was the essential counter-figure and to Markievicz, this made Joan of Arc the absolute Nationalist. They were two women united by principles, sex,

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[973] See fig. 19 in appendix: Constance Gore-Booth, "The Good Shepherd." Photo: 10VP-5A12-09. Kilmainham Gaol Archives. Dublin: Ireland.

[974] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (London: Chilton Co., 1967), 44. An entry from Constance Markievicz's diary on March 20, 1893.

[975] I would like to acknowledge S.E. Wilmer here in a forthcoming article, co-authored by Mary Caulfield and S.E. Wilmer, entitled, "Female Monuments and Cultural Memory in Dublin," in Lisa Fitzpatrick, ed., *Performing Feminisms in Ireland.*

[976] Maurice Pujo, cited in Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 221.

fearlessness, and determination and together they would exceed 'foreign' boundaries and gender normative expectations. Hanna notes that Joan of Arc had an "immediate appeal in times of war"[977] and while St. Joan was not indigenously Irish, she came to represent "resistance to foreign oppressors"[978] as Joan of Arc, like Markievicz, was ferociously anti-English.

In 1914 at an Irish Women's Franchise League fundraiser, Markievicz once again depicted herself as Joan of Arc however this time she would embody her in a Suffrage *tableau*. Entitled *The Great Daffodil Fête*, this fundraiser hosted a series of thirteen *tableaux* on the 24th and 25th of April at Molesworth Hall in Dublin.[979] As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, it included a play by Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, husband of Hanna, entitled: *The Prodigal Daughter*. It also included a series of *tableaux* depicting other historic women such as Maeve, Sappho, Brigid, and Anne Devlin.[980] This thirteen-series *tableaux* under the auspices of a Suffrage organization, reveals the proclivity for women of the then present, to embody great women of the past in what results in an almost *séance*-inspired method of channelling women's past accomplishments into their own contemporaneous corporeality. There were two depictions of Joan of Arc: Joan at the stake performed by Kathleen Houston and Markievicz as Joan in full armour appearing to a Suffragist prisoner, again played by Houston.[981] Houston had just returned from a six-month imprisonment at Mountjoy Prison.[982]

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[977] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 224.
[978] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 224.
[979] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173.
[980] Anne Marreco, *The Rebel Countess* (New York: Chilton Books, 1967), 173.
[981] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Pres, 1967), 133.
[982] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Pres, 1967), 133.

There are two photos that captured this event. The first photo captures the performance of the actual *tableau* in which Markievicz depicts Joan of Arc offering her sword to the imprisoned Suffragist (fig. 20).[983] This photo, and further the *tableau*, represents an exchange of female power. It is a revisionist piece to *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, and an alternative narrative to the *aisling* calling her son to arms. This *tableau* hosts and depicts a meta-transference of power as both the portrayed and the portrayers incite and perpetuate a legacy of woman warriors. This *tableau* in essence is a convergence of four chosen women, enhancing and serving as template to the tradition of female activism in Ireland.

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington remembers the care and diligence Markievicz used in creating her costume:

> What fine fifteenth century pieces she contrived out of cardboard silvered over, and what a characteristic Joan she was. And how she toiled over old pictures of the time to get it right. She posed as Joan, appearing to a suffragist prisoner in her cell. Her alert, gallant bearing was well set off by her silver armour, helmet and uplifted sword. She flung herself with her usual zest into the part, making a magnificent Joan. When years later I beheld her action in the College of Surgeons, wearing the uniform of the Irish Citizen Army, that earlier vision of Joan flashed upon my mind's eye. They were not so far apart.[984]

Sheehy-Skeffington's recollection articulates Markievicz's journey from her original premonition in her self-portrait, through her channelling the woman warrior by impersonation, towards her final transformation into a militant Markievicz, who lead the small regiment of ICA troops into battle on Easter Monday in 1916. In (fig. 21)[985] Markievicz is pictured as Joan in an impressive costume of silver armour. Her head

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[983] See fig. 20 in appendix: "Constance Markievicz appearing to a Suffragist." Source: Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Smashing Times: A History of the Irish Women's Suffrage Movement 1889-1922* (Dublin: Attic Press, 1984), 80.

[984] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, cited in Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 133.

[985] See fig. 21 in appendix: "Constance Markievicz as Joan of Arc," in *Irish Citizen*, vol. 6, no. 8, January 1919, p. 642. Dublin: National Library of Ireland. There is a clearer version printed in Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 194.

is extended up, similarly to her self-portrait. However this time instead of shepherd's staff, Markievicz raises her sword as if to suggest both she and Joan have answered 'the call'. Her hair is loose and at her shoulders, and while Sheehy-Skeffington remembers differently, she wears no helmet. Markievicz appears to be wearing make-up and while seemingly iron clad there is a suggestion of her figure and of her sex rendering the impression that Markievicz wished to personify everything she admired in Joan, her physicality, determination, and her unconventional femininity. Markievicz is once again photographed in a studio in front of a screened landscape, revealing that she insisted on her embodiment and representation of Joan of Arc to be catalogued and canonized.

While it is known that voices plagued Joan of Arc, it is often unknown that these voices were determined as Saints Catherine and Margaret and the Archangel Michael.[986] Anne Llewellyn Barstow writes that the culmination of these voices ordered Saint Joan to: "Go to the king of France, put on male clothing, to find a sword hidden behind an altar, to announce a French defeat on the day it occurred a hundred miles away, to drive the English out of France."[987] This sequence is not unlike Markievicz's proclamation of how she came to her Nationalist enlightenment and no doubt why her Irish Citizen's Army uniform mimicked that of a male soldier's attire, demonstrating that while arguably she is reinforcing the perceived 'naturalness' inherent in male activism, she was in fact embodying and honouring a woman warrior.

Thirty-years after Sheehy-Skeffington's memory of Markievicz, Ina Connolly-Heron would have a similar recollection:

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[986] Anne Llewellyn Barstow, "Mystical Experience as a Feminist Weapon: Joan of Arc," in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1985), 25.
[987] Anne Llewellyn Barstow, "Mystical Experience as a Feminist Weapon: Joan of Arc," in *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1985), 25-26.

> It is needless to say how well she filled the part of Joan the French heroine in every detail. I have often thought of her years afterwards when I pictured her in that steel armour, not a bend or move in her whole make up. Rigid she stood in her role of Joan of Arc. Had we but realised it, she was rehearsing the courage she showed when with her small contingent of Citizen Army men and women, she went forth to challenge the might of Britain in 1916.[988]

The *Fête* photograph of Markievicz as Joan of Arc was published in the *Irish Citizen* four years after her performance. This read in tandem with Sheehy-Skeffington's and Connolly-Heron's reminiscences reveals that Markievicz as Arc was a trope operating contemporaneously, throughout the Nationalist movement.

