

# REMEMBERING TO FORGET: MARGINALISED VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS IN THE IRISH NATION NARRATIVE

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***Abstract:* The period 1890 to 1914 witnesses a European-wide crisis in masculinity and an acceleration of modern nationalism. The figure of the boy becomes a central symbol for re-securing both masculinity and the nation. As a consequence boy culture became increasing associated with militarism. Nation states are masculine institutions and therefore it hardly surprises that the story that the modern state tells to legitimise its origins prioritises masculine concerns. This study focuses on the construction of visual nation-building narratives expressed through nationalist boy culture in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century. It aims to connect these currents to the broader European context and, in the process, evaluate the relationship between gendering and nationalism at this specific historical juncture. It argues that by focusing on the role and development of boy culture during this period we can better understand why the nation narrative prioritises one visualised story of national self-determinacy over a number of competing versions, and it foregrounds the resilience of hegemonic masculinity in this. In this context, which photographs are chosen to support the nation narrative and which get forgotten is significant because it indicates the gendered nature of nation formation.**

***Keywords:* masculinity, militarism, Ireland, photography, nation narrative, performativity**

## I. INTRODUCTION

It may well be the case, as Ernest Gellner proposes that 'it is nationalism that engenders nations, and not the other way around' (Gellner, 1983: 49) but in the process the nation state maintains its legitimacy by controlling how the history of nationalism is recorded. The version of the nation that is remembered and those which are forgotten construct the nation and the terms on which it will be understood. Control of narrative (the story told of the nation) is therefore the means by which the modern state maintains hegemonic acquiescence. (Lloyd, 1993: 6) The story of nation is always written retroactively and it involves fictionalising, performance and visualising through the 'invention of traditions' and 'collective amnesia'. (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983 ; Billig, 1995: 38)

Nationalism and nation states are gendered affairs and it is not coincidental that a modern form of Western masculinity emerged at the same time as the modern state: nationalism 'was a movement which began and evolved parallel to modern masculinity' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983 ; Billig, 1995: 38). However

neither masculinity nor nationalism is a monolithic entity and to understand their relationship requires situating the production of a nation narrative within its precise historical and social contexts.

The aim of this paper is to place the Irish nation narrative within such a framework in order to chart how differing versions of the nation were visually conceptualised in the rise of radical nationalism in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century; why certain narratives come to be written-out; and to innumerate the significance of photographic representation in the processes by which the nation narrative is constructed. Photographs, in this context, are not *seen* as unproblematic evidence of the past but rather as a mode of production and reception within specific periods of circulation that, in this instance, relate to a European-wide crisis in masculinity and the rise of modern nationalism.

Far from being passive reflectors of history, photographic representation actively produces the terms on which gender and the idea of the nation will be understood. This study will focus on three sets of photographs of the performance of the nation in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century: a series that record the performance of the play *Hugh Roe O'Donnell* in 1902, photographs of Na *Fianna Eireann* (hereafter referred to as the Fianna) and representative photographs that served to memorialise the Easter Rising of 1916. A textual reading of these three types of representation will be offered in order to afford a means to theoretically engage with issues of gender and nation as they pertain to the operation of the nation narrative. (1)

## II. IMAGINING THE NATION

Nationalism always involves a reworking of gender relations. A classic response to the experience of colonisation is the production of over-blown masculinity as national style (Reeser, 2010:191). However the early phases of imagining what the nation might constitute also opens up spaces for the exploration of a range of gender performances (Frazier, 1997, 8-38). The period 1890-1914 witnesses a European-wide crisis in masculinity that crosses both imperial and anti-imperial discourses and finds expression in an investment in male youth culture as a means to national renewal (Mosse, 1985; Springhall, 1977: 14). Inherent in this new emphasis on boy-culture (2) is a preoccupation with the youthful male body as a site for reformulating masculinity. In Ireland, in common with other nationalist movements, the figure of the boy 'functioned as a very powerful representation of revolution and progress' (Sisson, 2004: 163) and one made more potent by the fact that he allowed an investment in, as yet, unknown possibilities. The rise of boys' fictional papers coded this new preoccupation through stories of the boy hero who undergoes training in the 'process of making a man' (Boyd, 2003:125).

