



Prison Notebooks

RADIO INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

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Interviews

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Locations: James Joyce Library, UCD, National Archives, Kilmainham Gaol Museum, Dublin
City University, An Táin Arts Centre

INTERVIEW WITH KATE MANNING AT UCD ARCHIVE, 27th April 2022

T02 - Kate and Sharon greet each other

D- What is the function of the archive?

K- UCD founded 1971

Set up by the then Modern Irish history Robert Dudley Edwards - concern was lack of archive provision in Ireland - safety - lack - archival heritage - training of archivists - diploma in archival studies was founded - tandem diploma and building of repository. Moved to James Joyce 1980's - our main collecting responsibilities/mandates- look after university archive- private paper collection to do with of foundation and development of modern Irish state- we have a core group of collections which cover the Irish revolutionary period -the transition into a democratic state and the functioning of the state- interaction of citizen and the state- Irish Franciscan archive and we curate their archive - they are our 3 main collecting responsibilities.

K- I am KM - principal archivist at UCD. We are a team of 3 - normally 4. We run a busy reading room - I am responsible for running the archive in its entirety - preservation and management - working with donors, authors, documentary makers.

D- what do you know about the gaol journals? 4.15-

DMA GJ forms part of the EDV papers at UCD. how they got into the DV papers we don't know - perhaps she gave them to him as her papers were destroyed - no evidence - they were friendly- support of Dev - we don't know how they got into his papers.

Nature of private collections- you can find all kinds of things in... not predictable -

Story of how his papers got here- is our relationship with the Franciscans - when he died he left his papers to the Franciscans

Journals are very interesting- not typical of what diaries normally contain- literary - self-consciously literary - she writes v. well- imaginative way - her account looking after Mary mac. S is almost mystical -

They tell us a lot about DMA - conditions of the gaol- relationships with other prisoners- in context of material created by women in prison- they are unique- wonderful things to have survived.

S- Have all the GJ survived?

K - We have 3 - I don't know the extent of what else she created/

S- Are their gaps, having read them in her story of her incarceration?

K- Because they are Self-consciously literary - It does make me wonder if she was Self-consciously thinking about what she was doing in a different way- she was not just recording events - she was Presenting events to us ... we know that her papers were destroyed in a fire - the fact that these survived they clearly weren't in the same location - maybe she put a value on them and had them located elsewhere -

Style of writing is clearly different to the style of other women of that time.

The literary style is unusual and unique in writing about the story of the gaol journals of the time.

How is it different to SH?

SH writing is very pragmatic - politics is very clear - strongly nationalist- straight about - accounts of what happened when.

These diaries are not concerned what happened when they are much more emotional - S- mystic?

K- Account of Mary Mac S - it is very emotional - moved by it - the mystical aspect -

S- her papers were destroyed - what else is there apart from her GJ>

K- Some correspondence with dev- scattered- piecemeal - photos - correspondence about her book the republic- much more prosaic - ordinary dealing with people concerned with the same political movement - some drafts about her writing.

S- here is the main archive of so much of her papers?

K- Yes, other material in other locations - small amounts in other people's collections - is scattered. There is not a set of DMA papers anywhere that would be a great boom to researchers

S- that must make it very tricky for researchers to try and piece together her life.

K- This is not unique to DMA _ Collections get spread about- papers don't survive for all sorts of reasons -

Great when you get significant sets of papers in the one place - hard - have to do a lot of hunting for material. My heart goes out to researchers sometimes-

D- have many researchers over the years accessed the journals or if they have ever been transcribed?

K- Macardle's diaries - because they form part of the dev papers - have been available since 2000. They have been use of fairly regular basis - people writing biography -revolutionary women - now a lot of research on EMOTION on Irish revolutionary period and I've pointed the diary out to people these are something you should read- they get a fairly constant level of use - They fit in with a large core of papers of Irish republican women-

Even though we didn't go looking for them - they came in under the dev papers- they fit in very well with the other collections we have here.

I am not aware other than your work Sharon - I am not aware of anybody transcribing them - I don't think anyone has done that work- and again it is Always a challenge in this period of reading people's handwriting -

Transcribing is always a useful thing to do.

We will go up to the strong rooms and I will show you where the diaries are held as part of the dev collection and we can look at the diaries in the strongroom.

-Banter with Declan, Kate, and Sharon- laughter-

S- So, Kate, why is it called the strong rooms?

K - They are called strong rooms because they are hard to get into - they are safe and secure. (laughter)

SFX footsteps down the corridor- keys-

K- ok,

S- thanks Kate - it really is like a bank

K- this is where we store Devs papers- it's one of many collections- but its a huge collection- there's more than 200 boxes of material in this room and other material in another room - Here I've taken out the box with the diaries – I'll just take them out for you now. So this is the file.

K- one of the principles of archive cataloguing- you maintain the original order of the material as it came to you- it's more of an art than a science when it comes to private papers as they are not always in any discernible order.

They not always in order- anything that remains part of a file- the context tells you something -diaries are part of a file-

Journals are mixed in between separate sheets of material - letters and

They are part of a file - we don't know if dev arranged the file of DMA _

We look at surrounding material -

S- so what did you learn from the context?

K- journals were important - he didn't disturb them - several 50-60 shelves of material and out of all the material he kept- he kept them -

It does tell us something -when someone is doing research like this - they look at the context- something to say - it is in dev's papers - we can extrapolate- interesting aspect of doing archival

Lovely, marbled cover notebook- vigil a journal of Mountjoy by DMA -

Very powerful - her facility for language- she is choosing to use the language *Vigil*- more than a ... very interesting decision to make within a gaol - she writes - her handwriting is lovely to look at -she wrote in ink- but not always easy to read - that can be a challenge to researcher of any kind-

Palaeography - handwriting of earlier eras' when you get to the 20th C there are no rules- skills by practice.

S- Kate it looks like chapters- episode -

K- vigil - prison moods - prison books- prison likings- prison hate- golden rule- the locals- slavery - I'm not sure what that it- tea-party- the commune- i think that's right actually - the something on ... the pear... I'll skip that - child's play - sentries - i do not know what that is.

S- the writing seems to jump out of the page-

K- it will come to me in the middle of the night –

S- she sees it as a series of episodes

It is

K- Desmond Ryan- literary response prison 1916 - not just a straightforward account and she is doing something sillar

S- is she editing her work as she goes along -

K- approach her diaries - approach skills of literary scholar as well as a historian

D- how do you feel seeing the diaries

S- they look so beautiful - 100 years old - this one look like a child's copy book from school - they are so beautiful kept and cared for -

K- not just diaries - letters - personal - how strong people's voices are - you hear people voice- from the rhythm of their writing- topic- strength of feeling- facility to express separated from people- prison conditions- current state of politics - causes of what they are fighting for = powerful aspect of looking after personal papers -

D- conditions diary has been kept

K- prison keeps good account of conditions - better and worse - access to writing materials- from other correspondence - parcels were delivered- access to doctors and priests- communication and confession - they had that access-s

Very nature of being in prison = not good -

Deprivation of liberty -negative consequence -

Everybody who writes of being in prison - DMA _ SH- Ernie o Malley - give vivid accounts but very much in their own voice -

S- to be so close from so long ago- it brings you very close to them- diary is the closest thing - Her confidante while she was in those 3 prisons - help onto these diaries - pour her prison dreams- they feel really charged- I feel really charged being around them -

K- I know what you mean - personal – Ernie o Malley - military O strategy - formal official documentation which tells you other info. But having this kind of personal extremely well written and cared for material is a privilege.

S- It takes you directly ...

I don't know how I'm going to do it. But I'm willing to give it a try

K- it's a worthy challenge

T04 SFX Atmospheric sound of Strong Room

T05 - 1.18m

So this is the inner sanctum- very few people get in this far-

S- I feel so privileged - thank you Kate

SFX - BIG DOOR SOUND - Kate walking

T06 - 13.35m

K- ok Sharon - so we are at the microfilm reader - obviously when dv papers came in we were still using microfilm - surrogate - you will be looking a DMA material on microfilm - i have loaded up the reel - target at the beginning reference code P160/518 - that how you navigate - fast forward - to go reverse - slow forward - fast reverse - this is the 1st page of the diary - she titles vigil - start here and work forward and when you finish rewind.

S- I'll give it a go.

K- yellow button -

S- looking straight off - it looks like the diary has been cut-

K- double page- 1 full page - in each microfilm shot -

K - ignore - partial image -

S- page numbers - some dates -

K- i will put the focus -

S- blessed spirit -

Oh gosh - I can't make out too much here

K- you will get the hang of it.

S- I thought I would be in and out in a day -

K-

S- Erskine Childers - all the journal are on the file - so how many pages

K- at least a couple of hundred.

S- you need an eagle eye to come in -

K- you will get used to it- takes a while to figure out the handwriting

- It does deteriorate -

S- she's writing in between the lines here- it gets tiny- are you going to stay here with me

K- not all day -

S- wow - as time goes by it really does deteriorate - she risked nothing but her own agony -

S - ok Kate thanks so much for setting it up for me – I think I might be here for the day I think

I have the hang of it -

K- best of luck

S- Oh so Kate there's photographs as well through the diary

K- yes, newspaper cuttings - MacSwiney hunger strike - Annie Mac S at the gates of

Interspersed throughout -

S- please hang a towel ...

K- makes you take a breath -

S- they bordered the page - make it look like a frame

She has kept keepsakes - it's like a scrapbook

K- keeping related material together that informs what she has written

S- letter

K -letter from Mary Mac S to Ms Humphreys -

Obituaries

Notes were coming in and out of the prison -

They were able to communicate with family and friends

Was she sending articles out for ...?

They would have been a certain amount of propaganda - correspondence would have been

checked by the gaol officials- a lot of the correspondence was looking for clothes- they did

ask for things to keep them going -

S- does she finish the diary - or does it peter out

K-

S- this writing is so tiny

K- nowhere near as neat as in the first diary

S- almost need a magnifying glass- - she would have put the numbers -

She hasn't dated everything – it's all-in order

K- yes - you can flip the image so you can read things sideways -

S- oh yes i see- it's on its highest magnification -

K- it is very difficult to read -

S- it's where that note comes in... ok

T07

Archive policy about photocopy service -

Abide by copyright - GDPR requirements don't apply to DMA GJ - user have to abide by
Straight forward print out from microfilm- work away on your own time.

D- access for photocopies -

S- K is it possible to make this file accessible

K- print outs from the microfilm

T08 SFX - microfilm

That's it.

Our work here is done.

Kate thank you so much - getting into that strong room - I've actually handled her *Atonement* script - national library - charred around the edges - fingers black - the crinkle of the papers - When you were putting her away in the box- rest in peace Dorothy in this chilly tomb- all the strong rooms are environmentally controlled so you maintain and preserve the life of the material - not so great for humans - it's very chilly.

INTERVIEW WITH LEANNE LANE AT DCU, 4th MAY 2022

L- 1.10-1.29

I am Leeann Lane, lecturer in school of History and Geography

My work focuses on women in the revolutionary period and the state that was established in its aftermath.

I'm a biographer written a biography on Rosamond Jacob, Dorothy Macardle and I'm now writing on Mary MacSwiney

S- Shed some light on where we can go to find out some info on D.

L- 1.58- 3.11

D is a very interesting woman. Unfortunately, from the perspective of a historian, her brother burnt her papers when she died so there is a lot of sleuthing to do in terms of accessing her voice.

I think we can certainly as historians create a timeline of what she did but what she felt about what she did is harder to access. So when I began my biography on DMA, that was a big problem for me, but I did discover by chance that a fragment / a segment (I think there was a larger whole) of her gaol journal which she kept from 8th November 1922- march 1923 remained in the Dev papers so somehow that managed to escape the burning. And that allows access to what she felt like about being a Republican - a very unusual Republican because of her background so it allowed access to her inner voice which as a biographer, I am

very interested in. I'm not really interested in what people did but how they felt about living in Ireland at a particular time.

Other ways of accessing D's voice is the journalism that she produced. First, she was an English teacher at Alex College (AC) before she was sacked because of her Republican activities and her imprisonment in Nov 1922. She reinvented herself in lots of way - turned her attention to journalism and writing history of revolutionary period producing in 1937 the history of the revolutionary period from Dev's perspective, clearly not an objective history but a piece of political propaganda - so she was a journalist and a political propagandist when she emerged out of the civil war gaols. And you can access her political opinions through her journalism and her propaganda through The Irish Republic. Other ways of accessing her voice is that she was a novelist and short story writer so while she was in MJ and later K Gaol during her Civil War internment, she published *Earthbound*, a collection of short stories. And in later life, she published 4 novels, 3 of them gothic and 1 realist novel *The Seed was Kind*. You can access D through those novels albeit understanding that they are works of fiction. In many of those novels she problematizes the ideal of the woman as wife and mother in the 1937 constitution. So it was almost, I suggest politics by other means.

She was able to take on Dev, who she was very friendly with in the context of how he inscribed a role within the home for women in the 1937 constitution. She was able to query that and problematise it throughout these novels without outrightly confronting him.

S- 5.10 Childhood?

L- Very privileged childhood, catholic upper middle class. Her father owned Macardle's brewery in Dundalk. they were sufficiently wealthy to allow her to go to Alex College. Her mother was much more focused on the empire. Her father was a Nationalist but a constitutional nationalist (CN) in that he supported the idea of a Home-Rule solution to the Irish National question. He supported John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary party from 1900.

Her mother was English, and it is suggested that she converted to Catholicism on marriage but it was clear there were tensions in marriage. Mother focused on the empire. The family home was near the barracks in Dundalk and as children D and her brothers and sister watched the men in the barracks parade. Her mother supported the empire. She had a dual background. Her father CN and her mother focused on the empire. But her father being a CN was not completely at variance with her mother's politics as Home Rule solution to the Irish Nationalist question would create a domestic parliament for Ireland but Ireland would be still within the British Empire.

Growing up, she had no real interest in politics. She was interested in learning. She went to AC. She was a good student. She went 3rd level. Quite unique for women of her time period. She became a Teacher of Literature. She was not in Ireland when the 1916 rising took place. Her focus was in Stratford-Upon-Avon where she was reading about Shakespeare and indulging her love of literature. And she comes back to Ireland in 1917 to take up a position at AC and from that period on when she becomes involved in theatre in Dublin and meets

Maud Gonne (MG), Constance M (CM) that she has her Republican conversion, as she puts it herself in her bureau of military history witness statement.

S- 7.45 - how did she become radicalised?

L- As I said she wasn't in Dublin in 1916. Her brother died in the 1st week at the battle of the Somme. Her family were oriented towards the British war effort. Her father was later knighted for supplying beer to the troops. It was a strange conversion, but there were other examples of individuals who converted through cultural nationalism. So, she immersed herself in the theatre movement, which was about putting ideals of Ireland on stage, countering the ideas of the stage Irishman which would have been part of the English touring theatre plays. She writes/stages plays, and she is in that milieu, and she meets Gonne and Mark and of course those 2 women are heavily involved in advanced Nationalist politics, Republican politics. And it's talking to those women, attending soirees in MG's house in St. Stephens Green that she mixes with a whole host of other people in their wider milieu. She does leave a short BMH-WS Suggest that suggests that trajectory from Cultural nationalism to Republicanism.

S- 9.30 What would life be like living with MG?

L- she had the upstairs /attic floor in MG house. It would have been very exciting. She would have had a very cloistered upbringing. All of a sudden, she is in Bohemian Dublin. It was v. bohemian. If you think of the wife of Patrick Colum, Mary Manning, in her autobiography, she talks about going to university in Dublin in the early years of the Abbey Theatre and escaping out of her dorm room to go to watch a play at the Abbey Theatre. Dublin was a very vibrant city, culturally. Of course, it's after 1916, a very politically active city in context of the people she was interacting with. MG was very bohemian - lots of soirees - lots of mixing in that type of circle, which suggests a class focus as well. people arriving to the house, leaving messages - a lot of political discussion.

S- WB Yeats would have been a frequent caller to the house.

L- 10.40

Yes, she would have met him - she put on Yeats play Alex college which was risqué (AC) AC was focused on the empire, and this was almost a type of small revolt by putting on a Yeats play. WB was associated with *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. He writes, 'did that play send out men to fight in 1916'? At that point in 1917/18, WB for AC was not kosher.

S- 11.30 Did she keep her politics quiet at AC?

L- Yes, she did keep her politics quiet - not discussing it in the classroom - she was increasingly engaged with Republican politics - they did recognise that outside her classroom duties she was mixing with certain individuals that they would not have considered appropriate - their world view, their political view was very different. And then when she was incarcerated in Nov. 1922, she loses her job.

S- 12pm At what point did she start writing propaganda material.

D- trace her early abbey writing in relation to pre-war independence so theory was all on the same side.

L- 13.00

She is not as heavily involved during the War of Independence as other women were. She writes Anne Kavanagh details a mixed marriage, which might reflect her own family's divided background. Involved in white cross work. Her real activism did not come until the treaty period. When the treaty split occurs, she starts working with Erskine Childers. She's writing propaganda. She sees herself as a propagandist first and foremost. It's from about 1920/21 when this becomes central to how she reimagines herself.

After the split, she goes on the run with EC, writing propaganda before she comes back to Dublin and then she is doing the field work for *Tragedies of Kerry*, which is a propagandist account of the Civil War in Kerry. When she's incarcerated, she begins to reflect on what a republican should be and how she can reimagine herself as a Republican. She is very conscious of the fact that she doesn't have Republican credentials, that she wasn't out in 1916. So many of the women she was incarcerated with - Nora Connolly B. O Mullane, Lily Brennan, that they had 1916 background. She really feels like by going to prison she can establish herself as a bonafide Republican.

S- 15.00

Lead up to her arrest?

L- It was a fluke that she was arrested. It is likely she was on a list. She presents it in a propaganda way.

She goes into the Sinn Féin office on Suffolk St. The purpose of being there is to find out about Muriel Mac S. daughter, Maire. Muriel is in America/ Mary MacS was arrested. And the whereabouts of the child is not clear. MG was supposed to find out but was ill and could not complete the task, so D takes over the task. She goes to the office on Suffolk st. at the very point of time that a raid occurs. So, she is rounded up in that raid. It is likely she was on a wanted list at this point. She presents herself in the propaganda that she writes in the context of her arrest that she was on a 'mission of mercy', looking for Maire óg Mac S. She presents herself on a humanitarian mission, but the reality is that she was on the wanted list.

S- 16.35 – 18.35

gaol journals - is it a very personal account of her prison experience? What is the content of them? What angle does she come in at?

L- Initially when I saw them I said 'what is this'? not clearly organised chronologically so they move back and forth between different time periods.

A lot of V. quick writing - the so-called journal entries are interspersed with poems, musings, almost propagandist pieces on what it means to be a Republican. There is an Early version of some of the short stories *Earthbound*. There is writing along the margins. It is in copy books- I think it is a fragment of a larger journal because there is no reason she would have finished it in mid-March 1923, when she continued to be imprisoned and write about imprisonment until early May 1923.

It's very important to me as a historian as it gives her Inner voice. All we could say if we didn't have these journals is Dorothy went to prison. But what we find from these journals is her almost talking to herself and teasing out some of issues she has around what it means to be a

Republican, her fear at losing her job, she had a v comfortable middle class life mapped out, she had a very good job, she talked about losing her job, losing so much more than just her job, she would not be able to travel any longer. Interesting in terms of class and the divisions within the female sites of incarceration. We need to be careful as historians when we talk about women in the revolution not to presume, they were a homogenous group. They were divided by class, divided by marital status, divided by where they lived in Ireland, the extent of their commitment to republican politics by where they stood on the treaty etc.