Central to Markievicz's identification with Joan of Arc was the notion of sacrifice, female militancy and a higher call to arms. Two poems authored by Markievicz entitled "The Call" and "Our Faith" were published in the last two issues of *The Worker's Republic* anticipating the pending Rising and encapsulating Markievicz's state of mind. "The Call" dated April 15, 1916 asks: "Do you hear the call in the whispering wind? The call to our race today, The call for self-sacrifice, courage and faith? The call that brooks no delay?" The second poem, "Our Faith" was published on April 22, 1916 just days before the Rising. Her verse hints at allegory, however, there is no proof of such intentions: "So we're waiting til 'Somebody' gives us the word/That sends us to Freedom or death."[989]

On Monday, April 24, 1916 'the word' finally arrived. Markievicz, was appointed as one of Connolly's 'Ghosts', what Markievicz defined as "the name we gave to those who stood secretly behind the leaders and were entrusted with enough of the plans of the Rising to enable them to carry on that Leader's work should

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[988] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920Markievicz, p. 6. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.
[989] Constance Markievicz, cited in Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 173.

anything happen to himself"[990]. She was briefed and prepared to lead her regiment into battle. Markievicz, second-in-command under Michael Mallin, was "mobilised for Liberty Hall and was sent from there via the City Hall to St. Stephen's Green"[991] where she remained. She fought in the uniform and under the auspices of the Irish Citizen's Army, which as she stated included some "members of Cuman na mBan, and others, just women who were ready to die for Ireland."[992] Markievicz held down Stephen's Green for a day then retreated to the College of Surgeons on Tuesday following the rebels' eventual surrender and capture on Sunday, April 30, 1916.

The accounts of the Rising vary from, political point of view to geographical location; however, a transcript of the "Trial of Constance Georgina Markievicz"[993] gives a varied insight. The Prosecution's first witness Walter McKay states:

> She gave orders to a Sin Fein [*sic*] after he had shut the gate of Stephens Park. She then drove up towards the Shelbourne Hotel—I saw her again about 1.15 p.m. she was then behind one of the monuments in the Green she had a pistol in her hand which she pointed towards the club and fired. I ran upstairs and saw where the bullet struck. After firing she walked up towards the Shelbourne Hotel dressed in knickers and puttees.[994]

The Second witness of the Prosecution states:

> Subsequently the rebels who were in the College of Surgeons marched out and surrendered. The accused was one of the numbers. She was armed with a pistol and ammunition in a Sam Browne belt. She handed her arms to me. I offered to drive her in a motor car to the castle she refused and said she preferred to march with the men as she was second in command. About 120 rebels surrendered at the same time as the accused.[995]

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[990] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 38.
[991] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 37.
[992] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 38.
[993] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[994] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[995] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Constance Markievicz defended her own trial. She declined to cross-examine this last witness and the prosecution closed their case, the transcript states: "The accused declines to call witnesses. The accused in her defence states: I went out to fight for Ireland's freedom and it doesn't matter what happens to me. I did what I thought was right and I stand by it. (Statement ends)"[996].

Markievicz was charged with "an act to wit did take part in an armed rebellion and in the waging of war against His Majesty the King"[997]. The Court's Finding was:

> Guilty.
> Death by
> Being Shot
> The Court
> recommend
> the prisoner
> to mercy solely and
> only on account of
> her sex.[998]

Eva Gore-Booth wrote of her visit to Constance at Mountjoy prison, after her transference there from Kilmainham, just after the Rising. Constance's first utterance from prison was that for one glorious week, Ireland had been free.[999] Eva recalls:

> As I walked through the long corridor, my mind was obsessed by one horrible thought: 'they have shot all her friends James Connolly and Eamon Ceannt only that day: did she know? Should I have to tell her?' Afterwards I knew that this was a quite unnecessary anxiety. She knew everything. The shots that killed Padraic Pearse and the others she had listened to morning after morning in her cell at Kilmainham.[1000]

Markievicz was denied her martyr's death solely due to her sex and Joan of Arc was deemed a witch and burned at the sake for just the same reason. This disparity in

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[996] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[997] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[998] Transcript of "The Trail of Constance Georgina Markievicz." Dated May 4, 1916. MS. 10, 580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[999] Eva Gore-Booth, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 47.
[1000] Eva Gore-Booth, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 47.

intention meant Markievicz's predetermined Nationalist fate was not met. Eva recalls Markievicz asking: "Why didn't they let me die with my friends?"[1001] This interruption of her Nationalist life cycle set her on a life's quest to serve Ireland and incite the women of Ireland to "finish the work begun by the men and women of Easter Week."[1002] This would take form through her plays as well as her military, journalistic, and cultural activism.

Markievicz was moved from Kilmainham Gaol to Mountjoy Jail, and then finally across the Irish Sea to England at Aylesbury Prison where she was sent to serve out her life's sentence. Sketching the figure of Joan of Arc was a passion of Markievicz's and her second prison notebook shows two sketches of Joan of Arc kneeling with sword in left hand, rosary beads in right, and angels hovering over her.[1003] This illustration of St. Joan's spiritual calling and ethereal qualities demonstrates Markievicz's vision of herself as answering a higher call as well. It is also proof that Joan's courage and Catholic faith was a source of comfort for Markievicz. Van Voris notes that Markievicz had been moving towards religious conversion for several years.[1004] Her devotion to Catholicism was a final attempt at disassociating herself from her Protestant inheritance and the Anglo-Irish establishment. On the final night of the Rising, in the College of Surgeons, Markievicz joined her friend William Partridge, the regiments' spiritual leader, in prayer. It was that night, in a vision hauntingly like Joan of Arc's, that Markievicz

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[1001] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 47.
[1002] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 41.
[1003] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 228.
[1004] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 203.

saw "the Unseen"[1005]. She described this moment as when "things seen became temporal and things unseen eternal"[1006]. Markievicz would pen a poem entitled: "The Rosary College of Surgeons"[1007], which describes such spiritual feelings and material temporality. Markievicz's baptism into Catholicism was one of the many ways in which she attempted catharsis in her Republican pursuits and shared in the legacy that was the rite of Christian blood sacrifice given only to Ireland's male martyrs.

Joan's beatification was ironically confirmed in 1908, the same year of Markievicz's Nationalist awakening. Markievicz's entire Nationalist career was haunted by France's celebration of Joan of Arc, from her beatification in 1908 to her canonization in 1920.[1008] 1929, two years after Markievicz's death, was the five hundredth year anniversary of Arc's liberation of Orleans and the anniversary of Joan of Arc's own death in 1931 would follow soon after.[1009] As Hanna notes, 1908-1931 saw France's, especially Catholic France's, honouring of the spiritual and political accomplishments of Joan of Arc.[1010]

As detailed in the first section of this chapter Markievicz's determination and absolute commitment to her Nationalist intentions was often met with scepticism and disdain. This is not unlike Joan of Arc who has been deemed everything from a "young girl of superior nature"[1011] with "a heroism worthy of the saints"[1012] to "*Vie de*

[1005] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 203.
[1006] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 203.
[1007] Jacqueline Van Voris, *Constance Markievicz: In the Cause of Ireland* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1967), 203.
[1008] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in French Historical Studies, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 216.
[1009] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in French Historical Studies, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 216.
[1010] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in French Historical Studies, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 216.
[1011] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 219.
[1012] Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 219.