By the late 1890s the failure of constitutional politics in Ireland engendered a rejection of patriarchal models in both cultural nationalism and Irish republicanism. For a generation of Irish youths, Ireland at the turn of the century appeared a country 'which, for the most part, had lost the will to resist' (Hobson, 1986: 40). The revival sought by cultural nationalists aimed at creating 'a new national self-image with a moralistic

emphasis on character-building through sobriety and industry': this held 'a very clear element of gendering' in it that defined the cultural project in terms of manliness (McMahon, 2008: 128). This new manliness was to be achieved through the promise of boyhood: indeed nostalgia for lost youth haunts both cultural nationalism and republicanism in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century (Boyce, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 1995: 422).

This context sheds light on why Francis Joseph Bigger (1863-1926), a leading cultural nationalist of his day and active proponent of Gaelic League principles should set up a boys-only club in Belfast in 1900. (3) Named the Neophytes, this short-lived society (1900-02) nevertheless was important for the precedent it set for the formation of later boys-only organisations in Ireland and Britain. (4) Youth groups of this period exemplified a general cultural shift among the European middle classes towards anti-modernism as well as anti-materialism. (Gillis, 1981: 141) In the Neophytes this tendency was grafted to the tenets of the Gaelic League wherein recourse to the supposed Gaelic past was seen as a means to resist mass culture, tarred as a foreign import – both English and imperialist.

The Neophytes crystallised such practices within the new emphasis on boy-culture. Study of Irish history, literature and folklore coupled with chivalric ritual, sport and outdoor pursuits were intended by the youth leaders (Bigger and the Vicar of St Paul's, Belfast) to provide an exemplum for a home-grown youth, pure in body and mind, fitted to revitalise the national spirit. Members of the Neophytes were

drawn from amongst Bigger's neighbours in the well-to-do suburbs of Belfast. And as with movements such as the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association there was a level of 'puritanism' in the group's endeavour (Hobson, 1968: 35) that reflected a general tendency of the new youth groups across Europe to be antithetical to urban working class culture which in turn was suspicious of the implicit militarism in such organisations (Springhall, 1977: 125).

Bigger held a penchant for 'ceremonials and festivals': these 'were often characterised by a strong element of youth worship' (Kirkland, 2006: 97). One such example is a play he commissioned for the Neophytes to act whose subject matter was the sixteenth-century Irish boy-hero Red Hugh O'Donnell. More a masque than a fully realised dramatic piece the twelve short acts comprise an account of the capture, imprisonment, escape and final inauguration of Red Hugh as the O'Donnell chief. The subject matter was familiar to nationalist audiences for whom the story served as an allegory for the Irish political situation. By the beginning of the twentieth century Red Hugh had become the archetypal Irish political prisoner whose escape from captivity was read as symbolic of Ireland's emergence from imperial shackles (Morris, 2012: 234).

In the context of Irish nationalism's emphasis on boy culture Red Hugh's youth takes on a double meaning: both as promise for the regeneration of national spirit and also the renewal of masculinity. It is significant therefore that the play was performed by an all boy cast of amateur actors [Figure 1].



**Figure 1.** *Playing Red Hugh.* Photographer: Alexander Hogg, 1902. Francis Joseph Bigger Collection, Belfast Central Library. Courtesy Belfast Central Library.

Bigger not only commissioned the play but also took a leading role in the organisation of the performance, design of the costumes and banners, paid for its staging and commissioned the commercial photographer Alexander Hogg to photograph the event. Hogg's photographs do not record the actual performance; instead they form a series of costume portraits where the boys statically pose in their historical character roles, as in Figure 1. The effect is to foreground the display of the youthful male body as a site of gender performance (Baylis, 2014). The repetition of costume signifiers and bodily poses accentuate gender as a performative sign and reveal it to be the product of cultural codes. This is further accentuated by the Elizabethan costumes, which draw attention to the youthful

male physique. Two photographs record members of the Neophytes in the costume roles of female characters. While the gender masquerade does not fully convince the simulation of conventional feminine submissive poses foregrounds the fluidity of gender and its performative basis [Figure2].