And what comes out very much in the journal is her distaste for many of the women she met - she divides them into 2 groups: those whom she really disliked, Bridie O' Mullane, who were he felt were engaged in violence for the sake of violence - trying to push the prison officers, using violence etc. which D felt would result in nothing but deprivations which would impact on her very heavily - loss of writing paper etc. She talked about feeling at odds by the extent of Catholicism in the gaol - it does appear that she has jettisoned the religion of her background. So, when she goes into the gaol 1922, she is in the midst of an outpouring of concern for Mary MacSwiney. Mary MacS had been incarcerated earlier on the 4th of November and immediately went on Hunger Strike, replicating the HS of her brother Terence who died In Brixton gaol in oct. 1920. There is a huge amount of fear around Mary Mac S health because it is clear that the government is not willing to release hunger strikers. There is the fear that they will allow her to die, and they are keeping vigil. The prison reverberates with this discourse of Mary Mac S HS and potential sacrifice, and she is very much at one with what Mary Mac S is doing but she tries to distance herself from the Catholicism of the experience.

D- 21.00 she was a propagandist - diaries - tone of the diaries - extent that they might be written for her or with a view to being discovered down the line and does that change in the diary.

L- There are different voices in the diary - she's teasing out herself having gone against her family. She overrepresented that. Her father petitioned Cosgrave to have her released and suggested he would manage her if she was released. Her father initiated the petition in Dundalk to release Mary mac S. He also sent in v big parcels - Maire Comerford wrote in later years how wonderful the parcels were - again class based- MC came from lower class and would not have had the same quality parcels like that sent to her.

There are sections where she is talking about her fear at her future etc. more personal sections what you'd imagine in a regular diary - but no diary is written without changing the events that you've experienced because the very act of writing down changes the events you've experienced - you focus on certain things and elide other things. There are sections in the diary that almost read like propaganda pieces, like articles in waiting, what it means to be a republican, what republicans must do to not engage in gratuitous violence. It's interesting, the diary is discussing at various points what it means to engage in a Civil War, what is the end for violence. Also, as the CW progresses, there is discussion on how the Republicans could end violence without compromising. Those entries are more propagandist than the ones where she is reflecting on her own position. And reflecting on deprivation - this is very

much a baptism of fire - going from a very privileged upbringing - Alex College albeit yes the bohemian life at Maud Gonne's - it's still very much middle class existence to absolute deprivation in these cold overcrowded cells where there is constant low grade violence and then as she writes in her really wonderful propaganda piece about the removal from Kilmainham to NDU, she talks about real violence and there is a suggestion of a certain type of undercurrent of sexual violence, certainly physical violence. But that's a propaganda piece because she fails to say that the women were also involved in violence during the CW - Bridie O'Mullane is part of that removal to the NDU and Bridie O'Mullane talks about how she socked it to the officials by managing to get her weapon out with her so Macardle in that removal to NDU piece presents the women as passive victims of what she believes is an emasculated masculinity on the Free State side that the Free State soldiers & officials have taken the wrong side in the treaty and have become emasculated as a result - they engage in gratuitous violence but that's propaganda as the women also engage in violence.

S- 24.40 - she talks about a hand... v. gothic how she describes. In terms of trauma - does her writing change through the diary?

L- It's not linear. She uses the copybooks in a way that we wouldn't consider linear. The more reflective pieces are more throughout the entire diary. E.g.: There is a big discussion whether she should HS or not HS, the fear of HS. She only knows about HS second hand from reading about Terence MacS HS in Brixton but that is a constant theme in her diary until she goes on HS for a week in March - will she go on sympathetic Hunger Strike or won't she? Her real concern- She feels she is lesser than the other women, she feels they are not exhibiting the same concern about HS and what it would entail. About the gothic nature of some of the descriptions in Kilmainham tortures, you see her literary abilities coming out. She also wrote while in gaol, and afterwards when she was immediately released, for *Eire*, which was a propaganda sheet, established and run by Cumann na Mban women.

She wrote for *Eire* while she was in prison, detailing some of the tortures in inverted commas that the women experienced - some of the deprivation, some of the low-grade violence, some of the real violence. The warden carried a gun on his holster and kept threatening the women that they would be shot. The women in the gaol - the ones who were quite literate - did send out certain propaganda pieces for *Eire*. Her focus when she was released in early May 1923 was to write for *Eire*. You do see her literary abilities coming out in some of those pieces. Some of them are signed by her, some are not but I think you can suggest some of them which are anonymous were written by her because of the actual descriptions. There is one really wonderful one which does deal with the removal to Kilmainham (she meant to say NDU) which does reflect the piece that she did sign - the Kilmainham tortures and she talks about it being like 'Dante's hell' so she has that literary background which allows her to write and allows her to establish herself as somebody who has that ability to write and it was something in later years that would result in Dev commissioning her, a man who was supposed to have no respect for women in politics, yet he commissioned a woman to write his account of the revolutionary period.

S- 28.30

Who did she get along with in prison?

L- Nora C. She got along with N.C. She would have seen Nora C as very different to B. O' Mullane. She would have seen NC as of her own ilk - that violence was not an end in itself. She met R. Jacob very briefly in MJ when RJ was incarcerated for a week in early 1923 and later they would go on to share living space together. She also met women, who we as historians know very little about- Florence O'Brien. Florence, Rosamund and Dorothy would have shared living space in the late 1920's into the 1930's.

She did see herself as superior to the women in terms of her intellect, her education. She felt (and this came out in the diary) that years of involvement in the republican cause had blunted the aesthetic abilities of the women she interacted with. So, a certain snobbery and class based discourse does come out in certain of the entries.

S- 29.55 How do the other women feel about her?

L- If someone is looking down on you, you're going to pick it up.

RJ talks about it in her diaries, a certain cohort who didn't like D, who saw her as elitist, who saw her as presenting herself as different to the other women. That being said, she maintained relationships with these women into the 20's and 30's.

Like any space you find yourself in, you're going to find yourself getting on with some people and not with other people- really interesting about the diary because instead of saying women did this in the CW, women did this in the revolutionary period - we can think about what divided women as well as what united women - it's important not to think of women as a homogenous group.

S- 31.00 - Lili o Brennan - devotion to religion _ did she get along with these women?

L - She got along with Lili O B and Sighle Humphries etc. B O'Mullane seemed to be her bête noire. When she arrived at MJ, there was a lot of overcrowding. The government was arresting a huge number of women - over 600 women were incarcerated during the Civil War, and this is a huge shift - very few women were incarcerated by the British during the War of Independence- you might ask why does the Free State start incarcerating women. They recognised that women had the ability to destabilise the state that was in the process of being established because they had worked alongside these women during the war of independence and we know now from the release of the military pensions collections files that women's' roles during the war of independence really diversified and women worked not just for Cuman na mBan but worked directly for the IRA - . Bridie O'Mullane is a case in point- during the civil war, she worked directly for the IRA - publicity dept. So, we know women's roles diversified - that they were central not just in maintaining safe houses - they worked directly for the IRA - involved in spying - arms and ammunition - ambushes. They might not have been using weapons, but they were there providing first aid as guns and bombs were raining down. So ...

D- 33.00

So, she arrives into prison and there is this overcrowding and the state is incarcerating all these women. The provisional government, later the free state, is incarcerating all these women as they recognise the ability to destabilise the state. There's so much overcrowding,

there's deportee's - there's women coming from England, from Cork, from rural gaols. B. O Mullane engages in a confrontation with the authorities - they throw furniture out of the cells; they refuse to recognise lock up time etc. D believes that this was counterproductive. The real person she disliked was B O'M. She almost suggests that Bo'M was almost preying on some of the younger girls - that she was using her influence as an older woman to encourage them to this violent behaviour which had no significant end in mind - it was just violence for the sake of violence where she did align herself with Nora C. Nora C had witnessed - not witnessed, the death of her father. It's suggested from D's diary that she is quite low at this point. They have conversations in a way that they don't have with BO'M. She has those conversations with Lili O B, Sighle H. The big problem is that we don't really have any corresponding diaries. Lili O B Gaol journal is very small, terse - one liners- one word. So, this is all from D's perspective. We do know from gathering together information from other sources e.g.; R Jacobs diary that she wasn't like Mary MacS in the gaol - someone that everyone adored.

D - Paudeen o Keefe.

L- Paudeen o'Keeffe was the man with the gun - they really disliked Paudeen o Keefe all the women- there was a lot of drinking amongst the prison officials - a lot of drunkenness - spark fear - the idea of the soldiers gaze on vulnerable women – so Paudeen o Keefe had the gun on his side 'ye'll be shat' (joke) He was disliked by them. They saw the officials as having sold out - those who had accepted the free state and Paudeen o Keefe had authority over them, who had the ability to stop parcels, which happened on various occasions, who had the ability to make things difficult for them. At one point, they went on a passive strike, and he had the power to let them continue on in that way. So, he was considered by them as a symbol of masculinity that was not noble as Republican masculinity was so there is much in D's work - a lot of discussion on the different types of masculinity - so Dev is noble, he is like the God Lú, he would never do anything to compromise the Republic. She loves Erskine Childers; he is her mentor. Interesting in the diary - her agonising depression when he is executed - she talks about how when he was arrested, he had a gun, but he didn't shoot the gun as there was the presence of women - women around him. And she presents this as a noble masculinity.

S- 37.30 Why did they keep moving the women on? Breaking up the groups.

L- 1923

They need Space. Kilmainham was not ready to go until 1923. Women who were considered less problematic were sent from MJ to K. So Skinnider was kept in Mountjoy. Skinnider the woman with the gun in 1916 - part of ICA stationed in Stephen's Green. Writes 'Doing my bit for Ireland'.

So Skinnider is not moved on- considered confrontational.

The North Dublin Union is another space / larger space which allows them to be all held together.

S- conditions in NDU?

L- From the propaganda she wrote. She is only v briefly there. We know about NDU from other women who are writing for Eire. Maire Comerford is on hunger strike in NDU- overcrowding and resistance amongst the women who arrive in NDU to take the spaces allocated to them so it's a type of resistance. The Civil war goals become sites of resistance to the state that is in the process of formation.

Albina Broderick - elderly woman - she writes about conditions.

As a historian - try to locate from other sources.

S- 40.00 relationship with family members.

L- they did keep in touch with her. To what extent was the diary written with an eye to somebody reading it in the future? She presented her family as more estranged from her than they were.

Her Father wanted her to sign the form - this form given to all prisoners stating they would be released if they promised not to destabilise the state that was in the process of being formed.

D refused to sign the form and resented her father for trying to suggest that he would.

Her father did agitate to have her released - he wrote to Cosgrave, using his influence as a powerful businessman - Interesting that he said he would manage her.

D is in her early 30's at this point - she was certainly no girl - but calls her a girl - very patriarchal.

She talks about how her mother was ashamed of the fact that she was in gaol and only posted letters to her under the cover of darkness.

She talks about how her brother Donald is coming closer to her politics - he refused to take a job in the service of Britain.

Part of her propaganda process to suggest that she is very estranged from family - that comes out in her Radio talks in 50's for RTE - there are 4 autobiographical talks where she goes through her family background, her incarceration etc. Those talks are aimed at how she had seen the light in the way that her family hadn't.

There was more of a 'modus vivendi' at work than she wanted to suggest.

S- What happens when she is released?

L-42.30 She begins to work for Eire. She's lost her job at Alex. What makes that more poignant - anguish there is a Raid at MG's house in 1922 - all her papers are burnt. She had finished a book on poetry and discarded her notes - the manuscripts, the notes were destroyed. She comes out to a very different vista.

She is able to re-establish herself because of her intellect, because of her education - she very quickly rises up in the mindset of those men who have power, people like Dev as somebody who has the intellect to write the type of propaganda that is needed.

The CW is very much a war yes, against 2 opposing sides militarily but it is also a propaganda war - it's not just a propaganda war within in Ireland but a propaganda war on the worldwide stage - concern to have America very much understanding both sides

D emerges as somebody who can put her pen to the service of the Republic.

While she saw prison as something that established her bonafide Republican credentials, once she emerges out the other end, she believes she can go back to her use as the pen as a weapon.

S- 44.20 Does that hold her back from her literary outputs.

L- No, she was a fully committed Republican. She was able to make a living doing this. Came from a Wealthy background - When her father died in 1925, she said to Dev 'I don't need any subvention to write the *Irish Republic*. She reinvents herself as a propagandist, as a propagandist historian. I think a lot her literature that she publishes - her 4 novels are a type of propaganda as well.

S- 45.00 unrepentant propagandist

L- She sees this as her ability to contribute to the Republican cause as someone who can use a pen as a weapon. That is not to say she did not believe in the politics she presented. To be a propagandist has a somewhat negative term as though you are just a pen for hire. She was not a pen for hire. She was a very principled woman and she genuinely believed in Dev politics. She followed him out of Sinn Fein in 1926 and into Fianna Fáil - she is director of publicly for a brief period - she always voted FF but she didn't ever take a political position again.

45.55 relationship with Mary MacS?

L- The break with Mary was much more stark - she genuinely had a relationship with Dev and she believed in the way he set about dismantling the treaty once he came to power with FF in the 1930's.

She wrote a piece praising the way he did *Without Fanfares*, published in 1945.

She did fall out with Dev over his treatment of women but the break she had with Mary MacS was much more absolute. Mary refuses to leave Sinn Fein. She is the Principle to Dev's Pragmatism in the discussion about whether to reenter parliamentary politics.

And they engage in dialogue within the papers.

Even before the *Irish Republic* is published in 1937, Dev has D write certain pieces in the Irish Press, which was a paper he founded as paper of FF, explaining his position, explaining the decision to enter parliamentary politics, dismantling the treaty from within - getting rid of senate, the position of the monarch in the context of the constitution itself - ultimately getting back the ports in 1938.

Mary retorts and there is often a dialogue in the paper - a series of bitter letters in national archives where it is clear they have fallen out and it is not going to be reconciled.

She suggests to Mary that she is living in the past, that life and politics has moved on and that Mary's position is no longer unsustainable - Mary who doesn't like any opposition, was responding that this was a betrayal of the second republic etc. the Republic that her brother died for in 1920.

S- Thank you

L- I could talk about him forever.

D- betty

L- 49.00 Presents Betty - I wasn't doing a personal biography. How RJ describes her, don't think she had a same sex relationship with Florence O' B. D was very upset with RJ having Frank Ryan stay the night so had D and FoB been having a sexual relationship, R would certainly have said it. She does present Betty in the Gaol Journal as her wife.
Sean McConville does talk about the fact that women in gaol replicate family set ups. I could not find enough about Betty .
Women were known officially by certain names, but they had other names which weren't even abbreviations of the official names.
List of Sinead Mc Coole's on back of ordinary women - Betty may be Margaret...
Thank you

INTERVIEW WITH ELIZABETH MC EVOY AT NATIONAL ARCHIVES, 4th MAY 2022

E-We are here in the seminar room of the National Archives in bishop street. A little bit about the NA- We are Ireland's institution of memory. We acquire and make available not only State, but also Private source records made available to the public for free.

Important thing to put across about national archives is that our records are the people's records. They are the Records of the people of Ireland, so they are your records – and We make them available for absolutely everybody to see so all you need is a reader's ticket to come and view them.

S- What is your ROLE?

I am the archivist with responsibility for Education and outreach here.

Responsible for Formulating and implementing an exciting program of events and activities for ed. and outreach for the public so they can engage with us and enhance the profile of the NA and promote our services to the public and what we can offer you.

S- how did the archive come by this file?

E- This particular file is from the Dept. of Taoiseach relating to her imprisonment and it runs 1922-23.

We acquired departmental records when they become 30 years old. And we acquired these files as a tranche/transfer of records to the NA from the dept. of Taoiseach.

File consists mainly of letters. It is Not the only file we have on her. We have 3 other files - another for dept of T. relating to corrections of DMA's Irish Republic - DMA magnum opus – it is certainly regarded as the authoritative version of the Irish Revolution, and she was commissioned by Dev to write it.

We have 2 other files from Dept. Foreign affairs or external affairs as it was then known, and files relate to DMA lecture trips to USA and to continental Europe and these date from 1930 & 50's - and so we have at least 4 files on DMA

S- And this Imprisonment File? Who is in correspondence?

E- There are a number of different parties

Correspondence written in an effort to have DMA released. She was arrested 9th Nov 1922... and imprisoned in Mountjoy on 13th Nov 1922.

So, there are letters exchanged between DMA parents on one side and military authorities and president Cosgrave.

The letters start in December and run until 30th April and then DMA is released in May 1923 on health grounds.

Because of whom DMA was and family where she came from - these letters are exchanged on quite a high level - not everyone is expecting to get a letter from the president Cosgrave. But because of who her father was and her family were- a very well-known brewing family in Dundalk- She came from a very middle class prosperous background.

And she is running counter to her background when she moves from cultural nationalist to militant republican.

Her family are horrified at the turn her life has taken. There is an element of trying to preserve the family name. They don't really want her daughter to be associated with women who are mad, like Maud Gonne Mac Bride, Constance M, or Rosamund Jacob, her cell mate in Mountjoy, so they are lobbying to get as many influential people as possible to secure DMA release.

S- Is she aware of this?

E- she is - there is one letter she writes to the militant general - portobello barracks- a haughty letter she demands to know on what grounds has she been held for 5 months.

She states she left the investigation of her case to her father,

She signs with her BA. A woman who is very sure /her own belief.

Demanding on what grounds she is kept in prison in appalling conditions.

Her parents and position in middle class Dundalk does not insulate her or give her special treatment in Mountjoy - the women in MJ were enduring pretty appalling conditions.

D- DMA own letter – haughty – by what assumed authority am I here? Difference between the tone of her letter and that of her parents?

E_ only letter on the file - it is the only time her voice is heard on the file. We know she committed her thoughts to the diary that has survived. Only time we hear the voice of the woman who is at the centre of the entire file - quite a long letter that she writes demanding to know the grounds that this Free State has imprisoned her. Because as far as she knows it is not a crime to write propaganda – demanding to know why she is being kept where she has been. All the other letters are about DMA - interesting that this is the Only time her voice is heard. A number of letters back and forth with various parties involved.

Delighted to see that letter from DMA as it is the only time we hear her voice.

Everybody else is speaking on her behalf which must have been profoundly frustrating for a woman who was quite independent - whose life choices in relation to her career put a huge strain on her relationships especially with her mother, Minnie.

S- Leeann Lane pointed us to the imprisonment file and references in the diary about her frustration - she calls her mother and Donald the enemy –

Is there any re; content of the letters – is she right to feel that frustrated? Can you share anything in the letters that should make her feel frustrated?

E- Yes, there's plenty - there is particular language and a tone through the letters particularly her parents.

She would be infuriated.

When she is arrested, she is 32 years old...

Had she seen them

In contrast to the quite uncompromising tone that DMA takes in the solitary letter on the file from herself - it contrasts sharply with the pleading tone her father writes to Pres. Cosgrave and signs off 'For god's sake do something'.

The Momentum is building from the time the letters are being written in Dec 1922- April 1923.

12.44 Bear in mind Dorothy is 33 when incarcerated and 34 upon release. She is not a child- or young woman - by the lights of the day she would have been regarded as a middle-aged spinster and a troublesome one (laughs) at that.

The tone is patronising and condescending. Her parents are very eager to minimise the harm or the danger that the authorities think that D poses. They try to draw out that harm and that damage by minimising what DMA has done. In the process they are undermining her agency - they are robbing her of her freedom of action, of her autonomy, of her independence to make her own decisions. But because she is in prison - she doesn't really have a choice. If she wants to get out, she is dependent on this letter writing campaign that her parents get up.

An example of the Infantilising tone that some of the letters take. Her father says that Dorothy edited 'a little paper' called *Freedom*. Even the use of the word 'little' - 'little paper' 'little woman' - 'little paper'.

In the same letter- he says he needs to make allowances for feminine exaggeration. I don't think you need to be a far b feminist to bristle at language like that even if it's in the 1920's. Most women would really Rebel against terminology like that.

Her mother wrote 'harmless articles in a paper'. She says my daughter has been foolish - she has been influenced and led astray by the woman released last week - that woman is Maud Gonne Macbride and I think her parents see MG and C.Mark as a very bad influence on D. She's 33/34 so not led astray too easily but her parents blame MG and CM for converting D from her cultural nationalist to a militant Republican but they do say she has a gentle nature and violence of any sort would be quite impossible to her.