Jeanne d'Arc" author Anatole France's disparaging claims that she was "an unfortunate, deluded girl, an overrated warrior, a would-be saint and a common visionary".[1013] After the Rising, *The Daily Mirror* reported that: "Many young and foolish lives have been lost or ruined by her malign influence, and it is well to know that her activities are now at an end."[1014] W.B. Yeats's poem "On a Political Prisoner" echoes such perceived delusions:

> A grey gull lost its fear and flew
> Down to her cell and there alit,
> And there endured her fingers' touch
> And from her fingers ate its bit.
>
> Did she in touching that lone wing
> Recall the years before her mind
> Became a bitter, an abstract thing,
> Her thought some popular enmity:
> Blind and leader of the blind
> Drinking the foul ditch where they lie?[1015]

Once again Markievicz is linked with a fearless gull, however this one met the touch of a woman imagined quite differently from the "gazelle"[1016] of poems past. Perhaps it was her privileged Birth, her English roots, her foreign name or her unconventional femininity that made her so controversial. Regardless of public perception or personal attack Markievicz maintained that: "no one has it within his power to make me unhappy"[1017] a motto standing testament to her autonomy and ferocious Nationalist commitment.

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[1013] Anatole France, cited in Martha Hanna, "Iconology and Ideology: Images of Joan of Arc in the Idiom of the Action Française, 1908-1931," in *French Historical Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 219.
[1014] *The Daily Mirror*, May 8, 1916, P 9002 p., 1-2. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1015] W.B. Yeats, "On a Political Prisoner," in *W.B. Yeats: The Poems*, ed., Richard J. Finneran (London: Macmillan, 1983), 183.
[1016] Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz* (London: Cresset Women's Voices), 13.
[1017] Dorothy Macardle, "An Unbroken Bond," in *The Irish Press*, Monday, May 28, 1934. IR 92 m 243. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Markievicz died in Sir Patrick Dunn's Hospital at 01:30 on July 15th, 1927.[1018] Her daughter Maeve was at her side along with her stepson Stanislau and estranged husband Casimir, who both returned from Warsaw to Ireland after many years apart to be with Constance in her final moments. Esther Roper, Eva Gore-Booth's lifelong friend and companion remembered how deeply Casimir felt Constance's death and he revealed in the days following her funeral that: "in all the years there was never an unkind word between us."[1019] Casmir fell ill in 1931 and died in 1932.[1020]

Even in death Markievicz was denied state recognition, as the Town Clerk refused the use of the City Hall and the Mansion House for her 'lying-in-state' and she was left to lie in a private cinema, denying her public recognition.[1021] This last rejection, however, stood as testament to her final protest to the Free State government which she fought so fervently against. Constance was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery in the Republican plot on the 18th of July 1927 to a procession of "hundreds of thousands"[1022] of mourners. De Valera's oration for her stated:

> She now lies at rest with her fellow-champions of the right—mourned by the people whose liberties she fought for; blessed by the loving prayers of the poor she tried so hard to befriend. The world knew her only as a soldier of Ireland, but we knew her as a colleague and comrade. We knew the kindliness, the great woman's heart of her, the great Irish soul of her, and we know the loss we have suffered is not to be repaired. It is sadly we take our leave, but we pray high heaven that all she longed for may one day be achieved.[1023]

[1018] Ina Connolly-Heron, "The Countess Markievicz," in a Broadcast on December 5, 1960. Typescript: 920 Markievicz, p. 10. Dublin City Libraries: Pearse Street Branch.
[1019] Casimir Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 110.
[1020] Esther Roper, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 110.
[1021] Amanda Sebestyen, "Introduction," in *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), i.
[1022] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 117.
[1023] Eamon de Valera, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 118-9.

While ill in the hospital Constance confessed to Esther: "I sometimes long for the peace of the Republican Plot"[1024]. A photo of Markievicz's gravesite in Glasnevin Cemetery pictures her plot ensconced in wreaths and flowers with two *Fianna na hÉireann* soldiers standing watch at either side (fig. 22)[1025]. Markievicz throughout her life consistently subverted stereotypes, challenged constraints on women's mobility, and exceeded gender-normative boundaries. On July 18, 1927 the dividing lines that Markievicz imagined between herself and "Nature"[1026] melted away, these same 'lines' that she anticipated in her intuitive July 'gardening' column published eighteen years before. In this particular column she instructed her fellow women Nationalists that: "our July garden with its roses should remind us that it is we who must live so that our martyr's blood shall not have been shed in vain."[1027] Markievicz envisaged her "hour of twilight"[1028] and as "an indissoluble atom of Nature"[1029] she crossed her final threshold from life into death. This Nationalist woman once 'with a garden' is now of the garden.

[1024] Constance Markievicz, cited in Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 109.
[1025] See fig. 22 in appendix: "The Republican Plot, Glasnevin" Source: Constance Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz* (London: Virago Press, 1987), 137.
[1026] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1027] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1028] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1029] 'Maca', "The Woman With a Garden," in *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1909. IR 3996 B15. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Conclusion

Speaking in a narrative voice similar to that in her column "The Woman With a Garden," Markievicz wrote to Eva about her own small plot in Mountjoy Jail: "seeing seeds grow into flowers is a great joy. My cooking peas are covered in bloom and the sweat peas are in bud, pansies are very bright, carnations are in bud—and it's all come out of a desert."[1030] Constance Markievicz saw nature and the Irish landscape as an indigenous site for women's potential and political dissensus. Her plays and her artistic and rhetorical renderings, uncovered, commemorated, and perpetuated a great tradition of female activism within Ireland's legacy of nation-formation. By employing frameworks of historical re-appropriation and gender-normative subversion, Markievicz unearthed women's mobility and agency within Ireland and the Irish Nationalist enterprise. Her work and further her public activities and corporeality revealed and created an alternative political and cultural potential for both women and Ireland. Markievicz's Nationalist career combined the political and performative resulting in not a singular act but a collective performance of counter-normative public reiterations. To use Judith Butler's useful phrase, "performativity is not a singular act but a repetition and ritual."[1031] Through her use of the bicycle and as a renegade figure 'on the run,' Markievicz created a cultural performance promoting radical female mobility. Her public activities and self-representation challenged gender-normative constraints, which became wholly inscribed in her ability to renegotiate the perimeters of political activism in place contemporaneously at the time.

[1030] Markievicz, *The Prison Letters of Constance Markievicz*, 273. In a letter to Eva Gore-Booth dated, June 8, 1921.
[1031] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xvi.