**Figure 2.** *Performing Gender.* Photographer: Alexander Hogg, 1902. Francis Joseph Bigger Collection, BCL. Courtesy Belfast Central Library.

That Bigger intended the play to have a nation-rousing effect is indicated by the subject matter, choice of Standish O'Grady to write the drama and the Neophytes to act it. O'Grady, who was obsessed by 'the nation narrative', held currency for making accessible the Irish heroic legends to contemporary audiences (Foster, 2001:11). Otway Cuffe provided the venue for the performance, which took place on 2 August 1902

as part of the annual Sheestown pageant. Cuffe, a fellow active Gaelic Leaguer had his own boys-only group, the Kilkenny Boys Brigade. (5) From the outset the performance was conceived of in terms of the types of cultural practices favoured by the League – localised, amateur and containing a popular propagandist message. (6) That the performance was read on these terms is indicated by contemporary reviews, by Bigger’s repetition of O’Donnell entertainments at future Gaelic League cultural events, such as the Dunfanghy *feis* in 1903, and by his advocacy at the inaugural meeting of the Belfast branch of the Fianna in 1909 of the efficacy of plays on youthful Irish heroes as a model for youth (young men) of the day. (*New Ireland*, 29 August 1903; Phoenix, 2005:73)

When anchored to a cultural nationalist context the photographs’ evidence an encoded meaning. However, the identification with the youthful male body as a means of challenge in modern nationalism was underscored by male eros (Mosse, 1985: 45, 64). The repeated *exposé* of gender as a performance (the product of costume and pose) alongside a focus on the youthful male body as a site of display, made apparent in the Neophyte portraits, when unmoored from a nation meta-frame, query the discourse of Irish nationalism by exposing its over reliance on male identification.

### III. CONSTRUCTING GROUP IDENTITY

Cultural nationalism in Ireland created a new form of politics, which developed in an increasingly militant and militaristic direction (McGarry, 2010: 41). This was evident in the rise of politicised youth groups, the most notable being the Fianna. What signalled out the Fianna was that it was the

first Irish nationalist boys’ group to be overtly militaristic (Hay, 2004: 56). It was created as a direct response to Baden-Powell’s Boy Scouts (founded in 1908) and even referred to itself as the Irish Boy Scouts. A crisis in imperialist masculinity (Rosenthal, 1986:3) was the impetus for the Boy Scouts. Through the new organisation Baden-Powell sought to re-secure imperial ideology, specifically by the training of the body and mind of boys. The Fianna employed the same regime with its emphasis on the training of Irish boys as ‘recruits for the future army of Ireland’ but it differed in ideological ends. (Markievicz, 1909) Nationalism is ‘part of the make-up of both imperialism and anti-imperialism’ (Alter, 1989: 5) and an investment in masculinity crosses both. The Fianna and the Boy Scouts were ‘a product of the same public concerns about moral and physical degeneration that had produced similar cults of militarism elsewhere in Europe’ (McGarry, 2010:32).

Initially conceived as the Red Branch Knights (a title consciously recalling the Irish warrior hero Cuchulainn and the Ulster Cycle of legends) the group developed into the Fianna under the leadership of Countess Markievicz (1868-1927) and Bulmer Hobson (1883-1969) in 1909. The change of name acknowledged Hobson’s earlier Belfast-based nationalist boys’ group of 1902, which was also named after the *Fianna*, a mythical Irish warrior band which had its own boy cadets.