So, they are drawing out the damage but also prevailing on people like JJ O'Neill editor from the Manchester Guardian - they say if you can use your influence with Cosgrave.

JJ says her family is actively sympathetic with the government which is something D wasn't. She is altogether a different type, an educated type. There is no comparison between her and the MacSwiney people. Minimising what D has done.

Mulcahy under no illusion of D propaganda activities. He does not allow her father to visit D at Xmas. He does not make special allowances for TC MacArdle who has a knighthood. He does not make special allowances for D. Cosgrave is keen to pass the buck - does not want to be involved in this - he says to Mulcahy 'I will leave the decision to you.'

It seems that Minnie and Thomas letters are not having much effect. Minnie writes a 3-page letter from her hotel London - she says - effect on health - I lost my son in wwi - D imprisonment has been trying. Echoed in T letters as well - terrible effect on mothers' health. Slight element of not emotional blackmail but - talks about effect on Minnie health - Element of appealing to men's better nature - as a mother who has lost a son already- can they do anything to ensure she does not lose her daughter as well?

S - 18m Upon what grounds

E- May 1923 - released on health grounds. Imprisoned for 5 months.

Suffered appalling conditions.

Imprisoned in MJ, K, and NDU - she rotates around 3 prisons in 6 months - disruptive.

Despite connections that her family have- she is released on health grounds.

She was scared and intimidated by the prospect of going on hunger strike. When Mary MacSwiney goes on hunger strike D is terrified that they will have to follow suit.

She does go on HS - it lasts one week - but an ordeal that has a huge effect on her for the rest of her life.

Mental and anguish of HS makes its way into her novels. Those conditions she did endure affect her for the rest of her life.

D- 19.40 Father signs off signing a letter from a mutual friend.

E- priest in Trinidad - its a PS - postscript- he's seeking to make that connection - we have the same friends. Father Flood of the Dominicans.

D- clutching at anything.

E- fact that they have friends in common - a priest - not so much an all-boys club collusion - but we both know this man -where Fr. Flood here - he would be intervening on D and my behalf - Secretly Poor Thomas is devastated that Fr. Flood is not there to help and strengthen their campaign to have D released as he is someone that Mulcahy also knows.

D- Is their genuine parental love?

E- Yes, it can't have been easy for a man with knighthood to go cap in hand to the authorities. He is a man who is heir to a considerable brewing empire in Dundalk.

V Influential - home ruler - he was of very moderate nationalist hue and here is his daughter flouting the conventions of her middle-class upbringing.

She rejects the Anglophilia that was inoculated in her by her mother when she works as a teacher at Stratford upon Avon and hears the contempt with which her colleagues & acquaintances regard Ireland - it is an influential period in her life where her attitude to that anti Irishness that some English people had at the time - it hardens and also may have hastened that conversion to republicanism.

She joined Cumann na mBan 1918/19 and 3 years later she is in prison for the cause.

There is a Parental love - her mother speaks about her gentle nature- how violence of any kind would be impossible to her.

'She has been influenced by the mad women who have been prominent in Irish affairs that she has been persuaded to behave as if she was in agreement with them.'

JJ says, 'she is not the sort of girl to be guilty of riot in any shape or form'.

They say 'she never was militant - never had anything to do with the M. No papers were found on her that would bring it to that conclusion.

What she says in own letter echoed with her fathers the grounds that she is held and quite shaky. They are pains to emphasise that she was gentle and that she was not militant. But the authorities would have a different opinion on that.

S- 23.50 Signing the form.

No, she will not sign it- she is too loyal to her friends. That's the phrase that is used.

(Sidebar)

S- 25.55

They know their daughter very well. Her mother writes 'it is useless asking my girl to sign anything - she is too loyal to her friends to do that' That's Minnie's letter

Her father says 'I would personally undertake, that as far as a father's influence could go, let her understand that I am under a moral obligation that she will not, under any circumstances, do anything that will militate against the interests of the Free State. Most probably she will go to her mother in London at once.'

And that is also drawn out by JJ o'Neill who says that if D release is effected, her father gives a guarantee that she will stop causing trouble and they will pack her off to London. So, out of sight out of mind. Again, this is a woman almost in her mid 30's. I'm not sure if D ever got to see any of these letters - but I think it's fair to say she would have Steam coming out of her ears - if she saw the terminology, the tone as though she was a child - it's quite infantilising.

D- 27.30 anything else?

E - I found myself smiling when I read the terminology and language her parents used in relation to a woman who was in her early 30's. They know their daughter. They know how probably stubborn, how obdurate how uncompromising she can be and why they are painting this picture of her being a gentle soul who eschewed violence - who would never seek to hurt or harm anybody because of course they know her real nature but they can't exactly say that their daughter is obdurate or stubborn because she'd never be let out of prison. So, they paint this idealised view of D as this gentle soul ...whereas we know that D was willing to go on H strike - other than being executed, I don't think there was too many other more extreme ways to prove your devotion to a cause than going on HS - not only for the physical implications & consequences but also for the mental ones.

And D herself was we learned from secondary sources that she was anguished and tormented at the loss of her job as a lecturer in English at Alexandra College where she herself had been educated.

She knows she's lost her job. The notes, lectures, work she compiled as a teacher - those notes had been destroyed in a house that she had been staying in. So, she really feels that she has no future- who will employ her? I can understand how it must have taken a terrible toll on her mental health.

We learn in prison that she found it challenging to make common (connections) with her fellow inmates. She regarded Mary Mac S. as being too violent and too aggressive and was fearful that those attitudes on Hunger Striking would be counterproductive.

She may have chastised the English for narrow minds but when she was in prison herself, she found that the minds of the women that she was in prison with were an awful lot more narrow.

She was a very sophisticated urban woman who had travelled. They would have embarked on Continental travel as a family because of their wealth. She was a woman of the world, a secular liberal internationalist and those qualities came to the fore in the 30's, 40's when she worked for the League of nations as journalist and not only Supports the importance of the L of N. but becomes V. anti-fascist. She is terrified of the threat that Nazism poses to Europe and goes to America and tries to convince the Americans to be more aware of the threat that Nazi Germany poses. For a woman who never married or had children, she embraced the cause of children who were displaced, who had suffered terribly during and in the immediate aftermath of the second world war - Jewish children who survived the concentration camps - children who were displaced after the war and had lost their parents, D took on their cause and wrote very movingly about what they had suffered, particularly the people of nowadays Czech Republic, Czechoslovakia. It was a cause very close to D's heart.

So, she wasn't just a stern, uncompromising Republican, she also was a very broad-minded internationalist who saw the bigger picture outside Ireland. She wasn't focused on this narrow xenophobic view of Ireland, and she disagreed very strongly with Dev in relation to Ireland's policy on neutrality. She resisted with every fibre of her being because she thought it was the wrong course of action to take. But she never really challenged Dev in public as they were good friends. She may have challenged him in private and also, she challenged him on the 1937 constitution and the role of women.

D- 32.30 - sense of difference to the women she was among-and how uncomfortable it would have been if they knew about the letter correspondence - her parents had access at high level - would this have been a common thing?

E- 33.30 - I don't know.

Maud Gonne, H. Sheehy Skeffington, C. Mark etc. They had fought with these men in 1916 and the war of independence so Dev would have known the core of steel that ran through them so would W.T Cosgrave and Mulcahy - they would have seen the speeches particularly the six female TD's that were elected to the second Dail 1921- all 6 were fanatically anti treaty and suffered for that in terms of their career prospects and their health in terms of their imprisonment.

I don't know of other lobbying and advocating on behalf of MG of Constance M.

MG is not even referred to by name in the letter by D's mother - 'the woman who was released last week'.

Her father does mention MG as he's grateful to her for bringing to his attention that D's health is precarious. That D according to MG doesn't look well, isn't in good form, that her health is precarious and that something needs to be done about it.

On the back of MG's 'in a sense' witness testimony (as he's not allowed to see her) he is dependent on hearsay or reports coming out from women who have just been released. So, he is very much beholden to MD et al. to let him know what's going on inside.

Nothing in D's solitary letter that indicates she knows the extent of the campaign her parents have got up to have her released. She does know that her father has been writing letters and we don't know from that letter Dorothy's own opinion or her fellow inmates

If we look at it through another prism – JJ O' Neil ed. Manchester Guardian who says, 'she is altogether a different type, an educated type'. So, he is automatically making a difference there - differentiating D and her background and her education from some of the women who might be regarded as Rabble rousers.

Dorothy is different because of her father - he has a knighthood, she was v well educated for the likes of the time, she knew her own mind, she was able to stand up for herself. The education she had enabled her to transcend the ethos of that era. That not for Dorothy, D was the role of the woman in the home - She would have felt she was not educated to the extent that she was - simply to have children and have a good marriage and presumably that is exactly what her parents wanted her to do.

36.42 Her mother writes (I did smile when reading) 'you don't know my daughter - she will not sign that letter - I know my girl'.

Despite their best attempt to paint D as this v gentle shrinking violet her mother knows there is no way in Hades D is going to sign that form of undertaking.

And it is her refusal to sign that form that Prolongs her imprisonment. General Mulcahy says that as long as she doesn't sign that form, she is not being released. They do

lead Thomas Macardle on a little - they say they are looking into the matter of her release.

Her father is not allowed to visit her in prison - he waits until the 29th Dec. to say that Christmas has passed. And then he informs her through to the dept. of defence - then he informs D's father that he is not allowed to visit her for Christmas but what's the point then, it's the 29th Dec - that window has passed.

He did not want to be seen to make exceptions for her and he probably thought this was going to teach her a lesson.

S- 38.30

How did the collection come together?

Registry number - 2741 Dept of Taoiseach File - all given the same registry number. Physically put together with all the letters related to D.

S- thread our emails...

File reference number - Code used to indicate -

Practise back them - letters with the same topic would be given the same reference number.

Incoming and outgoing letters given the same reference.

Variety of letter heads - president's office- Cosgrave, general headquarters, St. Margaret's Dundalk.

One of the longer letters that Thomas wrote to Richard Mulcahy - 'My wife's health is very precarious. I am tied up in Dundalk with a very troublesome business, the work of which has been much increased by the frontier barriers.'

And I'm thinking this is Brexit part 1. Because of course, it's just after the partition of the island - he is 'cheek by jowl' with the border & suddenly he is exporting to Britain, and he is talking here about the frontier barriers so they can only be Customs and Excise rules that have just been brought in within the last few months. So, nothing ever changes - he's talking about frontier barriers in 1922 and we're talking about frontier barriers in 2022. So, 100 years later Brexit has always been with us.

He says, 'I got a letter this morning from Madame Gonne MacBride stating that Dorothy's health is very precarious.' And that last letter on the file is from Thomas Macardle to WT Cosgrave - 'Madame Gonne MacBride, who says she doesn't like Dorothy's health. For God's sake do something, with much respect'. So, I think there is a desperation there, 'For God's sake do something'. I don't think any man who has children, or a daughter would fail to be unmoved by the plea from another father saying 'For God's sake do something' and that was the 30th April and she was released in May.

E- Thank you for the invitation to speak with you today.

ARCHIVES - 002 (29 SECS) - Atmosphere of Room

ARCHIVES - 003 (2min) -

I enclose a letter from my younger daughter Mona, Mona, who is in London, is giving out about the fact that her mother is in a nursing home, her brother Donald is laid up with influenza. Mona has exams and is afraid of missing her examination on account of attending to these two invalids. So Mona is pretty fed up with the situation as well and reckons it's time Dorothy pulled her weight. She has exams and she's looking after her mother and her brother.

Side bar- using the verb 'Intercede'

Because of D's father and the influence, he had as the heir to a very profitable and successful business (Macardle's brewery in Dundalk) he would have been in a position to call on influential people to intercede for him on D's behalf and the greatest example of that from the file is his recruiting of JJ O Neil, editor of the Manchester Guardian in London. He calls on him. There is no survival of a letter between Thomas Macardle and JJ O' Neil on the file but he obviously prevailed upon him to intercede with WT Cosgrave on D's behalf and not everybody would have had such influential friends to call on.

ARCHIVES - 004 (2.40min)

Elizabeth talks about the notes.

Thomas wrote on 21st Dec to ask if he could see his daughter.

Cosgrave doesn't waste any time and passes the letter to Mulcahy on the same day but it's the 29th of December, 8 days later that Mulcahy says to Cosgrave 'visits are not allowed' - the question of Miss Macardle's release will however be considered. Not so much an element of cruelty but needless keeping Thomas on a string - not knowing whether he could see his daughter for Christmas. Obviously, they would have taken Xmas holidays, Nobody's saying they shouldn't take holidays but chances are he could have been informed before the 29th Dec that he would not be allowed to see his daughter...

and even though it doesn't come out in the file that D feels that distance between herself and her fellow prisoners, her education is the one thing that is seized on by JJ O Neil 'she's not like the others, she's an educated type, she's not like the rabble rousers of MG and CM who were incredibly influential women - they too had similar backgrounds to D in terms of their education, their sophistication, they had travelled, knew foreign languages. So, they weren't women for whom the world had been unkind. They had more opportunities for development, education, and travel than a lot of other women at the time. They would have been quite different and unique in that regard, that they had those opportunities that the vast majority of women at that time simply did not have.

S- Thank you

E- Thank you

INTERVIEW WITH BRIAN CROWLEY AT KILMAINHAM GAOL MUSEUM, APRIL 25th 2022

Abbreviations:

DMA = Dorothy Macardle

KG= Kilmainham Gaol

GP= Grace Plunkett

MmacS= Mary Mac Swiney

S- Sharon

P- Patricia Baker

T01 - 27.21mins

SFX- Brian's footsteps

S- Hi Brian

B- Hiya, so whenever you're ready

S- I think we're ready

B- ok then that's grand

S- You looked busy

Sharon and Brian Greet - He has a map in his hand of the prison cells

B- I'm really bad at finding these things and orientating myself... I have the map

P- would you mind describing what you have in your hand?

East Wing - nicknames carved over cells (45s- 2.52s)

B- It's a map of the east wing and it identifies the no's of the cells during the Civil War and it also includes eh...the title over some of the cells. Some of the prisoners might have given sometimes very jokey titles to their cells so it can be again a useful way of orientating

yourself because when you look at things like autograph books then they'll reference which cell they are in on occasion. So sometimes you can be lucky, and you can find exactly what cell they were in, depending on what part of the building they were in. So, it's easier for the East wing. The west wing, the older part of the gaol - a lot more difficult - it's a much more confusing space as well - it's made up of layers of different building projects whereas the east wing is very much more of a whole and of a piece.

P- You said about the nicknames, how is that recorded? How do you know?

B- They're just carved over the doors - so we have a Blessington saloon upstairs and a lot around the ground floor a lot of names from NW of Ireland Derry /Donegal reflecting the fact there were prisoners here in 1922. In the early months of the Gaol being used...Inch fort and scoig fort which was an area of fighting in the civil war. A few references to Derry and walls of derry - I think it's people making reference of where they were from - interesting how it becomes part of folklore in the cells. And the Women prisoners who come afterwards sometimes they makes reference to the fact that they are in a cell that is called a particular name...

S- I know that Dorothy makes reference in her diary... she went on a tour with Betty and they went running around looking at all the funny names carved over the wall/doors...

Moving to a Sunny Cell - Green Flash and Hut 24 (3m- 6m.15s)

B- She references as well - when she came in initially - she seems to be in a ground floor cell, but she is very very anxious to get an airier/brighter cell

S- she is very Sensitive to the light - I think ... her diary...

B- She writes... in the diary that they are very excited the day the Matron announces that the upper floor is going to be open...and again these names come in very useful because they reference the names of the 2 cells - so One is called the Green Flash and the other is called Hut 24 so those are those cells just up at the very top near...she references as well the curve of the horseshoe - so we know exactly what 2 cells herself and Betty were in - we don't know who was in which - (Sharon laugh) but that is a lot better than you often do for some of the prisoners and her descriptions of those cells tie in with the cells we would identify as Green flash and hut 24

Interestingly she talks about the light and she is very pleased because she is on the South facing part of the wing so that is side of the wing that gets the most light and is the brightest. The north facing cells never gets very sunny.

She is very excited by that, and it does her spirit good.

But Interestingly the one that's called the Green Flash - I don't know exactly where the name comes from but apparently there is a phenomena of the sun - it happens just at sunset and at sunrise - very rarely, you get this - just as the sun is setting or rising- the very last piece that goes green - the big green flash - and in the 1880's there's a book by Jules Verne called the Green Flash and it was imbued with mystical properties that the person- if you saw that you were able to ..you had truth seeing powers as a result of seeing it. So, I could see how that might appeal to her. I don't know if she was aware of the book or...if that's why the cell was called that but It's the most rational explanation. And also, it might explain the fact that because it is on that side...maybe ...because. You got a better view of the sun maybe in the morning time because it's also at the southeast corner there so maybe just one morning somebody managed to see the green flash or something, i don't know.

The Hut 24 could be a reference to a previous prison camp. Prison camps as opposed to gaols - they tend to be in dormitories - temporary buildings

Eg; *Ballykinlar* they refer these army huts as hut 1,2,3, so maybe...

I think the *Green flash* would appeal to Dorothy's literary and affinity with the supernatural as well.

S- absolutely.

Records- Autograph books-memorialising- conscious of historic moment & continuum.

(6.15s - 9.10s)

P- who lived there - graffiti /markings of the person - was there official records?

B- No - you'll have prisoner lists but where the prisoners' are put - there's no official list of where the prisoners have to be...it's kind of left up to themselves a little bit -what cells they occupy there's a lot of self-government among the prisoners so the prisoners elect an officer commanding among themselves and that person would deal with the prison authorities and I imagine would have some control over what cells people would have ended up in.

The Records from the period aren't great so sometimes you will get records of prisoners being transferred - but there are some prisoners men and women during the civil war that the only records that they were here is the fact that they have signed an autograph book - like I have said it was quite a chaotic time - people are being arrested and released all the time - the records can be scanty at best - and that why the autograph books we have in the collection can be really significant. Also they tend to fill out the autograph books before they are moved often so when they get news that they are to be moved to a different prison - sometimes there is a flurry of autograph books signing - i suppose they are trying to keep a record of their time in prison - but also it can be a way of people leaving their addresses - you will get others who record their prison history - so they will say 'i was in MJ from x - y and then K and then NDU' - using it as a way of memorialising themselves - because they are very conscious

of being in a historic moment and because they are in prison, they have the Time and space to record that...we often when we are in an historic moment sometimes it's very hard to find the time to reflect upon it. But these people do know it's a very significant period in Irish history also kind of like following in footprints of people of the past and particularly in Kilmainham when they arrive here, people like Dorothy, they know Parnell was here that emmet was here that the 1916 leaders were executed here so they are very much aware of historic nature of the building by extension then their own part in that history - that they are part of that continuum.

(S- deep breath)

Description of conditions in Kilmainham gaol - cell tomblike- chill - heating- gas jets - making tea - denied liberties (9.10-13.10s)

S - we are in the east wing- she was in a lower cell - could you bring us there - or to a cell that might be typical

B- I think she was on the ground floor and she describes it as being Tomb like cell and like a sepulchre - the other thing is they all tend to be the same - a big part of the prison -

(SFX Footsteps to typical cell)

This is a very typical prison cell - and again a lot darker on this side.. Blocking light a little more than in the 1920's dark ... she found it very oppressive initially and that is what they are designed to do ...

When she was here, the gaol had been used during the obviously after the 1916 rising - briefly- but it had been closed as a criminal gaol from 1910 - they use it a little during ww1 for soldiers - they use it after the rising - they use it again during the war of independence - and again its' abandoned so there are descriptions where they have to prepare this building again

to be used - its a semi abandoned - so it has all that mustiness and she's
Coming from mountjoy where they are in that hospital building which i think was a
functioning building - conditions were more congenial if a little crowded on occasion but it
was a working building.

She's very scathing about conditions here when she arrives.