Markievicz's playtexts were integral to her military stratagem. Her three plays: *Blood Money* (1925)[1032], *The Invincible Mother* (1925)[1033], and finally her three-act play entitled, *Broken Dreams* (1927)[1034] rely on the subversion of the iconic figure of Mother Ireland, and result in the textual extension of Markievicz's many public activities, which destabilized the set of meanings inherent in recognized modes of performed female behaviour. These female protagonists appear weak and without agency, yet in *dénouement* their Nationalist actions prove both subversive and purposeful. Markievicz's female characters create what Teresa de Lauretis describes as "spaces of contradiction"[1035] thus challenging and revising received notions of femininity within the restrictive systems in place for theatrical and rhetorical representations of women in the Irish Nationalist canon. These subversive protagonists are another attempt at giving language to counter-normative female expressions, extending Markievicz's own public performance of alternative gender practices and the breaking down of what Butler determines as accepted "gender binaries."[1036] Her plays create an agora for alternative and subversive possibilities for women challenging the traditional symbolic representation of women in Ireland. Through subversion Markievicz created ruptures and gaps in culturally recognized sets of gender meanings and filled such fissures with active female agency and the performance of contested notions of femininity, which rested on the cultural edge if not on the "margins and beyond."[1037] By uncovering the dialogue between Markievicz's three plays, a cyclical and collective Nationalist narrative is revealed

[1032] Constance Markievicz, *Blood Money*, MS. 22,636. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1033] Constance Markievicz, *The Invincible Mother,* in MSS. 136 "Frank J. Hugh O'Donnell Papers, 1911 – 1974". Delaware: The University of Delaware Special Collections.
[1034] Constance Markievicz, *Broken Dreams*, MS. 24,185, p. 1. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.
[1035] Lynda Hart, ed., *Making a Spectacle* (Michigan: Michigan University Press, 1989), 2.
[1036] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), ix.
[1037] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xvi.

with her female protagonists providing active models for female expression and potentiality.

Markievicz's plays are consistently in dialogue with her outputs of journalistic expression and are extensions of her own radical corporeality. The three specific journalistic contributions analyzed in this dissertation are chosen because they are recurring series, which speak directly to her female constituency to incite and celebrate Irishwomen's Nationalist efforts of past, present, and future. Through the medium of print journalism, Markievicz reveals her subjectivity with regards to her place within the framework of the 'law'[1038]—the law in this instance, is the Nationalist press and the predominately masculine Republican legacy. According to Butler, "Since the law must be repeated to remain an authoritative law, the law perpetually reinstitutes the possibility of its own failure."[1039] Markievicz thus renders an alternative to what Jacky Bratton defines as the masculinist supremacy of auto/biography. To this end, Markievicz achieves one of Butler's most important concepts, the subversion of the law against itself to radical, political ends."[1040] Markievicz used her rhetorical outputs to re-frame and retell the National narrative according to her own experience and recollection, underlining the importance of women's personal story-telling[1041] in anticipation of subsequent social and historical marginalization and the impending deficiency of women's political visibility. All three of Markievicz's journalistic contributions share a discursive relationship to Markievicz's other expressions such as her plays, poems, lectures, and public

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[1038] Judith Butler, *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 108.
[1039] Judith Butler, *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 108.
[1040] Judith Butler, *Bodies that matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 108.
[1041] Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

activities. When examined in tandem they reveal Markievicz's complete, active and integral presence in the nation-building process—Markievicz is thus exposed as a figure in the process of 'doing'[1042] versus 'being'. Thereby satisfying Butler's criterion for the performance of gender, and through "repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame"[1043] she revised stereotyped roles of women as national icons, as domestic beings, and as passive or purely supportive figures in relation to the national struggle and political conflict.

Markievicz's artistry, activism, and corporeality were influenced by tropes of female mobility, nature, costume, dress, and self-sacrifice. These themes coupled with her public activities and sense of selfhood were the topics of analysis of Chapter Three which also explored the visual representation of Markievicz through photography and considered her implementation of costume, and how she embodied tropes of movement through her use of the bicycle. As a moving woman on her bicycle she literally and figuratively served as a model for female mobility and independence, and created a counter-cultural performance. Performance and further performativity is inherently subsumed in the corporeality and activities of public figures, and Markievicz enacted what Butler determines an 'in-betweeness"[1044] within the gender spectrum thus creating a "crisis of gender"[1045], a disruption in the comfort embedded in the "gender hierarchy"[1046] and a public performance which countered the "operative notion of gender."[1047] Markievicz did not await or anticipate an authoritative disclosure of gender meanings, she conjured her own and was thereby

[1042] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 25
[1043] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 45.
[1044] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xii-xiii.
[1045] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xii-xiii.
[1046] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xii-xiii.
[1047] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xii-xiii.

received outside the normative and anticipated "gendered essence"[1048], rendering herself a powerful yet deeply problematic figure and perhaps why her personal narrative as well as her theatrical texts are so little known. She retained this power to a level of public discomfort and it is here where her greatest subversion occurs. Markievicz's many public political and theatrical acts created a greater potentiality for female agency within the Nationalist enterprise. Butler suggests that a subject is not privy to choosing which gender he or she is going to enact, as this is a predetermined consequence of the "regulatory frame."[1049] Markievicz in many ways reacted against her own predestined gendered 'script' as she revised her former hyper-feminine aristocratic self to become a deeply controversial public figure in a median of gendered possibilities. Through the enactment and repetition of perceived counter-normative 'feminine' practices—as a radical figure on a bicycle to a deeply problematic figure in man's attire in battle, to the cataloguing and canonizing herself through the use of photograph (a means she used to test and revise her own iconicity), Markievicz re-wrote her own 'script' which visually and theatrically told the story of her journey from her 'predetermined regulatory frame' that was not only aristocratic but Anglo-Irish, a tradition steeped in antiquated notions of femininity. At times throughout Markievicz's career, there were tensions between her life, her life's work and her perceived role as proto-feminist. Operating concurrently to the Nationalist crusade was a burgeoning Suffragist movement and Markievicz could not reconcile rallying for votes for women in a State that was not free. As she declared many times, how could Irishwomen be free if Ireland was indeed, not? This has rendered her a highly problematic figure within the contemporary ethos of feminist discourse. Inherently, however, in Markievicz's contested public activities was a *pro*-women

[1048] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xv.
[1049] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 45.

agenda if according Butler, "gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo. In its very character as performative resides the possibility of contesting its reified status."[1050] Markievicz reconciled such tensions in her own corporeality, performing her many activist and artistic acts to an end that would broaden the possibilities of women's gendered roles in her repeated negotiation of the subversive efficacy of her own social performances.