From the start it was, organised on militaristic lines. While Markievicz’s intention was to create an army in waiting, Hobson’s were more precise: to provide future recruits for the Irish Republican Brotherhood (a radical separatist organisation), an intention that was

realised. In this respect, both the Fianna and the Boy Scouts shared an emphasis on boy culture as the source for national regeneration, the training of boys both physically and morally, a hierarchal structure and an emphasis on male bonding. In Dublin members of the Fianna were involved in scuffles with their Irish Boy Scout counterparts who they considered to be 'an adjunct of the British army' (Gaughan, 2006: 43). Such incidents provided scenarios for the playing of war games. While by drawing on a very narrow definition of militarism (the fact that the Boy Scouts did not drill or engage in rifle practice) Baden-Powell could claim that his organisation was not militaristic the original handbook of 1908 (*Scouting for Boys*) told another story, it was 'chock-full of pronouncements on the necessity for military training' (Springhall, 1971:153). In contrast, the Fianna openly espoused a military nationalism and 'the military nature of the new organisation was unmistakable' (Gaughan, 2006: 37). Drill and rifle practice drew on British army training manuals, while the Fianna's first handbook (written in 1909 but not published until 1914) was largely an adaption of the Boy Scouts' equivalent (Hay, 2006: 39) augmented by patriotic essays written by leading Irish nationalists, and specific sections on drill and rifle practice.

Militarism is a performance of gender that is heavily invested in masculinity. It operates through the visible signs of uniforms, symbols and the display of the body as ordered, disciplined and "fighting fit". It is worth noting here that the rise of youth movements during this period corresponded with a new definition of masculinity as group identity (Boyd, 2003:70). In this context, the group photograph served to codify the meaning of masculinity as unitary; it established group identity through spatial relations that impose com-

monality. It operates to emphasis 'the imposition of order, consistency, regularity and symmetry ... bound by a set of spatial relations' that organise bodies in space (Schirato and Webb, 2004:141). A large group portrait of the Fianna Ardfeis (annual congress) exemplifies how these spatial relations operate to create a meaning for masculinity. Space is ordered on a series of planes: in the front rows cross-legged, seated younger members with folded arms; in the next, seated older boys and young men with crossed or folded arm; further back, rows of members who stand with arms straight to body, while at the back, iconography (banners with nationalist referents) index militaristic display to a particular cause. All eyes are directed straight to camera, indicating unity of intent. The visual effect is to dissolve differences into a unitary group identity [Figure 3] (Schirato and Webb, 2004: 141).

Bodily display, uniforms and political symbolism operate to construct that group identity as militaristic, youthful, male and Irish.

However, to fully achieve this meaning requires gender to be stabilised. From the start of the organisation criticisms had been levelled against Countess Markievicz assuming a position of power in a boys' organisation (Hobson, 1968: 16) as had opposition been mounted to the few girl branches that existed (Hay, 2008:61). Noteworthy in this photograph is how Markievicz has been positioned centre-staged (as befitted her rank in the organisation). To her right a young girl, dressed in white, is placed. In contrast to the Fianna members neither is in uniform and the young girl breaks the symmetry of the spatial ordering by her irregular placement.



**Figure 3.** *Gendering Identity: Na Fianna Eireann.* Photographers Keogh Brothers Ltd, c. 1910-1914. Keogh Brothers Collection, National Library of Ireland. Courtesy National Library of Ireland.

The potential for gender ambiguity (a woman assuming a position of power in a boys' organisation and the risk of an effacement of masculinity through an association with the feminine) is, within the spatial relations of the photograph, overridden by relations of proximity and difference. Marking Markievicz's gender, by associating her with the little girl, positions her as outside the culture of militarism and repositions her within the maternal and acceptable femininity. (7) Composition thus operates to both encode group identity as male militarism and also neutralise the real challenge that radical women posed to Irish nationalism's self-definition. (8)

#### IV. PERFORMING MILITARISM

The objective of the Fianna constitution was 'the re-establishment of the independence of Ireland'; this

was to be achieved by the 'training of the boys of Ireland, mentally and physically, by teaching scouting and military exercises, Irish history and Irish language' (Gaughan,2006:36). Uniforms, military training and guns lay at the heart of its appeal, as to boys in other European militarised youth movements of the day and as one contemporary commentator on the Fianna noted: "The boys loved playing at soldiers" (McGarry, 2010: 32). Two surviving photographs of Fianna youths taken in 1914 reference this development. A static tableau of action is presented in both images; each photograph plays out a scenario of the Fianna's role in war. In one Fianna boys are shown giving first aid to the wounded in a mock-war situation [Figure 4]. All eleven boys are in uniform, the wounded are indicated by props (such as bandaged body parts) or the adoption of prone positions that signal their status as being the casualty of combat.