S- she does talk about the chill and not finding anywhere warm in the prison at all - can not
find rays of sunlight to warm her self.

B- complex Heating system in the prison at the time but I don't know how well that was
functioning at the time - she was coming her Feb/March which was a very Cold period - so
without proper heating this is a very cold building - it probably took them a while to get it up
and running for prisoners - she mentions that they are relying on this gas jet - 19th century
lighting system which does seem to be working- time went on they started to adapt gas jets
to boil water -also use them to fry rashers and eggs - relatives were sending in food parcels
and other supplies - i think for the prisoners as well there was something important about
the fact that if they wanted a cup of tea they could have a cup of tea - that's one thing in
prison that you don't have control over when you eat which is one of those very basic things
we don't consider until it's denied us.

When she arrives initially, i think she is really unimpressed but i think the building grows on
her over time - the better cell helps.

Illustrious people...(13.10-13.35)

S- she mentions she wanted to serve some time because of the prominence of the place and
illustrious names of the people who were here before her.

Sleeping with Betty & Domesticating the Space - subversive act - hermit cell (13.35- 15.55)

S- So she would have stayed in a cell similar to here and she stayed with a woman called
Betty - Slept in the same bed as Betty for warmth - did many of the female prisoners do that?

B- I presume so - if there were 2 of them and they were cold - when they do Share a cell-
they develop this semi- quasi domestic partnership - one person will do one set of chores-
they also over time the women prisoners start to domesticate the space- so some of them
start to make curtains out of prison blankets and upstairs in the west wing where some of the
graffiti from that period and much of it by the women survives, you can see the outline -
they've drawn picture frames - cutting our magazines -and inserted them on these drawn on
picture frames. What's interesting about this home making that they are doing- in some
ways it's very conventional- it is what is expected of women - that they will make a domestic
space but within a prison and prison architecture which aims to remove all personality its
actually deeply i think a subversive act - to make your cell pretty and homely is complete
opposite to what the people who built this gaol of the 19th century intended it to be - they
intended it to feel tomb like - to be reminiscent of a hermits cell- and the word cell is a very
deliberate in that it is a blank space- prisoners thinking about their misdeeds in the past - so
when the women are doing this it is really significant act of subversion alongwith the more
pauvy stuff - in some of the graffiti they write - it is very clear that they are trying to get at
the prison authorities - so there will be more overt stuff.

Description of cell (16.00-17.16)

P- can you describe cell - idea of making it a home -

B- it's a little complicated about what would have been in the cell -
(Description of the cell)

- 2 beds - corner unit - shelves - prison closed - 2 beds - table - stool -

Illustration - dorothy mentions at one point a little stool that she has that she can stand on

and look out the window

Writing paper, possessions, home & raid at Maud Gonne's & destruction of her possessions/manuscript - Dorothy's guilt among women who lost loved ones (16.16 - 19.16)

P- she wrote the whole way through this - was she given paper? how was she practically day to day managing this?

B- Prisoners allowed to receive parcels - soap, thread for embroidery. She put a premium on paper. She was frustrated at one point as someone sent her in some really fancy soap and she said I want paper - I don't want soap. So she puts a premium on paper- there is a period when she is short on paper- at a second point she seems to have plenty- also books are being sent into her and her books are something that are very important to her - the whole issue of possessions is significant in terms of her imprisonment because when her house while she is in prison - her room that rented from Maud Gonne - she lived in Maud Gonne's house in St. Stephens green and effectively her house is raided and possessions are destroyed - she's kind of devastated by this that - her own little space the place that she has carved out for herself has been devastated and she's also a bit guilty about this because she is among all these other women who have lost loved ones and their whole homes have been burnt down and men are being executed- she feels bad feeling as bad as she does at the loss of her home and also she loses- manuscript she has been working on for many years- so the whole idea of home and creating a space for herself - there's lots of layers to her time in terms of her time in prison.

No gender mixed prisons (19.16- 20.20)

P- was this mixed.

B- no never mixed gender-

Not mixed prison

Mountjoy mixed - separate blocks-they were in the hospital block - hear/ aware of executions of Rory O' Connor nov (dec) 22'. Other women can briefly see their partners - kept very separate.

Kilmainham - civil war it's a male prison then a female prison then a male prison again but always very distinct so they have to move the male prisoners out before the female prisoners move in and vice versa...

Gas light - frying rashers and eggs - roles in prison - rub along (20.20-22.10)

P- gas light - make their own tea?

B- Gas Light - Rectangular hole - pipe - wrenched from wall- billy can tied to it - women describe frying rashers - eggs - what a treat that was. Food was quite poor.

S- Her father sent in parcels - Betty kept kitchen - Dorothy kept the study. So Betty would be in there frying the rashers as Dorothy penning gothic tales (jokes- B and S laugh)

B- Same for the Men - one male prisoner Darning the socks - in some cases the men have to learn how to look after themselves because in the outside world in the 1920's men didn't do that kind of thing - all farmed out to mothers and sisters- interesting how they rub along together in this way.

P- sense that they had a life here that they weren't just being held...They were living here- domestic cooking- writing- something I don't imagine?

Liberation in prison - Dorothy's new literary departure (22.35 - 24.20)

B- there's also surprisingly a weird sense of liberation for some of the women - they are liberated from the very confined and defined roles that were available for women at that time -they are here in prison - even though incarcerated they are controllers of own destiny - its matriarchal power structures in terms of prison community so their officer commander is

another women - Dorothy talks about sense of liberation because suddenly she can do what she likes in terms of writing as a lot of her writing up until then its scholarly stuff part of her role as a teacher or/ political writing - pomes. It is here... interesting that it is here she explores for the first time ...the idea of prose fiction... becomes the genre she is defined by after her time in prison - it is here... in gaol she has time to write what she likes- she talks about how liberated she is from her former life and she can write what she likes ... it is significant that she does publish earthbound stories - its a new departure for her. Grace Plunkett cartoon re: adjusting to life post release- disappointment with state- provision for women re: independent lives (24.22- 25.50)

Grace Plunkett did a funny cartoon of the 2 power sisters - solid well to do background - picture of life going to be like when released from prison - drawing room - edwardian mother - girls are breaking up the nice furniture for the fire - tearing up the lace tablecloth to make bandages - how are they going to adjust to life and slot back into the confines - alot don't - alot don't marry - alot pursue independent lives after released prison maybe they can't imagine going back to that very very confined live - a life that gets more limited as the decades go on - something of that DMA and alot of other women are disappointed with in new state - provisions of women to lead independent lives.

Earthbound dedications - Nora Connolly o'brien (25.55 - 26.40)

S- Earthbound - dedicated stories to women prisoners.

Nora Connolly -

B- Yes, she identifies the women by initial - difficult to work out who she is talking about. This is a story inspired by Erskine Childers - Charismatic - politic writer figure and his wife got second sight of his ultimate demise.

Humphrey Family (26.40- 27.15)

S- do you think we could have a look at where some of these women were incarcerated.

Heavenly host - Humphre family

B- West Wing - humphrey cell... nora c. i'm not sure where she was..

Mary MacSwiney Cell (27.15-27.20)

S- Mary Macswiney was her - she might have had a special suite

B- she signed the wall of her cell

T02. 44.39

SFX footsteps & Jangle of keys

B- 'Ah the jangle of the keys' (joke)

SFX opening of door - clank - keys set down

S- It's so chilling that sound (laughter) Think twice before stepping into cell in case it closes behind you (joke)

It's cold in here.

B- Used to be our canteen - bizarrely given that it was Mary MacS when she was on hunger strike

This is the cell were Mary mac. was kept. We know this for several reasons...

Alot of focus on her because she was on Hunger Strike. She was so weak she was kept on ground floor easier to look after her.

It is much bigger than normal cell - 19th century It used to be a Debtors cell - better conditions - used as a Guard cell - own fireplace - double size of normal cell- proper window.

Mary MacSwiney's Signature

The other reason we know she was here is just here is preserved her signature - Maire ni

Suibhna -remarkable survival - when they restored gaol in 60's, most of the plaster in the cells didn't survive - we have very little graffiti from civil war period in this part of the gaol- stuff that did survive is stuff that was physically carved into the fabric of the building. She seems to have written this with a Lead pencil and what ever happened with the paint it reacted and so you can see it's kind of almost bubbled

S- it's like relief work- it's standing out of the walls -

B- its v interesting and fitting as there is something Indomitable about Mary Mac S and the idea that despite everything else being lost and despite it being painted over- the names keep coming through.

S- it's quite ghostly - she's the Centrifugal force of all the women in the gaol - she takes such focus - Dorothy diary filled with mention of her- nightly Vigils that Dorothy takes part in.

B- in the diary - some of it is before her arrest- is her being concerned about Mary doing- and very shortly she's in prison and she's no longer wondering about how she is doing - the hunger strike around her is of real focus and all the vigils which D takes part in...

Dorothy religion - Vigil - Ghost of Terence MacSwiney – Earthbound samhain & agnostic & supernatural (3.40- 6)

Her own attitude towards these vigils - even though she was raised catholic she is agnostic at best - strong sense of when she is on these vigils she is with Women with deep faith – Lily O Brennan and Teresa o Connoll - she is envious of their deep faith - something she does not share herself- she is Circumspect around talking about to the other women as they might have been a little shocked.

S- Dorothy nightly vigil with Tess (girl from Kerry) - sense that Terence MacSwiney was moving past. The ghost of Mary mac S brother.

B- brotherly presence. Re: short stories she wrote in K and M. They had supernatural elements. The one dedicated to

Teresa o Connoll set in Kerry where she was from - clues in story of who gets which story - Samhain set at Halloween - ghosts of the dead coming alive - priest in sick bed - even though she is agnostic - she has strong belief in supernatural - complex religious outlook on the world or lack of.

Moving to upper gallery (6m)

S- you mentioned when the matron that DMA moved up to a sunny side of Kilmainham- Can we get out of the cold cell? It's freezing, my fingers are getting numb! (laughing)

B- (laughing) We will go up to the Elevated heights upstairs.

Upper gallery (7.10-8)

S- it does feel quite heavenly up here, doesn't it?

B- yes, you're definitely Up high

S- Light coming through the glass

S- it's Very different to downstairs

B- -Compared to other prison - Architecture elevated - especially this time in the - Evening time beautiful light as sun moves around to the west - i think the most pleasant time in the building is just around evening time. But you can also see why DMA was so excited about getting up here.

S- And its' warm.

B- And it's definitely warmer.

Green flash and hut 24 (8-9)

So, she describes *Green Flash* and *Hut 24* as the 2 cells that Dorothy and Betty were given.

So, this is Hut 24. And that's the green Flash.

When we go in, we can see Some features she described ...it's built in a horseshoe shape -we are near the top curved bit of horseshoe. Irregular Back of cell is wider.... triangular. She Finds that pleasing - its less uniform - individuality to the cell which is not what a prison cell should be.

View from Prison Window jack b Yeats 'communicating with prisoners) (9 - 11)

S- she talks about a view she can see from the window - Do you mind if I climb up?

She can see the Wicklow mountains from here ... oh look ... oh my goodness.

B- Beautiful view

S- you can see the whole range - You can hear the birds

B- when she was here there was Little development beyond - edge of city because it was the county gaol to Dublin - closest to the city while still in the county- over the years city has engulfed it- still in 1920's it would have had a rural quality- there would be farms within walking distance ...

S- She talks about suburban streets - women taking their babies out in prams - she would have seen all of that from here.

B- billboards- Jack Yeats painting of the gaol 'communicating with prisoners' billboards for circus -based around phenomenon where relative would call up to prisoners in the gaol - sometimes they would break glass and call out to them...

Surprise at finding cell - clues- surreal cell/German expressionist b&w film (11-12.08)

S- 'I can't believe I am actually here - so many clues in the diary - so many coded...silvery light - to actually find it and locate the actual cell'

B- yes, everything fits - in terms of her description - its slightly surreal shape

S- it looks like an Optical illusion

B- Yes

S - looks like you are in a theatre set -

B- it's very theatrical- one of those 1920's German expression film - messing with perspective

Prison - anonymous (12- 13.10)

Because Prisons designed to be anonymous and monotonous in terms of the environment that prisoners are kept so any little change in that is something that would be welcomed by the prisoner - you feel your cell is somewhere particular - the Similarity of cells on ground floor where she was originally would be done very deliberately so prisoners don't have any sense of themselves being special or unusual. When it was a criminal prison - prisoners wouldn't have had their own names instead numbers. In Civil war, Political prisoners poured into older system - they rebel against - not useful for prison authorities at the time.

Best cell - white washed - daffodils (13.10- 14.10)

If one had to be in Kilmainham gaol. It would probably be the cell to be in.

S- yes and She calls this the suite

S- I just can't believe it - even just to touch the walls...

B- Walls originally plastered i suspect and quite white and gleaming- the light would have been even brighter ...quite dusty now ..

S- she talks about the whitewashed walls and how she would love to see a Bunch of daffodils on the shelf to brighten up the cell - she really made it her home from the descriptions in her...

Solitude & retreat vs Militant women - Attitudes around protest & privileges 14.10- 15.48)

B- Enjoys the solitude and retreat - contrast in terms of her Attitude and other women who are more militant - aim is to be constantly challenging the authorities

Her protest is our very being - the fact that we are here - that is our protest.

She doesn't agree with these unnecessary clashes with prison authorities - then there is a reaction and loss of those little privileges that are important like parcels and books... Often it is a political Divide with more militant and less militant and Age thing ...women of all ages - some of the older women find the younger women too loud. One group of women called the Nightbirds yap all the time - younger women it's very Exciting to feel that they are part of this historic moment.

Kilmainham Riot (15.48- 19.35)

S- View out of the door - The Kilmainham riot would have taken place over here ..

B- She describes they have a meeting - when word comes, they are going to be moved to NDU - Concern nobody left to look after Mary mac and Ms o Callaghan weak on hunger strike - Miss O c. is released. Part of the strategy is to come up to the top gallery and hunker down. Debate about How they are going to resist and still look after their property and things. Dorothy says how am I going to look after my books and resist? On the other side, according to the power sisters - Mary Burke Dowling - veteran of the suffragette movement 1910's- arrested and sent to Holloway prison - votes for women - she says they should Link arms and hold firm up here- she must use the method she learned from the Suffragette movement. Won the argument. They are going to come up here, link arms and Resist and physically taken out.

S- Just standing here at the door of d's cell I wonder would she have looked out here for a while before joining in? (laughing S and B)

S- She was beaten badly - she was knocked out.

B- hazy - for a period of what happened her. She writes about it.

She is clearly observing what happened the other women

She writes this article Kilmainham tortures for republican press - about it propaganda victory for republican side. Look at what the Free State are doing.

As they are taking these women out they mention the women's connection - so when they are taking Grace Plunkett out, the women are shouting 'that's Joseph Plunkett's wife that you are manhandling there' they have a very Keen sense of the propaganda value of this happening to women and some of these particular women like NCO'B and Mrs. Plunkett in Kilmainham gaol of all places.

1923 Commemoration- sacred space - Propaganda value & public imagination & history of building - women sanctifying space (19.35- 21.52)

It is very Fresh in peoples mind as April they had done a special series of Ceremonies in stonebreakers yard where 1916 leaders had been executed and a subsequent concert to mark the 7th anniversary of 1916 rising.

From Propaganda point of view Really bad goal of free state to have Grace Plunkett here in Kilmainham. Because G and J Marriage story - that was the big story of 1916 initially - it was the 1st thing that captured the public imagination- splashed over the newspapers- story of the tragic bride... G.P is sort of celebrity ...some of women talk about how excited they are to meet her- disappointed as she is a shy - standoffish - introverted person. The propaganda value and history of the building. Kilmainham famous building because of Emmet and Parnell Ceremony in April 23' is when Kilmainham becomes holy (referring to women marking the easter anniversary)

Stone breakers yard becomes this Inner sanctum and that is what it has remained.

April 23' it has its Apotheosis at that stage.

Its' turned into this Sacred space.

And Interesting echoes- idea of women tending this sacred space. Reminiscent of the vestal

virgins in Rome keeping the sacred area of the nation and tending it and keeping it safe and sanctifying it. They are very conscious of the fact that this treatment of women has happened here- it's a defilement here on lots of different levels

Daily Routine & prison life (22- 27.37)

P- describe Daily routine

B- less routine than a normal day for political prisoners- more freedom-

Private time to work on her own-

Arranging classes - taking classes- history

Exercise- yards.

Grace Plunkett wrote to the painter William Orphen one of her teachers - posed for him for 2 portraits - to send in roller skates' size 4 so she could exercise on a rainy day. We don't know if they arrived.

Image of these women in the east win (joke)

Meetings

Sporting events - camogie - we have chair leg belonging to Sighle Humphreys - rounders - perfect game -

We have a Drawing of rounders - *Invincibles* yard where they were executed in 1883 -

Illustration of stick figures... Last ball goes over the wall - no more ball to play with.

Putting on plays - rehearsal - fancy dress pageant in NDU - occupied them for few weeks.

August Fancy Dress pageant of Irish history Cuchulainn up until Parnell. Making costumes - St. Patricks stole a painted prison sheet.

Projects important to Keep morale up Embroidery

Constance Markiewicz sketches - other women wrote

Variety in how they were Occupying time

Digging escape tunnel - sneak into old laundry in the west wing - remove flags- using spoons - dug a sizable hole in ground - never going to be able to escape - digging into the rock -a lot of wall on the outside of gaol they would meet eventually - Margaret Buckley - officer

commanding authorities - good way of using up energy - keep busy - our beautiful tunnel that we were so proud of / someone dug a hole - (joke)

Sighle Humphry left a note in her cell telling where the hole was for other prisoners coming in.

Eating and Washing (27.40- 29)

P- Eat & Wash

B- Wash rooms at the ...horseshoe shape

We Presume they may have had to eat in their cells

Space to put out tables

A lot may have eaten in their cells

Weren't designated dining rooms

When it was a criminal prison, Prisoners were not supposed to eat together- kept isolated

During political period more freedom ..

NDU- communal eating

Door locks & privileges - criminal prisoners (

P- Doors Locked

Insistent on not being locked in

Securing of cells at night

During the day ...insist on free access ... not to be confined in their cells

Free state

Free and easy

Not criminal prisoners -

Lots of other privileges

At one point they sent criminal prisoners from Mountjoy over to Kilmainham. to look after political prisoners

As political prisoners they refused to do washing etc. other they look after their own cells....

Rows over communal areas ... women prisoners refuse to clean out of principle... area of friction... compromise sending women over.

Prisoner women vs Political women: widening of world view - 30.30-31.48)

At one point one of the women from Tralee - met with traveller woman from Tralee arrives...

both surprised to see each other - she says, 'only quality in prison these days, mam' (joke)

Women talk about how they get to know these woman - Margaret Buckley Interested in their lives... poverty of their backgrounds

Coming together of very different worlds and widening of the world view of women prisoners ...many came from sheltered upbringing up until this

Peep holes and Privacy: no bodily autonomy (31.50-

S- I see the peep hole- DMA mentions lack of privacy in prison- would the guards be looking in at them- getting ready for bed.

B- yeah- no control- even though not in full prison regime - no privacy from guards and no privacy from other women too

Communal space

Lack of control to be able to retreat from society

Different prison experience for political prisoners in 20's compared what the prison was built for... Which was complete observation

Guards have the right to come in whenever they want - even though they domesticate their spaces and make them personal - they are not their spaces- they can be moved at any time-

as proved Kilmainham tortures incident April 23' its very clear they have ...no autonomy ...

bodily autonomy is taken away when they are literally forcibly taken out and dragged out of the building.

Kilmainham Tortures - personal belongings - vulnerability (33.30 - 34.15)

S- Stripped personal belongings ...possessions. Brooches - fountain pens...

B- in the context of the wider injuries and assaults it seems small thing- one of those things

you can take for granted- if we have the things that are important to you that you can hold

onto them - the fact that someone can just come and take your possessions and maybe lie

about when you complain thing... those things that make it clear to the women that they had very little power and are very vulnerable within these spaces.