The ever moving and traversing figure that was Constance Markievicz is almost captured in this, my favourite photograph (fig. 23) of Markievicz taken with her dog Poppet in her home county of Sligo. It reveals a forward moving, progressively thinking woman. She radiates from the rugged terrain with the wild waters of the Atlantic Ocean stirring, rushing, and crashing behind her as if to anticipate her many energies, and accomplishments that she would contribute to Ireland's fight for Independence. The Dublin cityscape echoes of women's involvement in the nation-building process but relied on the same experiences of the over-represented few. Markievicz in many ways became the token woman warrior, not unlike *Kathleen ni Houlihan* who carried the burden of the all-encompassing symbolic sensibilities for female involvement in the Nationalist project. Her complexities and the vastness of her many integral contributions were neglected and under-investigated. At first glance, Markievicz, brave and unconventional, provided a model for female activism, at second and third and fourth glance, a subterranean excavation of sorts blossomed resulting in an exciting and bourgeoning addition to the Irish political and theatrical landscape. Not unlike Ireland's own *bog,* Markievicz's contributions to Ireland's political and cultural canon, is a layered and ever-shifting terrain.

[1050] Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), 520.

Markievicz's friend and colleague Sydney Gifford Czira wrote:

> Somewhere in Mountjoy Prison yard there is a little garden made by the hands of Madame when she was serving a life sentence there during the Anglo-Irish war. That garden seems a perpetual memorial to one who had given up for Ireland the free life in the open, which she loved, and yet had kept in her heart a simple joy in nature.[1051]

This dissertation is offered as an act of recovery for the artistry and activism of one of Ireland's founding figures, Constance Markievicz during the revolutionary years of 1908-1927.

[1051] "Jackeen", John Brennan "Constance de Markievicz---A Memory. The Preparation for 1916," undated. MS 10,580. Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

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University College Cork, "Multitext Project in Irish History,"
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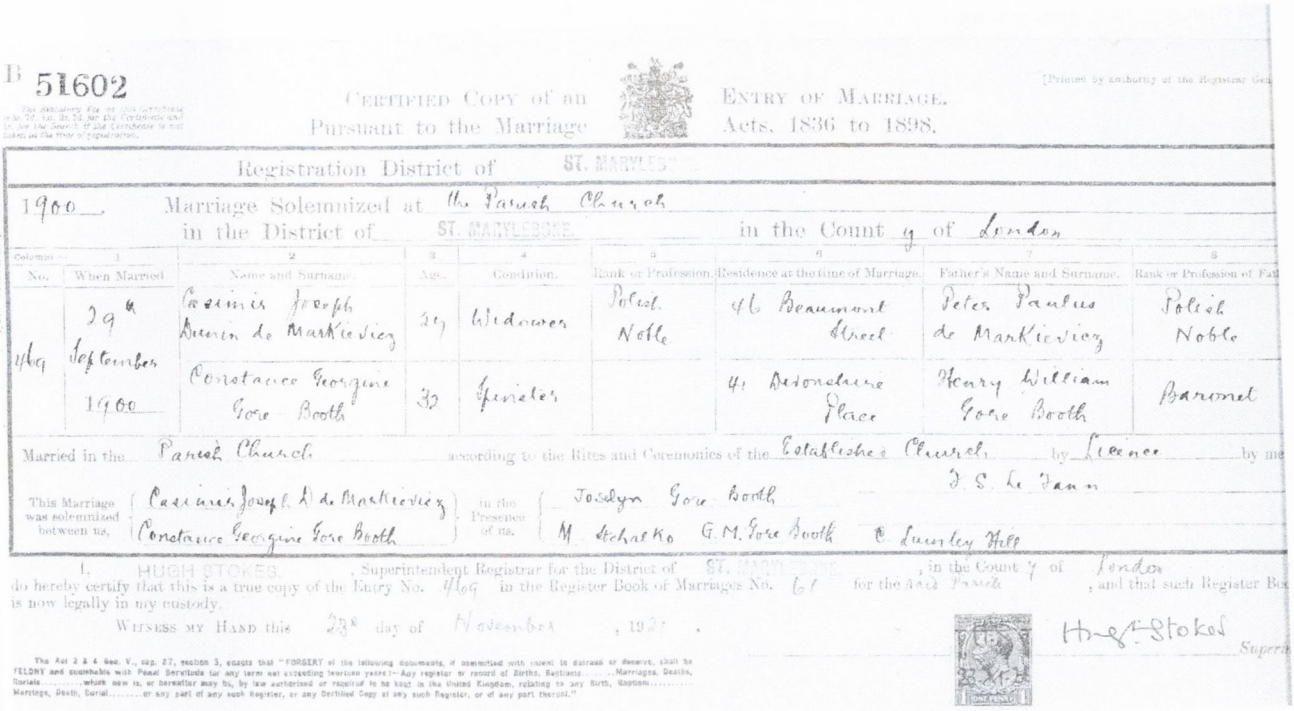

B 51602

The Statutory Fee for this Certificate is 5s. 7d., 1s. 2s. 7d. for the Certificate and 1s. for the Search if the Certificate is not taken at the time of registration.

CERTIFIED COPY of an ENTRY OF MARRIAGE.
Pursuant to the Marriage Acts, 1836 to 1898.

[Printed by authority of the Registrar Gen

Registration District of ST. MARYLEBONE

1900. Marriage Solemnized at the Parish Church
in the District of ST. MARYLEBONE in the County of London

Columns — No.	1 When Married	2 Name and Surname	3 Age	4 Condition	5 Rank or Profession	6 Residence at the time of Marriage	7 Father's Name and Surname	8 Rank or Profession of Fat
469	29th September 1900	Casimir Joseph Dunin de Markievicz	27	Widower	Polish Noble	46 Beaumont Street	Peter Paulus de Markievicz	Polish Noble
		Constance Georgine Gore Booth	32	Spinster		41 Devonshire Place	Henry William Gore Booth	Baronet

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church by Licence by me
J. S. Le Fann

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Casimir Joseph D. de Markievicz / Constance Georgine Gore Booth in the Presence of us. Joselyn Gore Booth / M. Stchalko G. M. Gore Booth C. Lumley Hill

I, HUGH STOKES, Superintendent Registrar for the District of ST. MARYLEBONE, in the County of London do hereby certify that this is a true copy of the Entry No. 469 in the Register Book of Marriages No. 61 for the said Parish, and that such Register Bo is now legally in my custody.

WITNESS MY HAND this 23rd day of November, 1921.

Hugh Stokes Superi

The Act 2 & 4 Geo. V., cap. 27, section 3, enacts that "FORGERY of the following documents, if committed with intent to defraud or deceive, shall be FELONY and punishable with Penal Servitude for any term not exceeding fourteen years:—Any register or record of Births, Baptisms.....Marriages, Deaths, Burials.....which now is, or hereafter may be, by law authorised or required to be kept in the United Kingdom, relating to any Birth, Baptism.....Marriage, Death, Burial.....or any part of any such Register, or any Certified Copy of any such Register, or of any part thereof."

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Figure 5: O'Hea, "The Reason Why," in the *Weekly Freeman*, October 11, 1884.