To the latter two boys act-out their competencies in first-aid. In contrast, strikingly rigid poses are adopted by those who stand, including the, supposedly walking wounded. Augmenting this is a conscious display of swords, these serve as a visual referent for the boys' mental capacities to fight on to achieve victory and also to their bravado (such weapons were illegal at the time). The second photograph records the same boys, in the same location, acting out their competencies in semaphore. Again all are in uniform and precise choreography of bodily movement is enacted. Given the light conditions (the shadowy outline of skyline buildings indicate a misty day) it is probable that the two photographs were taken in a single shooting and to a pre-arranged brief for what they were intended to show.



**Figure 4. *Military Performance.*** Photographers: Keogh Brothers, 1914. Keogh Brothers Collection, NLI. Courtesy National Library of Ireland

These photographs are as much a performance of a nation narrative as those produced by the Neophytes. In this instance what is acted out is the goal of achieving an independent Ireland through armed struggle. Where there is a difference is in the narrative told to achieve the nation ideal and in its performativity. In both, the figure of the boy serves to signify the potential nation whose promise is premised on boyhood assuming the status of manliness.

#### V. "ACTION HEROES"

By 1913 the Fianna came under the control of the IRB, the effect being that the rhetoric of 'fighting' for Ireland increased (Hay, 2008: 60; Gaughan, 2006: 37). Prior to this Hobson had in 1912 established a special Fianna circle within the IRB headed by Con Colbert

(Hobson, 1968: 17). The ideal of militarism that influenced the Fianna's notion of manliness was based largely on the stereotype of the British army officer: Michael Lonergan (a leading Fianna officer) 'was widely admired by the other boys because of his ability to emulate this persona' in his figure and walk, attention to dress, commanding mannerisms and unselfconsciousness; likewise Colbert who was considered to be the ideal 'Gael' was looked up to for his single-minded devotion to the cause which superseded an interest in girls (McGarry, 2010: 69, 31, 66). The association indicates how the model of hegemonic masculinity can operate to override cultural and political differences. It also highlights how whilst nationalism may claim to be the articulation of popular sentiments that its operations draw on class and gender prioritisation.

Nancy Hartsock has foregrounded how the attribution of male power to militarism is not without its own homoerotics (Hartsock, 1984). In contrast to the frequent use of the large group portrait to represent the Fianna as an organisation, a photograph of the Fianna Council, taken in an interior location exploits the conventions of studio portraiture. Traditional props such as occasional table, seating and heavy drapery that serves as backdrop operate to encode bourgeois respectability to these leaders. The impression created is one of an officer class and that of a small elite coterie cordoned off from the rest of the ranks. Uniforms, erect body stance, whether seated or standing, and compositional arrangement (those standing rest a hand on the shoulder of Michael Lonergan, the central focal point) all serve to construct militarism as hegemonic masculinity [Figure 5].



**Figure 5.** The Fianna Council (From left to right: Front row: Patrick Holohan, Michael Lonergan, Con Colbert. Back row: Garry Holohan, Padraig Ryan.) Photographers: Keogh Brothers, 1915. Keogh Brothers Collection, NLI. Courtesy National Library of Ireland.

The only visible clothing signifier of an Irish context is the kilt worn by Colbert; this had recently been reformulated to serve as a masculine nationalist sign and it was an alternative official Fianna uniform (Gaughan, 2006:37; Sisson, 2004:126).