Kilmainham Riot - Patriarchy and rhetoric of chivalry & how it can be dispensed- power & vulnerability - brutality (34.15- 38.05)

S- So the riot happened here. And they clung to these railings?

B- Clung to these railings - they got up here as far out of reach as they could. All these

Description of being pulled down the stairs -

They are Using the building against the prison authority

She mentions how Narrow gang ways are and stairs - deliberately built in this way to stop prisoners having riots. Built

If they do decide to do what these women did - it is hard to get at them. A long process- several hours...

S- Noise must have been clanging-

B- distinctive acoustic- echo hard space sound reverberates a lot

S- CID men sent in...

B- descriptions of them having blackened their faces

Free state female guards who knew them pleaded with them as they did not know who these people were- they were genuinely worried about how vulnerable these women were - if they are willing to hit and drag them in the way described - you would be worried about what else would have befallen them - Fears were born out -

Everybody was quite shocked

Gov. Begley - sanguine - would you hit a woman? - he had hit his wife - no issue hitting these women.

Gov. O'Neill - NDU - upset by what is happening

Interestingly Not something that happened again - maybe they learnt their lesson from the fall out of this incident.

S- Doctor smoking a cigarette

B- rhetoric of the time- Patriarchal society - chivalry around treatment of women- these could be their mothers, sisters, wives and how

Chivalry can be dispensed with

Rhetoric of chivalry and then some appalling treatment because they have such power over these prisoners as well

Interesting to see What would have happened if it were male prisoners Stands out ...history of civil war in terms of its brutality

NDU (38.05-39.32)

P- when?

B- 30th April escalated happened late into the night 10pm on...

S- They moved most of women in lorries to NDU

Dante's Inferno

B- NDU former workhouse- abandoned- dirty - poor conditions- Overcrowded - Women protested - when enough women in each Dormitory they refused to allow any other prisoners in - later arriving prisoners had to Spend the night outside

They did Rotate who had to stay outside over days but standoff over this.

Tools of Resistance (39.32- 40.05)

Periods of Intense clashes over issues and then Sort of normality resumes Things are quiet for a little while and then another clash.

Women are using tools at their command re: resistance at Kilmainham and Hunger striking becomes a tool that they use as well

Architecture Description & rub up - relics (40.05- 43.25)

B- East Wing built 1862

Designed by ...John Mc Gurdy

Horseshoe - 3 levels

Curved shaped at end - Panopticon or All-seeing eye

Enables the guard to see all the cells - 90 cells - all at the one time.

Constant observation of prisoners while in the gaol.

Unusual in shape - don't see it in other prisons.

Light filled space - Glass rooves- associate with railway stations ...to fill space with light - beneficial for prisoners - Light came from God - uplift the prisoners - trying to Reform prisoners - to Turn them away from evil doing.

Using Height of metal fabrication - 2 metal bridges to connect both side of wing- industrial revolution period.

Heating system - No pipes so prisoners can't communicate - so hot air system- ventilation built into walls.

Huge Furnaces

At the time, it was an incredibly Modern space

Designed to create sense of anonymity so referred to as prison numbers- Cells are exactly the same - Layout exactly the same.

Women in Civil war - political prisoner - held here to keep them out of the fray - interesting rub up against these older systems which are a relic of a different time in the building.

Hunger strike (44- 44.30)

S- Did she go on hunger strike?

Hunger Strike - sympathetic

B- not sure...

Invitation to look at inscription (44.30- 44.39)

B- Would you like to have look at the inscription?

S- I'd love to have a look at it

T03- SFX – CELL

T04- 1.53 Banter - walking and laughing ..

SFX Sharon and Brian walking down the stairs

You feel so small in this place

Brian whispers to Sharon 'its designed to do that ...

Quadrangle feels small and... vulnerable ..' (laughing)

T05 - 58 sec SFX Sharon's footsteps climbing up and down the stairs

T06 - 13 sec SFX keys jangling

T07 -26 sec Banter 'shall we take our stuff with us... we just want to close a door' (joke)

T08 - 22 sec SFX - DOOR Closes ('that's a good door'- joke)

T09 - 16:10mins The infirmary

SFX - Footsteps (0-40)

The Prisoner short story & historic Kilmainham gaol & women part of the story (40s- 3.40)

S- So Brian there was a 1798 inscription - collection of short stories in Earthbound

B- *The Prisoner* seems to be set in KG. specific reference - prisoner centres round a man war of independence... solitary confinement hallucinates due to hunger strike - he sees ghost of young man who claims to be servant of Lord Edward. Fitzgerald. His spirit cannot rest as authorities in prison 1798 spread a rumour that he betrayed his master- it is resolved prison in 1920's when prisoner says he will tell the truth of this man's story -

Reference to inscription in infirmary carved into the windowsill

Patrick mc Cann from Co. Down. - part of united Irishmen- released from prison - emigrated to France -died in Napoleonic wars. Specific reference to Kilmainham in the short stories- this is tied to this building and also emphasised the degree to which the women were aware of the historic nature of this building this is Special place in contrast with MJ of NDU.

Joining long litany of other revolutionaries in the past and they are now part of as well - and significant that they are women who are now part of this story

1798 inscription & past, present, future - touchstones (3.40 -5.40)

S- Can I touch it - I'm looking at the light falling in beyond the windowsill

(Sharon reads inscription) ...the font is...

Patrick Mc Cann of the County down - late of the city of Dublin august 14...1798 ...

imprisoned (Pause) there is some other graffiti here -

B- It would seem he doesn't finish it

S- It fades out - its just lost

B- it's almost because he doesn't finish it makes it more a Moment in time - Something that was started and never finished -

Obviously, it is the oldest piece of graffiti in the building -

It does feel like a Message from the past and that would have appealed to DMA - that she has this little glimpse - Something very Literary about it and Interesting how She folds it into that short story of her own - this Moment of the past- some ways, *the prisoner* short story is the moment from the past coming into what was then the present which is now ironically is part of our past -

S- and it's what we are doing today - Finding these touchstones to DMA time here

The Prisoner - Past and present come into contact (5.40- 6.58)

B- the short stories there is a Framing device - brother and sister who are Irish moved to Philadelphia-invited friends around- start telling ghost stories by fireside - set in period between war of independence - but before the civil war - the civil war has not yet begun. When this man is talking about his time in Kilmainham gaol - its talking about the End of the War of independence the conflict has ended - and the future is bright but of course Dorothy knows and the readers know that in a few months everything is going to get quite dark again - last short story there is inklings of that - even the short stories even though they are contemporary to her time, they are a moment in time as well. Interesting how in her writing the Past and present moments when these can come into contact with each other.

Extract from *The Prisoner* (6.58 - 8.15)

(Sharon reads from *the prisoner*)

S- Inspired from this inscription i am resting upon...

'I used to think that time went past outside like a stream, moving on, but in prison you are in a kind of whirlpool - time going round and round with you, so that you'd never come to anything, even death, only back again to yesterday and round to today and back to yesterday again. I got terrified, then, of going mad; i began chattering to myself, trying to keep myself company, and that only made me worse because I found I couldn't stop - something seemed to have got into my brain and to be talking - talking hideous, blasphemous things, and I couldn't stop it. I thought I was turning into that - Ah, there's no describing it!'

Describes the Central block of Kilmainham (8.15-9.50)

- runs spine - used by master debtors- also used these rooms as a place to house state prisoners political prisoners at the time - entitled to better treatment - large Georgian windows high ceilings -non normal prisoner -gas jets controlled -you know you are in an area of prison staff or prisoners with privilege as they can turn on and off the lights as they wish - feels like a Georgian room until you look out the window prison - you see big high walls of back of KG.

Lights out (9.50- 11.10)

Lights out technology did not allow prisoners to control their own lights

Officer commanding women wanted to go to sleep stop the chatterboxes

Lights out for the women prisoners

She doesn't mention asking for candles

Read into the night

I suppose technically she could have

Moving to 1916 corridor (11.10- 11.45)

S- There was one place ...1916 corridor...Execution yard

Description - Plunkett's wedding (11.45 - 13.25)

So, this corridor is in the west wing of the gaol - older part of the gaol dates from 1840's

Many of the leaders of 1916 were kept and some in the east wing as well

Joseph Plunkett had a cell in both wings - moved around.

Presume the women were aware of this when they were here in 1920's and most recent big story associated was the execution of 1916 leaders.

S- Grace and Joseph ... married in a cell

They married in the chapel of the gaol

B- They spent 10 minutes in a cell before Grace had to leave for the last time - not clear where they were.

Marriage seemed to have been in the chapel of the gaol

Excommunication of women & grace Plunkett painted altar (13.25- 14.45)

Interesting that the Women are excommunicated while in prison

Devastating for the more pious women

Grace painted a background to an altar on ...closest to the chapel - denied sacraments as part of the excommunication. That survived beyond the 1930's

Beautiful backdrop

People are aware of the Madonna she drew in the East Wing

That's where they would have the vigils ...

S- sweet and pious...

B- Positioning of it was very deliberate to be as close to the chapel as possible - important that women were denied the sacraments

Executions (14.45- 16.10)

S- Where there executions here while at Kilmainham? No, nothing happened here

B- Spate of executions on December 6th in Mountjoy -

Her diary goes blank as she can't express the sadness and the Proximity of the event

S- Lili o Brennan was in Kilmainham during 1916 executions - she hears the difference between the sounds of an execution

Gun fire in Mountjoy was different - not sure - (Brian talks about hangings - unsure about executions)

T10- 2.11min 1916 corridor

S- For such a dank corridor the light is coming straight in...

Glorious

B- you get beautiful light at sunset - this side it the 18th century

New ideas around imprisonment where prisoners were isolated - more uniform on the far side-

Women prisoners - Graffiti is up above us.

Bridgid o Mullane - her cell is amazing- Celtic tracery - Cuman na m'ban rifle logo over the door - very impressive

Craze for decorating interior cells for women prisoners...

SFX sharon walking along corridor

T11- 4.14min The Hang House

Executions over main entrance of the gaol - rope attached -

Trap door - Lever that would have pulled it

Body would have dropped down into a room below - taken down from there.

Late addition to the gaol

Originally executions were in public in front of the building...

Changed in the 1880's - *Invincibles* were hanged in a specially built scaffold...

1890's-

Hanging goes from a public to an increasing private event kept away from the public

Grisly part of the gaol

The women would have been Aware of *The Invincibles* - the womens' yard is where *The Invincibles* were hanged.

Last hanging 1910

Centralised in Mountjoy -

Travelling set of equipment - sent as a chest - 2 for the country -

After partition - one was sent to the north

Parting gift

Problems trying to get a hang man for Ireland

Per engagement (joke)

They used to come over from England

T12 - 8.15min

Stonebreakers yard

SFX - HUGE DOOR OPENS - foot steps outside

Recreational yard - it was down at the end there.

S- DMA References in her diary- concrete slab in the execution yard - grisly - bullets hitting the concrete slab and coming back into the body again - is that propaganda -

B- executions took place - sand bags behind prisoner - they don't want ricochet as dangerous for the firing squad- clean an operation as possible - put sandbags - most prisoners stood this end - James Connolly - badly injured - ambulance- opened gate- sat in a chair the other side of the yard

S- she mentions that he doesn't see the sun - western side of the yard - more shaded -

Women commemoration 1916 3.05

very dramatic for them to be in this space- legendary event - ceremony here - DMA read - programme of events - solemn event here - concert patriotic songs - perform Pearse's play *The Singer* - pre-figuring 1916 rising- day of events planned for 7th anniversary - a number of handwritten programmes - We have one that G.P did which is particularly into - time and effort and Importance - honouring the dead.

Nora Connolly - poignant - saddest moment in the life of her family - to find herself a prisoner in this space - unable to escape - prisons are very depressing places at the best of times- extra layer of sadness to go on top of it.

GP - she had such sad memories of this place - to be confined here for an extended period of time seems unusually cruel and surprising given her iconic status.

Description of Stone Breakers Yard

We are in the SBY and this was chosen for the execution of 1916 leaders as it is the only one that is not overlooked by cells -

Completely enclosed yards - 18th century front of the building- this yard was added to the gaol in mid- 19th century - gives the sense of being completely enclosed with the really high walls- at one end very large gothic gates - one of the few access points into the gaol - through these gates James Connolly was brought in an ambulance on the morning ...

S- Feeling the past and what happened - lonely seagulls ... crying...

B- Walls are particularly high -nothing else overlooking - you do feel enclosed - layers of history - sacred space- it is almost sanctuary like at this stage- it is always a really special

moment when people come to this space- I suppose it's the history but it also has its own atmosphere.

You are so enclosed and yet you can hear the life of city going on around you outside and yet you are in a kind of meditative space in centre of all that life.

T13 - 23 secs SFX - STONE BREAKERS YARD

T14 - 54secs Pigeons - nesting on roof - messy - graveyard of pigeons - new rain - rain dumps - floods - climate change

T15 -13 sec SFX - HUGE DOOR OPENS

T16- 1.03mins When she was taken from Mountjoy - one the soldiers Kevin Barry - clay - wrapped in white handkerchief - Shakespearean term –

T17 - 31secs This is the east wing of Kilmainham Gaol and this is where DMA was brought with the other women prisoners in the spring of 1923 when they arrived here for their period at Kilmainham

T18 - 4.10secs Sharon show Brian the scanned copy of the journals

B- Oh wow

(Lovely reaction from [Brian Crowley](#))

S- it doesn't sound like it was done in any sort of haste.

Writing in the margins -

B- longer you read them -

S- Ghost writing - Terence MacSwiney - words are appearing - story unfolding in real time-

Looking around - 'i can see him too'

B- Missing words - learning a new language- somebodies handwriting - hers isn't the worst - she didn't think of doing anything with them- trying to pass the time- maybe she did it instinctively - she was a diary writer -

S- gaps - nothing from NDU- she writes about her dreams - dreaming that she's in prison - Donald dream.

B- So little of her archive left - such interesting life- severe cleaning out of her papers - pity for someone who put a lot of thought and effort into recording her experiences- deemed unsuitable to survive- it happens quite a lot - over enthusiastic family members- devastating gaps of stuff not there anymore-

S- Maud Gonne letter raid - papers - plays- characters in her plays - trauma - brother burn everything - seems so cruel -

B- a bit devastating

S- why did he do it -

B- I have theories-

S- I'd love to hear them...

S- Thank you so much -

B- No problem...

INTERVIEW WITH LUKE GIBBONS AT DCU, 4th MAY 2022

T01

Chatter with Luke and Sharon as they walk to the room and upstairs - Elevator -

He shows artefacts off the record. Stratford upon Avon - a play...

Sharon expresses surprise- Oh...wow...

This is incredible

It's not even mentioned

I picked it up in a shop accidentally...holy
Eurythmics ...Dalcroze...magical -
Part of the *Midsummer Nights Dream* outtake
Interesting very much part of the strange Celtic revival left of field more like James
Stephens...
D- Donald continuing to have her plays produced
L- before she came back from Ireland
S- 1917-1918
Frank Benson -
L- portal in itself of printed and - manuscript material - given that her papers were
supposedly destroyed-
Published versions of her plays are extremely difficult to track down D

T02

S- reference in her GJ that her plays were destroyed- Maud Gonne's letter explains about
raid- DMA mourns loss of characters - remembers the great moment they had on the stage-
Greek tragedy - mourning loss of Cassandra & Asthara- how many more plays are out there
that we don't know about it?

L-she had a book on literary criticism which was ready to go- that book was burned in the
inferno on the streets as well -what is very intriguing about earthbound stories given they
were written under duress in prison is that they raise all questions about testimony- it's
almost a formal device in the story that they are narrated by somebody who comes to Una
and Frank Carroll in Philadelphia and they are the hosts and someone comes with a story to
tell and they begin telling the story.

Very intriguing about her Story structures is that the only thing that brings the story to a
close is the finishing of the narration- the storyteller stops the story - but the action doesn't
necessarily achieve resolution-she has wonderful phrase in stories - torn with disillusion-
there are narratives and stories but they never seek/yield resolution- full of enigmas and
conundrums and unresolved issues - so that you read the story and it has come to an end
because the person has stopped telling it but sometimes you are no wiser than when you
began, so what is really happening here? Did I miss something? So, you go back to read the
story. They appear to be very simple stories like any Psmith stories they are anything but-
they are very convoluted and all about the anomalies of storytelling itself.

S- the truth it must be told- *The Prisoner* - 100 years later trying to repatriate the letters,
diaries - here we are finding out something new today - trying to find her true-life story -
L- but the enigma is that unless there is an intervention from the other world- we do not
know the truth - find her truth - we do not know the truth- and the problem with the
Intervention from the other world is we don't know whether that's true or not. Time and
again the intervention from the other world retrieves the situation or opens up a kind of vista
and you feel kind of narrative release of a kind. But then there's questions over whether this
otherworldly intervention is actually a Paranormal event or a whether it is a genuinely
unconscious psychoanalytical event that can be explained in material terms like a dream or a
whether it is a genuine intervention of the otherworld. She plays around with this. In her
more considered novels, it is Left very unresolved whether the paranormal is something still
bound up with the material world without any supernatural intervention or whether there is
another level of existence notwithstanding her doubts about religion or scepticism of
organised religion. She believed there were more things in this world that we can dream of.

D- Anne Kavanagh - journey to paranormal world - what is the context - what was going on in literature/society she was moving in and the role of occult at that time- was it a movement?

5.45m

L- 7m

The ghost is as much a product of modernity as a vestige from the past that survives- the ghost is very much a modern phenomena. Early 20th Century- not just the losses of the great war the incalculable losses that people felt which led to a revival of interest in the paranormal - getting in touch with the dead. Even among republican circles- Pearse wrote a famous essay on ghosts and Pearse was haunted by the ghost of Robert Emmet from the hermitage at St. Enda's.

He gets the trope from Ibsen but puts it into a different context.

Its uncanny in Macardle and Annie P Smithson

The ghost of the 1798 - so that the Aura of Emmet and Lord Edward Fitz. as unfinished business from the 98'rebellion leak over into the present as though the present is only catching up with the past rather than that the past is vanquished. And that's a major difference in what's called Republican gothic and conventional literary gothic - in conventional gothic as devised in the 18thC and becoming part of romanticism. Ironically, Catholicism was the vanquished other from the past and that is why Conventional gothic is obsessed with abbeys, monks, nuns, Middle Ages and almost as if the Williamite revolution of the 1690's has got rid of Catholicism politically, but it hasn't got rid of it Culturally or psychologically. So, the gothic is almost unfinished business from the Williamite revolution. The Catholic influence unfortunately is still around, and it won't go away and unfortunately there is a place called Ireland across the Irish sea from Britain that is full of this threat. So, the irony - it is no coincidence that Protestant gothic thrives in Ireland through writers like Maturin, Le Fanu and indeed Bram Stoker

They are in the front line of the forces of darkness coming from the past.

If you turn the tables to the Catholic side of that or the republican side of that - it becomes much more complicated.

Conventional gothic in Freudian terms would be the return of the repressed. But the Republican Gothic is the Return of the oppressed - that the oppressed have not gone away - rather than being a source of terror they are a source of consolation, a source of recovery, and indeed a source of deliverance.

Remarkable in DMA fiction and other but DMA's primarily the threat is coming from the future rather than the past.

So, DMA fiction is full of forebodings, fascinated with what's called foreknowledge or prevision. It turns out that this strange Irish physicist engineer pilot - John William Dunne who was in the British an inventor the aeroplane - finally decommissioned because they had no tail- only wings- - dragon fly fishing- moves over into cosmology and physics. Remarkable book - major impact on figures - 1st modern exposition on paranormal- it was seized upon by every major writer of the day - Joyce - TS Elliot -

Edington greatest physicist to do preface for it- remarkable as

the Stuff closer to science fiction than science- full of calculations but all about prevision. He prefigures in ...Macardle was steeped in William Dunne theories of prevision, and it comes up in the dialogue in *The Unforeseen*, when someone doubts the capacity of prevision to foretell prevision -

This version of the modern which mixes foreknowledge and prevision with advanced physics allegedly comes from Einstein when E said time is an absolute as it was under Newtonian

physics.