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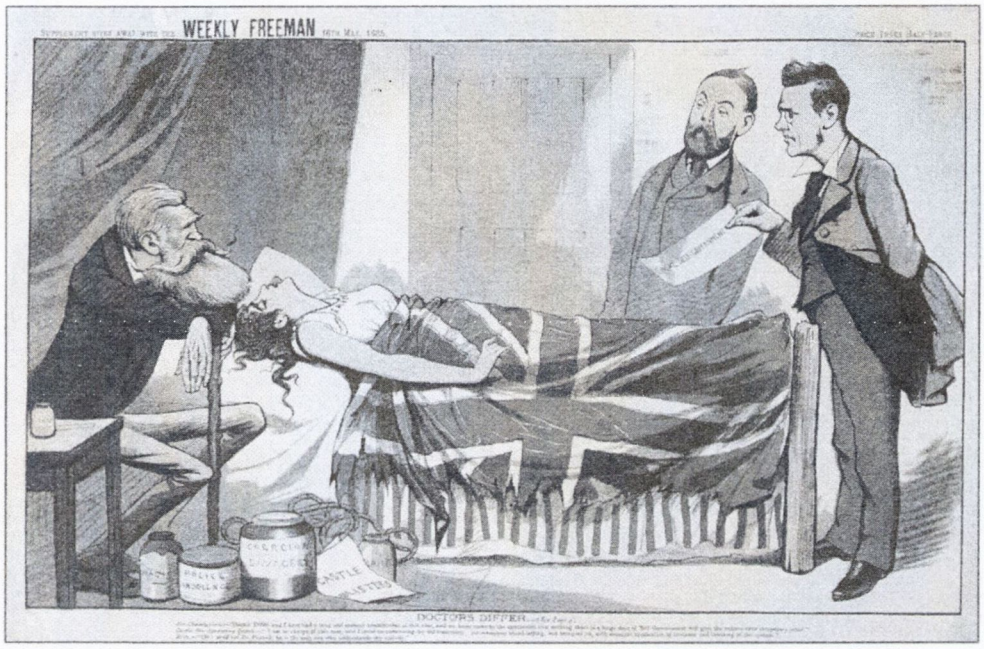
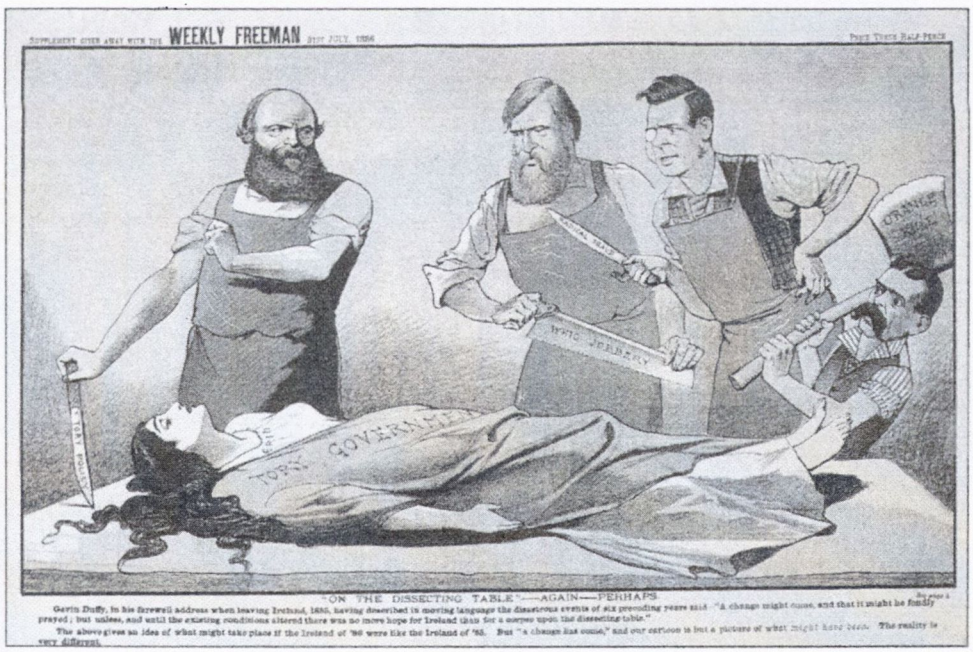


Fig 11. O'Hea, *Doctors Differ* (*Weekly Freeman*, 16 May 1885)



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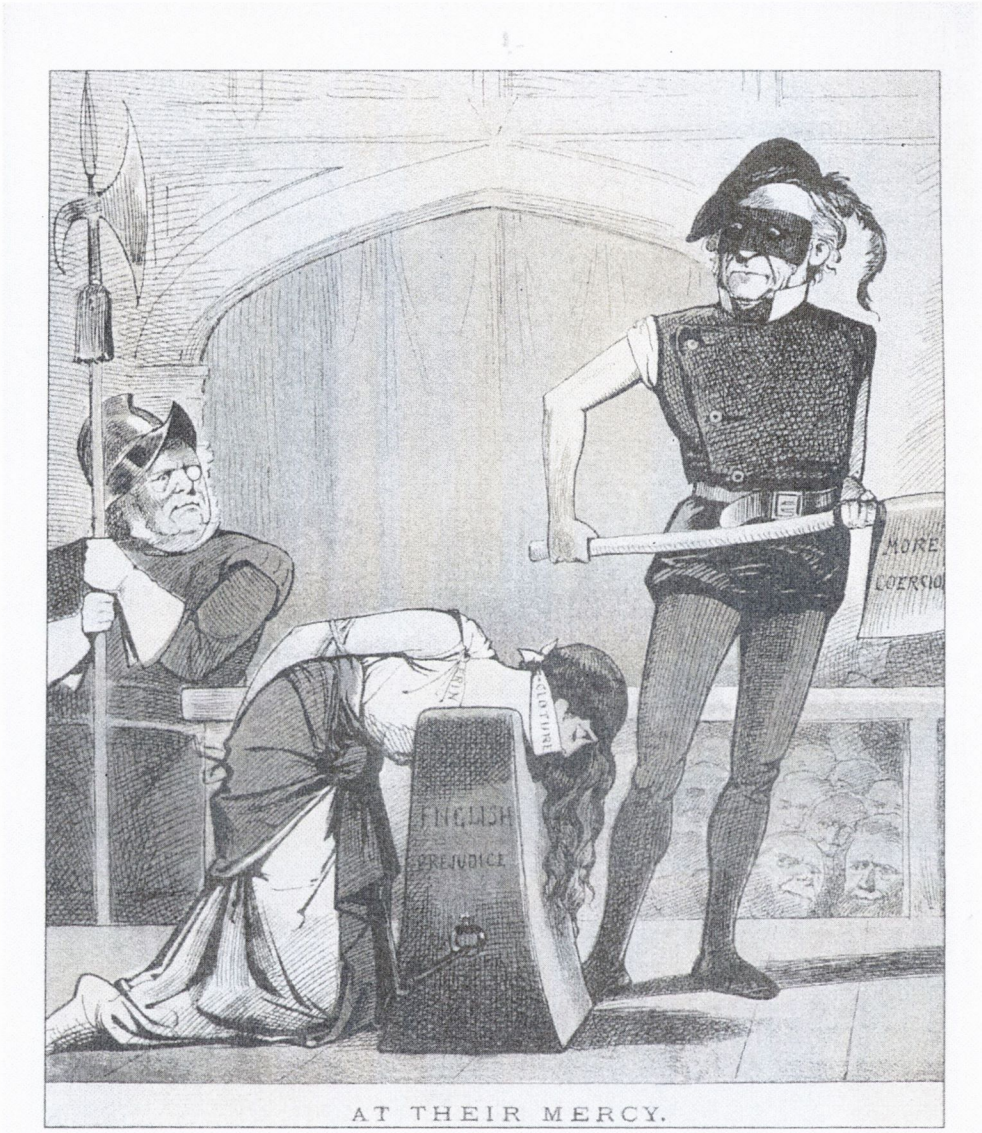