The Irish Volunteers were formed in November 1913 as a direct response to the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force, also founded in that year. Both these militia organisations were the outcome of the deepening political crisis in Ireland, exacerbated by the passing of the Third Home Rule Bill in April 1912. Many Irish Volunteer officers had been former members of the Fianna. As the only nationalist group to have acquired military training at this date the Fianna played a significant role in training the Irish Volunteers. It also trained members of the IRB (Padraig

Pearse, leader of the failed insurrection of 1916, received his military training in this manner).

The insurrection that began in Dublin on Easter Monday 1916 (popularly referred to as the Easter Rising, the Rising or just 1916) was connected to British militarism, namely that the British army was preoccupied fighting in World War One and therefore vulnerable to attack nearer to home. It was only an inner circle of the IRB (its military council) that sanctioned the timing of the rebellion. Neither Hobson nor Eoin MacNeill, commander of the Irish Volunteers, was made aware of its exact timing, and both were in opposition to it. The Rising was ill-timed, ill-planned and largely ineffectual in achieving its aims. However it served as the natural playing out of the militarism that had formed the basis of the training of Fianna youth. Colbert, like other former Fianna members, had by 1916 'devoted years of activism to bring about an insurrection'; his response when orders came for it to begin was delight: 'he was so excited and charmed that at last the fight was coming off. He thought of nothing else' (McGarry, 2010:124-5). Former and current members of the Fianna participated in the Rising, 'as commanders, fighters, dispatch carriers and scouts': seven were killed in action while Sean Heuston and Colbert were executed for their part in leading it (Hay, 2008: 69).

Initial public reaction from Dublin civilians was not favourable; especially amongst the working classes who bore the brunt of the civilian casualties. Additionally many working class families had men serving in the British army. What turned the Rising into an event for nation-building mythologising was the heavy-handed response of the British military – the unremitting shelling of Dublin, the rounding up of civilians

as suspects and the execution of the leaders of the abortive insurrection; the last created national martyrs (Lee, 1973,1989:155-6). Within weeks of the end of the Rising commemorative publications and special issues of magazines and newspapers appeared (Carville, 2011:166), alongside pamphlets commemorating nationalists who had died in the fighting, the proceeds of which were intended to support the dependent families.

Two types of photographs appeared to memorialise the Rising: images of the city in ruins and portraits of those who had died in the struggle. (9) Contemporaries drew analogies between the destruction wrought on Dublin and the ravages brought about by World War One in Europe: photographs made evident how 'the imperial streetscape had been reduced to an urban landscape scattered with ruins wrought by the new technological warfare of the twentieth century' (Carville, 2011:166).

The narrative of warfare requires the creation of heroes, even in defeat and the retrospective use of the portrait photograph is a format that elicits such identification. The Dublin-based commercial photographic firm of Keogh Brothers produced all of the Fianna photographs. A half-length portrait of Colbert, published in all likelihood after his death, confirms the processes by which the commemorative sign is constructed. Apparent in this image is that it has been created from a larger group photograph; the single portraiture has been achieved through cropping and enlargement. The effect is that an image of the youthful Colbert is the only point of identification; he appears to directly meet the viewer's gaze, eliciting recognition [Figure 6].



**Figure 6.** *Creating National Heroes: Con Colbert.* Photographers Keogh Brothers, published/ created c. 1910-1944. Keogh Brothers Collection, NLI. Courtesy National Library of Ireland.

It is the retrospective knowledge of the fate of Colbert that imbues the image with the resonance of a memento mori and in turn, his boyish looks with the status of the sacrifice of youth for the cause of nation. The sacrificial code is gendered as the male youth hero. (10) In a commemorative postcard created after his death this effect has been intensified by further cropping in order to eradicate the visible partial outline of other figures ([www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/9.6:2](http://www.nli.ie/1916/pdf/9.6:2)). This type of imagery quickly took on the religious connotations of the icon (McGarry, 2010: 282) and it served to support a narrative of martyrdom that came 'to form a powerful foundation myth for the independent Irish state' (McGarry, 2011: 350).