Time is relative to where you are standing and to where you are positioned so that Time becomes elastic under advanced modernity. So, what you see with DMA is a very advanced modernist take on notions of time and history and space

And she was in tune long before she read Dunne. Dunne was published in 1927. And the stories of Earthbound predate that.

But the stories of Earthbound are already preoccupied with dreams that foretell the future or do not foretell the future. And the threat is really coming from whether the dream will be fulfilled or whether the dream will advance deliverance.

D- 14.50 - 16.40

D- In DMA diary - In the dream - she sees Dev and Mary MacS. Why did my dream picture dev and macs going in opposite directions - uncanny as it appeared to anticipate the split - rehearsals with wisdom of hindsight- we can see a meaning- conversation about talked about in the Táin Bo Cualinge – ‘imbais forasnaí’ - the light of foresight which the poet Feidlm had the ability to see ahead. Would any of that come from Celtic?

L-16.43

What's unusual - you have this theory of 2nd sight - prevision as JWD calls it coming from advanced modernity and from an imaginative reworking of Einstein and the likes but also Freud because Donne wed Freud with Einstein and he took up the Kantian view that space and time are faculties of the conscious mind which Emmanuele Kant's theory that space, and time are the coordinates of consciousness. But then according to Donne borrowing from Freud that means the unconscious escapes these categories and is not policed or patrolled by the conscious mind which means that time is up for grabs and time does not run according to linear progress in the unconscious and that's why when you dream, dreams belong to a different world of time than conscious experience, which is patrolled by normal conventions of time and space. So Macardle definitely bought into that idea of coming from so called advanced thinking. But the Celtic element was equally predominate because that comes from the so called Celtic disposition towards second sight as it was called and that is inextricably bound up with the Jacobite cause. 2nd sight begins to emerge in the literature the pre gothic almost in the Scottish Highlands and in Ireland after defeat of King James. The defeated celts of the highlands or of Ireland suddenly get this gift for second sight and it's remarked by all and sundry so much so that Dr. Johnson even travels to Scotland partly to examine the unseen controversy but also to track down to see whether 2nd sight really exists or not. The celts who have no future politically according to this scheme suddenly having this gift of foretelling the future the very future they were deprived of politically.

It's almost as if second sight is a consolation of the imaginative future for losing an actual future.

So, second sight features prominently in Celtic revivalist and 19th C literature in both Scotland and Ireland and DMA picks up on that so that would be bound up with Tain Bó C and bound up in the alleged Celtic propensity for seeing into the future.

S- 19.50

DMA at vigil- hears footsteps of Terence MacSwiney -

Tess senses something happened - momentary sense of haunted space in a benign way - frightened by it - was it not a brotherly presence- are these experiences in prison -

Time in Earthbound -

Shifting her literary voice while she's

She emerges with this very strong gothic voice.

L- it is left undecided in the most complex manner really whether the ghost is genuinely an intervention of the other world or the supernatural or whether the ghost is unfinished cultural memory or psychological trauma left over from the injustices of the past. There is a moral history as Joyce termed it behind the injustices the past as if the present has within itself the power to redeem the injustices of the past - and that would be the case of the young boy accused of betraying LEF in the story The prisoner. This boy and His family have lived under the shadow of a false accusation for 100 years and it's still not addressed - so it's almost as if the ghosts are coming back from the past with a moral mission and not simply psychological or indeed supernatural.

In that sense you could argue that the benevolent ghost begins to appear in a major form in her novel the uninited - there are 2 ghosts (jokes) as though 1 wasn't enough- there are 2 figures competing with each other and that would be in keeping with the reworking of the gothic from a subaltern, or a post-colonial or a colonised culture as against the dominant version of the gothic which was addressing mediaeval, or pre-modern or supernatural or irrational or superstitious past and the whole business of the gothic is to get rid of this Hangover from the premodern whereas in the periphery colonised culture it is the other way around the threat is coming from the future and from the present and the past in fact is a source of deliverance.

So a key trope in DMA and the more general gothic republican is the unrequited past - the past that is over but not done with - it's over temporally but not over morally or ethically or politically - and a lot of the power of narrative which is part of the reason why these writers would have recourse the narrative to pick up where the factual record leaves off which you might do in a Dan Breen or a Tom Barry if indeed these are factual records - where the factual record leaves off, imaginative fiction takes up and partly the reason it takes up is to address the unfinished -is that the past is not set in stone, the past is not fixed and that's why the past is still open for business

The imaginative power of fiction and theatre and poetry is precisely to address these unresolved issues

D- 25.50

Fascinating you are tracing this so far back - DMA intellectual prowess - something instinctual is connecting her to traumas and unresolved moral failures - gothic quality of her novels derives from her own personal experience as a prisoner. We know from her diaries and surmise from propagandist essay of Kilmainham riots that she witnessed and suffered a personal indignity which a woman of her position in society would never encounter - she took part in hunger strike - she describes a hand over her face almost smothered by a prison guard - as part of that resistance ...

We were wondering if those personal injuries somehow have been worked through later on in her fiction.

You seem to be suggesting that it is something deeper and more ancient than that - that she is channelling in her later novels.

L- 28m

The way of approaching some of these issues in terms of 20thC categories /20th unconscious would be along the lines of political unconscious not just an individualistic personal unconscious and the notion of a cultural unconscious that is trying to resolve the nightmare of history is crucial to Joyce's experimentation in stylistic and modernist fiction. The point being that when Joyce says or when Stephen History is a nightmare from which I am trying to wake. Most people think the nightmare is in St head. But the nightmare is not in St head. But

the nightmare is out there in the culture. It is the cultural suffering from the nightmare. That means to access it which is Freud's brilliant insight - you cannot access it directly. The unconscious will not yield its secrets directly but only indirectly, elliptically, obtusely. You have to approach then the nightmare of history through imaginative and aesthetic and cultural forms because that is where it is residing in the first place.

There is no direct access to the nightmare of history any more than there is direct access to your dreams. And in that sense theatre, fiction, poetry, and aesthetic form generally is the lightning conductor of these forces in history.

And it's no coincidence that the culture with the nightmare of history produces this literary revival imagination, this (perfidy?) of literary imagination at time of crisis as that is one of the few ways a culture has of dealing with its nightmare in public. And DMA is a key figure in that.

S- 30.30

Radicalisation of DMA through the literary movement - Yeats, living with Maud Gonne, writing for *The Abbey*- she became sensitive to the political atmosphere at time.

L- 31

Her modernism often goes unnoticed. Her modernism is admittedly closer to Henry James or Borges than to more fragmented modernist writers like Joyce or Eliot.

But what's important in Henry James *The turn of the Screw* or Borges, the problem lies in ascertaining where exactly truth ends and imagination begins and the whole issue is the indeterminacy of evidence and the indeterminacy of testimony.

There is an Uncanny resemblance between Earthbound and Borges stories of Irish civil war not least when it turns out that in Borges stories the narrator turns out to be unreliable. And Burgess stories turn on the complexity of narration itself. Narration is covering up for its own infelicities and its own hesitations and the greater the power of the story the more truth becomes in question.

That comes into DMA if you put something into the picture you take from it that if you tell a good story, it sucks the oxygen out of reality.

So it's uncanny that - the 2 best story in EB - *Roisin Dubh* - and *The story without an end* is the other powerful story- which I often wonder did Borges read because it's about person with a scar and beware of people with scars in stories, particularly if it has to do with Civil war because the scar is the mark of Cain - the brother who kills the other brother. So, the scar is the Ineluctable sign of Fratricide and entropy so in Borges stories, if the storyteller has a scar, you have your wits about you because this isn't going to end happily.

S- 34.10

Migraines - head operation- head operation - covers up with hats/hairs modelled...

L- prisoner in the story without end - brought in and was saved by Roger Mac Alister -without realising he is saving the person who is going to execute him - that person has a scar - and it's uncanny how Macardle taps into these are powerful Cultural tropes

S- she images things in her diary - a particular she used. I image the opening the of the gates - I image the release of Mary mac S.

Inner strength - channelling - vision up something and it will happen

L- 35.45

That happens in the stories too, where in total darkness through sheer concentrated will you begin to see, and that vision will not be conquered by darkness or by invisibility and more than one commentator has picked up on how she argued that the republic was the invisible force behind the visible free state. She compares the republic to a phantom haunting the free state (that's in the opening page of the Irish republic) so she has this powerful investment in

something that is Down but not out Defeated but not vanquished. That becomes her point of departure in so many of her stories and in her history, but it doesn't take from her history.

The conventional attitude towards history because it's driven by

Partisanship or narrative skill or narrative prose, it may be unreliable

But she argues that unreliability is built into the material itself.

It's not built into the people who comes afterwards that The Indeterminacy of the stories themselves is part of the unreliability.

And that the action itself does not speak louder than words, that the action itself is already riven with uncertainty and Incongruency.

Something similar to Ernie O'Malley's powerful memoir 'On another man's wound', which is often criticised for his literary qualities as though if somehow it takes from its usefulness from historians – In fact it makes it more valuable.

You get at what Raymond Williams calls 'structures of feeling' you get at what's beneath the surface not just what is on the surface - what's on the surface is in state papers and official records and that is all very valuable but that is only the Top soil - it is the sub soil that actually the Literary, and the imaginative and the narrative.

S- That comes through in children of Europe - child going to the dentist - trauma - *Tragedies of Kerry* - tells these events /atrocities- skilful storyteller - she brings the emotion into it.

L- 39.30

I Think that is part of her powerful as a historian. It is not just the factual record even though she was meticulous to establish the factual record. She left her copy of the Irish republic in the national library to invite correcting the factual record.

Except that the factual record is not the full picture. If you want to go beneath the surface to the factors that contribute to the nightmare of history and that is what Raymond Williams calls 'structures of feeling' underneath the surface tension of society, then fiction and narrative form and stylistic versatility is perhaps the only way of negotiating what can only be approached indirectly that there is no direct access to it so when Emily Dickinson famously says - success in indirection lies only through indirection can you access the things that matter most rather than the 'modh coinníollach' or the transparent glass of truth - you will get a certain truth but you will not go to the bottom of the enigma.

41.15

D- Rich exploration of parts of this journey

D- enriching - cause me to look again at one or 2

L- have you?

S- yes

D- written the play based on prison notebooks

L- 42.10

See that would be part of the argument that narrative inhabits action itself before even storytellers and representations come along - what they are doing

Is re-engaging and reformulating but in fact narrative action itself -

So people point out - they think it's a mark against it- but it could well be its strongest point that the Easter rising was a powerful piece of theatrical gesture - that may have been its strongest point - not as a military intervention but as a powerful theatrical gesture that towards something that broke through the consensus of society at that point - The orchestration of narrative itself - Pearse said to Desmond Ryan when he was planning the rising he had a novel in mind.

S- 43.20

Abbey stage- blurring on stage and on the streets of Dublin –

L- often used as a put down without realising the complexity of what is happening - there is a kind of investment coming in from imaginative power but also stylistical complexity and nuance that is bringing finesse into actions that don't lend themselves to military precision and in a way, it is almost

two different worlds colliding coming from two different vectors, and they are colliding. And you might win the military war but that doesn't follow.

That comes up in DMA about Waterloo and battles that are fought and not over. The battle may be fought but it is not over.

S- EMcN / Pearse play - steps of the GPO - no steps - stage - people - we see in our mind...

L- 45

It was a play - And indeed that comes into liberty hall - raid - Constance Mark. was there - the authorities themselves were not clear whether it was a play in the making. And that was part of the impersonation of the drill and military prowess on the street that you keep doing it so often that the castle won't know when the real event occurs the problem was neither did some of the participants. They didn't realise this was the real thing. (laugh)

Thank you so much

I'm doing a paper for the civil war in UCC conference - they asked me if i would do something on civil war and fiction. On the face of it people think there isn't that much compared with war of independence. But there is a body of work there, but it is very complicated in narrative terms for the very reason we spoke about. Because Uncertainty is not there for the taking.

No wonder its complex how else can you address it. Anyone who comes in with Clear cut categories will certainly have only have slimmest of pickings because the complexity of civil war and divided loyalties and even people divided against themselves.

Borges's take on it is the person who betrays others - the real crime is betraying oneself. And that's not too far removed from Dorothy's indictment of the informer, that the informer's treason rebounds on the informer themselves and undermines their whole standing and legitimacy, which is very much part of what preoccupation with the person being wrongly accused of being an informer as well as informing itself - it comes up in the story several times - the person who is wrongly accused.

And they have to Clear their name and they have to do something to avoid misperception and misunderstanding which is a Traumatic situation to find oneself in.

46m

Declan and Sharon Rehearsal at An Táin Arts Centre, Dundalk, 8th June 2022

Rehearsal T01- 12 minutes

Declan and Sharon greet each other

D- Idea of a prologue – intro to the drama – a sense of mystery to begin.

Dorothy outside of herself and looking back. You have a piece...

What's that piece there?

S- I have a piece that I found in her RTÉ scripts from the 50's. There is a piece that talks about memories- I liked the way she is talking back on her life -

How her mind captures these memories – she sees them as scatter of fragments – she sees them as a kaleidoscope of images...

D- kaleidoscope of images

S- World of expressionist illumination - fairground attractio

S- When you play with the kaleidoscope – it alters – maybe her perspective / perception on herself has also changed/ altered 30 years later. I love that idea of the light – she was very sensitive to light when she was in prison as well.

D- let's try to read the piece directly from the broadcast script from the 1950's. The worry is if it is too dense / wordy - we might need to amend it.

I like the idea of starting with something from the future and looking back - from our conversations that we've had there is a sense that she has insights into the future, so it makes sense.

S_ (READS SCRIPT)3.05

WOMAN Memories behave in a curious way; they advance and retreat, rearranging themselves in new perspectives... Questioned about my own recollections, I felt baffled by the scatter of fragments- broken plans, altered allegiance, discarded hopes, that were all I could see, until the kaleidoscope turned. Then, I thought, a pattern began to emerge, rhythmic movement. A circle, small at first, enlarged itself, multiplied, like the rings of an eddy. Recurrences and reversal occurred. I imagine that for many people destiny moves like this. 'And thus, the whirligig of time brings in his revenges'.

D- That little quote at the end.

S – she brings her Shakespeare in there- Something about 'destiny' –

D- having that sense of her looking back – it's been done before - it might be something that we might use in the drama – it might not - we don't know yet- it's too early to say- but to have that sense of an older Dorothy who can intervene

S- I like that- bringing the audience straight into the prison.

D- ok, we'll note it...

D- The big challenge we have – we now have chunks of the diary – we don't have them all transcribed yet- you've been doing incredible work transcribing these handwritten diaries – so we now have a chunk of prose – our job and my end of work is to bring my own past experiences of adapting prose works for stage – on a number of occasions between the pieces of Joyce and Frank O'Connor etc.

Going through the diary pages, the difference here, if you take a biography on Frank O'Connor, it's a story – Frank o C has already done the work and laid it out as a story. So, for the dramatist transposing that as a narrative drama, the fundamental work is already done by the original author. Whereas with the diaries, it is just not like that while they do follow a chronology of sorts, they begin in Nov. and run on until March, she didn't write it as a story.

S- 6.30

You're right, there is no set chronology, even though it does follow the time frame of when she was in prison, but she sets them out in episodes so the front page of one of the notebooks, she lists the chapters almost – so you have prison moods, prison vigils, prison letters, prison dreams – so it almost guides you as a playwright to look at the way she structured the diaries and to see if we can extrapolate themes from those themes. Those Preset themes

D- I have been wondering about that list that was there at beginning of diary and at what point did she enter it – but certainly you get the sense that she has pre-ordered her own thinking as if to say these are things I am going to write about – and it's useful to think of it that way. What it gives us then is perhaps rather than following the conventions of a narrative chronology where you have a beginning, middle and end – so the beginning she is arrested, the middle she is in prison and the end she is released. yes, we can stick to that – but I think that list is a list of themes but also atmospheres –

S- it's certainly a gift that she has given us to make our job easier– as you say, you can see from the list, the different atmospheres that we can create on stage but also that she's moving in and out of different worlds – she's moving into the dream world, she's in the prison, move into more abstract places in her mind – more spiritual places – So in terms of following a timeline, we can certainly follow the timeline of her incarceration and within that we have so much scope to weave in and out of the supernatural world and the dream world and all sorts of other worlds within that.

The next thing is Where are the climatic points in the piece – what is happening? What is happening in prison that will excite our audience – the mundane day to day life in prison in 1922.

D- 9.35

I think there are extraordinary challenges to turn this personal diary into a dramatic performance and a dramatic experience and a genuinely absorbing and immersive experience. It goes back to the question of why are we doing this? You are well on your way now of transcribing the diaries – a couple of things – 1. What we have identified – you used the term supernatural- its otherworldly quality that is in her writing and we know it from her novels, short stories that she wrote while in prison.

What is astonishing is that her private diaries contain so much of that side of her. She's not a person who lives a particularly ordered and earthly life and switches it on

A narrative device in her books which is 'I'm going to sit down now and write me a gothic novel', It's almost like she's living a spiritual, ethereal life while she's going through this mundane thing and I think that's what makes it fascinating for stage as it can't be, because of what she's given us – it's not going to be a realistic, social drama – there's much more to her writing than goal bars and stone walls and uncomfortable beds, that's all there and there's all the companionship with the other women and there's all the politics. But I think what gives it that remarkable quality is the philosophising that she is doing.

Rehearsal T02 2mins 50s

Hunger Strike

(Sfx flittering papers)

D- cut out Lili there – I had written of the ultimate sacrifice... we are going to go from ... to...: 'I will hunger strike too'.

Rehearsal T03 56s

Scene 3- Early Days

DOROTHY On arrival at Mountjoy we were delivered into the hands of the wardresses, searched, and shown into a long bare cell. This was the hospital. We seven, the Suffolk Street women, were to be kept here. Then, the questioning began, of what lay heavily on my heart.

A WOMAN: Well, here we are!

DOROTHY (*nervously*) Yes. Here we are.

WOMAN And we all know Mary MacSwiney is on hunger strike

DOROTHY Yes.

WOMEN And the four women held above us are also on hunger strike. So, must we, in loyalty, hunger strike too?

DOROTHY I had known for weeks that editing the "Freedom" newspaper would lead to my arrest – and I had been able to contemplate imprisonment serenely. But in the last few days I had become afraid - that to be arrested would make it necessary to do this terrible thing. If we went on hunger strike, they would probably let us die. Lili spoke.

LILI Well, I would do it, but I wouldn't urge it on anyone else. I am ill anyway.

DOROTHY I had written of the ultimate sacrifice: Terence and now Mary MacSwiney. Was it only for the sacrifice of others that I was ready? I knew I had no reason but fear of death and agony for not doing this thing. *(Pause)* I grew unutterably ashamed. I prayed then to Terence MacSwiney not to God, and the pure thought of the Republic grew strong in me - strong enough to make it possible. *(To the others)* I will do it! I will hunger strike too!

Rehearsal T04 13.30

D- not identified which of the women is speaking here

S- I will do one woman

D- keeps it simpler -it is the one woman and the one voice – think of one of the more rural figures to create that distinction between Dorothy and the woman she is having the conversation with.

Scene 3- Early Days

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A WOMAN Well, here we are!

DOROTHY *(nervously)* Yes. Here we are.

WOMAN And we all know Mary MacSwiney is on hunger strike

DOROTHY Yes.

WOMAN And the four women held above us are also on hunger strike. So, must we, in loyalty, hunger strike too?