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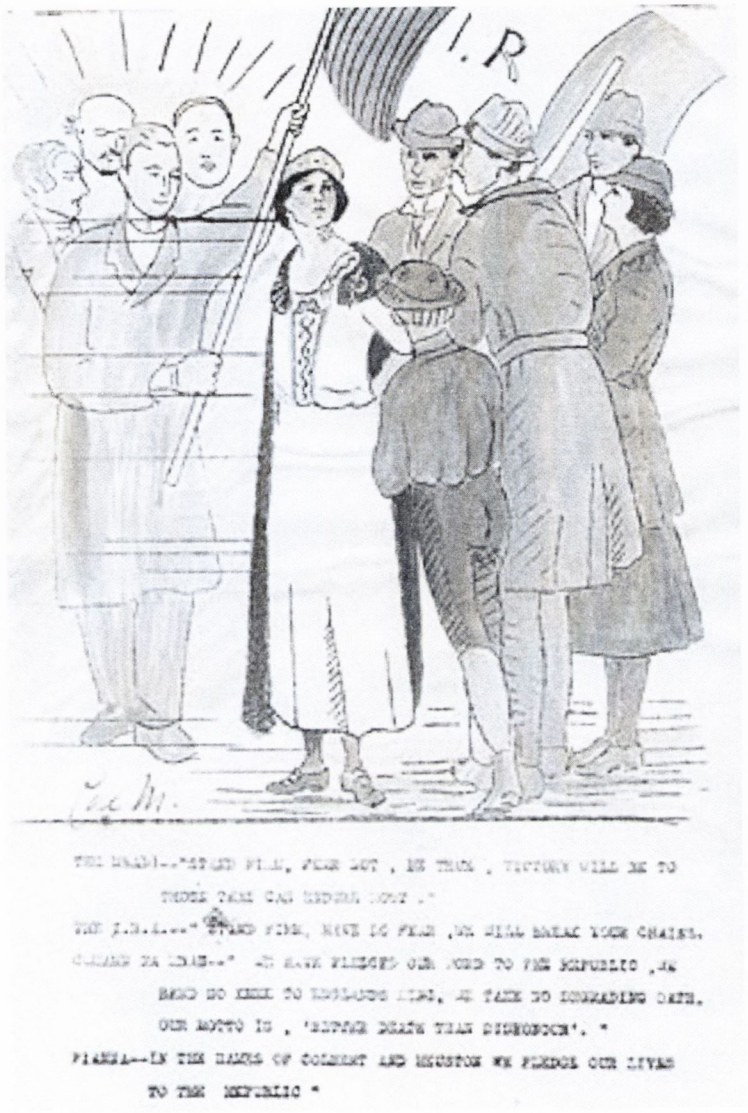

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10 Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress in Paris in 1899

Figure 14: "Constance and Casimir in bicycling dress in Paris in 1899."

Figure 16: Advertisement for Victor Bicycles.

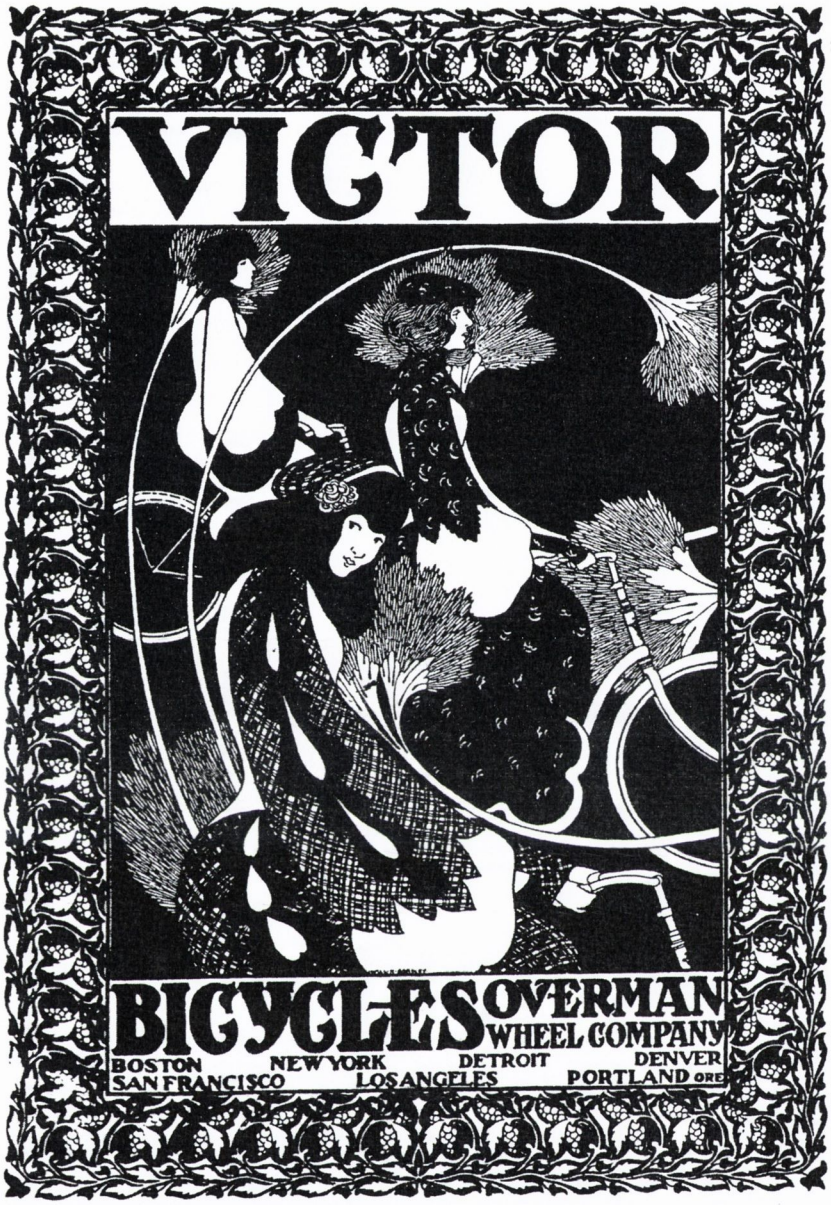

Figure 1. **This 1895 advertisement for Victor bicycles, drawn by Will Bradley, appeared in many magazines, including *The Century* and *Harper's Monthly.***

Figure 16: Advertisement in *Cosmopolitan*, "Terrestrial Flight."