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

The fact that 'propaganda images of the Rising almost invariably depict the rebels in uniform' even though many of those who fought were dressed in civilian clothes, (McGarry, 2010:131) should not surprise. Military uniforms signified the Rising as 'part of the wider conflict' that 'well suited the self-perceptions of the rebels themselves', and in a way they needed to project themselves as 'soldiers in a real army, fighting a real war' (Jeffery, 2007:93) in order to position themselves within militaristic masculinity.

All of the three sites of photography discussed served in the production of nation-building narratives. The difference between them lies in, when removed from what comes to be the Irish nation narrative, the Neophyte costume photographs reveal gender to be a construct. The photographs of the Fianna and those of former members who took part in the Rising are no more or less *real* than those of the Neophytes' theatrical performance of the nation ideal. What these later photographs indicate though is how modern masculinity and nationalism is tied to military performativity.

And in this sense, 1916 had to be constructed as the foci of the Irish nation narrative because as Alan Titley has commented, it provided 'a creation story as good as any' Ireland was 'ever likely to get' (Titley, 1988: 207). This is a myth that encoded the nation's self-determinacy as a story of boys becoming men and in the process re-secured hegemonic masculinity as the source of national identity. By recognising the relationship between nationalism and masculinity it becomes apparent why 1916 has become 'the pre-eminent symbol of Irish sovereignty' (McGarry, 2010 : 289). (McGarry, 2010 : 289) The Irish story, while hav-

ing its own specificities is not unique. It references a larger historical context by which 'the culture and ideology of hegemonic masculinity go hand in hand with the culture and ideology of hegemonic nationalism' (Nagel, 1988, 249). (Nagel, 1988: 249)

And in both contexts, which photographs are chosen to remember the nation indicate both the processes of gendering and also responses to nationalism. The forgetting of certain photographs is as instructive as those that are recalled for an understanding of the relationship between masculinity and nationalism as it was formulated in the early twentieth century in a European context. It also pertains to current nation narratives of the state and their gender positionality.

## ENDNOTES

- [1] A note on territory: I refer to the nation narrative in terms of the story the Irish Free State constructed to visualise its existence and meaning. An alternative version of territory in Ireland is offered by the northern unionist version of the Northern Irish State. Space precludes consideration of this narrative of identity. For a prescient discussion of its myth-making during the twentieth century see (Jackson, 1992: 164-85). An oppositional cultural expression co-existed in the north of Ireland during the early twentieth century, namely northern nationalism. Its presence (evidenced in the cultural politics of Francis Joseph Bigger, Alice Milligan, Bulmer Hobson and others) complicates the 'territorial construction' of post-1920 Ireland, which as Kevin Howard points out is a 'territorial construction' where 'human agency' has given national meanings of difference (Howard, 2007: 78, 82).
- [2] During this period the term 'boy' referred to young males up to the age of twenty five, and even older men who remained unmarried.
- [3] The Gaelic League was founded by Douglas Hyde and Eoin Mac Neill in 1893 with the expressed aim of de-Anglicising Ireland.
- [4] Jeffrey Dudgeon refers to the group as an 'intellectual Boy Scout troop' noting its significance as predating Baden-

- Powell's Boy Scouts movement established in England in 1908 (Dudgeon, 2002: 184).
- [5] For an extended account of the cultural significance of the play see (Baylis, 2014).
- [6] (Morris, 2012: 252-64 offers an account of the comparable practice of the Gaelic League activist, Alice Milligan)
- [7] There is a certain irony in this coding as, according to fellow radical nationalist Helena Molony, Markievicz 'did not like girls' (quoted in McGarry, 2011, 49).
- [8] For accounts of the radicalism of women in Irish nationalism during this period see Ward, 1983, 1995; Luddy, 1995; Cullen and Luddy, 2001; Morris, 2012
- [9] These photographs are not action shots, which only become possible from the 1930s with the introduction of smaller, more mobile cameras and faster film.
- [10] He was twenty eight years of age when he was executed.

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