DOROTHY I had known for weeks that editing the "Freedom" newspaper would lead to my arrest – and I had been able to contemplate imprisonment serenely. But in the last few days I had become afraid - that to be arrested would make it necessary to do this terrible thing. If we went on hunger strike, they would probably let us die. ~~Lili spoke.~~

~~LILI Well, I would do it, but I wouldn't urge it on anyone else. I am ill anyway.~~

DOROTHY I had written of the ultimate sacrifice: Terence and now Mary MacSwiney. Was it only for the sacrifice of others that I was ready? I knew I had no reason but fear of death and agony for not doing this thing. *(Pause)* I grew unutterably ashamed. I prayed then to Terence MacSwiney not to God, and the pure thought of the Republic grew strong in me - strong enough to make it possible. *(To the others)* I will do it! I will hunger strike too!

D- That's great – really powerful - so let's talk about Hunger Striking – she is very resistant to the idea of being on Hunger Striking- she talks about having written about it – in the days before her arrest, she is beginning to contemplate the possibility that she herself might actually go on Hunger Striking. So, what have you found out about her attitude to HS?

S- 3.10

She talks about how she is one of the healthiest people in the goal – She's afraid of the younger prisoners – she knows that it will break their health – Mary mac Swiney is on HS at the time– she's happy to keep vigil and support her in this act. She will do it if there is occasion for it and not just if B. O Mullane calls a protest.

It's going to take all her courage. She's worried about her mother's health if she finds out that D is on HS– there is a fear there. she knows she's not like the other women – a lot of the other women were there in 1916, they are more toughened and hardened – she is very new to this - her weapon is not hunger striking – other women do – her weapon is the pen – she writes about these things

D- 5m

There are all of those things you said – weaker girls damaged. She seems to have a strong abhorrence to HS even though she accepts that Mary Mac is doing it and that it is a tremendous act of rebellion etc. Interesting – she asks if it is cowardice.

S- She is Soul searching – she knows it will break her health

D- she writes in graphic term about physical effect that she witnesses

S- the shrinking of the flesh and how it damages the nervous system – she understands from Mary MacS the process and also from Terence – Mary was there with Terence up until the end. I think they know physiologically what happens to the body ... she's a realist - pragmatic and practical ...

D- We will have to focus on HS and Mary mac S are huge in the 1st sections of the diary in MJ. Her 1st 2 months of incarceration – everything seems to focus on Mary mac – sense of the vigil and the almost quasi-religious – cult that's built up around this sacrifice of Mary mac and how the women are organised with the rosaries, and prayers and little altars and that seems to me to be a very strong/dominant theme in 1st period until Mary mac is released.

And there is an incredible moment when she is released and after that everything changes and in terms of structuring a drama, we need to put Mary mac into the heart of the 1st half of the play. Convenient in a way – drama point – almost half of her period in prison is in Mountjoy and then most of the second half of her time in prison Other than a very brief period in the Union at the end is in Kilmainham – so there is a logical 1st half and 2nd half. The priorities in the 1st half are very different to the priorities in the 2nd half. The 1st half is very much about hunger striking so I think we will be coming back to the question of HS quite a lot and her attitude to it.

S- could we look at something in the GJ that might tie in with it.

She talks about HS for the writer as almost Hunger striking of the soul being in prison and that this is her sacrifice.

S (READS GAOL JOURNAL x2)

'For a little while only, in those solitudes, thought and imagination live and work: Out of memories the mind goes weaving dreams and philosophies again, out of the very stuff of its imprisonment, even, it weaves for a little while. But this brooding soul is too like the body of the hunger- striker which feeds on its own substance until that is spent and then begins to die. The glimpse of the Milky Way or a wave breaking or a stormy tree, one breath of the wind of the world might bring new life; but there is nothing, nothing but the story monotonies and uncontending flippancies of the prison day, so that at last, spirit falls into the listless apathy of the starved.'

D - wow, dense passage – extraordinary passage for a diary – would you mind reading it?

S – 10.30 (READS GAOL JOURNAL)

‘For a little while only, in those solitudes, thought and imagination live and work: Out of memories the mind goes weaving dreams and philosophies again, out of the very stuff of its imprisonment, even, it weaves for a little while. But this brooding soul is too like the body of the hunger- striker which feeds on its own substance until that is spent and then begins to die. The glimpse of the Milky Way or a wave breaking or a stormy tree, one breath of the wind of the world might bring new life; but there is nothing, nothing but the story monotonies and uncontending flippancies of the prison day, so that at last, spirit falls into the listless apathy of the starved.’

D – ok, I see what you’re saying - she is comparing the fear of the collapse of her mind because of the lack of stimulation with the collapse of the body that comes from Hunger striking.

S- when we talk about the weapons that they are using, her weapon really is the pen and when she puts ink to paper and how she can resonate with what’s happening with Mary mac and her plight and apply to her own starvation of ink and stimulation and books – she’s feeling quite deprived – her soul is deprived.

D- the parcel arrives – potted meats and ham for sandwiches –her pen and papers starved for in first few weeks in prison

S- writing on stubby pencils. Iseult had sent her in luxurious scented soaps – while she was happy to get them, she really just wanted pen and paper.

Rehearsal T05 7.40

The Vigil Scene

Sharon and Declan

S- we are going to look at the vigil scene – a scene between D and L and they are keeping Vigil by Mary mac S.

D- would it help if I read the Stage Directions

S- that would be great.

VIGIL (DOROTHY, LILI, TESS)

Darkness. A match is struck. A small, squat candle it flares and settles. Dorothy holds it a little away from her chin, uplighting her face. She appears to be in a trance.

~~VOICEOVER:~~

- Lily O’Brennan?
- Yes, Our Lady!
- Do you wish to offer yourself to God- to endure suffering...to help atone for the sins by which he is offendedto implore for the conversion of sinners?
- Yes, Our Lady, I do...
- Then you will have much to suffer...the grace of God will be your comfort
- Yes, Our Lady...

She blows out the candle and wakes. Moonlight faintly illuminates the cell, casting shadows. She places the candle on her table, goes to the cold stone wall and presses her forehead against it.

I cannot pray as they do, the Roman Catholics,. Indeed I can scarcely ever pray at all,...
But sometimes, I can image things!

An intense murmuring of the rosary begins

I image the opening of the gates,
I image the release of Miss MacSwiney –
I can call on invisible, beneficent powers,
but I cannot ever know
whether they hear or heed.

And I do this with an intensity that may, perhaps, help a little to bring these things to pass.

Dorothy now sits, calmly, and writes in her journal.

Never was a heretic more completely captured in the atmosphere of an alien world than I am here. I am sure that nothing that can happen will ever make me a member of the Roman Catholic Church. There is a quaint child-likeness in it, a fantastical exactitude about the unimaginable other world which would always shut the like of me outside. Yet, I am sure that of all religions in the world it affords the most openings into spiritual life, most magic for the revealing of unseen powers.

The Rosary is murmured again – more ‘realistic’ now, and in Irish.

Mrs. Humphreys is the mother Catholic here. Three times daily she shepherds us all to prayer and we kneel on the bare stairway looking up at the little altar they have made with sweet and pious ingenuity, where candles lighten up a gilded picture of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, murmuring the rosary in Irish for Miss MacSwiney’s sake. I think my praying worthless, but I am quite sure that there are some of these religious, pure hearted women whose prayers have power.

D-

S- This scene – she is showing her where she lies in the middle of all this Catholicism – quaint and childlike – even though she believes in the power

Imaging things –

You have put in the stage directions – places her head against the wall -

Psychic energy that she can change things – she can image her release- I image the release of Miss Mac Swiney – her recovery. She’s part of this rosary as well – so it’s an interesting juxtaposition of the two worlds.

D- I find there is humour in it to me... I empathise with her being caught in this constant rosary. My childhood I felt I was constantly trapped in a constant rosary when I was at home – as kids we didn’t really want to take part – so there is this hum going on around her – I think that could sound amazing – but I also love that she’s very honest – she cannot pray – like the atheist at the prayer meeting- I can’t pray but I can wish. (laugh)

She’s much more than wishing – idea of imaging things... She talks about the fact that if she pictures something hard enough – it will happen. Almost like in Psychic movies – I can make it happen by thinking about it.

D- there is a piece I did write up about the apparition of Terence Macswiney –

Rehearsal T06 12 mins

D- compress a few things together – passage we worked on re: Lili o Brennan – and her vision that she has had- wax candle is guttering and wax falling on the floor shapes into images of the virgin Mary. Lili accepts that miracle. While Dorothy looks on mesmerised/fascinated.

D goes along with Tess to sit in vigil, and they have this experience. Shall we have a look at that scene...

They have been in the cell of Mary mac who has been weakening _ she has not come to the end of her HS

My sense is that they step outside the cell and are on their knees as they were all the time...

Let's take it from "Dorothy whispers to Tess..."

S – 2.25m (Reads Script)

She returns to the bedside. Miss Mac S. dozes – Dorothy whispers to Tess

She's asleep now!

They move away and kneel.

Tessie and I were both kneeling outside her door when a strange mystery happened.

Lighting warms, casting benign shadows. She watches astonished, as though observing a figure moving across the space. She rises to follow the figure, stopping to gaze down the stairs as it vanishes. She returns quietly and goes onto her knees again.

TESS (*whispers*) Dorothy? Did you....? (*Dorothy nods.*) Someone passed. I heard a foot fall. Didn't it stop beyant on the stairs.

DOROTHY (*softly*) Ssshhh! (*She rises and peeks in the sick woman's door.*) She's wide awake in there.

TESS Who was it Dorothy? There was someone.... Like a –

DOROTHY A brotherly presence?

TESS Jeeezis! Terence MacSwiney? (*Dorothy gestures – Maybe... Who knows?*) Well that's alright, like! Terence MacSwiney, here!!!

DOROTHY (*narrating*) We were pleased by this mysterious visit, but later, when we told those who came to relieve us, they grew terrified of our "ghost".

D – 4.40

So it is bringing that descriptive passage in the diary to life by having Tess articulate it.

S – it's brilliant – I actually have the original piece here – she writes it as though...

D- Can you read that

S- 4.18 – (Reads Gaol Journal) The Blessed Spirit

Tessie and I kept vigil together last night - the two earliest hours. Miss MacSwiney was very peaceful, although wide awake. There is no doubt that receiving the sacrament has given her fresh strength. It was when Tessie and I were both kneeling that the strange little mystery happened. The place was very quiet, no one was moving at all and I wondered when I heard light swift footsteps coming down as if from her room and felt someone pass behind me and pause at the top of the stairs- so surprised that I turned to look: there was no one there. For a moment my heart failed me—I wondered if she had died and her spirit had gone past us into the night, but the night seemed extravagant- without looking at Tessie, I went on praying just as I had been. But in a moment, she looked round with a perplexed countenance at me, asking who had passed- she had heard a foot fall behind us and heard it pause on the stairs. Startled, I went quickly into Miss MacSwiney's room and was relieved to find her there still, wide awake. Tessie and I were pleased by this mysterious visit and because it seemed a brotherly presence – Terence MacSwiney perhaps. But those who came to relieve us, when we told them, grew terrified of our "ghost".

D- So that's Dorothy's prose version – it's entrancing for me to sit here and listen to you reading it – but if we have 1 hour and half of direct narration – it's simply not going to work we know that for an audience watching – and it also begs the question, Why did you bother to stage it when it's so beautifully written and we can just read it. Can we look at the scene again as we have been workshopping it and adapting it?

I won't call the Stage directions – you are at the stage where you know it – so if you can just run it... what we have here is – given the character of Tess a little thought – she is described as someone having shared in this vision which makes it very real – it's all very well for one person to sense a ghost but when two people acknowledge they have shared a ghostly experience it reinforces the sense that something actually happened – that ghosts are there. It is as important that Tess senses it and you have this extraordinary challenge as one actor to play the two parts but we have a sense of Tess really credulous – she's completely comfortable with this idea of this ghost and feels safe as she knows D understands a little about the spirit world and if D is comfortable then she is comfortable.

So let's run the scene again – run it as you would as if we were in performance ..

S – 7.55 (Reads Gaol Journal) The Blessed Spirit

Tessie and I kept vigil together last night - the two earliest hours. Miss MacSwiney was very peaceful, although wide awake. There is no doubt that receiving the sacrament has given her fresh strength. It was when Tessie and I were both kneeling that the strange little mystery happened. The place was very quiet, no one was moving at all and I wondered when I heard light swift footsteps coming down as if from her room and felt someone pass behind me and pause at the top of the stairs- so surprised that I turned to look: there was no one there. For a moment my heart failed me—I wondered if she had died and her spirit had gone past us into the night, but the night seemed extravagant- without looking at Tessie, I went on praying just as I had been. But in a moment, she looked round with a perplexed countenance at me, asking who had passed- she had heard a foot fall behind us and heard it pause on the stairs. Startled, I went quickly into Miss MacSwiney's room and was relieved to find her there still, wide awake. Tessie and I were pleased by this mysterious visit and because it seemed a brotherly presence – Terence MacSwiney perhaps. But those who came to relieve us, when we told them, grew terrified of our "ghost".

S – it really helps to have the dialogue and you can really see the ghost going passed off up the stairs – they are finishing each other's sentences as well as though they really are having the same experience. It makes sense that D checks on Mary mac S to make sure she is still breathing in there – that she hasn't passed away which is her fear.

D- 9.30

the movement of your eyes- you're watching this spirit going by - Nobody is narrating – It is all happening – When I watched you performing that – advantage as director of knowing what's going on - we have to trust our intuition – the audience will see that you have seen something passing – that's the pure magic of theatre – theatre congers up things that aren't there – I believe no other art form can do it – film does it in a different way with effects etc – in the theatre, the actor watches a spirit moving across the stage, the audience senses that something is moving – they don't know yet what it is – the actor just fills in the detail – by saying 'did you see?', 'yes, it was a brotherly presence'. That little moment of performance really captures what it would have been like almost because if you can imagine you just happen to be a prison warden standing there watching this – you wouldn't have seen anything, but you would have seen them see something and that would have been really scary to see them seeing this presence. I think we are finding keys, we are finding doorways

into how we can really begin to break down this enormous brick wall of text and convert it into short episodic scenes.

T07 – 11.45 Burnt offering

D- This would be helpful if you could talk about Dorothy and fire

S- Dorothy and Fires?

D- Which section did we say – burnt pages – is this the notes you sent me at the time

S- this is what I sent you...

D- She receives a letter from Maud Gonne to say that all of her papers have been burnt

D. has a long history of her papers being destroyed.

S- this was the 1st time that her papers were destroyed. Raid at Maud Gonne's –

A little note was slipped to her – letter from Maud Gonne-

A raid at 73 Stephen's green – all of her papers – had been burned – apparently some of her students had passed by – lecture notes of Hamlet flying around –

3.13 Image of that – I imagine D hearing that – her plays – she grieves the lost characters from these plays- as though it is something out of a Greek tragedy – as though they are her babies - when she is in prison that she could imagine herself visiting this site of the charred remains of her plays, her plays, her poetry book that she spent 8 years writing – she had no backup copy of this – she had thrown out all her notes- this was ready for publication- her lecture notes – everything was destroyed – after reading this letter – she goes back to her prison cell and just weeps over the death of these characters - she names them one by one – there is Asthara and Cassandra, Dervorghilla. And Dervorghilla – she wrote of her innocent – Helen of Ireland – who triggered the 1st Norman invasion – she goes against the Irish /Norman account of this and she's dead as well. I imagine the scene = you can almost smell the charred papers – are flying around the stage – as she steps into this site – to see if she can find anything- any remains – if any this exist -it's the aftermath of this

D- 5.40

we obviously have the text of the letter – we could play with her literally placing herself in the scene as you have just described with actual crepe paper / burnt ashes – floating lights – to see if that works. Rather than it being described – we picture the scent that is in her mind

S- I imagine she hears the fire still burning and the crackle of the papers

D- ok, I'll read some stage directions – let's try reading 1st. see how it works on the floor.

Letter has come underground from madame Maud mac Gonne.

BURNT OFFERINGS (DOROTHY)

Dorothy wakes in her cell, sniffs at the air, then climbs to look out the window. Uncertain what has bothered her, she steps down again.

DOROTHY Next evening, after the rosary, Sighle slipped into my hand a thin, folded, close-written note. It was from Madame McBride ... and had come underground.

She drops on one knee under a light, to squint at the letter. As she reads, the lighting turns orange-red and fans out to fill the room. The crackling sound of a fire is faintly heard.

~~V/O~~ DOROTHY Dear Dorothy. There has been an appalling raid on Number 73

She reads on, initially in silence and apparent disbelief. She rises to her feet and then issues a howl of despair.

DOROTHY No! No, no, no, no!

She starts to gesture in anguish and re-reads aloud. On the soundtrack, we hear the voice of Madame McBride echoing.

V/O The house has been shot up. They painted skulls and crossbones on your sitting room walls with green paint. They made a bonfire in the road of all your papers and manuscripts, your plays ... even your college lectures. Some of your pupils were passing by. They were picking up fragments of your lectures on Hamlet in the street for souvenirs.

Dorothy falls to knees. Burnt papers and ashes have blown in. She reaches about and clutches desperately, trying to catch them as they swirl around her.

DOROTHY Everything burnt!

The people of my vanished plays- born out of my imagination, foredoomed, never to be given life.

She gathers ashes and papers, like a mother gathering infants to her bosom.

DOROTHY One by one they thrust themselves into my memory,

She presses some burnt pages to her face, inhaling the aroma of her burnt creations.

Poor Cassandra is crying out to me from among the flames. Oh, Cassandra you were so wild and beautiful!

She sweeps another bunch of ashes to her and brings it to her bosom.

And Asthara! I cannot believe you dead. You, that had three nights of such rapturous, enchanted life.

She searches frantically for another text among the ashes but cannot find it.

And Dervorgilla, I am sure that she is gone. Ah, my Dervorgilla, infinitely innocent, tragic and noble.

She picks up what appears to be an irreparably charred notebook and contemplates it.

My Rhythm Book: eight years of theory and quotations. All my work, I had published nothing. My poetry is all over now!

Lighting reverts gradually to normal. She collects herself.

Everything burnt. It was a shattering thing to hear.

But courage creates courage. And I remembered that allegiance to the Republic had cost me nothing. What sort of a loss is this, compared to the loss of a brother? This was my baptism perhaps.

The people of my plays! They are burnt offerings to the Republic of Ireland, my tragic women; may the Gods be appeased! I could write my little play again from memory- I hope. And stories that are forming here, in my mind.

The Prisoner: A short story by Dorothy Macardle. 'The worst thing was losing the sense of time... a crazy notion would come that there was no such thing as time in prison at all...I used to think that time went past outside like a stream, moving on, but in prison you were in a kind of whirlpool- time going round and round with you, so that you'd never come to anything, even death, only back again to yesterday and round to today and back to yesterday again'.

On the soundtrack, we hear a female voice –singing a haunting Spanish folk/love song.

Dorothy looks up.

Noreen! She sings at night for Miss Mc Swiney. She is a woman quite different from any others perhaps because of her French girlhood and her South American adventures.

Other voices from around the jail join in. After a while, faltering, Dorothy begins to sing along from the loneliness of her cell. Lights fade to grey as the singing trails off.

T08- 36.31

S- Some people have lost brothers, but she is offering up these women from her plays to the Republic-

D – yes – she seems to have let go of it – she tries to make light of it – to miss mac Swiney – but Mary mac says it's a terrible thing – Mary mac can see her grief – to burn your manuscripts – there's a moment later on in the diary where she talks about the plays again.

Can you talk about it? That she's alright

S- Mountjoy when her plays are destroyed- she's tries to pacify herself – that this was her personal sacrifice for the republic cause – Mary has lost her brother.

D has lost all of these tragic women to the republic-

It doesn't go away - The pain and trauma of that doesn't leave her when they are move to Kilmainham - it comes back again to haunt her

These women/characters from her play come back one by one to haunt her – she sees them on stage been given rapturous applause – she is trying to make peace with this - particularly the poetry book – it was quite a trauma – that she carried for the rest of her life - she never got over that book –

D- 4.00

Lane has spoken about that D was an unlikely republican and come from high up family - unionist mother- father home ruler- wealth – teaching position in Alex. – we know from her family background- everyone knows – she is the last person you would imagine to be in prison and taking part in these protests etc.