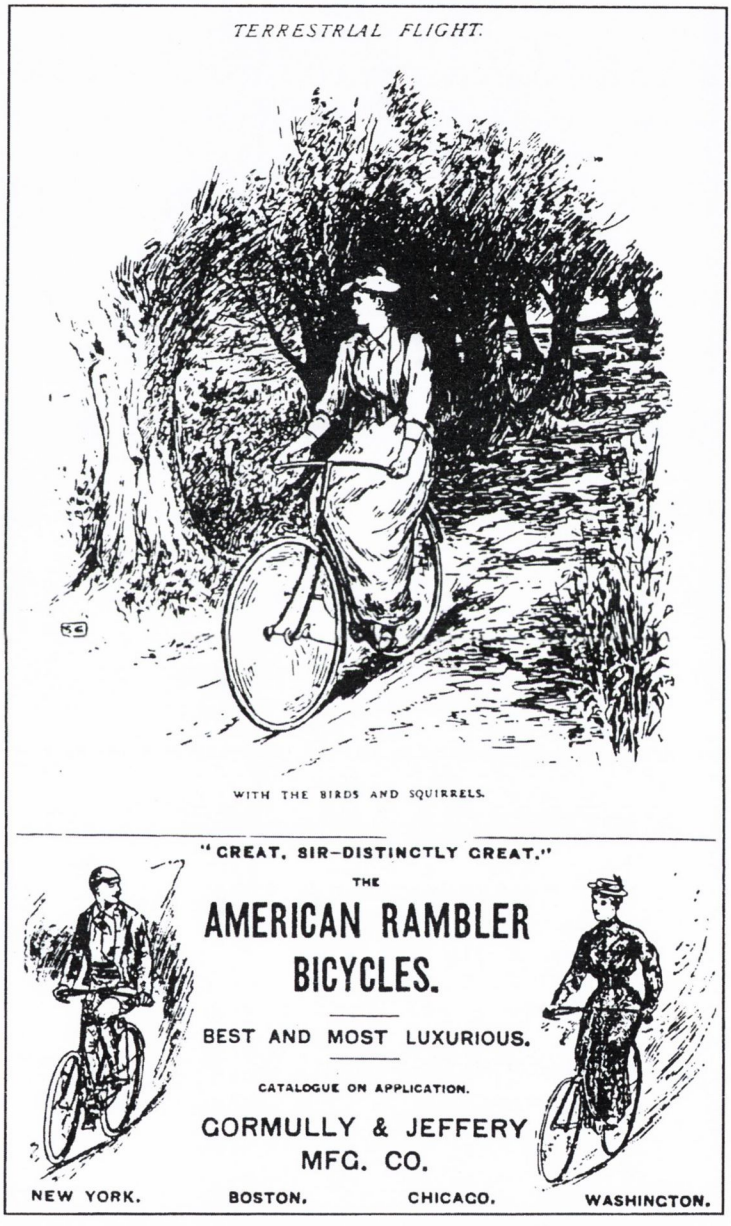

Figure 2. Drawings in advertising material often showed women riding in improbably long skirts. (*Cosmopolitan,* Nov. 1890; Sept. 1891.)



Figure 17: Constance Markievicz, "Darley's Woods, Rathfarnham."



Figure 18: “Constance Markievicz Among the Dublin Poor in 1922.”

Figure 19: Constance Gore-Booth, "The Good Shepherd."
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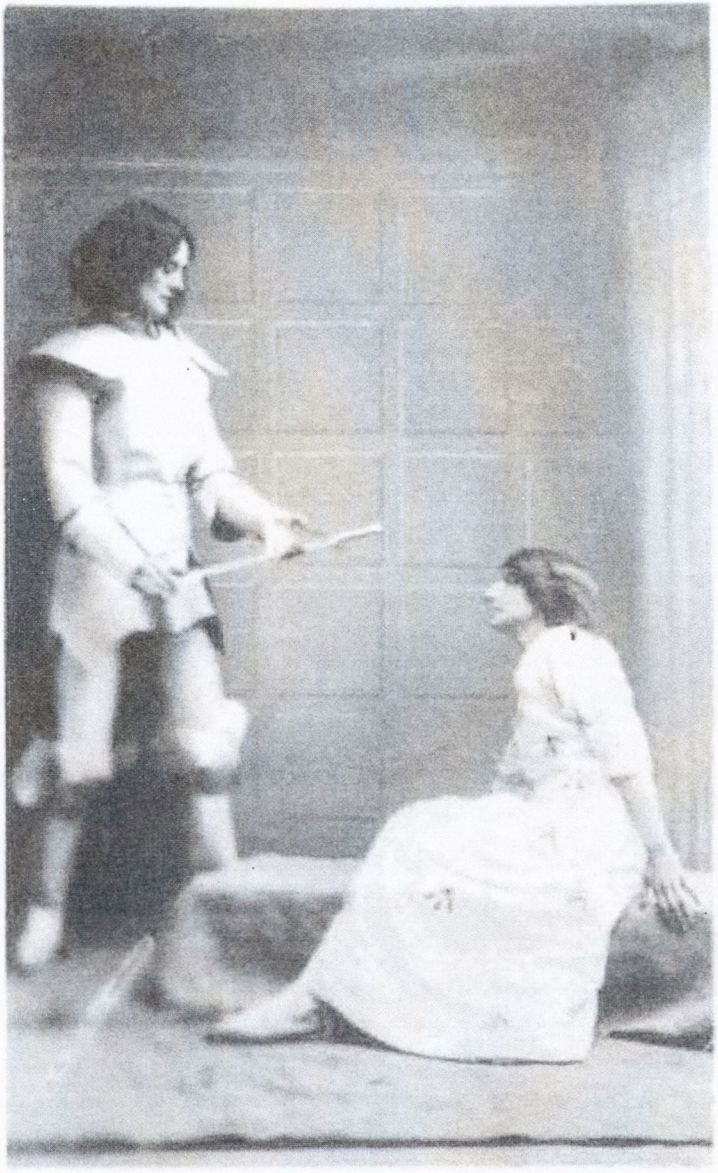

Constance de Markievicz playing Joan of Arc during a pageant of famous women.

Figure 20: "Constance Markievicz Appearing to a Suffragist."

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At an Irish Women's Franchise League benefit in 1914, Countess Markievicz as Joan of Arc (a signed photo)

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Figure 23: Constance Markievicz in Sligo with her Dog Poppet.



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