Kate manning would have said to you that some of the writing has the sense that it's been written for political readers- there is a sense that she is recording things that will be read afterwards – and that is true– that's what is fascinating about the diaries - parts are propagandist writing to convince herself and she's writing her convictions - but there's other passages where she's most certainly not writing for contemporary readers as she is expressing her own doubts. She admits to her own uncertainties about Republicans and questions whether or not she is a true republican – not only

Does she not have a brother who died on hunger strike but even more fundamental than that... let's have a look at this passage here...it's after Sighle Humphries have created a little disturbance and D is frustrated that the women have done this because they have broken with the strategy long slow withdrawal of consent and they've gone off and rioted again. So, it's the passage she writes that evening.

The effect of prison on republicans

7.10

The effect of prison on republicans is curious. It crystallises into blind allegiance what has been perhaps, a reasoned, clear-eyed faith. I do think that purity of motive; and sincerity of sacrifice are in every one of those whom I am learning to know intimately here. But one fault I find - lack of foresight and calculation. I also sense a longing for cosmopolitan and intellectual experience of which – by their very devotion to an enslaved country – they have been deprived.

Their minds, except on moral questions, are less interesting, less rich... than those of my English friends.

But this I know: Our movement remains beautiful and splendid. There remains a religious faith and joy in our cause – a feeling that to go out into a defeated Ireland would be worse than any imprisonment – a feeling that victory must be ours.

S- it's so deeply private – she gave these journals to Dev knowing what was in them – it's very revealing – you're uncomfortable reading it.

D- it is – precisely and that's why we should work something up from that passage of the diary – it's one of the most honest parts of the diary I've come across in relation to any kind of goal journaling – that acknowledgment that she is different to the other women and that their minds – what's the line she uses again?

S- minds, except on moral questions, are less interesting, less rich... than those of my English friends.

D- Obviously she has spent a number of years in England working in Stratford – moving with intellectuals there – then moved to Dublin and was mixing with Maud Gonne and

S- While this is happening – she is hoping that Donald, her brother, is in London and going to produce one of her plays, *The Gift*.

Moved back to Ireland and became Radicalised by Maud Gonne, literary movement, writing plays for the Abbey.

She is among people who are quite different from her. There are not many people bar 1 or 2 about books – people are sending in books – books they picked up in the train station – she can't read them -

D- the wrong books (laughter), yes, of all of the people to compare them to her English friends – there's a disloyalty. But then it's lovely how she moves it back in. But this I know: Our movement remains beautiful and splendid. There remains a religious faith and joy in our cause –

She has gone to the most honest place in that passage – but also pulling herself back and is committed to this noble cause and really believes in it. Intellectual martyrdom of sorts – she has left the comfort of intellectual society that has meant so much to her fundamental to her social and intellectual development to be among people who are utterly unlike her because she believes in the cause- but she has the courage to admit that to herself and write it down and I think there is a shocking responsibility on us if we choose to share this with the public a 100 years after it was written.

It's ok to do that because on balance, her commitment/contribution to the cause is beyond question – she has made a massive contribution to the cause in which she believed to be the foundation of the Irish Republic.

The window /Dreams 13m

S- looking at her subconscious – trapped in prison –

D- She writes descriptively about her dreams – Bettys' dreams - we will take the theme of dreams

S- she has to climb up on stool to see out- here she is prison- she's desiring a window and what she could see through the

To desire a window and find on all sides only a dead wall! But in the dawn hours between sleep and wake, there is a mysterious region, evasive as a mirage, where my soul lives its own secret life. Harmonious powers flow into my being of which, when I wake, no memory is left; a clear existence that resembles the spirit's existence after death...

A window opens in a wall. Outside is a blue August afternoon, a garden with buttercups and trees, where tired men and women will be coming soon from acting or listening to lectures

D- Can we take a look at that again... look at the dream with her mother – green fields ... She writes descriptively about her dreams.

S- She writes about her dreams, nightmares. She can almost vision things outside the prison walls. She can unlock her imagination and see things beyond the prison walls- these grand vistas/windows -

D- When she is in Kilmainham she is reading a book about Dreams -

S- yes, psychology of dreams and how to interpret them – this comes in useful when Betty speaks to her about a number of dreams she is having- D is able to interpret them...

D- what about her own dreams

S- she has a section in her diary called Prison dreams- she goes from one dream into the next

_ I like the part where she talks about desiring a window- I believe she's having this experience – she talks about how her soul lives its own secret life – during the dawn hours of sleep and wake – mysterious time in prison where her soul can escape, and travel and I think she's having this experience when she starts writing about her dreams...

A lot of her dreams are about escaping from prison or having a day out of prison on parole ... usually in London in Westminster, or with her brother. Here she is with her mother and mona on a hill path – and a tunnel passage which leads into utter darkness- so much so that she screams it's impossible for them to go any further- they're going to fall – they discover a path has been cut out for them from some who have gone before and at last they come to green light and ancient trees - this radiant blue sea –

She has her own interpretation on this...

Seldom these dreams make her feel safe- she is usually escaping or being hunted or free only parole.

Another time – she is with Donald and she is in London- clutching onto him in a panic – in a panic – listen to me Donald – when I wake up I will be in prison – the walls caving in on top of her... she wakes up in that nightmare on her mattress-with her hands pressed against the white walls of the cell – and Donald is leagues away across the sea...

D- 20m10

And that's where she talks about desiring a window but having only a wall – she writes about that

S- she is feeling the walls of the cell – in the dawn hours between sleep and wake – this mysterious region, as she calls it

D- Can you read that passage where she is desiring a window?

DOROTHY To desire a window and find on all sides only a dead wall! But in the dawn hours between sleep and wake, there is a mysterious region, evasive as a mirage, where my soul lives its own secret life. Harmonious powers flow into my being of which, when I wake, no memory is left; a clear existence that resembles the spirit's existence after death...

D- acknowledging her own...That space between night and day - that dawn – waking dream description captures what we have been talking about – she doesn't exist exclusively in the concrete world of walls, tables, chairs, irons bars and cages.

There is a part of her that exists in a supernatural/ extraordinary world. I think there is a richness in those dream passages which is absolutely unusual in diary writing.

For whom did she write down the text of her dreams other than herself. For her future herself – maybe not consciously – I imagine that her later writing draws from her conscious

recording of dreams and that her dreamworld is as real in prison as the concrete world is – until she is rudely awakened from it.

S- the way she flits between the 2 worlds. And there is a particular time during the day when her soul can escape.

D- 23m

practical terms- how to convey the vividness of some of those dreams that she herself has...without simply reciting them – adding value to them. This is where a choreographer on board is going to be really helpful. My sense is that if we are going to convey the truth of what is happening – that she is elevating out of her own body and having these out of body experiences – that we all have in our sleep – then we are going to need an extra dimension. Sharon – we are going to need you to dance.

S- (laughs)

I will just have to look at my contract again... check the small print.

D- I have a picture of that scene – we know she was involved with Lady Gregory, Yeats. When you consider the importance of Asian influences – invite Ella to explore the idea of Dance that has a sense of Not quite oriental – but otherworldliness about it.

S- 25 - just for the record - I will mention those books she was reading - ‘the logic of the unconscious mind’ and Gustav miller’s ‘psychology of dreams’, while she was in prison. When she talks about Donald – and the walls – luckily, she....

D- Let’s move ahead to Kilmainham and her tour.

26m.

S- 27m.21

DOROTHY Climb up, Betty! Look!

BETTY Oh Dorothy, the wide wonderful, living world!

DOROTHY Look – on the roof! (*They duck*) A sentry.

BETTY And look! People are walking! They can see us! Hello-oh! (*She waves*). And new houses being built – over there, on the slopes.

DOROTHY (*suddenly*) Come away, Betty! ... (*Narrates*) It is more than a prisoner can bear, this view of the Dublin Mountains, the Path of Chualann... We walked round the gallery, examining the doors of the cells.

BETTY Look, Dorothy! The funny little names the men carved over their doors- ‘Woodbine Villa’

DOROTHY Haha! ‘Barry’s Hotel’!

BETTY ‘Howth Gunmen’, ‘Dev’s Own’ ... Oh...

DOROTHY What is it, Betty? Oh... Joseph Plunkett’s cell.

BETTY Where he married Grace ...

They search on in sombre silence.

BETTY Oh! ... Oh! (*Her eyes fill up with tears*) . The name of our old house, and here, Shawn’s name, my brother!

DOROTHY Oh Betty! (*Narrating*) And she told me how he lay there after the Four Courts fight, wounded in the lung. No doctor came to him all the six weeks. He was helped by his fellow prisoners and released only to die.

(T08) S – 29.28

DOROTHY Oh, the dawn is black! Life and courage are ebbed away and the day lies before me, so intolerably long. The sun will rise, the colours will wake, the birds will sing, and yet the knowledge of this falls like a chilling shadow over my spirit for in this prison there will be no

colours, no bird-song, not even the light of the sun. And no reason why this imprisonment should ever end. If the Republic is defeated there will be no light or holiness or beauty in Ireland for a long while.

DECLAN - It is not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most that will conquer!

DOROTHY Terence MacSwiney....

DECLAN - The life of iron! You must manage to endure this little thing! And as for God, God made this gaol. ... (*Fading*) You will always be too small a spirit for Ireland's fight, Dorothy!

DOROTHY The sun did rise and over our ceiling stole a very faint, silvery light. It stayed about an hour, then stole away. It was scarcely light – the shadow of the light only, but it came from the sun. I have written my last story *De Profundis*. I can live this 'life of iron now'. All's well.

D- I think we can lead from that where she domesticates her cell - from Darkness into Light We can come back then to the Dev Dreams –

Logical Segway from where we have come from- the matron 'I can take a sunny cell'

So, it's Scene 5 – read 'I have not felt like a prisoner at all...'

S- 33m

SCENE 5

Lights brighten considerably. Dorothy gathers an armful of boxes and things.

DOROTHY Hooray! Word has come from the matron- the upper gallery is to be opened. I can take a sunny cell!

She rushes about hanging pictures and arranging her things as she narrates.

Well! When the doors of our new "suite" were unlocked and Betty and I found ourselves in possession, each, of a wide, pure, brilliant beam of sun, it was a revival of dead hope, joy and life beyond any words. I climbed and looked out at one of the most beautiful views that any window of mine has ever shown. The happy suburban street; prams, trams and gay advertisement hoardings and sunlit green fields... and behind, the heart-lifting range of the Wicklow hills – It is a vision of freedom itself, in its holiest, its most everyday moods. Since I came in possession of that window, I have not felt like a prisoner at all.

D-yes, that's a wonderful transition – from the depths of her despair in the previous scene to the ...You talked earlier about the importance of light in her light- deprivation of light in the cell and suddenly she is in a cell with

Sun light – it has transformative space. They go about creating a passable domestic life for themselves – her and Betty. So, our sense from visiting the prison. She and Betty had adjacent cells – each with their own beam of light – is that your understanding?

S- 2 Separate cells – the Green flash and Hut 24?

Streaming with light up there –and you have the glass roof as well - so Betty keeps the kitchen in her cell and Dorothy keeps the study in her cell

D- So let's have a look at that section – and how we can create a sense of a domestic world – she says she can see the iron cage work – but then she comes into the cell and she talks about...'high in the wall...'

S- High in the wall, hangs that which is the whole solace and comfort of our lives – a sooty jerry can. That means TEA!!! - not prison tea, tasting of ancient tin, but tea as comforting to the soul and as inspiring to the mind as wine of Hippocrene.

She sniffs.

Aah! And it means fried bacon and eggs! Woo hoo! On the right hand side, a little two-shelved bracket. On the top shelf I have placed five books and a tall empty glass. How beautiful tulips or daffodils would look in it against the bare, white wall! There is a pot of face cream and a powder-box, relics of an almost forgotten civilisation. I have hung a line for my blue dressing gown and my red shawl. A Zulu basket hangs on one of the nails. And the mirror, a little beauty, Mother's Xmas present. It was the first looking glass any of us had in Mountjoy, It caused frenzied excitement when it came. All our food is in my wife's room, Betty keeps the kitchen, I keep the study here.

T09- 16m

DOROTHY (narrated) (*Dorothy still moving in slow motion, but happily, as herself*) I was going through a rejoicing crowd in Dundalk, to meet Mary MacSwiney and DeValera. The Chief had arrived alone- I saw him in a carriage driving away from the market place up-hill. But when the carriage was half way up, he jumped down and began to walk back saying he would like to meet Mary MacSwiney.

Cheering fades away.

DOROTHY She appeared, stepping out of a railway carriage. The emotion of meeting her again, after all the suffering, overcame me so much that I forgot everything else. I put her into a carriage and drove with her into town.

It was not until we had driven some way that I remembered the Chief, walking down to meet her. I was stricken with remorse and fear. He was hunted and I had forgotten him- left him wandering in the open street, the inconsiderate unkindness of it.

Grating, grotesque mechanical sounds come in, mixed with nightmarish fairground music.

DOROTHY The dream turned into something quite different then-

V/O A ghastly vision on the roadside - a man and a boy caught in a whirligig which, gaining mad impetus before my eyes, went out of control and whirled them horribly to death.

She falls to her knees and wakes to find herself cradling the body of the half-remembered dead boy from the dream.

DOROTHY (*Rising to her feet*) I hate to think about this dream ... What does it mean that Miss MacSwiney forgets the Chief----and turns a different way... leaves him in peril, alone? ...

D- That dream is uncanny because years before it happened - she is anticipating a split in the republican movement – as Mary MacS and Dev do go their separate ways.

S- There is no way of knowing it at this point

D- That sense that she is dreaming of the future. History tells us in this particular dream - she may have sensed tensions that are there. But there is nothing on historical record that suggests at this point Dev and Mary mac S are at loggerheads – that only happens sometime later – so the fact she has this dream is extraordinary – she wonders about it – she is troubled about it - she sees trouble ahead in the movement. She is politically an exceptionally intelligent observer – she is reading the differences within the goal of the militant women and the propagandist women. She is on one side of the biggest split between Free Staters and the Die-hard Republicans and now she's anticipating further splits and further differences of opinion down the line in a dream which ends up with a horrific death and a

fairground whirligig – which takes us back to what we talked about in the prologue – where she talks many years later, she is fascinated by this whirligig – I think there is something in this dream.

S- And that she knows it's not just a dream – she questions herself- why does miss mac S turn the other way. It comes back to haunt her as well – it's uncanny and unsettling.

S- 7m

BETTY You are very brave,...(*Fearfully*) Dorothy, can I show you something?

DOROTHY She showed me a photo of a man in a Free State uniform. He used to be in the IRA and was fond of her, but since he joined the Free State army, she could not be friendly to him at all. Then he hinted to her that she would be satisfied if she understood.

BETTY And now I understand! He has been arrested!

She bursts into tears.

DOROTHY Oh Betty!

BETTY Tom is his name. He was working secretly for the IRA. His officers discovered a plan and code he had prepared.

DOROTHY When did you find out?

BETTY Just today. A friend wrote to tell me ... she says there is bad news about him. And Dorothy, last night I dreamed that he sprang onto a cart I was sitting in. He gripped my hand, and he was gasping as if he was in pain. You've been reading that book about dreams. What does it mean?

DOROTHY It has no meaning, Betty. You were naturally anxious. (*Narrating*) But I was afraid - Carts were used for executions in the old days.

8.38m DOROTHY Shhhhh.... Every night now, Betty dreams. He is lost in a dark, tangled place among terrifying wild beasts and can escape only by crossing a dark turbid stream. How is it that Tom is always there in the wide green field yet Betty is trapped in the tangled, dark place, full of evil and peril, like Ireland now?

BETTY What is it to dream of white sheets? I dreamt I was sewing away at beautiful white sheets. Is that good?

DOROTHY I'm sure it must be good, Betty, ... I said this, knowing that the surest presage of news of death is to dream that you are making a shroud.

DOROTHY Betty, what are you doing?

BETTY I'm looking out at the half-moon and the sky lighted yellow over it. Sssh! Listen! ... The music of a fancy fair. 'Come back to Eireann' and away over there on the hills, a dog barking. (*She weeps softly*) The old dog barking; the big farm in Ballywilliam and the wide roads at night.

DOROTHY Come down Betty. (*She reaches up and helps Betty down.*) And she crept into bed and she cried and cried and cried for long hours till she finally fell asleep.

Dorothy lies awake, listening to the sound of the sobbing girl beside her and the faint strains of a distant concert band.

D- Ok, Sharon we have run out of road. That passage where she comforts Betty- It's very close to the end of the diaries that have survived.

We have known all along we have a crisis here because we have no more diary – we have 3rd party accounts of what happened next. We know she finally did go on hunger strike for over a week. We know her health was seriously affected by that. But we don't have her account of that hunger strike at all. Up to this point, 99% of the language of our drama has been drawn from her own text. So, what are we left with by way of other texts that are in her voice that we can use?

S- We presume that she had written an account of what happened to her after this...

3 out of 6 of her journals have survived- 3 are missing. We don't know what has happened to them – we believe perhaps Donald, her brother, destroyed them when she died.

So, we can look to other diaries – Sighe Humphries. We can look to secondary source material. Dorothy doesn't talk too much about her prison experience in her BMH WS. So, we really are out on a limb as to what we are to do.

Now there is a big moment where the women are moved to NDU. When she arrives at NDU, she is only there for a couple of weeks. We do have a piece of propaganda writing that she wrote on that transfer - the women – when they were transferred from Kilmainham to NDU and that was smuggled out of the goal and published at the time. So have that account – it quite a distressing account of what happened – she calls the piece Kilmainham tortures.

D- I am aware of that piece. I think we need to see her leaving prison. And we need to hear about the riot, the violence that was visited upon her and her fellow prisoners by the prison guards. We need to have a sense of the state of her physical and mental health as she is leaving. I was disinclined to present her experience of hunger strike other than to make some kind of retrospective reference to it – remember the woman at the start of our play – Dorothy in the 1950's, we might find a way that - that Dorothy of the future reminds her that she's gone through this. I don't know yet how we will do this – we will figure it out when we try it out on the floor.

Whatever we do about the hunger strike, we have that vivid description of the riot and its utterly gripping.

Let's read a little section of that and see if there are parts of it, we can dramatise – it does give us the sense of that violent upheaval that takes her into her final few days. She was only 10 days in the NDU before she was released on health grounds. So, it is a kind of epilogue to her prison experience.

So, the forcible move from Kilmainham is the culmination of the indignities that are visited upon Dorothy and not only upon Dorothy but upon all of the women who were in prison with her. So, let's have a look at her account of that.

S- Ok

T10- 1 min NOTHING

T11- 5.30 (Kilmainham Tortures)

DOROTHY The gate opened, and the men rushed in, across the compound and up the stairs. Brigid O'Mullane and Rita Farrelly, the first seized, were crushed and bruised between men dragging them down and men pressing up the stairs.

Mrs. Gordon was next. It was hard not to go to her rescue. She clung to the iron bars, the men beat her hands with their clenched fists again and again; that failed to make her lose her hold and they struck her twice in the chest. Then one took her head and beat it against the

iron bars. I think she was unconscious after that; I saw her dragged by the soldiers down the stairs, all across the compound and out at the gate.

There was one man with a blackened face. When my own turn came, after I had been dragged from the railings, a great hand closed on my face, blinding and stifling me, and thrust me back down to the ground among trampling feet. I heard someone who saw it scream and wondered how Miss MacSwiney would bear the noise. After that I remember being carried by two or three men and flung down in the surgery to be searched. Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Gordon were there, their faces bleeding. One of the women searchers was screaming at them like a drunkard in Camden Street on Saturday night; she struck Mrs. Gordon in the face. They removed our watches, fountain pens and brooches.

There was a further struggle before we were thrown into lorries, one by one, and driven away. It all took five hours.

I declare this to be a full and true account.

Signed Dorothy Macardle

Military Prison, North Dublin Union, May 1st, 1923.

